

DYNAMICS OF PUBLIC URBAN WATERFRONT REGENERATION IN ISTANBUL

The case of Halic Shipyard Conservation

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Abstract

In the process of globalization, building on the particular spatial scenery of the waterfront, cities tend to refresh their strategies of development to adapt new trends of urban life with huge urban waterfront regeneration projects. These usually focus on a target of maximum marketing and construction of a new image-vision, which aims to represent the city in the global agenda. This aspect is depending on bigger changes in the urban context, the shift in government structures to entrepreneurial forms that involve externalization of state functions (Swyngedouw 2005; p. 1998). The rationale behind the phenomenon of waterfront regeneration and the global embracement of it is now "widely recognized if incompletely understood" (Hoyle 2001 pp. 297), as the relevant literature is based on case studies with focus on the examples of North American and European cities.

The goal is to contribute to the more general, theoretical contention of urban waterfront regeneration in developing countries in understanding their dimensions in terms of governance and planning. The research tackles urban waterfront regeneration in Istanbul, Turkey by studying the most recent initiative of urban waterfront regeneration along Halic /The Golden Horn, the Halic Shipyard Conservation Project.

The theoretical framework that underpins this study is derived from the discourse on new forms of urban governance including private, public and civic actors (Paquet 2001) that influence planning processes and project outcomes. To evaluate the planning process from a comprehensive governance perspective, indicators include: the legal framework, decision-making process, actors and their relations (Nuissl and Heinrichs 2010) and as normative the perspective of an inclusive planning approach (Healey 1997, 2006) helps to evaluate the planning process of the project. As urban waterfront regeneration literature is mostly based upon case study approaches, a critical overview of international examples is conducted. Both primary and secondary data is collected through: literature review, review of laws, review of official documents and land-use plans, an internship, 31 interviews, 91 questionnaires, participatory observation, a workshops, observation and photographs.

The aim is to assess to which extend the top-down governance forms, but also bottom-up grass root empowerment influence the planning process and project outcomes, giving

recommendations for an inclusive planning approach. The second aim is to evaluate the urban waterfront regeneration project studying its impact on the neighboring community. Bedrettin Neighborhood is chosen for analysis and its position in the planning process along with its needs are exposed. The thesis argues the modes in which along with clear targets for the improvement of the quality of life for the neighboring community, the urban waterfront regeneration project, Halic Shipyard Conservation Project, will be able to escape the current deadlocks and collisions between government, investors, resistance and local community and might have a chance to actually set an urgently needed precedent of a new planning culture in Istanbul.

Keywords

urban waterfront regeneration, governance, planning process, Istanbul

1. Introduction

The spread of neo-liberal political and economic ideology and the proliferation of global capital have created new opportunities and challenges for cities everywhere, especially in the so called "global cities". Over the last decades, many cities worldwide have promoted urban waterfront regeneration for a variety of reasons building on the particular scenery of these sites. The success of the first well known urban waterfront regeneration project, Baltimore Inner Harbor regeneration (1960), has served as a prototype for cities around the world with the desire to position themselves in the race to become Global Cities (Harvey 1989) by providing strategically located high-quality investment opportunities to attract global capital, or by constructing attractive spaces to promote tourism and leisure. Nowadays, almost every city at water's edge is engaged in regeneration projects with strong political impetuses and interest from various parties: authorities, developers and neighboring communities (Hoyle 2001). These developments have been critically examined by many scholars, many of which share the belief that urban waterfront regeneration is often not addressing the underlying, deep-rooted problems of the cities and furthermore, ignoring the socially and economically unstable landscapes in which they often occur, veritably contributing to the escalation of inequality, polarization and deprivation in the city (Harvey 1989; 2005; Brownill 1990; Gordon 1997b; Hoyle 2000; Saarinen and Kumpulainen 2005; Butler 2007; Healey 1997; Gordon 1997a, 1997b; Feldman 1999; Fainstein 2001; Granath 2005; Butler 2007).

It is generally assumed that globalization leads to the same type of transformations and urban development trends everywhere in the world. However, it cannot create a certain prototype for spatial development or a new spatial order for cities. Rather, it gives a variety of spatial patterns, also called "global urban forms". This standardization (or 'nothingization', as Ritzer calls it) takes place in many aspects of urban life of global cities everywhere and destroys what is there most alive, the identity and socio-economical constructions of the place. Furthermore, what Relph (1976) and Augé (1995) advice within the popular terminologies of non-places and settings of placelessness is about the construction of spaces which are produced and have their identity extremely embedded in the market dynamics.

Places on where the lack of authenticity with community non-involvement in the construction of the setting has become a normal issue.

The article is studying urban waterfront regeneration as a complex urban intervention, specifically its special governance, resistance and impacts on the neighboring tissue, which could be considered a prism through which broader societal transformation processes and related planning challenges can be understood. The case brought forward is the recent urban waterfront regeneration along Halic/ The Golden Horn, in Istanbul, Turkey.

2. Urban waterfront regeneration in Istanbul: Halic/ The Golden Horn

2.1. Context of planning and institutional framework

Since the 1980s in Turkey's milieu, national policy intended to make Istanbul the focal point of a neo-liberal strategy approach to integrate the Turkish economy with global markets. This was visible also in the accelerating transformation of urban space, making it the showcase of the country's new era of internationalism (Enlil 2011; Uzun 2010, Çınar, C et al, 2006; İnalÇekiç and Gezici, 2005; Keyder, 2005; Karadag, 2010).

Under this context, during the last thirty-five years, investments have been located within the city in order to change the local landscape pushing it towards the global city image. Therefore, the city has been expanding with multiple mega-projects and naturally, a strong representative symbol of the global, emerged: *waterfront regenerations* in the valuable "soft" space of inner city usually modifying natural coast profiles.

These territorial changes have been not only modifying natural structures, they have generated such a special urban form by the transformation or even replacement of the original communities and their identities. Behind the consolidation of new waterfronts, local populations are experiencing struggles and contradictory emigrational patterns in the inner city; dynamics that have been usually explained by secondary data, statics and within many articles uniquely pointing on the production of *geçekondus*. However, it is still not evaluated what happened in those spaces where is a coexistence of new migrants moving to the developments and local populations that are being affected by market dynamics.

In order to understand the planning processes of the regeneration of Halic's waterfront, a reflection is done upon the peculiarities of Istanbul's urban regeneration policies and the institutional framework at city and national level that have facilitated it. Urban regeneration is steered as a tool for development within a special legal framework (Law of Conservation-Law No. 2863) and while the purpose of the projects seem to be in the name of upgrading the built environment and improving the living conditions of the poor, the top-down approach, reduce the projects to just transformation of physical space and neglecting the social, economic and environmental dimensions, which along with the unwillingness of government to allow grassroots participation in the planning process become the focus of discontent and protest.

2.2. Halic/ The Golden Horn: a fragmentized waterfront

Halic, a 7,5 km bay of the Bosphorus strait and the cradle of settlement since the birth of the city, is heavily industrialized and contaminated in the 1970s and since then experiences a long process of transformation along its waterfront.

In line with popular North- Western examples of urban waterfront regeneration at that time, this process is triggered by Mayor Dalan in 1983, who famously stated his mission:

„The water of the Halic will be as blue as my eyes” (Radikal Newspaper).

The project is sponsored by World Bank and the industrial waterfront is transformed into a huge vacant land which becomes large green park areas (Enlil 2011). Behind the environmental concerns, there was also an economic motivation to bring Istanbul between the competitive global cities with a vision of a "Cultural Valley". The following forced de-industrialization process of the 1980s is impressive and did indeed improve Halic from an environmental perspective, but the clearing process was pursued with a heavy-handed, top-down governmental approach to planning and the legacy of mayor Dalan is contested among academia, civil society, non-governmental organization and experts in planning: The project created an approximately 50m wide strip of vacant land— a great opportunity in terms of offering open green spaces for the city- but destroyed 100 Ottoman-era buildings and an additional 30,000 structures, displaced neighbourhoods within 50-100 m along the shoreline (Köksal 1996, 2005; Yerliyurt 2008; Bezmez 2008) and most importantly brought mass unemployment and poverty in the backstage neighbourhoods populated by former dock and shipyard workers (Köksal 2005; Bezmez 2008; Yeliyurt 2008; Enlil 2011).

The following initiatives to regenerate Halic's waterfront showed no intention of resolving the social and economic burning issues of the neighbouring communities. Within the same top-down planning approach, as in the 80's clearance intervention, urban waterfront regeneration projects are ad-hoc initiative of different bodies of the government depending on ownership and planning rights over the land. Therefore, within privileged legal means facilitated by different governmental bodies and by a national policy on urban regeneration, developments for middle-high income citizens are created:

"With empty convention centres in the middle of poor neighbourhoods, a few art galleries right beside demolished historic buildings, and newly built museums next to squatter housing". (Bezmez 2008 pp. 817).

Although the attempts to transform Halic with the vision of a "Cultural Valley Project" are not different from other urban waterfront regeneration projects around the world, in terms of process, they can't be explained through just one clear framework of public-private partnerships, intense processes of urban entrepreneurialism or gentrification as other classical North-Western examples. As a response to this regime of urban regeneration (Dincer 2011a; Dincer 2011b) urban social movements are formalized in Neighbourhood Associations or non-governmental organization taking an active role in the planning process. (Kerimoglu and Gezici 2010; Dincer- 2011b;Bezmez 2008)

2.3. Decision making process

Social justice has the dimension of a process rather than an outcome and therefore the planning process is of a particular importance to portray “governance of place” (Healey 2003). "The extent to which opportunities for participation are picked up in reality is an important indicator of balancing interests, even though is primarily the privileged, most articulate and directly concerned elements of society that attempt to participate in public decision-making processes ". (Heinrich and Nuisl 2011)

This sub-chapter is an overview on the decision-making process for the urban waterfront regeneration of Halic Shipyards (Tersane-i Amire Arsenal), the latest urban waterfront regeneration development along Halic.: a first attempt in regenerating Halic Shipyards is presented, followed by the current state, two urban waterfront regeneration projects in on-going process of transformation. These urban waterfront regeneration projects are: Halic Shipyard Conservation Project (Haliç Tersanesi Rölöve, Restitüsyon, Restorasyon, Yeni Kullanım ve Peyzaj Projesi) in the area of Halic shipyard and Halic Port Project (Halic Yat Limani Projesi) in the area of Camialti and Taskizak shipyards.

The first attempt to officially create a plan to regenerate the area of Halic, Camialti and Taskizak shipyards is in 2011, when all three shipyards come under the authority of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IMM). The final goal is to create a comprehensive urban regeneration project and reconnect Beyoglu district with its waterfront along the Halic.

Being declared as a Conservation Area, the development is managed by the Department of Historic Environment Protection (DHEP, in Turkish Tarihi Çevre Koruma Mudurlugu is the representative body of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality in the areas declared for conservation. It is empowered by the Decision No. 313 in 04/06/1999 and has a management role within the project, making sure that the project it is accomplished in line with the requirements of the Law of Conservation), which focuses on the restoration of the historical buildings on the site and change of the current functions in new ones according to the needs of the citizens. DHEP designates through a bid the task of making and designing the plans to Istanbul Metropolitan Planning (IMP- Bimtas S.A., is a semi-private company and also a research centre for Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. It has long lasting collaborations with academia, neighbourhood associations and wide experience in planning in Istanbul, it is the company that made the last Master plan of Istanbul 2009 and many other important development projects).

In line with the requirements of the Law of Conservation, the Conservation Board No. II is added to the decision-making process. This Board is linked directly and represents the interest of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, has great power on the project's outcomes, evaluating the plans and being able to cancel them.

The plans done for a preliminary project (in Turkish "avan proje") start on January 2011 and finish in June 2011, but without any request for participation from the citizens side and no reflection on the surrounding neighbourhoods. The proposed functions for the area are: cultural, recreational, social services and commerce functions and are approved by the Conservation Board No. II in July 2012. The next step in planning process after the preliminary project, according to Main Law of Construction (Law No.3194), is the implementation project (in Turkish: “uygulama projesi”) which did not continue with all

three shipyards. Here a shift in the governance forms of the project changes the planning process along with rising concern on the project's future outcomes: just one of the shipyards went further to the implementation phase under the name of Halic Shipyard Conservation Project, when the area of the other two shipyards is being privatized. Holding the ownership of the land of Camialti and Taskizak shipyards, the Ministry of Transport Maritime Affairs and Communications (MTMAC) decides to withdraw the project from the authority of IMM.

In 2013, a new urban waterfront regeneration project is declared for privatization and classified by the Prime-minister Tayyip Erdoğan as: "*miraculous project*" ("*muhteşem proje*") which appears with the name: Halic Port Project. The urban waterfront regeneration project is initiated by the MTMAC, under the Law of Privatization, known as Built Operate and Transfer (Yap Islet Devret- Law. No. 3996) and is approved by Higher Council of Privatization (HCP); this also being possible because, according to the Law of Privatization, since 1994, the authority to make and approve plans concerning estates included in the privatization program was transferred from local authorities to the HCP.

The area is given to auction and is announced in the Official Paper (Resmi Gazete, page 28646) on 13 May 2013. The tender is taken on 2 July 2013 by "Sembol International Investment", "Ekopark Tourism" and "Fine Otelcilik Girişim Group" (Sembol Uluslararası Yatırım-Ekopark Turizm-Fine Otelcilik Girişim Grubu) for 49 years: 4 years for building and 45 years for usage. The requirements of the project are given beforehand to the investors, being decided by the MTMAC and approved by the HPC. These are: "*two yacht ports, two five stars' hotels, small shops, offices, museums, culture and a congress center*". Taking into account these foreseen outcomes of the project, it can be argued that this development is not designed for the interest of all citizens of Istanbul or the neighbouring community, but rather for tourists and high-middle income class. The promised outcomes of the project are presented in the media through the political discourse as the only information channel for citizens and therefore raised a big wave of criticism from academia and other expert's side, questioning the way decision is being taken.

Therefore, the planning process is lacking transparency and the Privatization Law gives central government power to privatize public land without any consideration of the civil society. Also local municipality has been taken out from the planning process and also the 1/1.000 plans that should be done for the Camialti and Taskizak shipyards are developed by the private investor, this raising questions concerning the conservation of the shipyards.: The only actor from the government side having decision power over the outcomes of this project remains the Conservation Board No.II.

In contrast, the area of Halic shipyard is developed further by IMM within the Halic Shipyard Conservation Project. Major actors in the planning process here are: IMM, the initiator of the project, owner of the land and also the provider of the finance in realizing it; the DHEP managing the project, having mainly the responsibility to assure the conservation and restoration of the historical monuments in the area; the Conservation Board No. II, representative of Ministry of Culture and Tourism, having also the main responsibility to assure the conservation and restoration of the monuments; IMP in charge of the plans and design of the project and also IDO (Sehir Hatlari) - a private company of public transport on water, having currently the tender over the area of Halic shipyard.

In the interviews with representatives from the planning department of IMP, the team planning Halic Shipyard Conservation Project, it is revealed that the outcomes of the project

will take into consideration the previous suggestions and that the project will respect the 1/1000 Plans of Beyoglu in terms of conservation of the shipyards, along with the recommendations of implementing cultural and recreational activities. Moreover, creation of green spaces is emphasized, the vision being to open the waterfront for the broad public, the citizens of Istanbul. Proposed strategies concerning the development are: *"conservation of the buildings, enhancing the transportation in the area, introduction of recreational and exposition areas, bringing the city to the waterfront, protection of green spaces and ensure the participation of the local people of the area."*

However, the project contains no analysis of impact assessment such as: environmental, economic or social, this showing the physical focus of urban waterfront regeneration in planning, putting in doubt the success and purpose of this project. There is also no information provided for the broader public about the project or the request for any collaboration from the citizen's side. The chance to challenge decision making is possible at the end of the project. As all projects made by municipality, also this one is presented to the community at the end of the planning process, plans are hanged in the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality building and within 30 days the interested parties have the right to contest the project through court. This leads to questioning the outcomes of the project because of this type of non-transparent planning process that leaves no input from the citizen's perspective.

Therefore, as seen and criticized in other examples of projects along the Halic, the project could also potentially enhance existing socio-economic problems, a matter that will be presented in the following part of the article, by analysing the neighbouring community in rapport to the project.

Looking at the current state of the transformation of the three shipyards, there are two urban waterfront regeneration projects with different governance forms. The area of Camialti and Taskizak shipyards is under the authority of a private investor and it can be argued if the project will benefit the broader public of Istanbul. The area of Halic shipyard remained under the authority of the government, but the planning process is un-transparent and the project is not shared or questioned within the interested public. In an attempt to compare the projects from the perspective of the information available, paradoxically, the Halic Port Project is much more known by the public than the project made by the municipality because of the exposure in the media. However, there is a major gap of good quality information for citizens regarding both projects.

This was reflected in the questioners conducted with the neighbouring community, academia, planners from Istanbul Metropolitan Planning and citizens participating to forums organized by the representatives of the resistance to the regeneration of the shipyards. An urban social movement appeared on 23 August 2013 under the name of Halic Resistance (Halic Dayansimasi). Other opposing parties are: Bedrettin Neighbourhood Association, Chamber of Architects, Chamber of Urban Planners, Assembly of Architects and Engineers, Chamber of Shipbuilding Engineers, Academia and other urban social movements.

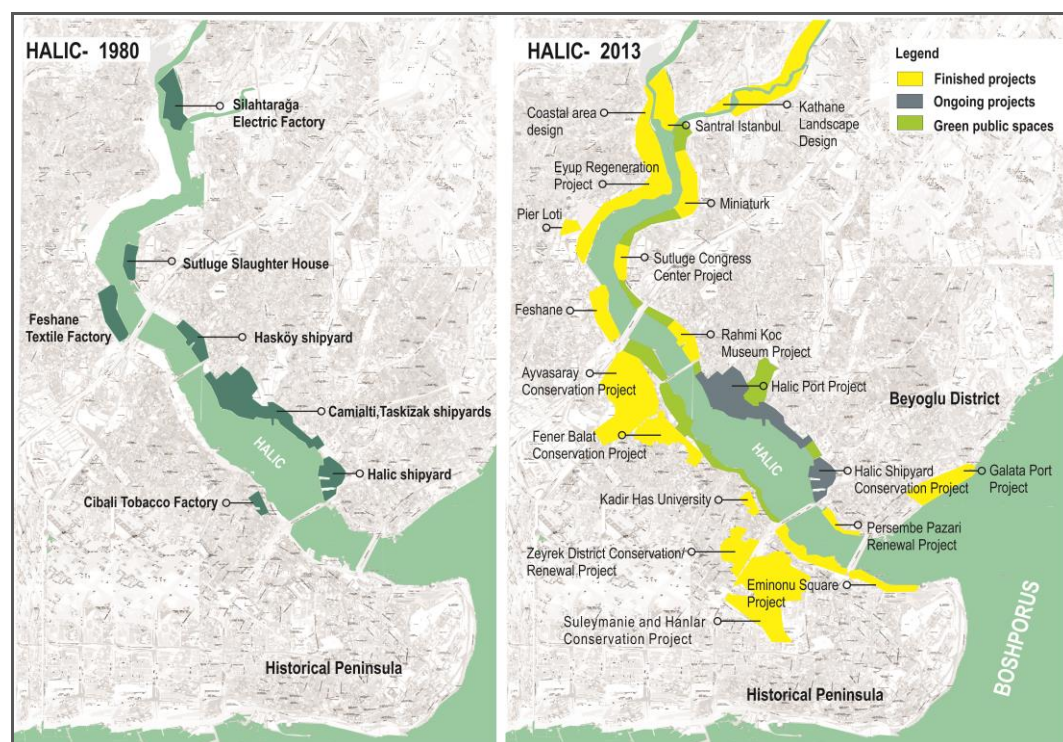


Figure 1 Change of Halic's waterfront from 1980s until 2013

Source author

2.4. Governance dynamics

With the new more entrepreneurial forms of governance, also new arrangements articulating state - civil society relationship come forward (Swyngedow 2005). In urban waterfront regeneration, urban social movements formalized as community groups or non-governmental organizations, coming often from the neighbouring communities and other interested or affected parties become a source of ideas and influence the pace and pattern of development. They encourage, restrain, warn and provide qualitative overviews. (Krause 1995; Cau 1996).

These new actors engaged in opposition, observed and identified within the period of this research, are social movements representing partly defined groups of civil society, chambers of experts in field of planning and community organizations: Halic Resistance, Academia, Bedrettin Neighbourhood Association, Chamber of Architects, Chamber of Urban Planners, Chambers of Mechanical Engineers, The Lawyers Association, Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects, Neighbourhood Associations and also political parties, such as CHP. However, three main groups of actors in this opposition are chosen to present their interests and roles as they have been most active since the beginning of the planning process: Chamber of Architects, Bedrettin Neighbourhood Associations and the platform where all and others meet, the social movement- Halic Resistance.

Chamber of Architects is the first actor which opposed to the regeneration of the shipyards and gave support to others that came along during the planning process. According to the 6235 Act of Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects, the Chamber has the right to sue development projects which are not benefiting the rights of the society. The main reason to be against this regeneration, from their perspective, is that it will create displacement in the neighbouring community, the shipyards will not be conserved and moreover the project will not benefit the needs of the citizens. Although the Chamber of Architects is practicing advocacy planning, it is still a centralized institution that evaluates projects from its expert perspective and has a focus on the concern of conservation of heritage, the monuments existing on the site of the shipyards. The Chamber is also stigmatized as being against all development projects and not seeking solutions, being in conflict with the government, outcome of many law suits against this type of projects. It's the discourse tended to focus towards the cancelation of the projects, but not militating for inclusion, transparency and information, outcome of the mistrust towards " *the neo-liberal agenda of the government and all the mega-projects triggered by it.*"

So non-governmental organizations funded in 2005 in order to fight with legal means against urban regeneration project for the community of Bedrettin Neighbourhood, is Bedrettin Neighbourhood Association. As Mr. Cem Tuzun, the representative of Beyoglu Neighbourhood Associations, explains:

"to defend the rights of the citizens against a neoliberal agenda of the government" ; "to keep surviving in our neighbourhoods". The aim is to fight in court against any regeneration project that could put in danger of displacement the community. *"We want to defend the place where we live, the place where we worked so much for. We took our water from the polluted Halic and we survived Dalan's demolitions. We don't want to go from here and we will fight against this neoliberal agenda."* says Suleyman Songur, representative of Bedrettin Neighbourhood.

Halic Resistance urban social movement is the platform where all interested parties meet and militate against the regeneration of the shipyards. This social movement militates for: *the importance of the shipyards from the conservation point of view* and also its *production potential*. Moreover, it is against the *"clear neo-liberal transformation of the shipyards"*. One of the initiators of the movement, Dr. Arh. Gul Koksall calls these urban regeneration projects as: *"the hegemony of the government"*. As a core, a board was created from representatives of: academia, Chamber of Architects, Chambers of Mechanical Engineers, Bedrettin Neighbourhood Association and former workers at the shipyards. Decisions are taken during meetings or in innovative ways through social media and mail groups. On 19.11.2013 a petition to Conservation Board regarding the clearance of Taskizak and Camialti shipyards was given as a violation of the Law of Conservation. This event builds on the efficiency of the movement in monitoring the development of the shipyards, report any violation of the law and call responsible bodies to action. However, it also depends on the Chamber of Architects for its legal fight, being the institution with the right to sue the urban regeneration projects. In addition to the aforementioned, because of the informal means in which the resistance is reaching the information, false beliefs can be spread to wide public, fact revealed also in the interviews with the participants at the meeting of the movement. Also 45% of the participants come to the meetings not only to support the resistance, but also to inform themselves about the regeneration projects. Therefore, the need of

information is underlined regarding these projects and here is the point where this kind of movements gain popularity for being open to participation and sharing knowledge.

The new actors engaging in resistance have no power in decision making over the projects, but they have influence on the planning process due to their actions. The collaborative networks and their innovative ways of decision taking makes them strong actors that have to be taken into account. These collaborations can challenge or conceivably stop the project. Opposition can be seen as an opportunity in increasing democracy, challenging the projects by creating debate and trying to reach a broader public, being always in contact with the media. Still, their demands in the project cannot be taken as indicator for the needs of the all citizens of Istanbul, rather they can be used as an indicator to the need of change in the planning process towards more transparent and inclusive one and can be used to improve the project.

2.5. Relationships and positions of the actors

Relationships of the actors are "*crucial in understanding the direction of the planning processes*." (Nuissl and Heinrichs 2010). The relationships were established as outcome of the interviews conducted by the researcher and through participatory observation. When mapping the relationships, there are two clusters of actors that do not come together, this situation is reflected on the clash of interests and gap between civil society representatives and the government. One group represents the actors involved directly in the planning process and the other represents the strong opposition. The first ones have hierarchical vertical relationships by territorial responsibility of different governmental bodies and market based relationships by contractual agreements. The other group in opposition to the project is represented by collaborative and horizontal relationships of the non-governmental organizations, social movements and other civil society representatives.

Analysing the actors in opposition and the horizontal network-like relations, overlapping interconnections among them can be observed. The boundaries between these actors are hard to be defined as they cooperate and interconnect with each other rapidly, using innovative means of communication in exchanging of opinions and in deciding common action. When the main actors from opposition, and ones involved in the planning process are considered for their relationship, there is a long lasting conflict between them which resulted from the interviews conducted with representatives of both sides, this making also harder for the two groups to come together. It can be argued that even though the resistance is engaging with the community into a fight against the urban regeneration agenda of the government, undertaking an advocacy planning role, it is also creating a barrier between state and citizens. (Figure 2)

Legend

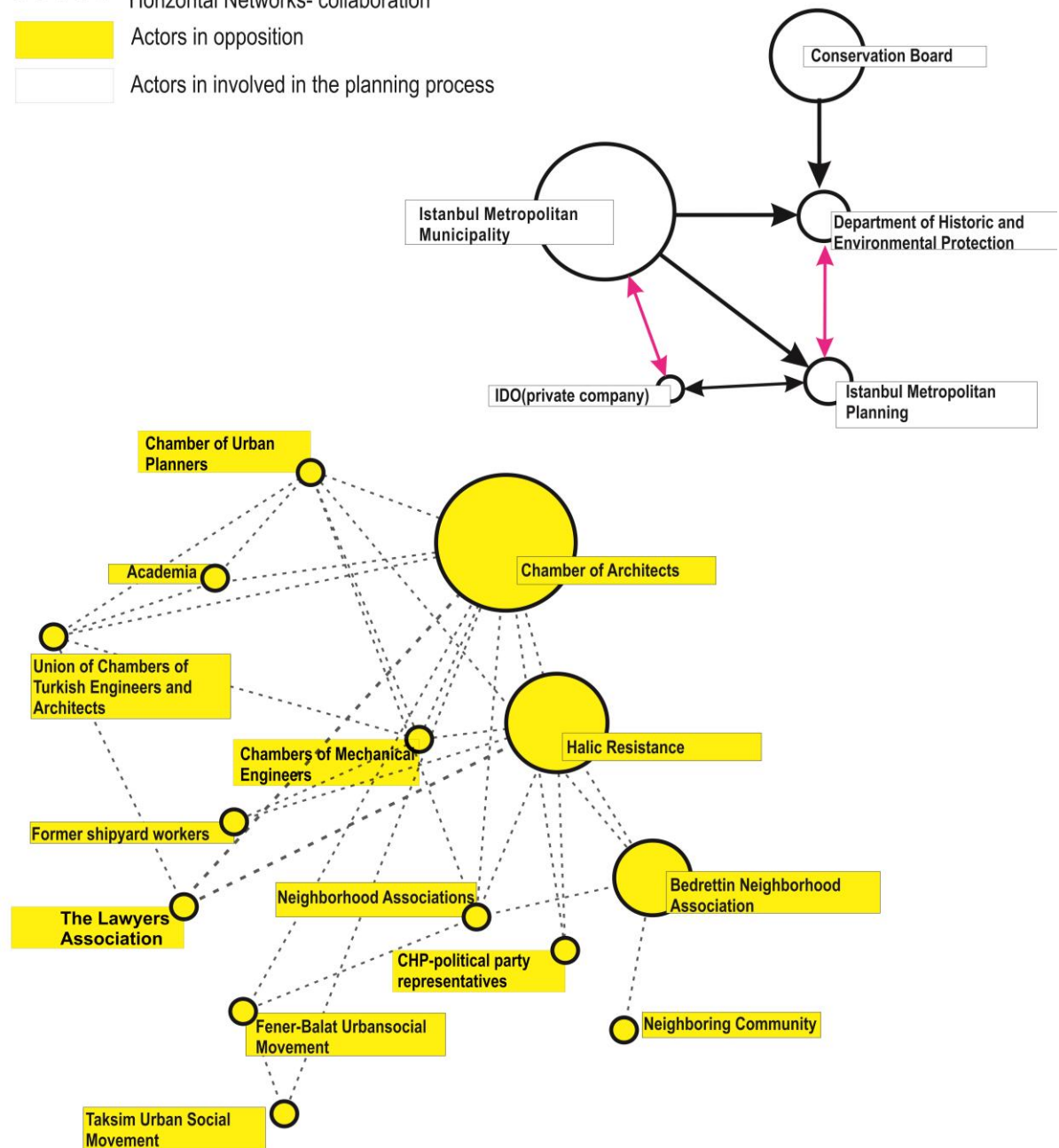
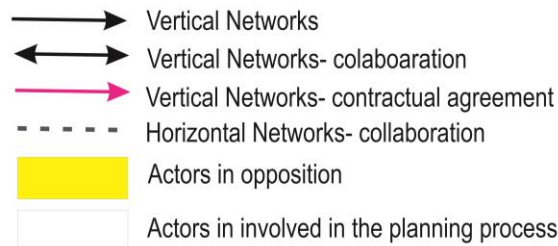


Figure 2 Relations among actors in Halic Shipyard Conservation Project;

Source author (adapted after computer mapping with graphcommons:
<http://graphcommons.com/graphs/1417>)

A stakeholder analysis has been developed as an outcome of the questionnaires and interviews realized with representative of the institutions involved in the planning process, but also with the representatives of the social movements, civil society, neighbouring community, non-governmental organizations, planning experts and academia- mostly all 91 total participants to the interviews and questionnaires in this research. The methodology was taken from the study: Governance and Multi stakeholder Processes by Nancy Vallejo and Pierre Hauselmann (2004)- a product of the Sustainable Commodity Initiative, a joint venture of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and IISD. The purpose was to find first the most interested and most powerful actors in the planning process. Then recommendations are given according to the methodology and the results from the questioners are represented in the matrix below. (Figure 3)

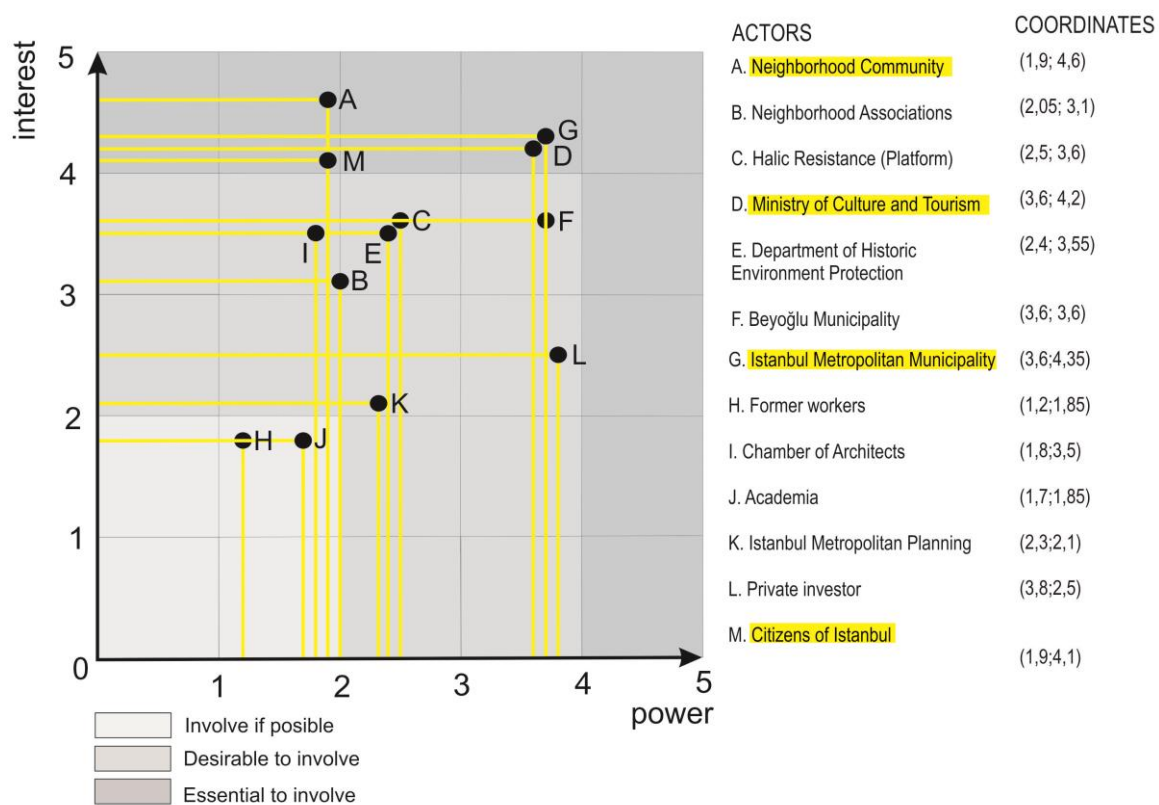


Figure 3 Stakeholder analysis made with the help of civil society

Source author

Methodology:

The last part of the questionnaires conducted had the purpose to identify the interest and power of certain actors involved or opposing the studied project. This exercise provides the researcher with the perception of who should be included in the planning process by placing the actors according to their *power*- ability to influence the project or *interest*- the influence of the project on the actor.

This method was taken from the study: Governance and Multi stakeholder Processes by Nancy Vallejo and Pierre Hauselmann (2004)- a product of the Sustainable Commodity Initiative, a joint venture of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development and IISD. In the matrix below are recommendations according to the methodology. (Fig. No. 03)

The participants were requested to rate the actors in terms of their power and their interest with marks from "1 to 5". Grading systems from "1 to 5" were chosen, because they are also used in schools in Turkey, making the task of filing of the questioner easier. Power was defined as: actors having the power over decision-making and decision-taking over the project, planning process and outcomes, influence on the project through financial means or having particular knowledge about it. Interest was defined as: actors that are affected by the project outcomes or that have a gain in the project

The actors identified were: Neighbouring community, Neighbourhood Association (Bedrettin Neighbourhood Association), Halic Resistance, Ministry, Department of Historic Environment Protection, Beyoglu Municipality, Private sector, former workers at shipyards, Chamber of Architects, Conservation Board, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Istanbul Metropolitan Planning, Citizens of Istanbul and academia. Also a section for 'other' was left out for the participants to be completed with other actors interested, affected or involved by the project.

The total number of respondents was 81 and they were divided in six representative groups: the government, non-governmental organizations, academia, private sector, urban social movements and the community. A simple mathematical formula was used for calculating the final results, the same share was given to each of the 6 groups.

The answers for every 13 actors were calculated separately, having also two variables -- power and interest:

[0,x; 0,y] in order to place them on a matrix with the axes: x0y.

The formula for every answer was:

$$[(1+2+3+....+n) / n] * 6 = x$$

1,2,3,.....n = the response of one respondent regarding one actor

n= number of the respondents

$(1+2+3+....+n) / n$ = the final grading of a certain group (government, NGOs, academia, private sector, urban social movements and community)

x= the final grade for interest

The same procedure is in the case of power:

$$[(1+2+3+\dots+n) / n] * 6 = y$$

1,2,3,...,n = the response of one respondent regarding one actor

n = number of the respondents

$(1+2+3+\dots+n) / n$ = the final grading of a certain group (government, NGOs, academia, private sector, urban social movements and community)

y = the final grade for power

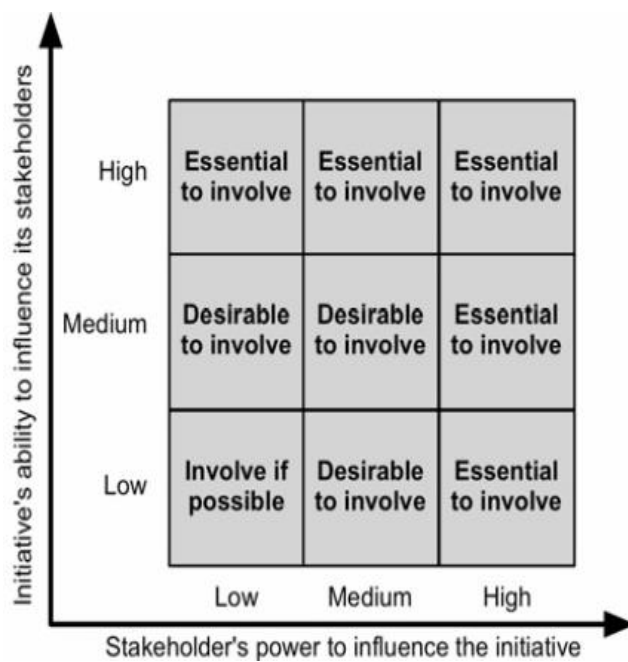


Figure 4 Directions to involve actors in Stakeholder Analysis by power and interest

Source: Governance and Multi stakeholder Processes by Nancy Vallejo and Pierre Hauselmann (2004) pp.4

3. Conclusions

3.1. Evaluating the planning process

Halic Shipyard Conservation project is initiated and subsidized by IMM, but the central government has regulatory power over the project outcomes, due to the special national laws designated for urban regeneration. Private sector is added to the decision-making process by IMM, but local government, Beyoglu Municipality, the district in which the project is done, is missing from the planning process. Although the project is made for the public interest, it was found that there is no consideration of giving information or chance for participation to the most interested parties: the neighbouring communities or the citizens of Istanbul. Looking at the decision-making process, the first attempt to officially create a plan for regenerating the area of Halic shipyard was together with Camialti and Taskizak shipyards, but as a result of the deficiencies in legal framework giving total rights to owners of land and central government, the latter ones were privatized.

The lack of information and broadly-based rights of influence are manifested by this opposition that is part of a broader fight against the "neo-liberal agenda of the government". The neighbouring community's need of information and the lack of trust towards projects initiated by the government brings it closer to the actors in resistance. The collaborative networks and their innovative ways of decision taking can challenge and even conceivably hazard the project.

The planning process of this particular urban waterfront regeneration was found therefore as not inclusive, not transparent and not giving opportunity to challenge decision-making in the planning process. Therefore, it can be argued that what could be a good project creating public space and reconnecting the urban tissue of Beyoglu district with its waterfront, will fail to reach its true potential in benefiting the neighbouring community and also the broad public of Istanbul. This due to its exclusive governance, the top down approach to planning and the legal framework given by the national policy on urban regeneration.

At the first glance, urban waterfront regeneration in the context of Istanbul reveals the same features of the popular contested cases of North and Western examples. The privileged governance structures identified in the literature review of urban waterfront regeneration projects aiming economical gain over the conception of a new city image and planning focusing on mostly physical transformation, ignoring the social problems of the neighbouring sites and not taking the opportunity to resolve them can be seen also in the case study.

However, the form in which these outcomes reveal themselves, are different. Much of the literature on urban waterfront regeneration warns about the entrepreneurial governance forms, the private-public partnerships and the active role of private sector in the development of the projects, which lead to displacement of the communities, gentrification and other negative impacts. In the context of Istanbul, the leading factors are an entrepreneurial government and also a national policy on urban regeneration designated by the central government. In contrast with other urban waterfront regeneration projects around the world, which reveal citizens struggle with displacement, job opportunities, social housing opportunities and public space at waterfront as reasons for opposition, the case study presents also other encompassing motivations. The strong and constantly growing opposition is also part of a leading strategy of the citizens of Istanbul to get back the rights to the city. This is owed to long term accumulation of tensions facing the current urban

planning practices in Istanbul, Turkey. The resistance, therefore, is not outcome of the particular regeneration of Halic shipyard or the privatization of the other two shipyards, Camialti and Taskizak shipyards (part of Halic Shipyards- Tersane-i Amire Arsenal), but rather of a bigger picture of urban regeneration projects done in Istanbul.

Hence, there is a waterfront regeneration project made for public interest, but the rights of the future users of the space, of the neighbouring community and mostly of the citizens of Istanbul are in this way lost behind a neo-liberal agenda of the central and local government, un-transparent planning processes and the fight of the strong opposition parties gaining ground of governance landscape.

3.2 Recommendations

In term of urban waterfront regeneration there is a clear need for success not only by those at the top. Levine suggests equity in planning and democratized redevelopment agenda process that target residents in greatest need and policies that better link this regeneration to neighbourhood's economic needs. (Levine 1987b) Unfortunately there is no necessary linkage between economic growth and social equity.

One may argue that only through a change towards a more inclusive planning approach, along with clear targets for the improvement of the quality of life for the neighbouring community, the studied urban waterfront regeneration projects will be able to escape the current deadlocks and collisions between government, investors, resistance and local community and might have a chance to actually set an urgently needed precedent of a new planning culture in Istanbul.

The top down-governance forms have to combine with the bottom-up governance forms in order to achieve a physically and socially successful development. The citizens of Istanbul must be informed and included in the decision-making process in the planning process. The Municipality of Beyoglu has to be incorporated into the planning process, defining the link with the citizens from the district in which the project is done.

Taking into account the importance of the area by its location and accessibility, but also its cultural and historical value at local, national and international level there is a need in having a broader voice of influence and expertise into decision-making from various planning experts and academia. The management bodies in urban waterfront regeneration were found of great importance, scholars designating them as the reason for success of these interventions. The narrow approach to urban regeneration focusing on physical transformation given by the national policy, verified by Conservation Boar No.II and managed by the DHEP has to be enlarged and has to take into consideration more factors through impact assessment studies of social and environmental aspects.

Lastly, the project has to include the neighbouring community in the planning process and its needs considered. By including the community in the planning process, the project can also resolve old social and economic problems left heritage since the forced deindustrialization of the area, thus, creating more heterogeneous environments in the city. The project can help to improve the quality of life for the neighbouring community with creation of: public green spaces, culture and education facilities, health facilities and also playgrounds for children.

Also job creation is proposed, but this only by keeping production going at the shipyard. It has been proved in other waterfront regeneration projects around the world that the jobs from cultural, tourism and other retail activities were absorbed by middle income population. All these points can be achieved only by involving directly the community in the planning process and in the implementation phase. It was found that the neighbouring community is open to communication, and is willing to give input that will enrich the projects outcomes and therefore it can be engaged into participatory planning methods in the further planning process.

Considering the bigger picture of urban regeneration; will the citizenship struggle of Istanbulites will overcome and change the current approach to planning of an entrepreneurial government and the market forces is a question that we should pursue. However, what we are facing in the case of Istanbul can be resolved just by democratic mechanisms within the planning process, by understanding the territory as political and social construction. We have to focus on change and how to make it happen because as one of the respondents explained, we want to “keep *surviving in our neighbourhoods*”.

Under current conditions, urban waterfront regeneration in the context of Istanbul presents a different picture from a number of similar interventions of this type studied in the existing literature. In order to come with a comprehensive theoretical framework that explains present-day urban waterfront regeneration and how these kinds of mega-projects shape urban spaces, it necessitates the analysis of different localities in distinct geographical settings.

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