

RESIDENTS' VIEW OF THE OPPORTUNITIES AND THREATS PROVIDED
BY MILITARY SITES AND THE POSSIBLE TRANSFORMATION OF THESE
AREAS: THE CASE OF MAMAK (ANKARA) MILITARY HEADQUARTERS

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(ANKARA) MILITARY HEADQUATERS**

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ABSTRACT

RESIDENTS' VIEW OF THE OPPORTUNITIES AND THREATS PROVIDED BY MILITARY SITES AND THE POSSIBLE TRANSFORMATION OF THESE AREAS: THE CASE OF MAMAK (ANKARA) MILITARY HEADQUARTERS

Ural, Ece

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The redevelopment of military sites increasingly becomes a popular planning problem in Turkey. Especially since the 2000s, attempts to transformation of military sites have been motivated largely by the authorities in Turkey because of a number of reasons, including security and political.

The problem being addressed in this study is related to the complexity of defining the future use of military sites. In addition to political and economic factors, there are a variety of human factors that needs to be considered in the process of defining the future of these sites. As any decision regarding the closure and future use of these sites will eventually affect the communities that host military sites, it becomes necessary to understand communities' needs, interests and their views in the redevelopment process. From this perspective, this thesis aims to propose a framework for understanding how to redevelop military sites and discuss how such areas can be transformed within the context of communities' perspectives, public interest and individual characteristics of each site by focusing on Mamak 4th Corps Command military site which is situated on one of the main growth corridors of Ankara. Data is obtained through survey conducted in neighborhoods around the military site.

Findings showed that the residents seem very cautious about the transformation of the chosen military site. If this area is to be transformed into different uses, the residents expect to see public open spaces such as green areas and sports and recreational facilities which they rarely encounter in their neighborhoods.

Keywords: Military Site, Military Site Closure, Military Site Transformation

ÖZ

ASKERİ ALANLARIN YARATTIĞI FIRSAT VE TEHDİTLERE VE BU ALANLARIN OLASI DÖNÜŞÜMLERİNE YÖNELİK TOPLUMUN BAKIŞ AÇISI: MAMAK (ANKARA) 4. KOLORDU KOMUTANLIĞI ÖRNEĞİ

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Askeri alanların şehir merkezlerinden taşınması ve bu alanların yeniden işlevlendirilmesi Türkiye’de önemi giderek artan bir planlama sorunu haline dönüşmüştür. Özellikle 2000’li yıllardan bu yana, askeri yapıların ve alanların dönüşümüne yönelik girişimler, güvenlik ve siyaset dahil olmak üzere bir dizi nedenden dolayı Türkiye’deki yetkili makamlar tarafından büyük ölçüde gerekli görülmüş ve desteklenmiştir.

Bu çalışmada ele alınan temel sorun askeri alanların taşınması ve bu alanlara verilecek yeni işlevlerin belirlenme sürecinin karmaşıklığıdır. Bu süreçte politik ve ekonomik faktörlere ek olarak göz önünde bulundurulması gereken çeşitli insan faktörleri vardır. Bu alanların şehir dışına taşınması ve yeni işlevleriyle ilgili alınan herhangi bir karar nihayetinde en çok askeri alanların bulunduğu bölgelerdeki yerel halkı etkileyeceğinden bu toplulukların ihtiyaçlarını, alanların dönüşümden beklentilerini analiz etmek ve dönüşüm sürecindeki görüşlerini almak gereklidir. Bu açıdan tez, Ankara’nın ana gelişim koridorlarından birinde konumlanmış olan Mamak 4. Kolordu Komutanlığı askeri alanına odaklanarak, Türkiye’deki askeri alanların dönüşümüyle ilgili genel bir çerçeve sunmayı ve bu alanların toplumun bakış açısı, kamu yararı ve alanların kendine özgü nitelikleri dikkate alınarak hangi kullanımlara

dönüştürülebileceğini tartışmayı amaçlamaktadır. Çalışmada elde edilen veriler Mamak 4. Kolordu Komutanlığı askeri alanı çevresindeki mahallelerde yapılan anketlere dayanmaktadır. Çalışmanın sonuçları, bölge sakinlerinin seçilen askeri alanın dönüşümüne kaygıyla yaklaştıklarını ve askeri alan dönüştüğü takdirde bu alanda yeşil alanlar, spor ve rekreasyon alanları gibi mahallelerinde daha az gördükleri kamusal açık alanları görmeyi beklediklerini göstermektedir

Anahtar Kelimeler: Askeri Alanların Kapatılması, Askeri Alanların Dönüşümü, Askeri alanlar

To My Family

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS

AID	Abdali Investment and Development
JDP	Justice and Development Party / AK Parti
ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
CABERNET	Concerted Action on Brownfields and Economic Regeneration Network
CHP	Combined Heat and Power
CMB	Capital Markets Board of Turkey
DGSP	Directorate General of Spatial Planning / Mekansal Planlama Genel Müdürlüğü
EU	European Union
GACDP	Greater Amman Comprehensive Development Plan
GDNP	General Directorate of National Property / Milli Emlak Genel Müdürlüğü
GNI	Gross National Income
ICMA	International City/County Management Association
KIPCO	Kuwait Projects Company
MAWARED	National Resources Investment & Development Corporation
MoND	Republic of Turkey Ministry of National Defense / Milli Savunma Bakanlığı
MoEU	Republic of Turkey Ministry of Environment and Urbanization / Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
PE	Person-Environment
PPP	Public-Private Partnership

ROP	Regional Operational Program
SUSI	Self-Organised Independent Settlement Initiative
HDA	Housing Development Administration of Turkey / Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı
UCLG	United Cities and Local Governments
UK	United Kingdom
UNIDIR	United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research
US	United States
USA	United States of America
WLA	World Landscape Architecture
WW	World War

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

This chapter is organized into four parts. The first part introduces the problem and context of the study. The second and third parts present the research questions and purpose of the thesis. The final part provides an overview of the chapters of the thesis.

1.1. Problem Context

Especially since the 2000s, the transformation of military sites has been considered necessary by the authorities in Turkey for a number of reasons, including security and political. After the military coup attempt of July 15, 2016, the relocation of military sites to the outskirts of cities was brought up on the top of the agenda of the government. Accordingly, the number of news articles about the future of military sites in the nation increased sharply. Some of the headlines in newspapers on the topic were as follows:

- “Eğitim Bir Sen (the Union of Educators) suggested that the military areas in the city should be transformed into a training campus” (Habertürk, November 2016).
- “Reconstruction permit is given to Military Sites in Tuzla, İstanbul” (Yeni Akit, July 2015).
- “Military lands are opened up for mass housing projects” (Hürriyet, July 2015).
- “10 percent of İstanbul’s surface area is made up of military sites” (Sözcü newspaper, August 2016)

The redevelopment of military sites increasingly becomes a popular planning problem in Turkey. Because of their size and undeveloped nature, such lands are seen as an opportunity for meeting the current needs of cities. According to the statement of the former Minister of Environment and Urbanization, Mehmet Özhasseki, Turkey is covered by 326 thousand 200 hectares of military areas (Hürriyet, 2016). A large share of these areas can be found in Ankara, the capital of Turkey. The total size of military areas in Ankara and its districts is 7 thousand hectares (Hürriyet, 2016).

Although most of the military areas in Ankara continue to fulfill their existing functions, especially since the coup attempt of July 2016, they have been under the risk of transformation. Like many other military sites across the country, Mamak, Akıncı and Etimesgut Armored Unit areas, which are located on the growth corridors of Ankara and covering about 26 million square meters area, are planned to be transformed into different usages (Chamber of Architects, Ankara Branch, 2016). The transformation of these military areas has been considered as an important decision for the city because:

- They cover huge areas;
- They are located in the urban core and main growth corridors of the city;
- They contain a significant amount of natural and semi-natural landscape;
- They consist of very important military and symbolic structures.

Besides such characteristics of the military sites, the ownership of these lands (military) makes the transformation of them more challenging and problematic.

The problem being addressed in this study is related to the complexity of defining the future use of military sites. In addition to political and economic factors, there are a variety of human factors that need to be considered in the process of defining future of these sites. Any redevelopment decision that entails the reuse of these areas would eventually positively or negatively affect the wellbeing of local residents. Based on their socio-demographics, needs and demands, individuals living near military sites

may have different views or aspirations regarding the redevelopment of these areas. However, little is known about how residents approach the problem of military site redevelopment and what their expectations from the regeneration of such landscapes are. Sustainable regeneration of these sites requires planners to understand residents' needs and interests, and incorporate ordinary people's views in development.

1.2 Research Questions

There is a growing amount of literature about the redevelopment of former military sites across the globe. "Sustainable Regeneration of Former Military Sites" (Bagaeen & Clark, 2016), *Military Conversion: The Balance Sheet* (Brzoska, 2016), "Reconceiving Military Base Redevelopment" (Ashley & Touchan, 2016), "Opportunistic conservation at former military sites in the United States" (Havlick, 2014) are just a few of them. These studies show that relocation and transformation of military sites have become compulsory in most of the countries because of different reasons, yet mostly because of the change of regime, fundamental political changes and budget cuts. Furthermore, they emphasize that the relocation and transformation of military sites is a global problem, but the topic remains poorly researched, especially in developing countries.

Redevelopment of the military sites is a debatable and up-to-date issue in Turkey. There are only a few scientific studies (i.e. Alp, 2016; Şahin, 2016) about military site redevelopment practices in the country. As in many other military sites in the nation, military areas in Ankara continue to fulfill their existing functions at present. Nevertheless, these areas are under the risk of transformation.

Because of the uncertainty about the redevelopment of the military sites in Ankara, the author poses the following main question: From the perspective of residents, how should the military sites in Ankara be used? More specifically, Should they be used as they are? Should they be re-used, and if yes, what should be their new function(s)?

To answer these questions, the author asks the following sub-questions: (1) How do the residents approach the issue of a possible transformation that targets military sites

in Ankara? Do the role of the level of education and property ownership status have any effect on the way residents approach the problem of military site redevelopment and their aspirations regarding the redevelopment of such places? (2) What do the existing urbanization dynamics of the city, global trends, existing land uses, legal documents (i.g., laws, regulations, policy documents) etc. tell us about the issue? And,(3) What are the characteristics of these sites? Lastly, (4) how does the process of military site redevelopment work in Turkey? Is public participation integrated into the military site redevelopment process of Turkey?

1.3 Purpose of the Thesis

The purpose of this study is to propose a framework for understanding how to redevelop military sites. The framework mentions the role of various factors (e.g., legislation, location, size, uses/functions, quality and condition of the buildings and infrastructure, and different needs of the cities and urban population) in redevelopment decisions. Additionally, by focusing on one of the military sites in Ankara, the thesis aims to discuss how such areas can be transformed in the context of residents' perspectives, public interest and individual characteristics of each site.

To the best of the author's knowledge, this is the first scientific study that deals with the issue of redevelopment of military sites in Turkey. Therefore, it is aimed that the results presented here will not only help guide policy makers and city planners in Turkey in promoting sustainable development, but also contribute to the accumulation of knowledge on the military site redevelopment processes.

1.4 Structure of the Thesis

In the second chapter, relevant theoretical approaches and practices are examined to provide insight into the actors of military sites redevelopment, as well as their perspectives and interests in the redevelopment process. Furthermore, the impacts of military site closures on local communities are discussed.

In the third chapter, the military site redevelopment practices in the world are examined in two different categories: redevelopment practices in “developing” and “developed” countries. Referring to the findings of the literature review in the previous chapter, four cases are analyzed and compared in order to put differences and similarities between the perception of developing and developed countries regarding the military site redevelopment.

In the fourth chapter, the Turkish urban political context and institutional framework are introduced to help planners and researchers better understand the regulations, policies and the main actors involved in the transformation of military sites in Turkey. Since Istanbul has been a pioneer in the redevelopment of military sites in Turkey, in order to provide a better understanding on the previous military site redevelopment practices in Turkey, the chapter concludes with the transformation stories of three military site redevelopment projects in Istanbul.

In the fifth chapter, the research design and research methods used in the data collection and analysis phases are explained in detail. This chapter also provides information about the location and features of the Mamak 4th Corps Command and the neighborhoods chosen for the field study.

In the sixth chapter, the results of the research are presented. This chapter is followed by a discussion of the study findings and the implications of these results for future research and planning in Chapter 7. |

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

This chapter aims to provide insight into the actors responsible for the redevelopment of military sites. It also discusses the theories behind users' assessment of their environments. The first part reviews the scientific literature and secondary sources (media, newspapers, brochures etc.) to establish scientific relevance for the problem statement. The second part focuses on the effects of the military sites closure on host communities, responsible institutions and other relevant actors.

2.1. LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1.1. Redevelopment of Brownfields: Definitions, Benefits and Barriers

The definition of brownfields varies from country to country. Concerted Action on Brownfields and Economic Regeneration Network (CABERNET) report (Ferber et al., 2006, p.12) defines these areas “as sites that have been affected by the former uses of the site and surrounding land; are abandoned and underused; may have real or perceived contamination problems; are mainly in developed urban areas; and require intervention to bring them back to beneficial use”. The common characteristics of brownfields are: “they are abandoned; often but not always contaminated; require reclamation/revitalization; relict of industry, construction, agriculture, military or other anthropogenic activities” (Siebielec, et al., 2012, p.3).

Many researchers highlight the benefits of redevelopment of brownfield sites which can take place on former military bases, factories and other commercial and industrial sites. Bagaeeen (2016, p. 339) states “many cities have now come to recognize the advantages that come from redeveloping brownfield sites rather than treating such areas as a problem” and highlights the contribution of redevelopment of former

military sites to local economies. Amin and Thrift (1995) emphasize the city-image enhancement and claim that cities adopt certain approaches to regeneration such as large-scale property-based initiatives to achieve image enhancement in order to gain competitive advantage in the global marketplace (Amin and Thrift, 1995, as cited in Bagaee, 2016). In addition to economic contributions of the brownfield regeneration, Hansen (2004) puts emphasis on the environmental benefits and states that these areas provide ready-made industrial parks, airports and universities without “additional habitat destruction”.

While sustainable redevelopment of these lands is quite necessary, many researchers point out the difficulties in redevelopment of military lands. It is defined as a complex process because of different actors, interests and unknown potential of these lands as well as the difficulty in clean-up of substantial quantities of materials relating to the former use of these lands. Hansen (2004, p. 14) states “environmental degradation is the most difficult barrier to successful military base redevelopment”. Bagaee (2006) highlights another challenge of military base redevelopment by considering the economic opportunities and interest of different groups. He (2006, p. 339) states “these areas should guarantee competitive advantages through revenue-generating activities that can transform these sites into reliable economic opportunities while looking after the interests of all the parties involved”.

2.1.2 Redevelopment of Military Sites

The literature on the redevelopment of military bases is limited especially concerning the process after the base closure. Previous works are done particularly by Bagaee (2006;2016) on sustainable regeneration and community involvement in former military sites; Ashley and Touchan (2016) on military base redevelopment in U.S. Bases; Hansen (2004) on environmental problems and pollution at former military sites; Clark (2009) on brownfields regeneration including military sites; Brzoska (1999) on military conversion; Woodward (2004;2014) on military geography and military landscapes; and Warf (1997) on geopolitics and geo-economics of military base closure.

Brzoska (1999, p. 131) defines a conversion as “a transformation of resource use from the military to the civilian sector” and states that it contains more than just arms industries and military expenditures and therefore, it is difficult to achieve. According to Warf (1997, p. 544), the term military bases comprises “a heterogeneous category of facilities, including airfields, shipyards, ordnance and storage depots, training and research centers, hospitals, laboratories, and so on; the type and size of such facilities heavily affect the politics and economic consequences pertaining to their closure”.

There are many reasons for military base closure. The first reason is cost saving, including reductions in military and civilian personnel salaries and maintenance expenditure. Warf (1997) states that defense departments are increasingly trying to find ways to close poorly functioning military bases to generate cost savings. According to Warf (1997), another reason of military base closure is that the diminishing strategic importance and military efficacy of many bases built in the Second World War as the range of strategic bombers increased and aircraft became increasingly less susceptible to fluctuations in weather. In a similar way, Bagaen and Clark (2016, p. 18) state that “wars still occur, but the new military necessity for rapid flexible response requires quite different physical resources from the massive fixed positions of the Cold War”. Bagaen and Clark (2016, p. xxii) also highlight that “all over the world, driven by recession, defense cuts or expansion in military spending, changes in military technology, geo-politics and finance ministries’ expectations of financial return, property dedicated to national defense is becoming redundant and is being disposed of and redeveloped”.

Criteria are defined in the US and most European countries to determine which military facilities to be closed. The US Commission’s criteria for identifying facilities to be closed down include, “in order of priority, requirements of military, physical condition of military installation, its ability to accommodate future growth, operating costs, potential savings from closure, and economic and environmental impacts upon surrounding communities” (Warf, 1997, p. 546). Also, the vulnerability of urban and suburban facilities to encroachment by towns is defined as the reasons for the base closure in USA.

Countries pursue different strategies to determine the new functions of the redundant sites including military facilities. For instance, as stated by Clark (2009), US mostly leave a huge proportion of these sites as fallow while European countries make a tremendous effort to remediate their brownfields and reuse them because of the short of land.

According to Bagaeen (2016), the former military function of a site affects the redevelopment costs and thus the new possible function of the area. Similarly, Ashley and Touchan (2016) believe that although many bases suffer from environmental degradation, those that produced, tested or stored weapons are likely to suffer more than those do not have these facilities. Hansen (2004, p. 342) also states that “not all former military sites may be recycled for civilian use” because of the environmental degradation which is the biggest challenge to successful military baseredevelopment. As noted by many researchers, some projects might not be applicable due to the environmental contamination the military leaves behind due to the function of the former base. The reuse of military land usually requires the clearance and clean-up of substantial quantities of materials relating to their former use (Bagaeen, 2006).

Ashley and Touchan (2016) claim that environmental degradation makes residential, institutional and commercial redevelopment difficult because of regulatory clean-up costs and extended period of time of remediation. For instance, as stated by Ashley and Touchan (2016, p. 400), “conversion of munitions plant into a residential use with schools and parks nearby will be very difficult to achieve because of the environmental hazards and the clean-up cost relating to their former use of the area”. According to Bagaeen and Clark (2016), environmental degradation will become more serious in the case of former missile sites, maintenance and repair facilities, boiler houses as well as fuel and chemical storage sites where the clean-up process can be more difficult than the site with less hazardous material. Ashley and Touchton (2015) argue that bases with less potential for environmental contamination will be more probably to be converted into successful mixed-use projects than bases with high potential contamination which are most costly to remediate. Similarly, Bagaeen and Clark (2016) suggest reuse options, such as industrial and office parks which often do not

require extensive environmental clean-up and therefore, would attract private interests easier than other uses and might generate job opportunities in the near term.

According to Ashley and Touchton (2015, p. 410), “military base redevelopment is not influenced by national redevelopment trends so much as other factors like market conditions, costs of environmental rehabilitation, stakeholder power and timing”. Many researchers claim that redevelopment of military sites is a very complex process because of the existence of different actors, their different interests and unknown potential of these lands (see, e.g., Bagaen, 2006; Clark, 2009).

Clark (2009, p. 176) argues “military secrecy means these enclosed areas are often unknown to their host communities. When they become available for redevelopment, they present an enormous difficulty for sustainable reuse, to design professionals, but also to developers, financiers, environmental regulators and local communities, who may be unaware that these sites exist or have any idea about their potential”. Also, Bagaen and Clark (2016, p. 4) highlight that “planning and redevelopment agencies and formerly defense-dependent communities in most countries lack the mechanisms to draw on similar communities’ experiences or to take national trends into account, because no systematic information or established prototype exists for which land-use configurations, partnership structures, implementation and financing strategies works”.

According to Warf (1997), another critical point is that the length of the process needed to recoup the upfront costs of closing a military site. He states that “the projected costs and benefits of closures are unevenly distributed over time; in general, the costs of closure, particularly environmental clean-up arises in the short run, while savings are generated over the long run” (Warf, 1997, p. 546). Similarly, Brzoska (2016, p. 133) suggests that “long-term benefits are generally more difficult to assess than short-term costs, which may lead to an under-investment of resource use”.

According to Brzoska (1999), conversion success very much depends on the transformation of the resource use from military to civilian and also the general state of the economy. He (1999, p. 138) states that “in a booming economy, conversion is

relatively easy. In a depressed economy, on the other hand, re-employment of freed resources is difficult and oversupply of resources already exists". Also, Brzoska (1999) showed that compared to earlier base closures, conversion attempts have been faced with several impediments, such as increasing global competition and high barriers to entry into high-tech markets.

2.1.3. Site Selection of Military Lands

Very little is known about how military sites are selected for redevelopment. The selection is made according to the strategic decisions and logistical reasons specific to the time when the military sites are established. As Warf (1997, p. 544) states, "multiple layers of base openings and closures reflecting the accumulation of strategic locational decisions over time under varying budgetary, political and strategic circumstances". However, Woodward puts emphasis on the economic geography of the military sites rather than the reasons for site selection. According to her "military facilities are located where they are due to the earlier strategic and logistical reasons but their economic geography tends to be more complex because location is not usually just about the availability of physical resources or the natural attributes of a particular site, but also the result of decision-making process over the decades and sometimes centuries in addition to the land availability and chance" (Woodward, 2004, p. 42).

Hooks (1994, p. 746) states that "regional processes are molded by the overlapping use of space by economic, military, and political actors" and according to Thanner (2006, p. 18) "the interplay among these actors has affected decisions about the placement of military installations and the subsequent relationship between the military and its host community". Similarly, economic, political, and military factors play an important role in regional growth and decline (Mann, 1968). Therefore, local authorities have sought out military projects to their area because of their geographical remoteness from large urban centers and their depressed economy (Thanner, 2006).

2.1.4. Urban Encroachment of Military Lands

One can observe both symbiotic and conflicting relationships between the military and the community that supports it (ICMA, 2005). The presence of military bases boosts the economies of local communities by providing jobs across a wide range of sectors and attracting workers in addition to military-related visitors and military retirees. Military employees and retirees who spend their salaries on local goods and services increase the commercial and residential activity in the area. Furthermore, communities around the military installations benefit from greenery attached to these sites.

Deal, Timlin and Goran (2002, p. 7) claim that “despite the economic and environmental contributions of military installations to their surrounding communities, sometimes areas of conflict occur between installations and host communities”. As a result of these conflicts, military installations are increasingly being asked to alter activities within their boundaries (Deal, Timlin, & Goran, 2002). According to ICMA (2005), communities often move closer to military land due to their expansion and development. This increasing proximity can be challenging for both civilian safety and military security. It is known as urban encroachment and has negative impacts on the military’s access to lands and airspace for conducting realistic training and testing (ICMA, 2005).

According to the research of Deal, Timlin and Goran (2002), if the local economy expands, military sites become more desirable for development than for military use. In such cases, the military facilities might be perceived as a barrier to continued local growth. Furthermore, residents living near to installation’s boundary are often negatively affected by noise, dust, threat of accidents as well as other environmental impacts caused by aircraft, artillery and the maneuvering of equipment and personnel (ICMA, 2005). Therefore promoting military activities in urban areas may not be in the best interest of the public. This is why some countries (especially the USA) create a buffer of open space around the base in order to mitigate encroachment to military installations and keep operations of the baserunning. These buffers provide a protected

corridor for parks as well as open spaces for wildlife habitat and agricultural uses around the facility.

In addition to these measures, Deal et al. (2002) argue that a better understanding of the spatial interactions between the military, its planning policies and the host community is necessary to develop sustainable development strategies for both the civil and military communities. Also, encroachment to military bases should be prevented through careful planning policies by removing or avoiding land use conflicts in order to increase public safety and quality of life of people living near such areas.

2.2 THE EFFECTS OF MILITARY SITE CLOSING ON HOST COMMUNITY

There is limited research concerning the effects of base closure on local communities. As Thanner (2006, p. 15) states “studies (governmental and academic) that have examined the effects of base closure are primarily econometric in nature and generally examine only very broad changes such as their impact on employment rates, fluctuations in tax revenues, etc. (see, e.g., Thanner 2006; Hooker and Knetter 2001)”. However, numerous communities have been affected by the base closure and redevelopment process and “with an understanding that communities are not monolithic entities, but rather, dynamic and multidimensional, it is also anticipated that the effects of and response to, a base closure will vary (positively and negatively) within a community” (Hill, 2006, p. 16).

Evidence shows that communities react in a variety of ways to the threat of base closure. According to Mayo (2008, p. 20), “the predominant public perception is that a military installation brings economic advantages to the community where it is located civilian jobs, tax revenue and increased personal and household incomes, a more robust real estate market, local economic growth and on-base services for veterans and retirees in the region hosting a military base such as health care, and

recreation”. Studies have shown that the military base enables to sustain high levels of employment and housing occupation since they employ both soldiers and civilian workers who contribute to local economic development in a local area (see, e.g., Lutz, 2001; Thanner, 2006). Furthermore, retired military personnel and civil service employees play an important role in the local economy by purchasing goods and services from local businesses. Therefore, in cases where military bases are perceived vital to the local economy, “politicians and concerned constituents become active to prevent base closures in their region” (Booth, 2000:2, as cited in Thanner 2006, p. 23).

A review of the urban redevelopment literature has shown that redevelopment of military sites is usually seen as a means for economic growth and improvement of the quality of life (see, e.g., Mayo, 2008). Markusen and Brzoska (2000) found that many local communities might be doing better economically than they had with the presence of the military site yet it may take some time for a region hosting a base. According to Hooker and Knetter (2001), the opportunity cost of resources that bases occupy can sometimes be overlooked by the communities and their representatives. They (2001, p. 583) assert that “many bases are on coast, in metropolitan areas, or have other attributes have made for high values in alternative use”. Similarly, Brzoska (2016, p. 133) argues that “economists of all persuasions agree that on the supply side almost all civilian uses are more productive than military use, because goods and services are produced to serve economic and social goals”. However, while a number of studies assert that closing of the military site can bring an economic opportunity to the surrounding community, according to Thanner (2006), limited supporting data has been presented especially regarding specific changes in local job losses and gains, changes in personal and household incomes as well as community unemployment levels.

Very little is known about the size and distribution of more immediate effects of base closure although it may be more productive than the former use of the area in the long-run (see Dardia et al., 1996). Dardia (1996) believes that because of the compensatory effects of base reuse, the immediate effects of the closure of these areas can become most serious. It is very clear that the most important economic problems that occurred

after military base closure are (1) the job losses associated with military transfers out of the region and (2) revenue losses suffered by local businesses especially in the short term.

The impacts of base closure on local communities can vary from one community to another. The effects that base closings will have on local communities can be severe or moderate, depending on the degree of integration between bases and local communities as well as the characteristics of base personnel and local communities (Dardia et al., 1996). Studies show that the outcomes of transformation are not positive for every community and redevelopment does not always happen quickly. In some places, closure leads to severe problems (Bradshaw 1999). As noted in the research of Thanner (2006, p. 23) “when a military base, often a decades-old structural and economic cornerstone of a community, closes, the community that hosted it is impacted in the short and long term on a number of economic fronts”. With a different perspective, Brzoska (2016, p. 133) states that “not all re-use is economical and costs of civilian use may be higher than benefits. In addition, civilian use may require initial investment and only produce benefits in the longer term”. Therefore, Brzoska (2016) also states that conversion must be viewed as an investment process (UNIDIR, 1993, as cited in Brzoska, 2016).

According to Mayo (2008, p. 33), “successful military to civilian conversions have been determined traditionally by a single measure where the number of jobs at some reasonable time following closure is equal to or greater than the number of (civilian only or civilian and military) jobs at the military installation at the time of closure”. However, researchers state that there are a number of considerations to take into account before characterizing a military to civilian transformation as successful.

Brzoska puts emphasis on the time perspective, which is an important yet challenging element in the assessment of success or failure of conversion and states that “resources put to productive civilian use generate more resources in the longer term” (Brzoska, 2016, p. 133). Sorenson (1998) claims the most significant impact of a military base closure on the local community is economic, but it also has personal, environmental

and social effects. Therefore, he considers additional indicators when evaluating a military to civilian conversion as successful.

In addition to those, researchers began to study the psychological effects of these closures on workers, their families, and their communities in addition to economic and social effects on local communities. However, these studies are limited to the psychological effects of job loss on workers, their families and their communities. So far, there appear no scientific studies entirely examining the psychological effects of a base closure including the changes in the security feeling of a host community. Mayo (2006, p. 64) notes that “if host communities and their residents understand the effects of the closing of a military base, not just economically but also socially and psychologically, then they can help themselves transition better from a military to a civilian community”.

2.2.1. Public Interest and Community Involvement

Community involvement has been defined as “a process in which ordinary individuals participate in decisions that affect their lives” (Heller et al., 1984, p.339, as cited in Florin & Wandersman, 1990, p. 43). Thanner (2006, p. 33) states that “the power the public decision makers have in shaping the closure process, including whether or not to involve particular citizen groups in the decision-making process, could affect community response and, thus, long-term community viability”. However, Yahn (2005) highlights military base closure and conversion processes present significant opportunities for citizen involvement.

Many researchers consider ‘community involvement’ necessary for the sustainable redevelopment of military sites and state that former military lands should be developed to serve the community that is most affected by its use. According to Yahn (2005, p. 54), “Citizens fought to keep the bases open. Once it was certain the base would be closed or reused, they became interested in new development coming to their community and wanted to take part in its establishment”. Mayo (2008) highlights that

there are two key elements for the successful reuse of military sites: (1) understanding different stakeholder's opinions about the redevelopment of military sites, (2) including the public's views and ideas, and (3) creating a flexible development plan.

To put emphasis on preservation of common heritage and a recognition of military sites as common resources, Bagaeen states "common heritage can be preserved and renewed if military sites are recognized as part of our 'commons', resources that have been held in the name of the public good and could be reused to achieve and sustain public goods" (2016, p. 30). In addition, Bagaeen (2016) notes that the change of ownership or land use is not enough for the successful conversion. The aim of the transformation should be changed. A transition from closed spaces to open ones, exclusion to inclusion and control to participation is needed (Bagaeen, 2016).

2.3. REDEVELOPMENT OF THE MILITARY SITES: A REVIEW OF RELEVANT THEORIES

2.3.1 The Power-Elite Theory

It is probably not debatable that the communities surrounding the closed bases have many concerns about the possible new functions of the former military sites. Even communities with promising alternative uses for the military base seem very cautious about immediate effects of the base closure (Dardia, McCarthy, and Malkin, 1996). There is no doubt that military base personnel (both military and civilian workers) and local employment would be the most affected by military base closure because of the loss of jobs and military service members' local purchases. Yahn (2005, p. 3) highlights that "bases are different in size and geography but they are similar in that the closure has been mandated, many people are affected and it is a very public process".

In defining the stakeholders, who have the power for shaping the political, economic and military policies, some researchers referred to Mills' Power-Elite Model (see, e.g. Ward, 2000; Rodgers, 2009; Thanner, 2006). The power elite theory claims that "a

single elite (individual or a group), not a multiplicity of competing groups, decides the life-and-death issues for the nation as a whole, leaving relatively minor matters for the middle level and almost nothing for the common person” (Reynolds, 1996). The model also argues that power resides in the political, the economic, and the military domains of the society who makes decisions that have consequences on ordinary people (Mayo, 2008). In other words, a particular individual or group is able to take significant decisions that influence the lives of a large section of the community.

The power-elite model can be perceived as a pyramid of power (Reynolds, 1996). The three parts of the pyramid are formed by the tiny elite at the top, the small-sized middle level, and the masses occupy the bottom. C. Wright Mills defines the members of the governing elite in the United States: (1) the highest political leaders including the president and a handful of key cabinet members and close advisers; (2) major corporate owners and directors; and (3) high-ranking military officers. At the top of the pyramid, the tiny elite take all of the significant decisions for the others. A relatively small middle level described as senators, representatives, mayors, governors, judges, lobbyists, and party leaders. Lastly, the masses are described as “largely unorganized, ill-informed and virtually powerless, they are controlled and manipulated from above” (Elwell, 2015, p. 12).

According to Thanner (2006), in the process of military base closure, the local community is affected by decisions made by elites as well as by decisions of local power brokers. It is also stated by Thanner (2006, p. 33) that “these local power brokers may not be part of the national power elite structure but they hold positions of power structurally above those in the populace and their political and economic decisions have consequences for the ordinary citizen in their district”.

Studies demonstrate that the state appears to be heavily involved in redevelopment processes. Thanner (2006, p. 33) argues that “while military and government officials involved in the closure process are not corporate elites with strictly capitalist intentions, the role they play in the eyes of the communities affected could be very

similar”. This is because the power of the elite has been improved by the close cooperation of political, industrial and military organizations.

As pointed out by Hansen (2004), the downsizing of military base infrastructure in the immediate post-Cold War era, in the United States, presented considerable economic development opportunities for the states, local governments and developers. However, it also presented considerable difficulties to localities since they had little experience in dealing with the clean-up of contaminated installations. Hansen (2004) also states that base conversion was a very time consuming and difficult process for local government. Some of these difficulties are directly related to the former use of the military land which leads to environmental damage and requires technical expertise after the base closure.

2.3.2 Urban Growth Machine Theory

The basis of the “urban growth machine”, which is an influential thesis of urban politics, was first developed by Molotch in the *American Journal of Sociology* in 1976 and became formalized in Logan and Molotch’s book *Urban Fortunes* in 1987. The growth machine idea is defined as “a child of Mill’s power elite thesis and Floyd Hunter’s documentation of Atlanta’s power structure” by Jonas and Wilson (1999, p. 248).

Growth Machine Thesis asserts that “virtually every city (and state) government is a growth machine and long has been” (Logan and Molotch, 1999). Rodgers (2009, p. 5) states that “coalitions of actors and organizations (i.e. growth machines), all sharing an interest in local growth and its effects on land values, compete with growth machines elsewhere for scarce mobile capital investment, while simultaneously attempting to gain the tacit support of local publics for such urban growth”.

The key growth machine players, which are identified by Logan, include politicians, local media and utilities as well as auxiliary players such as universities, cultural destinations and professional sports teams. In a growth machine theory, a home is more than a place to live, and in a similar vein a military base is more than a place

where soldiers are trained; these places are commodities that can generate use and exchange values for producers and consumers in the real estate market (see Logan and Molotch, 1999; Lin and Mele, 2005).

According to Molotch, “a city and more generally, any locality conceived as the real expression of the interests of some land-based elite. Such an elite is seen to profit through the increasing intensification of land use of the area in which its members hold a common interest.” Therefore, they compete with one another to attract capital to their areas. Similarly Jonas and Wilson (1999, p. 5) state that “in each locality, the “rentier class”, centering around the developers, realtors and banks, prepare the ground for capital and providing it with the widest possible choice of sites under profitable conditions”.

In *Urban Fortunes*, the main focus is given on the place entrepreneurs, “the people directly involved in the exchange of places and collection of rents” (Logan & Molotch, 1987, p. 29). Three types of contemporary place entrepreneurs, each with different social relationships to the place commodity and each generating different kinds of rent, are identified. The serendipitous entrepreneur, having become rent collectors by inheriting property, classified as passive when compared to others. According to Logan and Molotch (1987, p. 32), an active entrepreneur in contrast, “strive to capture differential rents by putting themselves in the path of the development process and this is active speculation, based on predicting development trends and gambling on accurate prediction”. The third entrepreneur typology is structural speculators. They do not only have the capacity to estimate future locational advantages but also have the power to affect the decision-making process that will designate locational advantages. Logan and Molotch (1987) suggest that the structural speculators are the most important among the entrepreneurial types since they have the ability to affect every aspect of the urban scene.

According to Logan and Molotch (1987), capitalists have a different approach to place than the citizens because they seek profit from land, therefore their attachment to places is less fragile. However, they (1987) also state that many residents cannot

separate material use from psychological use of places. Compared to the bonds established between capitalists and their environments, these people's attachment to places is stronger, which leads to conflict between residents and capitalists (Logan and Molotch, 1987).

Molotch (1976) highlights that the current condition of the communities is mostly the outcome of the social, economic and political forces shaped in the growth machines. According to Logan and Molotch (1987), during redevelopment processes, growth machine players are open to all possible reuse decisions for a site; they are free from concerns regarding what goes on within production processes or the negative impacts of the growth on the lives of residents. Logan and Molotch (1983, p. 32) also states that "regardless of whether geographical unit of their interest is as small as a neighborhood shopping district or as large as a national region, place entrepreneurs attempt, through collective action and often making alliance with other business people, to create conditions that will intensify future land use in an area". They aim to increase the value of land and easily agree on the growth regardless of geographical location.

According to Jonas and Wilson (1999), growth machines are not only interested in the material consequence of growth, but their aim is also to become sure that the citizens are open to changes in their surroundings. However, taking the support of the community for the growth projects is not always easy because of the potential conflict that arises between the use of land and its exchange. Rodgers (2009) states that to gain the support of the urban public, growth coalitions propagate an ideology of value-free development.

Logan and Molotch (1987, p. 62) state that the basic function of the ideology of value free development is "to deemphasize the connection between growth and exchange values and to reinforce the link between growth goals and better lives for the majority". According to Jonas and Wilson (1999), numerous tactics and discourses can be employed including the placement of advertisements in newspaper and

business journals, real-estate supplements and magazines to gain the support of the urban public for the growth projects.

According to Molotch (1976, p. 320), “the growth coalitions do not speak of growth as useful to profits rather, they speak of it as necessary for making jobs” to justify their actions to the general public. Growth is portrayed as a public good; it is believed that whole community will benefit from the increases in economic activity including businesses, wage earners, homeowners, politicians and even the unemployed depending on their local circumstances. However, contrary to the arguments of some scholars, Molotch and Logan (1987) argue that local economic growth does not necessarily promote the public interest. They believe that even though it helps the financial condition of the city, the long-term results of growth can be negative.

In addition to Molotch’s growth machine, Elvin Wyly (2014) argues that, some cities are becoming a particular type of growth machine: “a real-estate growth machine” as a result of the changing relations between production and consumption. He (2014, p. 3) posits that “the growth coalitions seem to be changing and in some cities, the rising number of households, firms and investors are considering the urban environment as a vehicle for capital accumulation through real estate”.

2.3.3 The Concept of “The Just City”

After the urban uprisings of the 1960s and 1970s, urban scholars on the left (e.g., Henri Lefebvre) integrated a moral dimension into their work, supporting the view that all cities should embody some essential values including justice (Fainstein, 2010). During the 1990s, three main approaches to urban justice were developed: communicative rationality; recognition of diversity; the just city.

The just city concept is in contrast with the urban growth machine aiming at a more profitable, more middle-class city. In a city that promotes justice, practitioners are redirected from their obsession with economic development to a concern with social equity (Fainstein, 2010). Principles of democracy and equity take primacy over growth (Fainstein, 2010).

Fainstein (2010) explains the three principles of urban justice and translate them into the urban planning field. She asserts that equity for planners is an issue to be faced when devising policies for urban regeneration (Fainstein, 2010). It consists of the determination of appropriate forms of tenure, such as private market rental, public or individual ownership as well as a tight link between housing and regeneration (Fainstein, 2010). For the promotion of equity, Fainstein (2010) focuses on the provision of affordable housing and developing locally rooted small businesses and public facilities.

Among planners and designers, the term ‘diversity’ may refer to the place comprising a mixture of buildings, uses and classes. In furtherance of diversity, development of inclusive land use policies together with inclusive sensitivity toward people’s gender, ethnicity and class are suggested.

According to Fainstein, the principle of democracy is enhanced by the fair representation of different interests. Fainstein (2014, p. 12) argues that “...if the aim is justice, the purpose of inclusion in decision-making is to have interests fairly represented”. She states that policies supporting democracy include broad consultation with target communities regarding urban development projects and the use of advocates to represent groups that do not participate directly in decision-making. She (2010, p. 64) states that “citizen participation was to overcome the injustices caused by lack of responsiveness and failures of empathy, as well as being a value in its own right through its furtherance of democracy”.

According to Maroufi (2012), Fainstein’s urban theory of justice addresses public officials rather than planning practitioners since Fainstein (2014) believes that the intervention of higher levels of government is necessary for accomplishing the three principles of urban justice. Furthermore, Fainstein (2014) asserts that decision made at the local level can affect people’s quality of life in a good or bad way. Therefore, she proposes a “to do list” for the promotion of equity, diversity and democracy that need to be adopted by local governments to obtain more favorable results in terms of social justice (Maroufi, 2012).

Fainstein (2014) argues that democracy, diversity and equity are three basic elements of justice yet she also addressed the tension among them. She (2014) states that there is no general solution to the tension among these values. Therefore, she adopts “capabilities approach” based on the works of Sen and Nussbaum (Sen 1980; 1984; 1985; 1985; 1987; 1992; 1993; 1995; Drèze and Sen 2002; Nussbaum 1988; 1992; 1995; 2000; 2002; 2003). As a reference to Nussbaum’s list of capabilities, Fainstein proposed a list of a set of values that are considered necessary for the just city. Those values are democracy, diversity, equity, sustainability and growth.

According to Fainstein (2014, p. 13), “capabilities do not describe how people actually function (i.e. end state) but rather what they have the opportunity to do”. According to her (2014) under capabilities approach, judgments about particular policies or planning actions would be based on whether their gestation complied with democratic norms, whether their distributional results improved the capabilities of the relatively disadvantaged and each person addressed at the end. Fainstein (2014, p. 14) states that “translated into a communal rather than individualistic ethic, the capabilities approach would protect urban residents from having to sacrifice quality of life for financial gain”. Furthermore, she (2014) states that commitment to justice in assessing particular policies or planning actions would benefit relatively disadvantaged groups.

2.4. FACTORS AFFECTING RESIDENTS’ PREFERENCES TOWARDS AND EXPECTATIONS FROM THEIR ENVIRONMENTS

Person-Environment (PE) fit theory (initially proposed by French et al., 1974) suggests that when individuals identify their preferences towards and expectations from their environments, they often question their needs (what they have and do not have) and whether their environments meet such needs. There is a fit or congruence when the supply (the characteristics of the environment) meets the individual’s needs (Caplan, 1987). Thus, when individuals are asked to rate alternative redevelopment projects for a particular site near their home, they question which project may contribute to PE fit the most. Based on their needs and expectations, residents

determine what they want to see in their local environments the most, and rate design schemes accordingly.

Social ecological models assert that a number of factors affect individuals' environmental preferences: individual, social and physical environmental/contextual (see Urie Bronfenbrenner's Ecological Systems Theory). Individual factors include age, gender, race/ethnicity, level of education and income. There is a great deal of literature showing how such factors may affect an individual's place preferences and assessment of his/her environment (see, e.g., Nasar 1992; Hubbard 1996). For example, Nasar (1992), Malinowski and Thurber (1996) and Yamashita (2002) found that age has a significant effect on environmental preferences. Some researchers like Lyons (1982) explain this relationship through a life-cycle or aging effect. In different stages of life, individuals are characterized by different economic and social resources, causing them to demand different things from their environments; for example, a child prefer to see more playgrounds, teenagers would like to see more places to hide from adults, low-income adults would prefer to see more well-paid job opportunities in their environment, and so on. Bourdieu (1984), Nasar, (1992) and Hubbard, (1996) found that level of education may also affect environmental preferences. Bourdieu (1984) asserts that educated groups demonstrate superiority over the other social groups in terms of determining good cultural and architectural taste. Furthermore, Hubbard (1996) argues that class differences have an effect on environmental preferences more than ideological views.

Property (home and business) ownership may affect individuals' preferences towards their environment as well since the homeowners and renters tend to have different interests and level of attachment to their environment. Homeowners are generally interested in both economic and use interests, therefore they expect to generate financial gain through property appreciation as well as the enjoyment of the dwelling occupied (Rohe & Stewart, 1996). Thus, although they sometimes make decisions that are not economically rational because of the use value of the property (Rohe & Stewart, 1996), they mostly prefer income generating uses near their homes because of their economic interests. Unlike homeowners, renters pursue only the use value of

the property and they are essentially concerned with the enjoyment and non-economic advantages of the dwelling (Rohe & Stewart, 1996).

Regarding the homeowners' attachment to the home and neighborhood, many researchers assert that homeownership status is positively related to social and physical attachment feelings as well as a strong sense of place which is often assumed to cause to care of home and neighborhood (see. e.g., Rohe and Stewart 1996; Çebi, 2007; Jelley, 2013;). Moreover, Rohe and Stewart (1996) asserted that the property interests and a sense of attachment to the home and neighborhood have positive effects on property maintenance and the demands for community services. Years of residency in a neighborhood also affects people's place attachment. Many researchers argued that people develop higher place attachment with longer years of residency (Brown & Perkins, 1992; Comstock et al., 2010; Göregenli et al, 2014).

Studies found that as the level of education increases, individuals' perception of their environments changes (Lu, 1999; Ren and Folmer, 2017). For example, Fredrickson et al. (1980) found that residents with higher education prefer to live in better neighborhoods, causing them to assess their environments more positively than their less educated counterparts.

Studies show that social factors that affect individuals' expectations from their environments include family, neighborhood and community relationships and support (e.g., friends, coworkers, members of the community groups) (see. e.g., Burke, 2009). For example, a number of studies have shown that low-income groups aspire to live in neighborhoods that have a strong sense of community and networks since they often view the social bonds between the neighbors as a means for finding jobs (see Granovetter, 1982). The social networks supported within the neighborhood is the best indicator of attachment to the neighborhood and the family, friends as well as community members who live there (Woldoff, 2002; Lewicka, 2010). Even though residents in a poorer neighborhood welcome the physical changes through revitalization projects, they often give negative feedback to the social changes such as the arrival of affluent residents to their neighborhoods (Bélanger, 2012). Besides,

characteristics of a social environment the including perception of safety may operate as a stressor and also have an effect on environmental preferences of individuals. According to Maslow's hierarchy of needs theory (1943), the feeling of safety is the basic need and it must be fulfilled before progressing on to meet other social and psychological needs such as senses of belonging, love, friendship etc.,.

Lastly, as mentioned before, a number of physical environmental (natural and built environment) or contextual factors affect individuals' place expectations. Regarding the redevelopment of military sites, these factors include the presence of natural and historical assets in the military site and also the presence of man-made facilities such as green areas and parks, sport and leisure facilities, cultural facilities, education facilities and health-care facilities in the neighborhood near the military site. Individuals living near military sites may either want to protect these assets or based on their other needs or expectations from their environments, replace these areas with others.

2.5. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The redevelopment of military sites increasingly becomes a significant planning problem in Turkey. Because of their size and undeveloped nature, such lands are seen as an opportunity for meeting the current needs of cities. The benefits of military sites to the community where it is located is primarily economic since both soldiers and civilian workers play an important role in the local economic development through purchasing good and services from local businesses. They are perceived as vital for local economic growth, provision of civilian and military jobs, as well as increased personal and household incomes. Moreover, military sites have unexpected potential in for environmental protection such as conversion of species and preservation of natural assets.

While sustainable redevelopment of military sites is quite necessary, many researchers point out the difficulties in the redevelopment of these lands. It is defined as a complex

process by considering the economic opportunities and interests of different groups, combined with unknown potential and individual characteristics of these sites. Besides, the social, economic and environmental impacts of military site closure on local community including job losses associated with military transfers out of the region, revenues losses suffered by local businesses as well as psychological effects of these closures on workers and their families make the transformation of these lands more challenging and problematic.

A review of the urban redevelopment literature has shown that redevelopment of military sites is usually seen as a means for economic growth. This thesis provided a discussion of power elite and urban growth machine theories since it aimed to explain how significant decisions that influence the lives of large section of the community are made by particular individuals or groups, (which are entitled as “elites” by Mills’ Power-Elite Theory and “growth machines” by Logan and Molotch’s Growth Machine Theory) and how these decisions affect the cities and ordinary citizens. To this end, these theories will help us to understand economic interests of these particular individuals or groups in the military site redevelopment process and their ideology to gain the support of locals for such urban growth projects. On the other hand, knowing the concept of “the just city”, which is in contrast with growth machine theory will be useful while discussing how more favorable results can be obtained in terms of democracy and equity at the completion of military site redevelopment projects. Moreover, discussion of these theories would help to explain the military site redevelopment process in Turkey which was addressed by one of the research question of this thesis and provided a basis for understanding the actors of redevelopment and power relations in Turkey. Some of these theories such as “urban growth machine theory” were also previously discussed by some researchers (e.g. Türkün, 2011) to explain urban regeneration process and power relations in Turkey.

Finally, the chapter provided a discussion on how a range of factors could influence residents’ assessment of military sites and individuals’ opinions regarding the redevelopment of these areas. This discussion would provide us a basis for answering the research questions posed by this thesis.

CHAPTER 3

MILITARY SITE REDEVELOPMENT PRACTICES IN THE WORLD: DIVERSE USES AND URBAN SOCIAL, POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SETTINGS

In this section, military site redevelopment practices around the world will be examined in two different categories: military redevelopment practices in “developing countries” and in those “developed countries”. The assumption is that such practices are different in highly developed countries than developing countries. Various factors, affect urban redevelopment in a country, such as its level of economic development, planning culture and government policies, and thus one may argue that the development status of a country may influence how its military sites are transformed into new uses. How ordinary people approach the problem of military site redevelopment or their role in the redevelopment process of these sites may also be different from one country to another.

Countries are often grouped as either developing or developed in accordance with the criteria set out by different organizations. “There is no universal, agreed-upon criterion for what makes a country developing versus developed and which countries fit these two categories.” (Al-Nasrawi & Zoughbi, 2015, p. 6827). In this study, the lists of developing and developed countries were taken from the ISI (International Statistical Institute), which is more up-to-date than other sources. The lists have been prepared considering the Gross National Income (GNI) by using the World Bank Atlas method. In these lists, countries around the world have been classified based on their level of economic development.

The categorization of the case studies in different countries is made based on their level of economic development. Arguably, the conversion in a depressed economy will be more challenging and countries will face a number of additional obstacles

while the conversion in a booming economy will be relatively easy (Brzoska, 1999). Besides, the author argues that the most significant impact of a military site closure on local community is economic such as job loss and revenue losses suffered by local businesses. Therefore, the meaningful comparison can be made between selected countries at different levels of economic development.

For selecting the cases to be examined, the author placed the following three case selection criteria: the examined military site should be located in an urban area, the conversion of the military site should be in urban scale (not in the building scale), and lastly the closure process of the military site should be completed or substantially completed. Military sites in rural areas are excluded because they have different challenges in the transformation process as well as the criteria and the method defined for transformation is different than the military facilities in urban areas. Thus, selected areas are restricted to urban scale only. Furthermore, since the future use of the former military sites are highly depend on their size, the researcher focused on former military sites having similar sizes which are less than 50 hectares. Lastly, in order to see the results of these projects and to discuss their new functions, researcher took into consideration only the completed or substantially completed military site transformation projects.

The perfect comparison cannot be made because of the difficulty to find detailed information regarding the redevelopment of military sites in developing countries. While it is possible to find many cases in a number of countries especially in USA, UK, Germany, and Holland, there are really a few elaborated cases in developing countries. Furthermore, it should be noted that not all cases have the same level of details because of the lack of information in the field of military site redevelopment in most of the countries.

This study does not necessarily represent the best practices in the redevelopment of military sites. These cases were analyzed to define the major actors and factors affecting the redevelopment process in the countries which have different political and socio-economical background. The factors affecting the redevelopment process and

the new functions of these sites were discussed by putting the similarities and differences in the ways military sites are transformed in different countries. In the following chapters, the redevelopment process of military sites in Turkey will also be discussed with reference to the cases explained in this section.

The cases examined in the categories of both developing and developed countries are as follows:

Developing countries:

- Jordan, Amman: The Abdali New Downtown Regeneration Project
- Romania, Oradea: The Revitalization of the Oradea Fortress Project

Developed countries:

- Germany, Freiburg: The Vauban Development Project
- Netherlands, Soesterberg: The National Military Museum Project

3.1 MILITARY SITE REDEVELOPMENT IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

In this section, the detailed information will be provided on the “Abdali New Downtown Regeneration” project in Amman and the “Revitalization of the Oradea Fortress” project in Romania. In different two sections, firstly, the brief information will be given on the background of urbanization and planning in two selected countries. Then, secondly, the project design, decision-making and implementation process of these projects will be elaborated.

3.1.1 The Abdali New Downtown Regeneration Project

The case of Abdali development will be analyzed in two different parts. The first part will give insight on the political and economic background of urbanization and planning in Amman. The second part will elaborate the regeneration project.

3.1.1.1 Background Information

Amman has been undergoing significant economic, political, social, cultural and physical changes since the early twenty-first century as a result of the capital flows and investments in the city's built environment (Musa, 2013). Economic reforms under a new head of state that aim to integration of Jordan's economy to global economy, Amman's continuing attraction of capital during 2000s and the effect of the 2008 global crisis are some of the significant factors that influenced the built environment of Amman. The government aimed to create new global city image by the way of re-constructing the build environment of Amman with mixed-use megaprojects, high-rise buildings, gated communities and large-scale shopping malls. The Abdali New Downtown regeneration project and Jordan Gate Project are just a few examples of the large-scale developments in Jordan.

In this period, the large advertising discourse accompanying the megaprojects also played an important role in the construction of city image and the identity of its residents (Musa, 2013). According to Musa (2013, p. 366), "these mega-projects and the large advertising discourse that accompanied them were significant strategies for representing the city residents as modern primarily as consumers and technologically advanced similar to their counterparts in modern cities". In addition to increasing number of mega-projects, there was extensive investment in large-scale projects, which have significant impacts on the city's landscape and also the relation between the residents and urban built environment of Amman.

The economic, political, social and demographic changes that lead to transformation of urban built environment of the city can be summarized by Musa (2013) as follow:

- Remarkable and rapid growth of the city because of events such as fleeing of Iraqis to Amman after Iraqi War in 2003
- Rising need for houses and other services in the city after increase of residents in Amman,
- Jordan's becoming a popular state for capital and real-estate investments thanks to its geographical importance and political stability,

- Integration of Jordan's economy into the global market and its increasing competitiveness in the world after its economic reforms through privatization, deregulation and liberalization policies.

Furthermore, "The Amman Plan" (2008) created by Greater Amman Municipality (GAM), in collaboration with local and Western experts and the new planning policies encouraged the real-estate investments in Amman (Musa, 2013). Although numerous plans have been made for Amman, two of them will be discussed briefly. The 1987 Greater Amman Comprehensive Development Plan (GACD) and the Amman Plan of 2008 will give insight on the planning policies, changing built environment and the city center of Amman before the regeneration project.

The Greater Amman Municipality (GAM) was established in 1987 with the approval of Jordanian Parliament. Before GAM is formed, important land speculations were carried out by municipalities. As consequence, release of public lands for development and insufficient measures to rapid urban development destroyed farmlands and resulted in arbitrary spread of urban area. The problem of urban sprawl and uncontrolled urban planning were discussed in Greater Amman Comprehensive Development Plan (GACDP) and with the creation of Greater Amman Municipality, government intended to centralize urban planning decision-making process in problematic areas. (James, 2017). The objective was to establish single municipal authority, avoid sprawl, improve infrastructure, planning capital improvement projects and implement integrated transportation strategy (James, 2017). However, these plans were never put into practice completely because of changing dynamics of the city.

The aim of the GACDP was to develop Amman into an efficient, green, sustainable city that would become a destination for investors and tourists (Musa, 2013). It also aimed to facilitate the review of the large-scale projects. In 2000s, Amman's built environment lost much of its distinctive character (Malkawi & Kaddoura, 2007, as cited in Musa, 2013). These large-scale projects significantly affected the city's skyline and landscape. Furthermore, "the built environment in Amman lacked

harmony as buildings of different scales, materials, shapes, and architectural vocabularies were haphazardly scattered around the city” (Musa 2013, p. 172; also see Malkawi & Kaddoura, 2007). The Abdali New Downtown, vacated by the military and security installations, is one of the representative large-scale project in Amman. Therefore, it has been chosen to give insight on the military sites development in Amman.

3.1.1.2 The Transformation of a Military Site in Amman: The Abdali Case

The Abdali site, located to the western section of the city near the city center, was originally intended for army and military administration (Abu-Ghazalah, 2007). The site primarily had military facilities and security installations for over half a century as far as Jordanian government decided to relocate these facilities and the state-owned buildings as well as the privately-owned residential, commercial and educational buildings for the Abdali regeneration project. The project area is also situated next to Amman’s financial and administrative district in Shmeisani where many banks, government and financial institutions and hotels are located and also very close to the former site of Central Agency Buildings and the number of important public buildings constructed over the past two decades, including the Parliament building, the Palace of Justice, and the King Abdullah Mosque (al-Asad, 2012).

The project area, covering 38 hectares, has been developed through public-private partnership. It has been undertaken by the Abdali Investment and Development (AID) Company, a privately-owned land development firm consisting of a joint venture of three firms (Musa, 2013). These include National Resources Investment & Development Corporation (Mawared), “technically owned by the Jordanian military” (Parker, 2009, p. 115), the privately-owned Horizon Group and the privately-owned United Real Estate Company-Jordan, a part of the group Kuwait Projects Company (KIPCO). The income gained from Abdali Project has been invested in military-related development and facilities and the pension fund of the military (Musa, 2017; Parker, 2009).

Mawared was created as a financially and administratively independent state-owned corporation and “it was marketed, with government backing, as the ideal partner for the private sector to enter into large real estate projects” (Mango, 2014, p. 114). According to Daher (2013, p. 110) “Mawared had become Jordan’s leading urban regeneration entity and its largest real estate developer” on government-owned lands only a short notice after its establishment. The corporation involved in several inner-city military plots including Abdali regeneration project. In the Abdali development, Mawared also involved in the relocation of other state buildings and selling of military and state-owned land to private sector (Musa, 2013). According to Mango (2014, p. 313), “the establishment of new regulating (and implementing) bodies such as Mawared was one reflection of the Jordanian state's concentration on economic prosperity”.

According to Daher (2013, p. 102), Abdali regeneration project, which is promoted as “the new downtown” for Amman, is “the largest neoliberal real-estate development project currently taking place in Amman”. Destruction process mainly aimed at the state-owned buildings such as military facilities and Central Intelligence Agency buildings built in 1960s and 1970s, back then those sites were not at the center of Amman (Musa, 2013) but it turned out to be the center after the expansion of the city (al- Asad, 2012). According to Musa (2013), although the site became the center of the city in the 1980s, function of these buildings remained unchanged until the state signed a peace treaty with Israel in 1994 and the relocation of these buildings have been added to the agenda as an indication of modernization after the peace treaty. However, redevelopment process was not confined itself to state-owned buildings but also expanded to the privately-owned residential, commercial and educational buildings in the site.

In 2004, Mawared reached an agreement to establish a partnership for developing and managing this mixed-use urban development with Saudi Oger, the international developer from Saudi Arabia and a major shareholder in Beirut’s real estate development company Solidere (Musa, 2013). This development was planned to be implemented in two phases. Currently, the most of phase I is executed while no project

of phase II is implemented. (Ashour, 2016). Phase I envisioned as “the business and commercial center of Amman”, which contains 33 separate mid-rise building and tower projects in addition to offices, luxurious apartments, integrated retail markets, medical facilities and hotels (AID, 2015). Phase II, with parks and green areas, mid to high-rise buildings, high-end luxury residences, modern offices, hotels and state-of-the art commercial entertainment areas, designed as a complementing expansion of the project (AID, 2015).



Figure 3.1: 3D View of Abdali Development Placed in Real Context

(Source: <http://www.mawared.jo/arabic/abdali.shtm>)

One of the notable features of this development is the Central Market Place, also called the “Abdali Mall”. The Central Marketplace, occupying over 13 hectares, is constituted the core of the development. It is promoted as “an iconic modern shopping mall of Abdali” with approximately 70,000 sqm gross leasable area including a large number of retail shops, cafes, food courts, a casual dining plaza, a supermarket, an entertainment center and nine cinema screens (AID, 2015). The Abdali Mall was opened to public in May 2016 with accessible car park that accommodates up to 2,400 cars.



Figure 3.2: Abdali Boulevard (Source: <http://cf.cdn.unwto.org>)

Another main feature of this development is the Abdali Boulevard, “a major east-west axis running through Phase I of the Abdali development, connecting the IT Sector in the western end of the Abdali development to the Abdali Mall” (Musa, 2013, p. 240). A 370 m long, 21 m wide pedestrian walkway was bordered by residential office, hotel, and retail spaces, in addition to landscaped areas that include two plazas (al-Asad, 2012) and opened in 2014. Phase I also contains the Tower Project owned and constructed by private developers, which will be consist of commercial, residential, mixed-use, and hotel structures (al- Asad, 2012).

The initial master plan of Abdali, prepared by LACECO, includes a civic plaza, an IT district, a pedestrian spine, a residential quarter, a cultural quarter, a medical quarter, a university campus, in addition to offices, retail and entertainment facilities. However, many modifications were done on the master plan of Abdali and proposed American University and cultural component at the eastern end of the Abdali site including a museum, library and plaza was abandoned to be replaced with commercial

buildings, mostly high-rise buildings. The developers, including the Mawared, preferred to develop the site into a mixed-use project, which is the best way to produce profit (Musa, 2013).

3.1.1.3 Actors and Decision Making Process

The main producers of this development were the state, city officials, private developers, architects and planners. The state and corporate developers were the main actors of this development. However, the city officials through setting building regulations and private architects and planners involved in the development process of these megaprojects helped to change the image of the city. Corporate developers and the state, involved in megaprojects as a co-developer, legislator or facilitator, were highly aware that marketing, selling and consuming the megaprojects and the city's urban built environment were profitable (Musa, 2013). Therefore, they preferred more profitable options and they did not consider the needs and thoughts of residents.

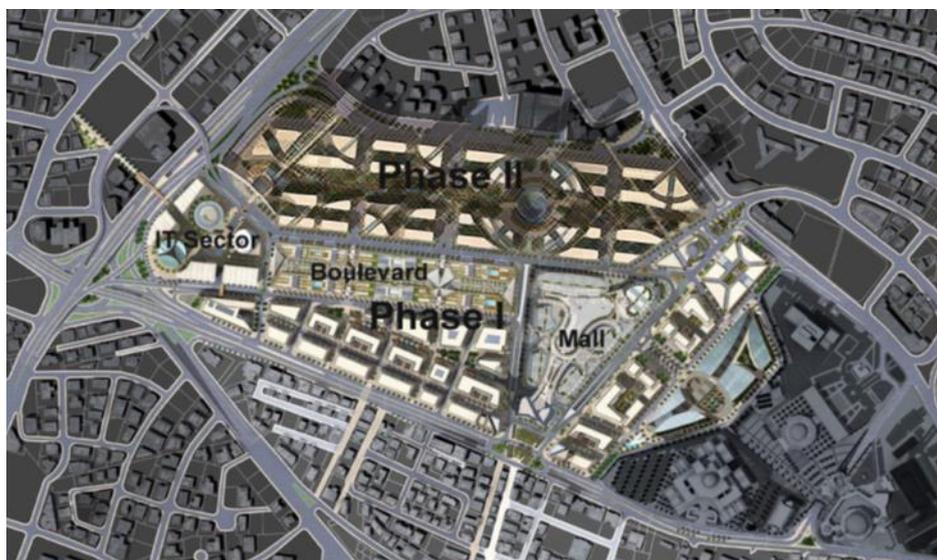


Figure 3.3: Abdali Master Plan (Source: <http://www.abdali.jo>)

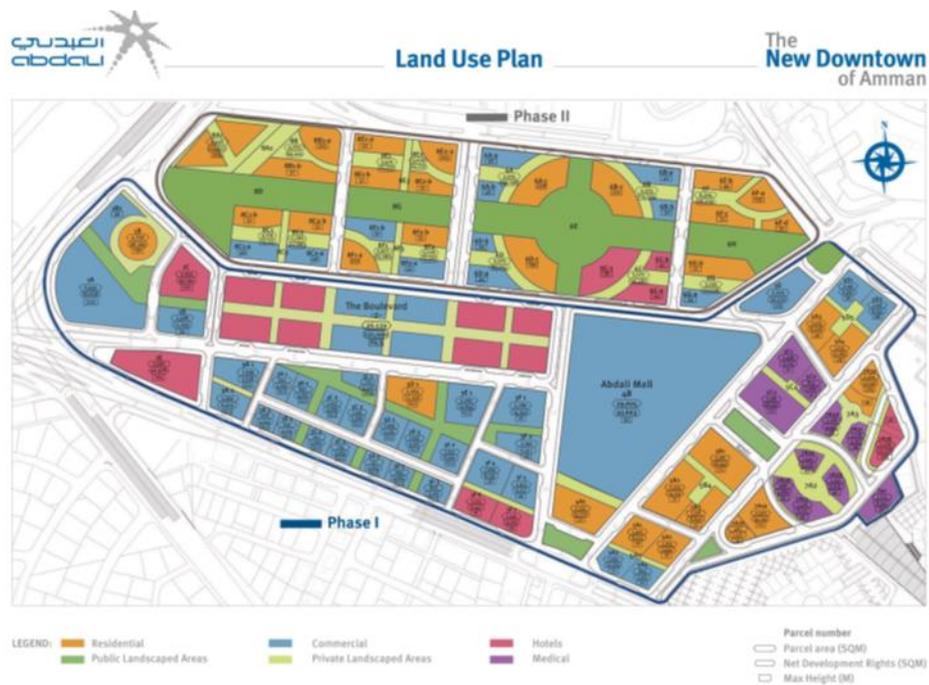


Figure 3.4: Land Use Plan of Abdali New Downtown
 (Source: Abdali Brochure prepared by AID, 2015)

Decision-making process of the Abdali development was a top-down that keeps the decision making process at the senior level. Thus, high state officials involved in this development, as well as many professionals and the needs and thoughts of the city residents were not taken into consideration. The developers did not ask the opinion of the city residents regarding how this site should be used and what should be its new functions even though they were the most affected by this project.

According to Daher (2013), these mega-projects cause to geographies of inequality in the city since the exclusive neighborhoods are formed and the poorer segments of society push away to the outskirts of the city. However, the producers of this development were highly aware of the importance of taking the support of the community, even working and middle-class segments, for the successful development. Thus, numerous tactics and discourses were used including the placement of advertisements in national and regional newspapers, real-estate supplements and

magazines, TV and brochures in addition to advertisements of these projects at conferences on real estate and the built environment as well as national and international real-estate exhibitions (Musa, 2013).



Figure 3.5: Billboards around the Abdali Site (Source: Musa, 2007)

It is quite obvious that large-scale projects cannot be realized without active participation of public sector. These projects can only be actualised if public sector actively participate as a partner or enable the private sector developers to execute them in addition to development through joint public-private sector ownership. Abdali project demonstrate that state provides large-scale subsidies for the business elite of the region to create mega-projects led to geographies of inequality in the city of Amman. (Daher, 2013). Daher (2013, p. 112) clearly states the changing role of the state and inducement of financial resources to business elites as follows:

“In the case of Amman’s Abdali project, underneath MAWARED’s rhetoric to decrease state involvement lies a public (state) subsidy for private real estate development that benefits selective urban business elites from Lebanon, Jordan

and the Gulf”. These subsidies take on different forms of urban managerial processes of filtration.”

3.1.2 Military Site Redevelopment Project in Oradea

In this part, firstly brief information will be given on the background of urbanization and planning and the features of the military sites and buildings in Oradea and then, secondly, information will be provided on the case of revitalization of the Oradea Fortress.

3.1.2.1 Background Information

At the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century, a large number of abandoned military sites and buildings dated from late 19th and 20th century appeared in Oradea as a result of the demilitarisation process in Romania. Part of these areas and buildings have fallen into disuse because of real or perceived environmental contamination concerns, while the functions of the other parts have been changed from military to education or public administration services (Dulca et al.,2016). The redevelopment of these valuable lands through new investments has been seen as an opportunity to economic development and social and environmental benefits such as reducing the pressure on greenfields including parks, forests and improved public safety (Dulca et al.,2016).

Oradea is located near the eastern Hungarian border in the northwestern part of Romania. The city, a transitional area from hilly terrain to the Pannonian plain, situated at an altitude of 126 m above sea level. The Crişul Repede river runs through the city which is the capital of Bihor county. It is spatially developed in the contact zone between the Western Plain and the Western Hills.



Figure 3.6: The former military areas of the city of Oradea
(Source: Dulca et al., 2016; ANCPI aerial photo, 2012)

The spatial planning system of the Oradea consists of four levels of competencies: national, county, metropolitan and city level. The national level provides the legislative framework while the county level provides guidelines for spatial planning and also has a right to give advice on the land use plan of the city based on Spatial Plan of the County (Hansen et al., 2015). The metropolitan level that does not have authority concerning spatial planning provides a loose framework for economic development and large-scale infrastructure projects (Hansen et al., 2015). In the city level, the General Urban Plans, Zonal Urban Plans and Detailed Urban Plans are the most important instruments to guide land use. The General Urban Plans covers the whole city while the Zonal Urban Plans applies to larger plots of land and Detailed Urban Plans applies to specific parcels of land.

3.1.2.2 The revitalization of the Oradea Fortress in Romania

The Oradea Fortress is one of the landmark sites of Oradea that played an important military and cultural role since the removal of the military from the fortress at the end of 1990s. It served as residence of the Roman-Catholic Diocese of Oradea between

1097-1557 and a military fortress from the 16th to the 19th century, governed by various administrations: Hungarian/Transylvanian, Ottoman and Hapsburg. The fortress is also considered one of the most representative Italian Renaissance Fortresses in Central and South-Eastern Europe.

After serving as a military facility for more than three centuries, the ownership of the Fortress transferred to the municipality and plans were made for the conversion of the building. The project, financed with EU funds under the 2007-2013 Regional Operational Program (ROP), conducted by the Oradea Municipality Territorial Administrative Unit between June 2009-December 2015. There were two problems addressed in this project. One of them was the restoration of Oradea Fortress which was abandoned by the military garrison and had suffered from structural damage. The other one was to attract especially foreign tourists for a longer stay even in winter for the cultural, religious and heritage tourism, thermal tourism, ecotourism, events tourism, business, exhibitions and conferences tourism. The project aimed to revitalize the Oradea Fortress with the purpose of its inclusion in tourism circuit at regional, national and international level.

The project activities achieved under the project are listed by Dodescu, (2014) as follows:

- 8 buildings with total 13,514.7 square meters building area, about 190 rooms and 13,514.25 square meters exterior surface area were strengthened, preserved, restored and functionalized.
- 19 touristic and cultural functions were created through the reintroduction of the functions compatible with the monument including City Museum, Lapidarium, Bread Museum, Fortress Library, exhibition areas, traditional centres etc.
- The accessibility of the monument were increased through restoration and development of roads and outdoor lighting.
- The cultural consortium holding 2 annual festivals and other 20 small cultural events was created.



Figure 3.7: The Oradea Fortress (Source: The Romania Journal website)

The project was implemented in 27,028 square meters area including buildings, green spaces and access roads. After the implementation of the project 119 new jobs were created, energy efficiency was increased, 60 small cultural events were executed in the first three years after the project implementation and the number of tourist and their access to rehabilitated heritage buildings and sites were increased (Dodescu, 2014).

3.1.2.3 Actors and Decision Making Process

Regional Operational Programme (ROP) 2007-2013 which is the only operational programme managed at regional level in Romania have made great contribution to transfer of know-how, multi-level governance and partnership culture in regional cultural tourism, however, it only partially contributed to regional needs in cultural tourism field (Dodescu, 2014). The most significant reasons of the limited contribution of these projects to the regional cultural tourism in Romania are: insufficiency of the amounts of the allocated budget for this intervention area that required highly expensive, long lasting and innovative projects, the limited resources and lower ability of Romanian local government for the cultural tourism projects in the broader level, the impossibility of involvement of actors from private sector,

central public administration authorities and NGOs (Dodescu, 2014) and lack of strategy for active.

For establishing successful military sites conversion projects, there is a great need of the participation strategy for the involvement of different actors such as NGOs, public institutions and general public etc. in decision making and project implementation process and more practice in the field of partnership in local public administrations in addition to sufficient budget allocation as they are generally highly expensive projects. With the involvement of different actors and more practice in the field of partnership, a greater impact can be achieved at a broader level.

3.2 MILITARY SITE REDEVELOPMENT IN DEVELOPED COUNTRIES

In this section, detailed information will be provided on both the “Vauban Development Project” in Germany and the “National Military Museum Project” in Netherlands. In two different sections, firstly, brief information will be given on the background of urbanization and planning in the two selected countries. Then, secondly, the project design, decision making and implementation process of these projects will be elaborated.

3.2.1 The Vauban Development Project

The case of Vauban will be analyzed in two different parts. The first part will give brief information on the social context of the project and the second part will elaborate the design process and strategies regarding the redevelopment project.

3.2.1.1 Background Information

Vauban district has been developed on the former area of a French barrack site. It is located at the southern edge of Freiburg and 3 km from the city center. This site used as a military site from 1930s to 1990 and left empty after the reunification of Germany. Ownership of the district reverted to the German Federal Government and City

Council bought it and decided to develop the former military site as a sustainable urban district (Coates, 2013).

Regarding the governmental decentralization context, “the country’s federal system divides Germany into 16 states, the Länder, that each have their own government and parliament. Some Länder are divided into administrative regions that may be cities or urban districts” (United Cities and Local Governments (UCLG), 2010:2). For the Vauban case, the Länder is Baden-Württemberg which is divided into four administrative districts and Freiburg is one of them.

With regard to social context, Freiburg’s sustainability process dates back to 1970s with mainly anti-nuclear movements. It has made major commitments to sustainable mobility and to renewable energies. The Vauban development is realized under auspices of “students and ecologically and socially minded citizens, many of whom had participated in anti-nuclear protests” (Coates, 2013, p. 266). It developed “as an ecologically friendly, highly energy efficient, solar powered and largely car-free urban community” (Coates, 2013, p. 266) by means of a participatory process.

3.2.1.2 The Transformation of a Military Site in Freiburg: The Vauban Case

Because of the serious housing shortage in Freiburg at the beginning of the 1990s, the city decided to develop the former military site as a sustainable urban district. Project has been constructed on 94 acres site and at present nearly 5,000 residents living in approximately 1,800-units (plus 600 units of student accommodation) and providing some 600 jobs in the district (APS Group Scotland, 2010). It is a mixed use and compact neighborhood and provide a range of shopping for everyday life in addition to the facilities that includes primary school, kindergartens, playground for children, shops, self-administrated community center, plaza, sports field, various local services, some cafes and restaurants. These facilities can also be easily accessed on foot or by bicycle due to the short distances in the district.



Figure 3.8: Aerial View of Vauban
(Source: Coates, 2013:266)

Vaubanallee, a central avenue is a major east-west axis running through the center of the district. It connects to Merzhauserstrasse which is the main automobile and light rail corridor connecting the center of Freiburg with the rural countryside to the south (Coates, 2013). Automobile, pedestrian and bike paths also run along this main avenue and it is bordered on both sides by local businesses.

The north of Vaubanallee includes sites for development of future housing, the CHP plant, additional housing including social housing and more retail space. (Coates, 2013) The student housing village, the SUSI (Self-Organised Independent Settlement Initiative) housing units and an area for the former squatters to continue living in their box-car village are also located in the north side of the district.

The six barracks converted into student apartments by University of Freiburg's Student Services Department when the development of the former military site began in 1994 (Coates, 2013). Another group, SUSI founded at the end of 1990, also transformed four barracks into alternative housing units. In addition, the residents living in squatters were integrated into SUSI Project and continue living in their box-car. The Alfred- Döblin-Platz, the central square in front of Haus 37, is also located in

the north edge of Vaubanallee. The Haus 37, which is the former barrack, converted into community center that was self-managed by the residents of the urban district.



Figure 3.9: Arial View of Vauban
(Source: Coates, 2013:266)



Figure 3.10: 'Box Car' village
(Source: www.ads.org.uk)



Figure 3.11: Signs on the streets
(Source: www.ads.org.uk).



Figure 3.12: "Play Streets"
(Source: www.ads.org.uk)

Both to the north and south, there are seven neighborhoods surrounded by 4-5 storey housing blocks built around U-shaped streets. These streets cannot be used for parking and cars are only allowed for pick-up and drop-off purposes. The signs on these streets also show that these streets are shared between different users including children and

vehicle must be drive very slowly (Foletta & Henderson, 2016). Children can play safely with the help of these signatures and regulations.

These neighborhoods are separated by five resident designed green areas with different themes running through the Dorfbach creek. They are not only used as play and recreational areas, but they also serve as ventilation corridors, bringing cooling breezes from the nature reserve in neighboring Dorfbach, St. Georgen, and the Schönberg and Schlierberg hills to the south into to whole district (Coates, 2013).



Figure 3.13: The Sonnenschiff “Solar Ship”
(Source: Coates, 2013:274)

The Sonnenschiff (Solar Ship) and Solarsiedlung (Solar Village), designed by architect Rolf Disch, are located in the east of Merzhauserstrasse. They are built to passive house standards* and produces four times more energy than it consumes through the rooftop photovoltaic panels. Also, the commercial block Sonnenschiff protects the two-to three-storey row houses from street noise (Coates, 2013).

* A Passivhaus is a building in which thermal comfort can be achieved solely by post-heating or post-cooling the fresh air flow required for a good indoor air quality, without the need for additional recirculation of air." - Passivhaus Institut (PHI)

Regarding the structure and functions of Sonnenschiff, it is topped with four three storey passive solar penthouses, opening to gardens and terraces (Coates, 2013). It is comprised of a retail ground floor and offices on the upper floors. Vauban also has four kindergartens and a primary school, which is also designed to be used as a community meeting center (Coates, 2013).

Vauban is an integral part of the larger city and region with the bus lines and light rail, as well as the walking trails and bike paths, connect Vauban with Freiburg's city center and the main train station (Coates, 2013). Bicyclists and pedestrians are given priority in the district and the streets are primarily car-free. The transport policies and design of Vauban focuses on car-free, walkability and efficient public transport.



Figure 3.14 Layout of Vauban
(Source: <https://www.freiburg.de>)

There are two important initiatives to encourage bicyclists and pedestrians in Vauban: the “car-free neighborhood” and “the parking-free neighborhood” (UCLG, 2010). Parking is only allowed on Vaubanallee to support retail activities along this main street. Cars are not allowed to park in residential areas. They are only allowed for pick-

up and drop-off purposes. Private cars are required to park in a solar car garage located at the northern and eastern periphery of the district.

The Baden-Württemberg Land Law in Germany requires builders to provide one parking space on-site for each residential unit (Foletta & Henderson, 2016). Coates (2013, p. 275) states that “the law was changed to permit residents of Vauban to live in car-free districts on two conditions: (1) residents (or future residents) have to agree that they do not and will not own a car and (2) Vauban must certify that there is land dedicated to parking if the resident chooses to own a car.”

In order to sustain this system, they established the Vauban Club for Car-Free Living. According to this system, residents who own a car must bear some costs such as monthly rental fees, parking space cost and also share of annual property taxes levied on the garages (Coates, 2013). Others who do not own a car are rewarded for choosing a car-free living and they are being held exempted from such car-related costs (Coates, 2013). Addition to that, residents who do not have car-can participate the car sharing organization, The Freiburger Auto Gemeinschaft, and have access to cars anytime they need. Cars are located in one of the district garage for Vauban residents. Furthermore, resident choosing to live car-free receive a free pass for all forms of public transit in Freiburg as well as 50% reduction on every train ticket by way of Bahncard (UCLG, 2010).

3.2.1.3 Land Ownership and Delivery Method

Vauban district was a former military site which the City Council bought and release the land as small plots to Baugruppen (self-develop, owner-co-ops) rather than corporate house-builders (APS Group Scotland, 2010). Development covers the refurbishment of former barracks, in addition to new build phases. Although the City Council was initially planned to create 15 Baugruppen (UCLG, 2013), the number exceed the initial expectations and including all three phases of development between 1998 and 2009, 45 Baugruppen developed in Vauban (Coates, 2013).

Co-operative housing projects or Baugruppen, are characterized as small legally constituted cooperatives comprised future residents and private eco-minded developers committed to designing and developing their own communities (Coates, 2013). House-owners participating in these groups save up to 30% on the final cost of their homes, when compared to the typically higher purchase prices of similar housing units (UCLG, 2010). Furthermore, they participate the design phase of their homes.

Baugruppen approach has created diverse range of housing in Vauban and their designs generally exceed the current environmental and social criteria. They often achieved the status of passive houses and have been classified as plusenergy; they generate more energy than they consume (www.vauban.de). Furthermore, a diverse mixture of open spaces and structural solutions has been created as a result of the success of Baugruppen (Franko, 2010). Moreover, in addition to SUSI experience mentioned previously, Genova Cooperative created by Forum Vauban enabled young people, elderly people and people on low income to become homeowners. The cooperative is also responsible for the collectively owned property of the house in addition to a hostel and the launderette (UCLG, 2013).

The State acted as land developer and provide extensive public infrastructure and sold serviced plots to developers, most of which were Baugruppen (www.gov.scot, 2010). There are two ways to create a Baugruppe: “a group of citizens could apply to the city to develop a site or the city could announce its desire to develop a district using Baugruppen, along with a call for expressions of interest” (Coates, 2013, p. 276).

The priority for residential development was given to small co-ops of owner occupied households and Baugruppen rather than larger development companies. Therefore, government takes some measures to make land cost more affordable for Baugruppen and individual households. The policies such as releasing the majority of land as small plots and declaring up the front up purchase price of land prevented large investor developers. In the case of Vauban, land is allocated to its best use that meet the minimum standards and requirements for creating sustainable urban district not for maximizing the sale price.

3.2.1.4 Actors and Decision Making Process

The Freiburg local authority aims to create and implement a plan for the ecological and social restoration of the area, focusing on the following criteria: urban density, energy efficiency, public spaces and green areas, the promotion of public transport use, and the development of public service facilities and infrastructures (UCLG, 2010). They also believe in the high degree of public participation. Therefore, from the beginning, the city administration, local authorities, local politicians, technical experts and representatives of citizen groups (Forum Vauban, SUSI etc.) involved the design and development process of the district.

Forum Vauban was established with only five members at the end of 1994 and recognized as the district's legal body in 2005. The main object of Forum Vauban is to increase participation of the citizens. After main goals were defined, they organized a competition for selecting the design of Vauban (Coates, 2013). The team Kohlhoff and Kohlhoff which won the competition created a basic design for the city. Afterwards, Forum Vauban invited the citizens to actively participate in the development of the city under cover of it (Coates, 2013).

Construction of urban district of Vauban began in 1998 and the first two phases were completed in 2004 (Foletta & Henderson, 2016). The development of former military sites started in 1994 when the six barracks transformed into student apartments by University of Freiburg's Student Services Department (Coates, 2013). Also, another group "SUSI" established in 1990, converted four barracks into alternative housing units. Most of the original military buildings were demolished in this site, however, three were preserved and transformed into different usages. The first one is "Hous 37" converted into community center and the Association for Car-free Living. The second was developed as a part of a student village and the third was used for creating a low cost communal living project (Foletta & Henderson, 2016).

Development Plan of the district was approved by the government of the City of Freiburg and realized by the City Council and the intense involvement of citizens and eco-minded, non-commercial developers. The budget for cleaning and

decontamination of the site and creating some of the facilities, which is generally too high and the most difficult barrier to successful military site redevelopment, came from the Redevelopment Fund of the Federal State of Baden-Württemberg and loans granted to the City authorities (UCLG, 2010). Many of these loans were re-paid by selling land for housing (UCLG, 2010).

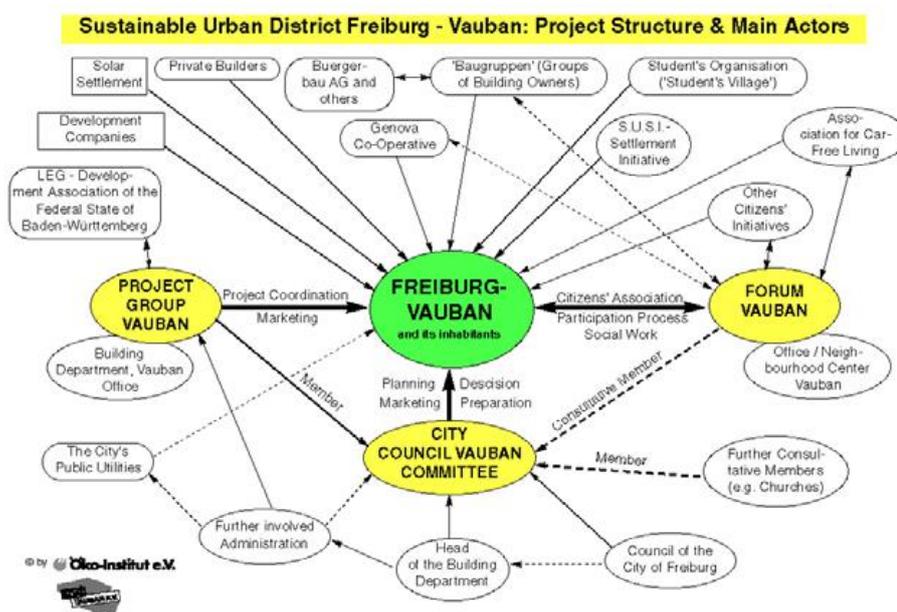


Figure 3.15: Layout of Vauban
(Source: <https://www.freiburg.de>)

In the Vauban case, the City Council agreed to forgo the profits from the sale of the lands and properties to meet the demands of the citizens (Coates, 2013). Allocation of more sites for passive housing as a result of the demand of the citizens and “car-free development that required to resolve a number of legal issues are just some examples to show the integration of ‘bottom up’ and ‘top down’ approaches to planning and design. The Baugruppen-based approach, which is one of the key success factors of this development, also ensured the active participation of the citizens in the planning and design process of the development.

3.2.2 National Military Museum Project in Soesterberg

The case of Soesterberg will be analyzed in two different parts. The first part will give brief information on the former military site and the second part will elaborate the design process and strategies regarding the redevelopment project.

3.2.2.1 Background Information

Soesterberg Airbase, the first military airfield located centrally in Netherlands, was used by American army till the end of cold war in 1989. The Americans left the base in 1994. After the war Dutch military took over the airbase and the military base started to serve as Royal Netherlands Air Force.



Figure 3.16: Soesterberg Airbase
(Photography by Hans van Breukelen)

After the cold war the use of the airbase was reduced and finally the base was closed on December 2008 because of the budget cuts in Dutch Army. In 2009, the ownership of the Soesterberg Airbase transferred to the city of Utrecht. The closure of former airbase has been seen as a chance to create bridges both ecologically and recreationally between the northern and southern part of the ‘Heuvelrug’ area (Hosper, n.d) and to open the airbase to public access.

3.2.2.2 The Transformation of Soesterberg Airbase: National Military Museum

The new National Military Museum (NMM), a merger between the former military museums in Delft and Soesterberg, takes up a total area of 45 hectares. It is situated on the part of the former airbase which remains under control of MoND and developed as a nature reserve. The establishment of the new museum at the site in 2014 was an important step that has been made towards the development of the Airbase as a landscape park. All land, covering 440 hectares, was reverted to green uses except for limited areas devoted to a Museum District.



Figure 3.17 Google earth image from the area, December 2018

The project realized in the period of 2011-2015 aims to excite and invite the visitor to experience stories of the Dutch armed forces in a real context (Talsma, 2014). Several stories such as the history of the place, the geographical context of defense lines and training grounds and relations of the military with the landscape are told by the museum and its surroundings. Telling the story of Dutch military history in an effective and aesthetic way and displaying a large collection of artefacts were considered important during the construction process of new museum building.



Figure 3.18 The master plan of museum area
(Source: H+N+S Landscape Architects)

In the plan, the museum stays in the middle of forest and enables to see the landscape from the museum in every direction in relation to the collection (Landezine, 2016). The district of the museum is divided into three terraces, each with a dominant theme: the top of the hill is quite nature area, on the middle terrace is the historical domain and near the runways, on the lowest level, is the new museum area that contains playgrounds and memorial area with a garden and plaza. The old runways, the panoramic view and the openness of the landscape dominate one side of the museum building (WLA, 2017). On the other side, the experience of the museum visitor continues when they walk through the landscape littered with a number of robust shelters, interesting bunkers and installations in addition to a number of monuments and memorials.



Figure 3.19 The space around the runways (Photography by HOSPER)

Sustainability was one of aspects playing an important role in the project. Bringing together cultural heritage, recreation and natural development and combining public and environmentally sensitive uses in the site were challenging tasks to be performed. In order to develop the ecological values of the site, an innovative planting plan that aimed to support and enhance the existing biodiversity and encourage new types of wildlife and plants to make the Peace Park their home, was put together in collaboration with forest ecologists (Topos, 2014). Preservation and restoration of existing buildings, opening up WWII bomb craters and the use of gabions to create terrace edges enhanced the cultural and historical nature of the park and made the past visible again.

3.2.2.3 Actors and Land Delivery Method

The invitation to tender procedure of this project began in 2010. The Public Private Partnership (PPP) contract including design, construction, finance and maintenance of the museum complex comprises the tasks such as exhibition rooms, public rooms and outdoor activities.

The project was successful because it enabled effective participation of individuals and organizations and at local, provincial and national level. The signatory private

partner became responsible for developing the project activities and assuring the protection of landscape. The land stayed in public ownership but signatory private partner will get the income generating from visits through ticket sells, parking lots, advertisement etc. in exchange of its investment.

3.3 CONCLUDING REMARKS: THE REDEVELOPMENT OF MILITARY SITES IN DEVELOPED AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

Four different cases in both developed and developing countries were analyzed to show the main differences in the ways military sites are transformed in different contexts. Although each of the countries' ways to transform these areas are very different from each other, the countries within the same categories (i.e. developed or developing countries) show some similarities in terms of the criteria and interests considered in the military site redevelopment process.

In Abdali case, one of the cases selected from developing parts of the world, the Jordanian state concentrated on economic prosperity and sold the military and state-owned land to private sector for the development of commercial uses, shopping mall and residential uses without considering the needs of residents and the history of the military site and buildings. Although Romania is also in the developing country status, the redevelopment process of Oradea Fortress in Romania was different than in the case of Abdali. In the revitalization of Oradea Fortress, buildings with historical and cultural values were preserved and restored for the inclusion of Oradea Fortress in tourism circuit at regional, national and international level. In this case, in addition to economic development, the social and environmental benefits of the project were also considered important by the authorities. However, both in the Abdali and Oradea Fortress case, public participation was not part of the planning process.

In Vauban Development Project, the Freiburg local authority focused on the criteria including urban density, energy efficiency, public spaces and green areas, the promotion of public transport use and the development of public service facilities and

infrastructures to create and implement a plan for the ecological and social restoration of the area. The priority for residential development was given to small co-ops owner occupied households and Baugruppen rather than larger companies and some measures were taken to support Baugruppen and individual households. The high degree of public participation was achieved in the design and development process of the district with the participation of the city administration, local authorities, local politicians, technical experts and representatives of citizen groups (Forum Vauban, SUSI etc.).

The Soesterberg Military Museum Project brought together the cultural heritage, recreation and natural development and combined public and environmentally sensitive uses in the site. The project achieved inclusive and effective participation by individuals, organizations and involvement at local, provincial and national level. In both cases within the developed country category, the priority was given to natural, cultural and historical preservation and restoration, energy efficiency and creation of public uses. In addition, active participation of individuals, organizations and involvement at local, provincial and national level were considered important in the redevelopment process of these military sites.

After analyzing different cases, it is concluded that providing ways for citizens and different actors to be active participants in military site redevelopment projects is the main difference between the perception of developed and developing countries regarding the redevelopment process of these sites. While generally there is a defined strategy for the active public participation in redevelopment process of military sites in developed countries, citizen involvement is above the desired level in developing countries and mostly more profitable development options are chosen for the redevelopment of military sites without considering the needs and thoughts of the residents. Furthermore, the design and implementation process of military site development projects is more transparent in developed countries when compared to developing countries.

As developed countries previously gained experience on the implementation of similar projects, they are more experienced in terms of creating effective partnerships and financial tools for the military site redevelopment projects. Compared to developing countries, they also put greater emphasis on environmental protection (like on energy efficiency issues, natural preservation, recreation and biodiversity in the projects to reduce energy consumption and protect green fields and ecology in design of the buildings and sites). As can already be seen from Vauban and Soesterberg cases, in developed countries, there is also great sensitivity to protection of historical and cultural values of the sites and buildings and reflect them into the design of the projects.

CHAPTER 4

URBAN POLITICAL AND INSTITUTIONAL CONTEXT IN TURKEY

This chapter consists of three parts. The first part provides background information regarding urban transformation implementations in Turkey. Furthermore, it briefly introduces the main actors of urban transformation and regulations that shaped the urban planning process in Turkey.

The second part focuses on the urban political and institutional context in Turkey that affects the military site redevelopment practices in the country. It discusses the actors involved in the transformation of military sites and the laws, regulations and policies about the redevelopment of military areas. As there is not much information obtained as a result of the literature review regarding the laws and regulations and the process of military site redevelopment in Turkey, the data collected through the interviews with some of the planners in the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization (MoEU), General Directorate of National Property (GDNP) and Housing Development Administration (HDA) are used in order to better explain the process and regulations related to military site redevelopment.

Lastly, this third section discusses three different military site transformation projects in Istanbul in order to provide a better understanding about the military site redevelopment practices in Turkey.

4.1 NEW REGULATIONS AND ACTORS OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION

Ataöv and Osmay (2007) defined three periods regarding the urban transformation policies and implementations in Turkey: the period of 1950-1980, 1980-2000 and after 2000. In the first period, urban transformation practices were mostly focused on urban regeneration of squatter areas located in the central parts of the city (Torus & Yönet,

2016). In the second period, the cities were affected by neoliberal policies and globalization. Urban transformation practices observed not only in residential areas but also in industrial, central and coastal areas (Ataöv & Osmay, 2007) and they were mostly focused on the urban renewal and rehabilitation of the areas with low quality of life conditions and preservation of historical areas (Torus & Yönet, 2016). After 2000, “regeneration is defined as a strategy with the collaboration of local municipalities and private sector” (Eren & Tökmeci, 2012, p. 208). As the municipalities has gained power and the role of private sector has increased in planning processes, urban transformation has gained speed in Turkey.

The beginning of 2000s witnessed a major restructuring process in Turkey (Kayasü & Yetişkul, 2014) and “following the victory of Justice and Development Party, Turkey has been fully subscribed to an ambitious urban agenda” (Özçevik & Brebbia & Şener, 2015, p. 46). This agenda aimed at increasing the countries urbanization rate and ‘modernizing’ the Turkish cities. (Özçevik et al., 2006). For this purpose, the government has accelerated the urban transformation process. As a symbol of status and power, mega-projects are created and used by the government to showcase modernization of cities and country (Adanalı, 2017). These mega-projects are used to attract more capital, investment and tourist to the cities of Turkey. Mega-projects are also portrayed as necessary for the economic growth of Turkey and finding solutions for long-lasting urban structural problems and unplanned growth.

Since 2000, urban transformation has been used as a tool for stimulating the growth for the economy (Devrim, 2016). The government has used urban and rural interventions to attract more capital and investment to the country and has considered more profitable options for the redevelopment. As claimed by Kayasü and Yetişkul (2014, p. 212), “urban development has always been considered to be the basis of capital accumulation processes in Turkey”.

The Government adopted new legal and institutional instruments in the face of EU Accession Process that have accelerated the implementation of the neo-liberal urban policies and reformed the actors of urban development and forms of production in the

city. According to Devrim (2016), legislative interventions of the government have triggered the neo-liberal space production practices, encouraged the mass housing production and increased the power of Housing and Development Administration (TOKI; hereafter: HDA).

As Türkün (2011, p. 1), states, “the growing power of the urban coalition has become dominant in Turkey after the 2000s”. The actors of the central and local governments and the authorities of important state organizations, all sharing an interest in growth and its effects on urban land rents, has become the part of this coalition and strongly supported by the actors of private sector such as developers, land owners, advisors, realtors, banks and the leading media (Türkün, 2011). Kayasü and Yetişkul (2014, p. 212) also claims in their study “power dynamics in Turkey have often worked in favour of those actors who hold power in the distribution process of urban rent throughout the evolution of Turkish neoliberal urban policy”.

In 2003, the most effective agency responsible for housing policies was the Undersecretariat of Housing. However, with the legislative and institutional changes, the role of Undersecretariat of Housing was transferred to the Housing Development Administration of Turkey (HDA) in 2003 and Land Office in 2004. HDA started to provide administration plans for social housing and urban transformation areas for the urban poor and low-income groups. The administration selects the private sector contractors who will be responsible for the implementation of the projects through tender process. Since HDA does not get any share from central budget, it has to produce housing for upper income groups by using cross-financing method for the purpose of generating income for the social housing (Bilgiç, 2016). They are mostly luxury housing projects targeted at middle to higher income groups.

In the period of 2000s, there have been numerous legislative changes affecting urban transformation in Turkey. The Mass Housing Law no. 2985, Transformation of Areas under Disaster Risk Law no. 6306 and the Local Administration Reforms of 2004 and 2005 are just a few of them. The central government’s involvement in urban development process has been accelerated through the establishment of partnerships

between HDA and the private sector with the enactment of the Mass Housing Law no.2985 in 1984 (Kayasü and Yetişkul, 2014). This law aimed to “provide authorised housing for urban population by establishing an institution affiliated with the central government to finance, plan, implement and control the mass housing development processes” (Kayasü and Yetişkul, 2014, p. 214).

The Law of Transformation of Areas under the Disaster Risks (Law No. 6306), came into effect in 2012, is to determine the procedures and principles regarding the rehabilitation, clearance, and renovations of areas and buildings at disaster risks in accordance with relevant standards with a view to creating healthy and safe living environment. Demolition decisions of the central authority are justified by the earthquake risk in many parts of Turkey. Through this law HDA and the Ministry of Environment and Urban Affairs increase their power to launch transformation projects in risk-designated areas and “a new supervisory role has been given to a few private construction companies selected for those undertakings” (Pierini, 2013, p. 3).

Local Administration Reform Package, starting from the year 2004, comprised of numerous laws on decentralization and local administration such as the laws on municipality, metropolitan municipality and special provincial administration (Eliçin, 2011). These laws have significantly changed the functional, institutional and financial structures of local governments (Kayasü and Yetişkul, 2014). Although the aim of this reform package was to accelerate the devolution of authority and competencies to local governments, as previously stated by Kayasü and Yetişkul (2014, p. 2017) “they become dysfunctional and their local development decisions and controls are bypassed by new regulations”. HDA has the authority to enforce the plan if development plans are not approved by the local governments in three months.

All these legislative and institutional changes resulted in increasing the power of HDA. It had become the most effective central government authority in housing sector within Turkey. Moreover, it is enabled to act as a private enterprise and establish new companies and partnerships with others (Kayasü and Yetişkul, 2014). Thus, opening

up high urban rent potential areas for central government and private sector become possible (Kayasü and Yetişkul, 2014).

The first priority of HDA is production of social housing with increased quality and qualifications for meeting the increasing housing demand for the lower income group and urban poor with its expanded authorities on planning and urban transformation (Bilgiç, 2016). However, HDA has also become an important actor in military site redevelopment after 2000s. The protocol signed between the Ministry of National Defense and HDA enabled the transfer of underused military lands to HDA in return for the construction of military installations in chosen military areas.

After Justice and Development Party (AKP) came to power in 2002, the economy has opened up to global markets in order to attract more foreign capital and investment to the country. Mega-projects seen as necessary for the growth of Turkey's construction-based economy (Adanalı, 2017). The country has invested in large-scale projects that have dramatically changed the urban built environments of the cities of Turkey. The largest and most environmentally significant developments such as the third bridge, the third airport, and the "crazy" Canal Istanbul Project has seen in İstanbul which is called as "showcase of Turkey" by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the president of Turkey.

AKP government considers these developments as critical for the economic growth of Turkey in line with the Turkey's 2023 Agenda. These projects are justified by increasing competition of cities in the world and providing jobs for thousands of people. In fact, it benefits developers whose objective is to gain profits from these developments and actors of growth coalition.

Many scholars, such as Adanalı (2017), argue that social and economic cost of these projects are not taken into account and the largest and most environmentally significant developments have been implemented without complete cost assessments, which has led to waste of public resources. These developments are strongly criticized because of the lack of transparency in decision-making processes and the sale of the valuable lands and the preservation areas of the cities to the pro-government

construction companies. Furthermore, the needs and thoughts of residents overlooked in the decision-making process through the top-down and anti-democratic governance.

The large-scale construction projects bring excessive profit to private-sector actors such as pro-government construction companies, land-owners, advisors in addition to growth coalition including the actors of the central and local governments, authorities of important state institutions and institutions affiliated with the central government that hold the political and economic power in the society. They have not solved the long-lasting urban structural problems and unplanned growth of the cities of Turkey. Instead, they paved the way for urban sprawl and social and spatial segregation in the city and also the environmental concerns due to their significant impacts on the nature.

These implementations are also strongly supported by the leading media through the neo-liberal discourses. Large advertising discourse were used through the placement of advertisements in national and regional newspapers, billboards, real-estate websites and magazines, TV and conferences on real-estate.

The government has also attempted to gain the support of citizens for such massive construction projects by using similar discourses such as “world’s biggest suspension bridge - the Osman Gazi Bridge”, “the widest suspension bridge in the world – Sultan Selim the Grim Bridge” and “world’s bigger airport – Third Airport in İstanbul” to demonstrate the competitiveness of country worldwide. For a number of reasons, including their size, existing assets (e.g., large green open space system) and location in the city, military sites have also provided a mean for the government to initiate such large-scale projects.

4.2 MILITARY SITE REDEVELOPMENT PRACTICES IN TURKEY

This section discusses the transformation of civil-military relations in Turkey and the effects of these relations on the redevelopment of military sites. Furthermore, it provides insight on the main actors involved in the redevelopment process of military

sites, the legal documents and regulations regarding the transfer, sale and redevelopment of military sites in Turkey.

4.2.1 Reforms about the Redevelopment of Military Sites

Before the 2000s, the redevelopment of military sites was a sensitive topic that could only be discussed behind closed doors in Turkey, since the military and part of the Turkish society believed that the main purpose of such discourses was not about maximizing the public benefit derived from reusing these landscapes, but about decreasing the power of the military. These were the days when the military was not politicized in Turkey. After the political ascent of the AKP in 2002, the military started to lose its power. Between 2002 and 2016, a few redevelopment projects were carried out in military sites in İstanbul, but because the redevelopment of military sites was still a sensitive topic, the details of these projects were not revealed or discussed by the media. Nevertheless, after the failed military coup attempt of July 15, 2016, the Turkish government used the attempt as an excuse for opening up the future of military sites in Turkey to discussion.

The dynamics of the transformation of civil-military relations in Turkey including the changes in the military, the changing attitudes of the society towards the military intervention in politics and reducing power of the military elites in the period of 15 years should be well analyzed for discussing the government's decision regarding the redevelopment of military sites.

A process of transformation in civil-military relations in Turkey has begun in 1999 and many reforms have been made in addition to institutional and constitutional changes during the ongoing process. These reforms are perceived by some citizens as a democratization and transition to a civilian-dominated system instead of a military-dominated one while the others are uncomfortable with the idea that the government uses these reforms in their favor to have more power in the political system by reducing the influence of the military (Gürsoy, 2014). Specific events in foreign policy such as EU and NATO membership process and the need of transformation in the military after the Cold War have accelerated the transformation process in the military

in addition to internal politics such as establishment of AKP government, decline in military power in politics and Ergenekon and Balyoz cases.

In the transformation process, the civil-military relations have been indirectly affected by NATO. In other words, NATO membership has indirectly supported the factors which led to the transformation of civil-military relations. Within the framework of the NATO membership, westernization aim of Turkey supported by the large section of the military reduced the reaction to the reform process (Gürsoy, 2014). Gürsoy (2014:167) states that “according to the study examining western democracies, a new international conjuncture was born with “the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the communist threat”, which led to significant transformations in the structure of the armed forces. Even if this analysis includes Western democracies, it is possible to talk about similar changes for all former NATO member countries”. Murat Yeşiltata asserted that after the Cold War, the USA, Russia, China and the main European countries tried to transform their militaries because of the changing security environment and nature of threats. However, Turkey has been not fully accomplished the national strategy for realizing the military transformation in comparison to many countries which experience the transformation process (Yeşilata, 2016).

The EU membership process, the legislative regulations and constitutional changes for fulfilling the Copenhagen criteria through the “Harmonization Packages” are other important factors, which accelerated the transformation process in civil-military relations in Turkey. The process has been started with the Helsinki Summit in 1999 and continued to gain momentum with the establishment of AKP Government in 2002 (Aktaş, 2011).

After the 2010 Referendum in Turkey, many significant reforms and legislative arrangements have been made by AKP government. As a result of these reforms and legislative arrangements after the referendum:

- The Turkish Armed Forces have been subjected to the legal control of the Court of Accounts

- The power balance in National Security Council was altered in favor of civilian members
- The power of civilians in supervising the military budget was increased
- Civilian secretary was assigned to The National Security Council
- The military members were removed from High Education Board and Radio and Television Supreme Council
- The jurisdiction of military justice has narrowed down and this regulation makes judicial remedies possible against Supreme Military Council decisions.

Gürsoy highlights that “The Turkish Armed Forces, which was formerly independent of civilian surveillance, had privileges and used veto powers over political matters, lost a significant amount of their authority in the last 15 years” (Gürsoy, 2014, p. 157). Influence of the military on the internal and foreign politics has been reduced with the above mentioned reforms and constitutional changes. As a result of the structural transformations with the changes made in the law, the tools that enable the military elites to influence the politics in Turkey have been removed (Soil Management Strategy, 2012) and the military was become less visible in terms of public discourse on foreign politics during this process (Aras & Karakaya Polat, 2008).

In the beginning of 2000s, the General Staff of Turkey could not prevent the reforms which are contrary to its interest because the reforms have been carried for the sake of EU Membership which was supported by a large part of the community (Gürsoy, 2014). In addition, the number of people who objects and protests military intervention in politics have increased since the beginning of 2000s and their support for the reforms has triggered the new ones (Gürsoy,2014). The changing attitude of some members of Turkish Armed Forces is also another factor facilitated the realization of these reforms since 1999 (Gürsoy, 2014).

It is very clear that the coup allegations was very influential in the transformation of civil-military relations with creating a new debate about the role of the military in

Turkey (Gürsoy, 2014). Whatever the results of these cases, it is obvious that some citizens have lost confidence in the military and they reduced the prestige and authority of the military elites.

4.2.2 Actors and Decision Making Process of Military Sites Redevelopment

After the decision on the relocation of military sites located in city centers to the outskirts of cities, Mehmet Özhasseki, the former Minister of Environment and Urbanization (MoEU), claimed that the main actors of the military site redevelopment process are the Ministry of Treasury and Finance, Ministry of Environment and Urbanization and Ministry of National Defense (MoND) and they set up a commission to make a decision on which military sites will be moved and what will be their new functions.

Regarding the analysis made by Ministry of Environment and Urbanization and the role of Ministry of National Defense in the military site redevelopment process, the following statements were made by one of the planners in Ministry of Environment and Urbanization:

“...The Directorate General of Spatial Planning (DGSP) under the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization made some analysis on the size, location and the former use of military sites in different cities of Turkey. They determined the military sites which are located in the city and bigger than 10 ha. The Ministry of National Defense was in charge of determining which military sites will be moved from the city center and selection of their new locations.” (The notes of author obtained from the interview with one of the planners in DGSP, 2018)

In July 2011, according to the Article 1 of the Decree Law No 646, which made amendments in the Organization Law* and allowed to the establishment of the Presidency of Tax Inspection Board, Ministry of Finance has obtained authority to

*In August 2011, other changes were made on the Article 13 of Organization Law with the Decree Law No 648/art 40. The authority to develop public lands and the state-owned immovable properties were given to Ministry of Environment and Urbanization.

develop public lands and use the state-owned immovable properties for the development of different projects. Within the framework of the authority received, the Ministry of Finance has obtained the authority to make a zoning plan rather than giving the public lands to Housing Development Administration in order to increase the value of these lands through making hotels, business centers or commercial properties. Within the Article 1, it is also stated that if the municipalities do not approve these plans within 3 months, they will be approved by the Ministry of Finance Directorate General of National Property.

After Turkey adopted a presidential system of governance, the General Directorate of National Property (previously affiliated to Ministry of Finance), one of the main actors of military site redevelopment process, was affiliated to the MoEU in 2017. Therefore, Ministry of Treasury and Finance has lost most of its authority in the redevelopment process of military sites and MoEU became an authority responsible for the sale of all kinds of movable and immovable properties of public institutions within the scope of the general budget. HDA, which was again one of the most powerful actor of transformation process, was also affiliated to the MoEU with the Decree Law No 703. Eventually, the process of redevelopment of military sites have gained speed as the units responsible for the relocation and redevelopment process of military sites were affiliated to the same Ministry.

Within the scope of the “Military Facilities General Protocol” and “Patrol Protocol” signed between the Ministry of National Defense and the Housing Development Administration (HDA), the transfer of military lands to HDA in return for the construction of military installation and buildings required by the Turkish Armed Forces has gained speed. According to the general protocol, the value of the land to be transferred to HDA is determined by the independent CMB licensed firms and transferred to HDA over the appraised value of the property agreed upon.

One of the planners in Housing Development Administration (HDA) were made the following comments and explanations regarding the criteria of HDA that are used to evaluate the military lands to be transferred by Ministry of National Defense:

“...The immovable properties registered in the name of Treasury proposed by the Ministry of National Defense can be transferred to HDA which evaluates the military lands according to their criteria such as its location, size, existing infrastructure, existing assets and whether it is appropriate for planning and can generate values in the real estate market in the short or long run.”(The notes of author obtained from the interview with one of the planners in GDNP, 2018).

If HDA finds the transfer of military land appropriate, it should be requested from the General Directorate of National Property. If the transfer of military land is approved by the GDNP, it can be transferred to HDA which is responsible for the preparation of zoning plan of the area and making changes to the existing zoning plan.

Regarding the transfer of military facilities to other administrations, the following statements and explanations were made by one of the planners working in the GDNP,

“...The General Directorate of National Property can also transfer the military lands to ILBANK A.Ş, Presidency of Privatization Administration under the Ministry of Treasury and Finance, Directorate General for Infrastructure and Urban Transformation Services under the MoEU and municipalities. These administrations can put these areas out to tender and sell them to generate revenue. If the military area is declared as risky areas or reserve areas, the GDNP can transfer the military land to HDA and HDA can also transfer these areas to other administrations upon their requests.” (The notes of author obtained from the interview with one of the planners in GDNP, 2018).

The transfer of security and prohibited military zones and idle properties to HDA and municipalities has been made possible by the Law No. 6306. However, since the military lands are huge areas and new construction are foreseen in these areas, the transfer of military lands to HDA is preferred.

Following comments are also made by one of the planners in GDNP regarding why HDA is preferred for the military site redevelopment projects:

“...The transfer of military lands to HDA is preferred since HDA can go out to tender faster than other administrations as a result of the protocol signed between MoND and HDA. Furthermore, the military lands can be passed into the ownership of HDA, which makes the redevelopment process of military lands a lot less bureaucratic.” (The notes of author obtained from the interview with one of the planners in GDNP, 2018).

Fikri Işık, the former MoND, stated that the military lands with a total budget of 3 billion 84 million TL have been transferred to HDA in various provinces in return for the construction of military installation and buildings required by the Turkish Armed Forces (Hürriyet, 2016). Işık also stated that because of the lack of budgetary and financial resources of municipalities for the protocols, progress cannot be made in construction of military facilities and buildings in return for the transfer of military lands. Furthermore, as the municipalities subject to public procurement legislation they are not able to construct facilities and buildings for military needs out of their borders (Hürriyet, 2016).

Similar to the other urban transformation practices, municipalities could not become active in military site redevelopment process of Turkey and HDA again one of the important actors of this process. Furthermore, there is no defined strategy for the active participation of the citizens in the planning and decision making process of these developments. As a result, it seems that the actors and the way of urban transformation will stay the same. The central government and the authorities of important state organizations which are strongly supported by private construction companies, land owners and the leading media will again be the main actors of these transformation projects.

4.2.3 Legal Documents and Regulations

The Law of Transformation of Areas under the Disaster Risks (Law No. 6306), entered in force in 2012 and it has been made possible to destroy and reconstruct every place declared as a "disaster risk area" from forest areas to military areas (Chamber of City Planners, 2012). According to Article 3.3 of Law, the security zones, prohibited

military zones and idle properties of the military can be transferred to HDA and municipalities under certain conditions.

“Article 3. (3) Upon the request of the MoEU; the areas that are under the laws of No. 189 dated 28/12/1960 and No. 2565 on the Military Forbidden and Security Zones dated 18/12/1981 including those located in risky areas and reserve building areas and which are privately owned by the Treasury;

*a) Those dedicated to the public administrations can be allocated to the MoEU by the decision of the President or transferred free of charge to HDA and the municipalities upon the request of the Ministry.**

*b) Those not dedicated to the public administrations can be allocated to the MoEU through receiving the opinion of the relevant public administrations or transferred free of charge to HDA and the municipalities upon the request of the Ministry.**”*

Law No. 189 which regulates the sale of military land was adopted on 28.12.1960 and published in Official Gazette dated 02.01.1961. It was adopted by the committee of the National Unity after the military coup of May 27, 1960 and is still in force without significant changes. This law is justified by urban encroachment issue and its negative impact on the military’s performance and security and restriction on the development of training and practice areas.

According to Law No 189, military lands in Turkey will not be allocated without the approval of Ministry of National Defense. The proceeds for the sale of these military lands and buildings will be used for the allocation of new barracks, military garrisons

* With the article 196 of the Decree Law No.200 dated 2/7/2018, the phase “by the proposal of the Ministry of Finance and the decision of Council of Ministers through receiving opinion of the relevant public administration and for the places covered by the Law No.189 and 2565 through receiving the approval of MoND” has been changed to “by the decision of the President”.

** With the Article 21 of the Law No. 7153 dated 29/11/2018, the phrase “by the Ministry of Finance” has been removed from the text of the article.

and other necessary structures for the troops, purchase or expropriation of buildings, restoration, expansion and improvement of existing ones, meeting the need for emergency weapons and will be transferred to The Defense Industry Support Fund, established with Law No. 3238, by Ministry of Finance. As a reference to this Law, Erdoğan Bayraktar, the former Minister of Environment and Urbanization of Turkey, states new barracks and other military structures will be built outside the city in exchange for the lands taken over.

Under this section, there is also need to mention about some general provisions and liabilities of the parties defined in “Military Facilities General Protocol” signed between the Ministry of National Defense and the Housing Development Administration (HDA). According to the Circular No. 2007/3, the construction of military facilities will not be commenced without permission from the Prime Ministry. Following the approval of the construction documents by the Ministry of National Defense and HDA, the tender process can be initiated by HDA.

The land allocated to the Ministry of National Defense for military facilities will be delivered to HDA within 20 days following its request. In order to carry out and conclude the construction activities within the scope of the protocol in a healthy and coordinated manner, a coordination committee consisting of two staff from HDA and one staff from the Construction and Real Estate Department of the Ministry of National Defense and the relevant Command will be established. It is also stated in the protocol, additional protocols may be adopted by the parties, if they are deemed necessary in order to remedy the needs and requirements which are not included in the protocol and needed later and they become an integral part of the general protocol.

4.2.4 Criteria of the Redevelopment of Military Sites

The reasons for the relocation of military sites in Turkey are explained by one of the planners in the GDNP with the following statements:

“...Security measures and challenges associated with conducting operations and activities in military sites and the needs of Turkish Armed Forces such as

the need for larger area for conducting military operations are the reasons for the relocation of military facilities in Turkey.” (The notes of author obtained from the interview with one of the planners in GDNP, 2018).

The government’s attempts to generate income by selling immovable properties including military sites is also defined as another reason by another planner in GDNP. (The notes of author obtained from the interview with one of the planners in GDNP, 2018).

The following statements were also made by one of the planners in the GDNP to explain the most problematic issues in the redevelopment process of military sites and the methods used for covering the costs incurred during the relocation and redevelopment process of military sites in Turkey:

“...There are two fundamental issues that need to be resolved in the redevelopment process of military sites. First one is to find a new and sufficiently large areas for the needs of Turkish Armed Forces and the second is to bear the cost of new military facilities and infrastructure to be established. The cost of new military installations and infrastructure can be subsidized from the government's general budget. However, the transformation of military areas into revenue-generating uses to cover the costs of new installations is the second method, which is mostly preferred.” (The notes of author obtained from the interview with one of the planners in GDNP, 2018).

Fikri Işık, the Minister of National Defense, claimed that Ministries, in charge of the transformation of military lands, are looking for a formulation that will balance three principals (Habertürk Newspaper, 2017). When they give a decision on the new functions of the military sites, they will consider the needs of Turkish Armed Forces, protection of green areas in military sites and bearing the cost of new military installations and infrastructure (Habertürk Newspaper, 2017).

According to the statements of the planners in the GDNP and HDA:

“...The huge green areas in the military installations cannot be left as they are since they are valuable lands located in the city center. Some part of these areas should be transformed into revenue-generating uses to cover the cost of new installations.” (The notes of author obtained from the interview with the planners in GDNP and HDA, 2018).

While changes are made on the existing zoning plan though giving new functions to military sites in Turkey, mostly the real-estate development and the dynamics of real-estate market are taken into account. Government usually prefer the most profitable option rather than considering the needs and thoughts of residents. Although there are some defined criteria to be considered in the transformation process of military areas, the decision on the closure and transformation of these areas are mostly affected by the economic concerns and political process in Turkey.

Although the relocation of military sites has been on the government agenda especially since 2012, there are not much defined criteria and strategies to determine which military facilities to be closed and what will be their new functions. There are still many questions remained unanswered such as how these areas should be re-used by considering public interest; how the residents approach to the idea of transformation of military sites; what they would like to see in these environments; how the planning officials in Ministries approach the transformation problem of these areas, etc.

4.3 CASES OF MILITARY SITES REDEVELOPMENT IN ISTANBUL TURKEY

The transfer of valuable military real-estates to HDA has been started in 2007 due to some reasons including the movement of military areas from periphery to center as a result of the rapid urbanization process and its negative impact on the military's performance and security. Following the failed military coup attempt of July 15, when 248 people were killed, the former Prime Minister, Binali Yıldırım, stated that “all barracks used by coup plotters on July 15 will be relocated in order to focus on border security of Turkey and these changes will make the Turkish Armed Forces stronger and better mobilized against security threats” (Sözcü, 2016). In addition to the

decision on the relocation of military sites, government closed down all military high schools and decided to establish a ‘National Defense University’ to replace them.

Kuleli Military High School, located on Istanbul's Asian side of the Bosphorus strait, is one of the military high school closed down after the military coup attempt. After the decision on the closure of Kuleli Military High School, based on the change of the organization law, some Turkish newspapers alleged that it will be converted into a hotel or commercial property. As most of the military areas with very rare exceptions have been transformed into high-rise buildings, luxury residences and commercial entertainment areas since 2007, serious doubts have raised on the public interest in the redevelopment of military sites and buildings when decision was given on the relocation of these areas.

İstanbul will be one of the most affected city by the transformation process because of the total size of the military sites, which is the 10 percent of the land ownership of the city. Although lots of military areas are under the risk of transformation, there are not much completed projects in other cities of Turkey. Many of them are still in the decision-making, planning or implementation phase. As military sites transformation projects have been implemented in İstanbul for many years, it is possible to see the results of these projects in the city. Therefore, 3 different cases have been selected from İstanbul to discuss the redevelopment process and new functions of these areas.

4.3.1 Ayazağa Gendarmerie General Command

In 2008, the military land of Gendarmerie General Command was transferred to HDA in return for the construction of military installation in another area after the protocol signed between the Gendarmerie General Command, the Ministry of Finance and the Housing Development Administration. Two years later, on August 2010, HDA declared the former military site as a “Slum Prevention Zone”. Emlak Konut GYO, the biggest real estate investment company in Turkey, put this area out to tender and Ağaoğlu Group, one of Turkey's largest real estate developers, won the tender and signed a contract for the land.

Maslak 1453 project has been constructed on 325.000 square meters and is located next to the Fatih Forest. It is promoted as Europe’s largest living complex with its residential, office, shopping and social areas. According to the Slum Prevention Law No 775, this area should have been used for the production of housing for low income groups (Alp, 2016). However, despite many objections and action for nullity, the former military site was transferred to Ađaođlu Group for the construction of luxury housing in 2010.

Maslak 1453, a high-density mixed-use housing project, has been strongly criticized because of its proximity to the Fatih Forest and the sale of such a valuable land to a private construction company after this area declared as “Slum Prevention Zone”. The needs and thoughts of citizens ignored in the decision-making process though the top-down approach. Such practices also raised concerns about the risk of destruction of forests. When Ađaođlu asked “Wouldn’t you want to live in a community surrounded by forests?” in the TV commercial of Maslak 1453 (please see <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NPSP-fyWpew>), the commercial was harshly protested by environmentalist, causing Ađaođlu not to continue broadcasting the commercial.



Figure 4.1: Ađaođlu Maslak 1453 Project
(Source: Timur Kara, Magma Periodical)

The satellite images of the area, which was announced as Slum (Gecekondu) Prevention Zone in 2010 and started construction in 2012, are shared below to show the changes over the time.



Figure 4.2: The satellite image of the area in 2010
(Source: <https://kuzeyormanlari.org>)



Figure 4.3: The satellite image of the area in 2017
(Source: <https://kuzeyormanlari.org>)

4.3.2 Sarıyer Zekeriyaköy 15th Missile Base Command

Ministry of National Defense transferred the former military site to HDA and it has been sold to Emlak Konut GYO (Emlak Konut Real Estate Investment Company) after the 15th Air Missile Base in Zekeriyaköy was evacuated in 2010 and the lands of villagers were expropriated.

The Project KÖY (The Village) has been developing on 467.000 square meters of project area by Siyahkalem in Zekeriyaköy. It is constructed on 250.000 square meters (sellable) areas. It consists of 1167 Luxury Residential units, 118.000 square meters Natural Woodland Park and 15.000 square meters Shopping Mall. The construction of the second of the three stages of the 'Zekeriyaköy Housing Project', which includes luxury housing and shopping mall, has begun in partnership with the Emlak Konut GYO A.Ş. and Siyahkalem Architecture Company.



Figure 4.4: The Project KÖY
(Sources: koy.com.tr, emlakkonut.com.tr)

The Project KÖY was criticized by a number of researchers such as Alparslan Nas. In his article, Nas (2016) analyzed the gated communities including the “Köy” that are assigned with brand names connoting naturalness or greenness in different aspects and explained how these green marketing narratives are used as a strategy to expand green-gated community market. Nas (2016, p. 419) stated that “construction companies took interest in sustaining the demand for green lifestyle and brand names of these projects

offer green as an asset by which the residents of gated communities can be empowered and refreshed.”

The Project KÖY was also criticized by particularly civil society organizations, and chamber of city planners in order to raise awareness about the public interest in redevelopment of military sites as this area was not the only one transformed into luxury housing and commercial uses. These projects were also criticized as they cause to serious damage to forests and address only the specific segment of the society.

4.3.3 Davutpaşa Barracks

Davutpaşa Barracks was established for the Asakir-i Mansure-i Muhammediye Army after abolishing the Janissary Corps in 1826. This area was transferred to Yıldız Technical University. New buildings are built into this area after the departments of Yıldız Technical University have been moved to Davutpaşa. There are 16 registered buildings determined by conservation board in the Barracks.



Figure 4.5: Davutpaşa Barracks

(Source: <http://yildiz-teknik.blogspot.com>)

Following the statement made by Recep Tayyip Erdoğan (2016) regarding the transformation of Yıldız Campus into the Presidential Complex, some of the

departments of the University have been moved and the campus started to be evacuated. Yıldız campus was open to public use since the Republican period. However, now it is under the risk of transformation and might be turned into a private space for the president.

To sum up, former military sites in Turkey include considerable amount of green areas and most of them also include heritage assets, historical and symbolic buildings. Their proximity to forest and central locations make them attractive to large-scale real estate developers. Most of the former military sites including these three projects in Turkey have been transformed into luxury housing and commercial uses and allocated for private use rather than opening them to public. The public interest, the needs and thoughts of the citizens ignored in the redevelopment process of these military sites and these projects also raised concerns about the risk of destruction of forests.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This chapter starts with a discussion of the research methods used in the data collection and analysis. After presenting the research design and the methods of data collection and analysis, the chapter concludes with a discussion of the limitations of the study.

5.1 RESEARCH DESIGN

This research uses a qualitative case-study design to investigate the perceptions of the residents regarding the issue of a possible transformation that targets military sites in Ankara and how these sites should be (re-)used/considered based on a number of factors, including the needs and demands of residents and urbanization dynamics of the city. The study area, participant selection process, data collection and analysis will be discussed in the following sections.

The primary research methodology employed is a single qualitative case study. It is a qualitative approach in which the investigator explores a case over time through detailed, in-depth data collection and reports a case description and case-based themes (Creswell et al., 2007). Case study is used to gain an understanding of the complex issue in real life settings and well suited to answer how and why research questions while building extensive and in-depth descriptions of the contemporary phenomenon. They do not aim to generalise the findings to populations (statistical generalisation); they aim to generalise to theories (analytical generalisation) (Yin, 2009).

The objectives of this research are achieved through exploring the military site redevelopment process in Turkey and the characteristics of the chosen military site by collecting detailed data from the relevant authorities such as Housing Development Administration of Turkey (HDA) and General Directorate of National Property

(GDNP) and designing and conducting a survey to learn the perception of the residents regarding the possible transformation of the chosen military site.

5.1.1 Site Selection

Mamak is planned to be a modern district through the demolition of squatters and the re-construction of built environment. There are lots of urban transformation projects in Mamak including the large-scale urban transformation project “New Mamak Urban Transformation and Development Project” which has been currently under construction in Mamak. It consists of 14 neighborhoods in the district and covers 7 million square meters area. It is hoped that these large-scale projects will change the image of the district, increase the population and change the local economy and increase the job opportunities in the district.

Mamak 4th Corps Command, one of the military sites located on the main growth corridors of Ankara, has been selected as the case study because of its significant location and the vast number of projects being implemented around the military site for the redevelopment of the district.

5.1.1.1 Evolution of the Mamak Corps Command and Its Surrounding Area

The Mamak Corps Command, located on the eastern border of the Mamak district, is approximately 8 kms. away from the city center, Kızılay Square. It is located near Samsun motorway and very close to MEBS School and Training Center Command and Hamza Sülün Barrack which are also situated in Mamak. On the planned area, there are headquarters buildings, social facilities, training facilities and houses for military purposes (1/5000 Master and 1/10000 Implementation Plan Description Report, 2010).

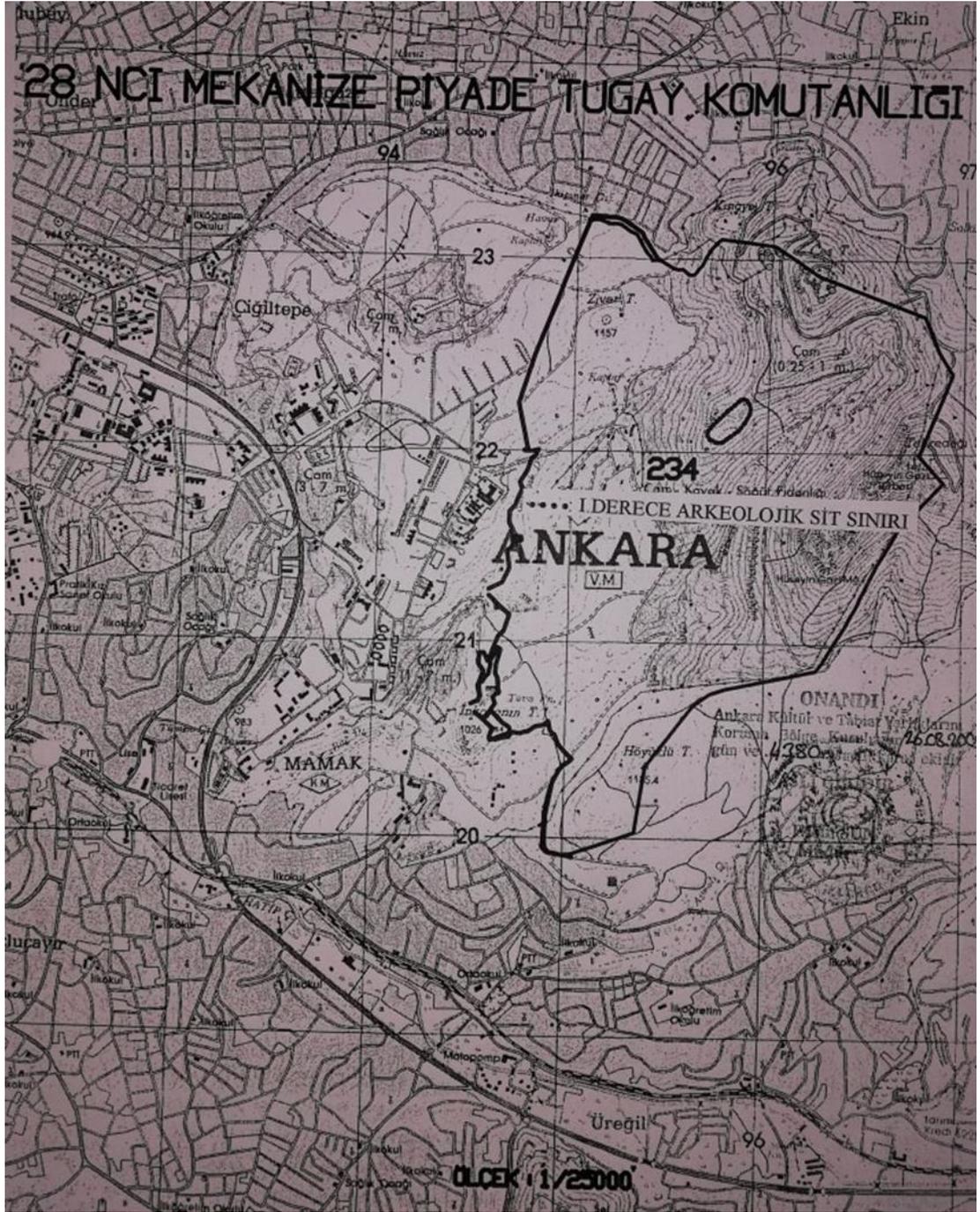


Figure 5.1: The Boundary of 1st Degree Archaeological Site, Zirveteppe Slope Settlement
(Source: Decision Document of Regional Boards of Protection of Cultural and Natural Assets, 2009)

The planning area is approximately 1077 hectare and the total construction area is approximately 325,600 sqm. Areas with a thirty percent or greater slope in the east of the military site were identified as areas which are not suitable for settlement in the geological survey report and about 2.6 hectare of the 234 parcels in the area were registered as 1st degree archeological site (the decision no 865, 1989; decision no 4380, 2009) (1/5000 Master and 1/10000 Implementation Plan Description Report, 2010).



Figure 5.2: Google Earth Image of the Area, 2019
(Source: Reproduced by the Author)

There are a number of redevelopment projects being implemented around the chosen military site. Most of them are large-scale urban transformation projects including mass housing projects. A very dense housing area surround the military site and there are not enough public open spaces to serve the population of this area. Mostly, residential uses are observed in the surrounding area while the number and quality of

public facilities such as social, cultural and sport areas are not enough to meet the needs of neighborhood residents near to the military site.

5.2 DATA COLLECTION

The techniques used for data collection in this research are: (1) secondary data received from scientific literature, government documents (e.g., applicable laws) and media including newspapers, brochures, internet web sites, and (2) primary data obtained from the interviews with the government officers, a questionnaire research with the residents of two selected neighborhoods and field observation in the peripheral neighborhoods of the chosen military site.

Secondary data is mainly used to understand the existing urban dynamics, global trends, existing land uses and legal documents about the transformation problem of the chosen military site. This information is provided in the previous parts of the thesis. It also played a key role in preparing the questionnaire and exploring the characteristics of the military site. In addition to secondary data, field observation was used to explore the current situation in the surrounding area of the military site. With this understanding, the author aimed to better interpret the results from the questionnaire, as for example, why residents prefer some uses in their neighborhood to others.

A result of the literature review shows that there is little information in the literature regarding the laws and regulations and the process of military site redevelopment in Turkey. Therefore, the author aimed to acquire this knowledge by interviewing with the planners in the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization (MoEU), GDNP and HDA. Questionnaires were conducted with residents living near the chosen military site to answer the main research question of this thesis: “How do the residents approach the issue of a possible transformation that targets military sites in Ankara? Do the role of the level of education and property ownership status have any effect residents’ approach to the problem of military site redevelopment and their aspirations

regarding the redevelopment of such places?” The design of the questionnaire instrument will be explained in detail in the coming sections.

5.2.1 Selection of the Participants and Structure of the Questionnaire

Since the urban transformation projects are still under construction in Mamak, there is a large number of empty buildings in some of the neighborhoods and some of them still have squatter housing areas. As it is believed that squatter houses will be replaced by new housing areas along with their residents, the neighborhoods with squatters were not selected for conducting the questionnaire research since residents of the squatter settlements may not continue to live in their existing neighborhoods. After the elimination of some neighborhoods, Altağaç and Karağaç which are among the neighborhoods closest to the military site were selected as a study field for conducting questionnaire research. Although there are two separate neighborhoods, there is no clear dividing line between them and, arguably, their socio-demographic and physical characteristics are quite similar.



Figure 5.3: Google Earth Image of Altağaç and Karağaç Neighborhoods, 2019 (Source: Reproduced by the Author)

150 questionnaires are applied with a convenience sampling method to the local residents living and/or working in Altıağaç and Karaağaç Neighborhoods. Participants of the questionnaire are restricted to adults aged 18–70 years. In order to find the participants, neighborhood gathering places such as restaurants and cafes are visited and local residents are invited to participate in the questionnaire research.

Questionnaire research is used to find out the answer of the research question below and investigates only the role of education and homeownership status on the residents' place preferences:

“How do the residents approach the issue of a possible transformation that targets military sites in Ankara? Do the role of the level of education and property ownership status have any effect on the way residents approach the problem of military site redevelopment and their aspirations regarding the redevelopment of such places?”

The questionnaire consisted of 20 questions and prepared based on the main findings of the literature review. Close-ended question types are mostly used in order to increase the response rates of the target group. The response formats which are used in the questionnaire are as follows:

- Dichotomous i.e. Yes/No or Male/Female
- Multiple response
- Matrix/table format with identical response options
- Ranking order of preference

The questionnaire was separated into three parts. The first part included the questions regarding the expectations of the residents from their neighborhood environment. Residents were asked to rate their satisfaction level with different uses in their neighborhood on five point Likert item varying from one (very dissatisfied) to five (very satisfied). Residents were also asked to indicate three uses they would like to see the most in their neighborhood environment in an open-ended question format.

Additionally, this part included the questions about the residents' years of residency in the neighborhoods and their property ownership status.

The second part included questions about the possible transformation of the military site. Residents were asked to indicate their level of agreement with the statements regarding the possible relocation and redevelopment of military site on a five-point Likert scale that offers a range of answer options from one (strongly disagree) to five (strongly agree). Likert scale questions were presented in a visual analogue scale to enable the use of parametric tests. In addition, the residents were questioned about the type of uses residents would like to see in the area where military site is located, their positive or negative thoughts for the projects proposed by Mamak Mayor, the criteria to be considered as a priority by the state if this site is transformed and the open ended questions about any other negative/positive thoughts and feelings about the military site. The close-ended questions were prepared by using a Likert type question format with three response options and rank order question type.

In the last part of the questionnaire, the residents were questioned about their socio-demographic characteristics such as age, gender, education level of the respondents and whether or not they had a family member who at any time were affiliated with Mamak 4th Corps Command.

5.3 DATA ANALYSIS

There are both open-ended and close-ended questions in the questionnaire. A Likert type and Likert scale data are obtained from the close-ended questions that have Likert type response options (i.e. strongly disagree, disagree, neutral, agree, strongly agree). The difference between Likert type items and Likert scale are described by Clason and Dormody (1994). Likert type items are used to measure respondents' attitudes to a particular question that use some aspect of the original Likert response alternatives (Boone, 2012). Researcher do not have any attempt to combine the responses from items into a single composite scale. An original Likert scale, on the other hand, uses a

series of Likert type items that represent similar questions and combined them into a single composite score.

To properly analyze the Likert type data and Likert scale data, the appropriate statistical tools should be chosen. Likert type data can be analyzed as ordinal data which only indicates one score is greater than another, not the distance between the points. The recommended statistical tools to be used for ordinal measurement scale are the modes, medians, and frequencies. Likert scale data, on the other hand, can be analyzed as interval data. The recommended statistical tools to be used are the mean for central tendency and standard deviations (SD) for variability. In addition, interval data can be further analyzed by using t-test, ANOVA and regression procedures.

In the data analysis phase of the questionnaire, the median is used to determine the central tendency on a set of ordinal data while the mean and standard deviations are used to measure the central tendency and variability on interval data derived from Likert scale questions. Furthermore, t-test is used to compare the means of two samples from different neighborhoods and determine the effect of education level and property ownership status of respondents on the way they approach the problem of military site redevelopment. Unpaired t-test are chosen to analyze the data as it is applied to two independent groups and sample size from the two groups are not equal.

Content analysis is used as a method to analyze the data obtained from the question asking the participants to indicate three uses that they would like to see the most in their neighborhood environment. For this purpose, the author carefully reviewed the data and formulated the codes. The codes that are related to each other in terms of their content are then be grouped into categories. The qualitative data obtained from open-ended questions is also analyzed by selecting and presenting the quotes which are the most representative of the research findings.

5.4 LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

This study has a number of limitations:

- The content of this study is politically sensitive because of the national defense and the national security considerations of the country (e.g., a military coup attempt in the near past and on-going wars in the Middle East). Thus, two main concerns of the researcher during the data collection phase were the quality of data obtained from the relevant authorities and ministries regarding the military sites and their transformation, and access to official documents and reports as some data were confidential. Therefore, during the interviews with the government officials, the author obtained general responses from the participants especially for the questions regarding the future of military sites in Turkey and how their institution approach the regeneration problem of such sites.
- Because the chosen military site was not abandoned, it was not possible to visit it for recording its visual qualities. Some information regarding the qualities of the buildings in the chosen military area (e.g. their size, number of rooms, type of buildings) were confidential. The only available visual data for the chosen site was obtained from satellite (e.g., Google Earth) images. This issue hindered the author to propose any re-use decision for each available structure in the selected site.

CHAPTER 6

RESULTS

This chapter comprises the analysis of data followed by a discussion of the research findings in Chapter 7. It starts with the description of socio-demographic characteristics of research participants and followed by the presentation of results related to the residents' satisfaction with areas/uses in their neighborhoods and their approach towards the possible relocation and redevelopment of Mamak 4th Corps Command military site.

6.1 Socio-demographic Characteristics of Research Participants

The questionnaire was applied to the participants living in Altiğağaç and Karağağaç Neighborhoods. Along with others, these neighborhoods surround Mamak 4th Corps Command site. The total numbers of participants from Altiğağaç and Karağağaç Neighborhoods were 73 and 77 respectively. As Table 6.1 illustrates, 30% of the respondents were female (n=45) and 70% of them were male (n=105). The average years of residency of residents was 16.6 (SD=13.2). The range of age of the residents was 18-70 with an average age of 36.5 (SD=12.4). The largest proportion of respondents (64.7%) had non-higher education degree. The proportion of the residents who reported having higher education was 35.3%. The proportion of the property owners was 72% while the proportion of non-owners was 28%. The proportion of respondents who have a family member serving in Mamak 4th Corps Command was 6% and those having a family member previously worked or retired from Mamak 4th Corps Command was 2%.

Table 6.1: Socio-demographic Characteristics of the Research Participants

Variable	Overall (n=150)	Altiğaç Neighborhood (n=73)	Karağaç Neighborhood (n=77)
	% or Mean (SD)	% or Mean (SD)	% or Mean (SD)
<i>Years of Residency</i>	16.6 (13.2)	13.8 (13.29)	19.2 (10.87)
<i>Age</i>	36.5 (12.4)	34.7 (12.7)	38.2 (11.9)
<i>Gender</i>			
Male	70 %	28.8 %	31.2 %
Female	30 %	71.2 %	68.8 %
<i>Level of Education</i>			
Non-higher Education	64.7 %	57.5 %	71.4 %
Higher Education	35.3 %	42.5 %	28.6 %
<i>Property Ownership Status</i>			
Owners	72 %	72.6 %	71.4 %
Non-owners	28 %	27.4 %	28.6 %
<i>Having a family member who at any time were affiliated with Mamak 4th Corps Command</i>			
Having a family member who serves in Mamak 4th Corps Command	6 %	4.1 %	7.8 %
Having a family member who is previously worked/retired from Mamak 4th Corps Command	2 %	0.0 %	3.9 %

6.2 Residents' satisfaction with uses in their neighborhoods

The respondents were asked to indicate their satisfaction level with different land uses in their neighborhoods. As Table 6.2 illustrates, they reported the lowest levels of satisfaction with indoor/outdoor sports facilities (M=1, SD=0.97), cultural facilities (M=1, SD= 0.51), kindergartens (M=1, SD=0.90) and universities (M=1, SD= 0.67) in their neighborhoods. As Table 6.3 shows, they reported highest satisfaction scores for groceries and markets (M=4, SD=1.12), residential areas (M=4, SD=1.23) and military areas (M=4, SD=1.12) in their neighborhoods.

Table 6.2: Land uses which received the lowest median satisfaction scores

Satisfaction with uses	Indoor Outdoor Sport Facilities	Cultural Facilities	Kindergartens	Universities
Median	1	1	1	1
SD	0.97	0.51	0.90	0.67

Table 6.3: Land uses which received the lowest median satisfaction scores

Satisfaction with uses	Groceries and Markets	Residential Areas	Military Facilities
Median	4	4	4
SD	1.12	1.23	1.12

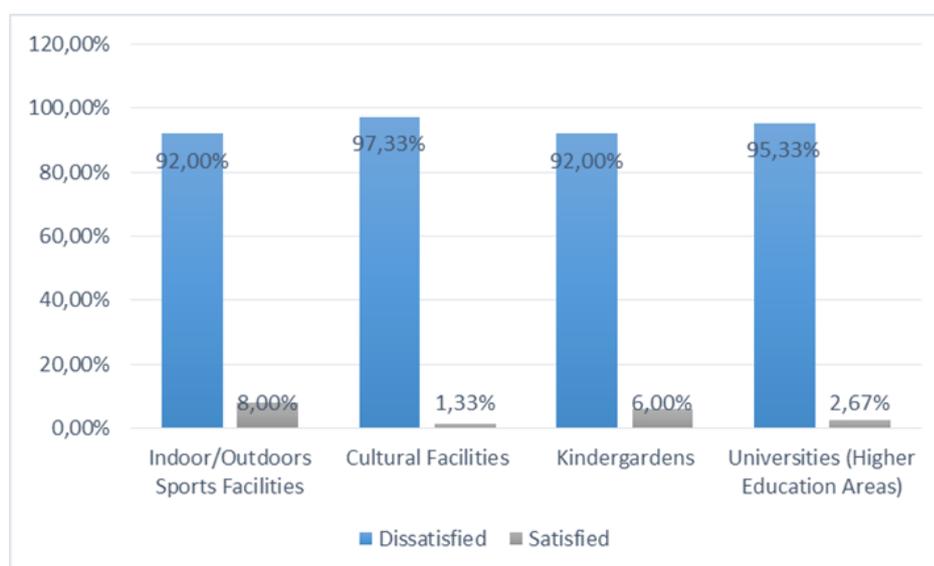


Figure 6.1: The percentage of dissatisfied and satisfied respondents for sports and cultural facilities, kindergartens and universities in the neighborhood

As shown in Figure 6.1, most respondents were dissatisfied with the indoor/outdoor sports facilities (92% of the participants), cultural facilities (97% of the participants), kindergartens (92% of the participants) and universities (95% of the participants) in their neighborhoods. As shown in Figure 6.2, 58%, 64.67% and 52.67% of the

participants were satisfied with the groceries and markets, residential areas and military sites in their neighborhoods respectively.

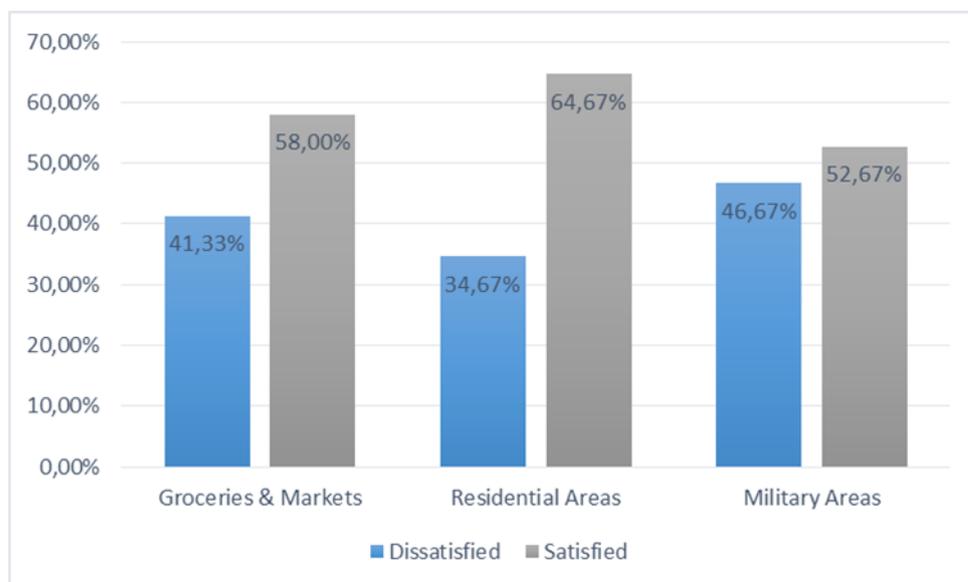


Figure 6.2: The percentage of dissatisfied and satisfied respondents for groceries and markets, residential areas and military sites

The respondents were also asked to indicate three uses they would like to see the most in their neighborhoods in order of priority. Their priorities were reported as green areas followed closely by indoor/outdoor facilities and healthcare facilities.

6.3 Residents' approach towards the possible relocation and transformation of Mamak 4th Corps Command military site

The respondents were asked whether or not they have seen or heard the news that Mamak 4th Corps Command will be moved to outskirts of the city and that area will be used for other purposes. As shown in Figure 6.3, 78% of the respondents heard the news about the possible relocation and transformation of the military site whereas 22% of them did not hear such news.

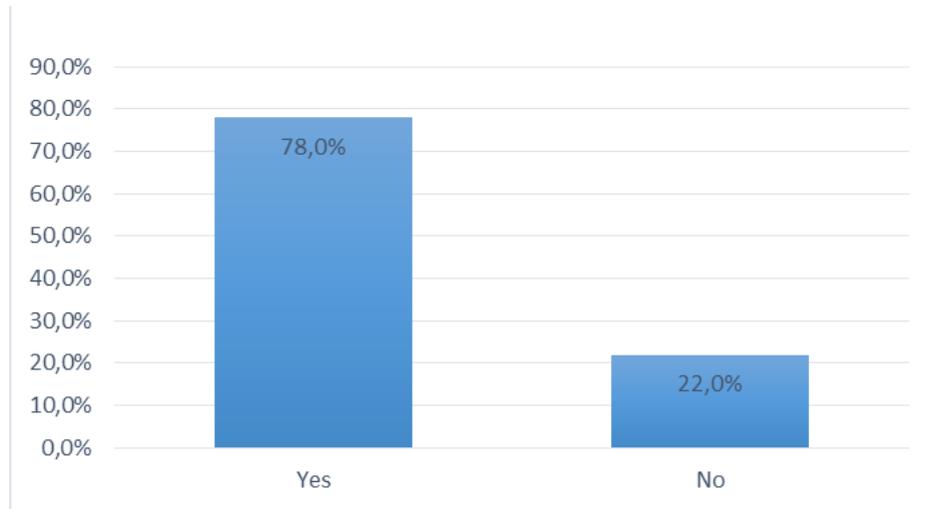


Figure 6.3: Percentage of the residents who heard or did not hear the news about the relocation of Mamak 4th Corps Command military site

The respondents were asked to specify their level of agreement or disagreement for a number of statements related to relocation and redevelopment of the chosen military site, Mamak 4th Cops Command. The unpaired t-test was applied to compare the mean level of agreement of respondents from Altağaç and Karağaç Neighborhoods with these statements. The author aimed to test whether there was a significant difference between the way Altağaç and Karağaç neighborhood residents feel about the presence or transformation of Mamak 4th Corps Command military site. As Table 6.4 illustrates, there was no statistically significant difference between the mean level of agreement of respondents from Altağaç and Karağaç neighborhoods with all statements ($t_1=0.86$, $t_2=0.43$, $t_3=0.47$, $t_4= 0.27$, $t_5= 0.7$, $t_7 = 1.57$, $t_8= 0.42$, $p >.05$ for all) except the 6th one: “The transformation of Mamak 4th Corps Command is an important opportunity for obtaining uses that I would like to see the most in my neighborhood” ($t_6=2.22$, $p <.05$).

Table 6.4: Mean level of agreement with statements regarding the relocation and redevelopment of military site

Statements	Overall M (SD)	Altiğağç Neighborhood M (SD)	Karağağç Neighborhood M (SD)
S.1 The presence of the Mamak 4th Corps Command makes me feel more confident when I live / work in the neighborhood. The fact that the military areas move out of the city and move to another place will make me feel less secure in my neighborhood.	2.59 (1.49)	2.70 (1.49)	2.49 (1.54)
S.2 Mamak 4th Corps Command employ many soldiers and civilian workers. Therefore, any transformation decision for this area will damage the local economy.	3.13 (1.45)	3.18 (1.46)	3.08 (1.45)
S.3 Mamak 4th Corps Command has wide green / open areas. Any transformation decision will pave the way for the reduction of these green / open areas.	3.62 (1.36)	3.67 (1.37)	3.57 (1.36)
S.4 Any redevelopment decision that entails the reuse of Mamak 4th Corps Command site will adversely affect the low income groups living in our neighborhood.	3.12 (1.29)	3.15 (1.34)	3.09 (1.26)
S.5 The transformation of the Mamak 4th Corps Command will pave the way for the improvement of the current negative physical conditions in the neighborhood.	2.98 (1.31)	2.90 (1.22)	3.05 (1.38)
S.6 The transformation of Mamak 4th Corps Command is an important opportunity for obtaining uses that I would like to see the most in my neighborhood.	3.31 (1.26)	3.08 (1.27)	3.53 (1.22)
S.7 The transformation of Mamak 4th Corps Command will create more job opportunities than in the past in the long term, thus contributing to the strengthening of the local economy.	2.90 (1.22)	2.74 (1.23)	3.05 (1.21)
S.8 I think staying close to Mamak 4th Corps Command is a security threat.	2.19 (1.20)	2.15 (1.09)	2.23 (1.31)

As shown in Table 6.4, respondents indicated the highest level of agreement with the statement 3, which was about the protection of green spaces in Mamak 4th Corps Command site ($M=3.62$, $SD=1.36$) and statement 6, which was about the potential of this site in meeting the needs of residents ($M_A=3.08$, $SD_A=1.27$; $M_K=3.53$, $SD_K=1.22$). Residents reported the lowest level of agreement with the statement 1, suggesting that Mamak 4th Corps Command makes them feel secure in the neighborhood ($M=2.59$, $SD=1.49$) and statement 8, which states that the military site is a security threat to residents ($M=2.19$, $SD=1.20$). The level of agreement of respondents with the statements was also examined in detail in the sections below. The impact of the property ownership status on the level of agreement of the residents with the statements regarding the neighborhood improvement and local economic development and the impact of the education level on the decision of the residents regarding the relocation of the military site were also analyzed by using an unpaired t-test.

6.3.1 Residents' thoughts about the economic impact of military site redevelopment on the community

The proportion of respondents who agreed or disagreed with the statement that reports any transformation decision for the Mamak 4th Corps Command site will damage the local economy were almost equal.. The proportion of respondents which were neutral about this statement is 18.7% and one participant missed to indicate his level of agreement with this statement (see Statement 2 in the Table 6.4). No statistically significant difference was observed between property owners' and non-owners' level of agreement with this statement ($t = 1.6$, $p>.05$).

The proportion of the respondents who agreed or disagreed with the statement that the transformation of military site will strengthen the local economy by creating more job opportunities in the long term were equal (40% agreed and 40% disagreed) while 20% of the respondents were neutral about this statement (see Statement 7 in the Table 6.4). Thus, there was no statistically significant difference between property owners' and non-owners' level of agreement with this statement ($t = 1.76$, $p>.05$).

6.3.2 Statements related to social and psychological effects of military site redevelopment on the host community

54% of the respondents disagreed with the statement that the presence of Mamak 4th Corps Command makes the residents feel more secure when they live or work in their neighborhoods while 30.7% of them agreed with this statement and 14.7% of them were neutral about it (see Statement 1 in Table 6.4).

68% of respondents disagreed with the statement that staying close to Mamak 4th Corps Command is a security threat. Only 16.7% of the respondents agreed with this statement (see Statement 8 in Table 6.4).

While 42.7% of the respondents agreed with the statement that any redevelopment decision that entails the reuse of Mamak 4th Corps Command site will adversely affect the low income groups living in the neighborhood, 38% of the respondents disagreed with this statement. The proportion of respondents which were neutral about this statement is 18.7 % and one participant missed to indicate his level of agreement with this statement (see Statement 4 in the Table 6.4).

6.3.3 Statements related to the effect of military site redevelopment on the neighborhood physical environment

46% of the respondents agreed with the statement that reports the transformation of the military site will pave the way for the improvement of the current negative physical conditions in the neighborhood while 37.3% of the respondents disagreed with this statement. The proportion of respondents which were neutral about this statement was %15.3 and two participants missed to indicate their level of agreement with this statement (see Statement 5 in the Table 6.4). There was a statistically significant difference between the mean level of agreement of property owners ($M= 3.15$, $SD=1.24$) and non-owners ($M=2.55$, $SD=1.38$) with this statement ($t=2.58$, $p<.05$).

The proportion of the respondents who agreed with the statement that reports the transformation of the military site is an important opportunity for obtaining the uses that residents would like to see the most in their neighborhood is 55.3%. While 30%

of the respondents disagreed with this statement, 14.7% of them were neutral about this statement (see Statement 6 in the Table 6.4). Although there was no statistically significant difference between property owners' and non-owners' level of agreement with this statement ($t = 1.77, p > .05$), homeowners were more likely to agree with this statement than non-owners.

6.3.4 Statement related to the environmental impact of military site relocation and redevelopment

The largest proportion of respondents (60.7%) agreed with the statement that any transformation decision will pave the way for the reduction of the green and/or open areas in the military site. Only 24.7% of the respondents disagreed with this statement. The proportion of respondents which were neutral about this statement was 14% and one participant missed to indicate his level of agreement with this statement (see Statement 3 in the Table 6.4).

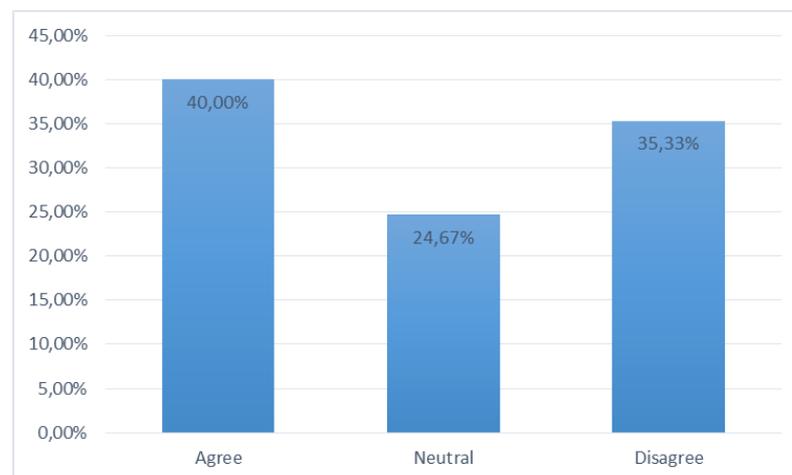


Figure 6.4 : Percentage of the respondents who agreed or disagreed with the decision to relocate the military site

As shown in Figure 6.4, while 40.00% of the respondents agreed with the decision to relocate the military site, 35.33% of them were against the relocation decision and a substantial number of respondents (24.67%) were neutral about this issue. The level

of education had no effect on the level of agreement of respondents with the decision on the relocation and redevelopment of the military site ($t=1.51$, $p>.05$). However, compared to non-property owners, significantly more property owners agreed with the relocation and reuse decision of the military site ($t=3.22$, $p<.05$).

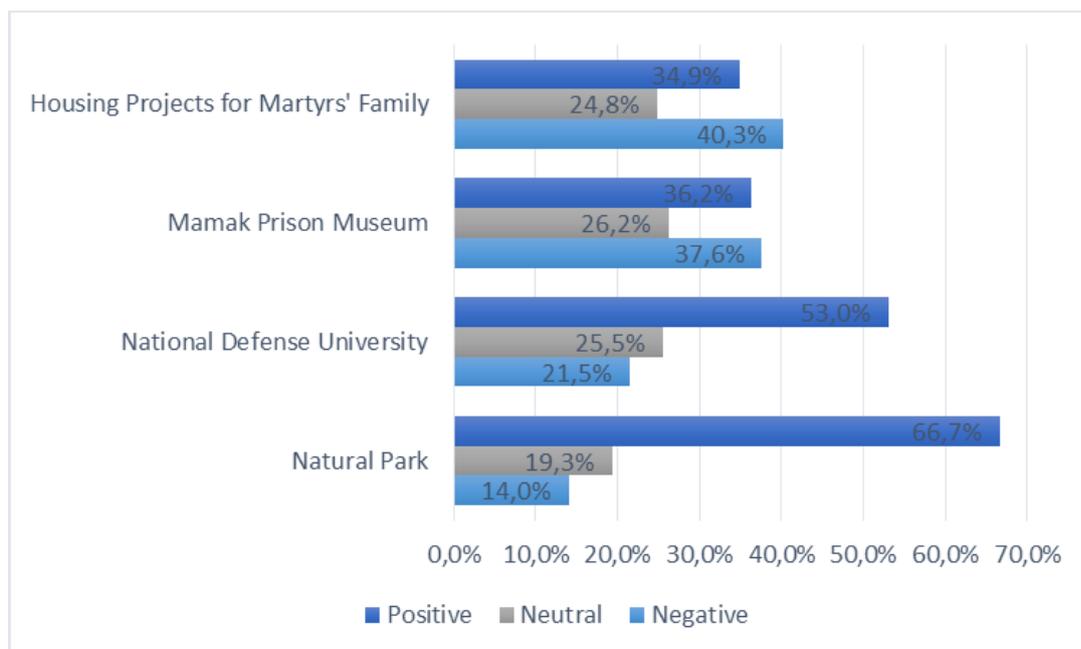


Figure 6.5: The existence of support for the project proposals developed by Mayor of Mamak Municipality from the respondents living in Altıağaç and Karaağaç Neighborhoods

As shown in Figure 6.5, the percentage of support of respondents (66.7%) for the Natural Park project was relatively higher than the percentage of respondents (14%) who do not have supportive views for this proposal. 53% of the respondents supported the National Defense University project and 21.5% of them did not support the project proposal. The percentage of respondents who had supportive views and not supportive views for the Mamak Prison Museum project are 36.2% and 37.6% respectively while a substantial number of respondents (26.2%) were neutral about this project proposal. The percentage of respondents who did not support the housing project for martyr’s family (40.3%) is higher than the percentage of those having supportive views (34.9%)

for this project while again a considerable percentage of respondents (24.8%) were neutral about this type of project proposal.

Table 6.5: The type of uses residents would like to see in the area where Mamak 4th Corps Command is located

Field Types	Level of demanding to See		
	I certainly would not want to see	Does not matter	I would definitely want to see
What is seen in this area today (military facilities, military training areas, green areas etc.)	32,00%	27,33%	40,67%
Green areas such as public parks and gardens	5,33%	16,00%	78,67%
Public sports facilities	4,00%	16,67%	78,67%
Public playgrounds	6,00%	15,33%	78,00%
Groceries and markets	32,00%	23,33%	42,67%
Food and beverage places such as restaurants and cafes	24,00%	23,33%	52,67%
Stores apart from food and beverage places	29,33%	24,00%	45,33%
Cultural facilities such as cinema and theater	11,33%	12,00%	76,67%
Healthcare facilities such as public hospitals and health centers	8,67%	11,33%	79,33%
Public kindergartens (pre-primary education areas)	12,00%	20,00%	68,00%
Public schools at primary, secondary and high school levels	16,00%	23,33%	62,67%
University (Higher education areas)	11,33%	14,00%	74,00%
Residential areas	59,33%	20,67%	20,00%
Workplaces	34,00%	24,67%	41,33%
Parking areas open to public	22,67%	22,00%	54,67%

The respondents were asked to indicate the uses they would like to see in the area where Mamak 4th Corps Command is located. They reported that they would expect

to see healthcare facilities, public sports facilities and green areas in this area if the government made a decision on the relocation and redevelopment of the military site. The only area they did not want to see in this site is residential uses. The large proportion of respondents (59.33%) indicated that they did not want to see housing projects in this site (Table 6.5).

When respondents were questioned about the criteria that should be considered as priority by the state during the redevelopment process of this site, almost half of the respondents ranked the criteria about the protection of forestland in the military site as a first priority. The remaining respondents mostly ranked the criteria about the contribution of transformation to the local economic development and employment opportunities in the neighborhood as first priority. The criteria about energy efficiency, designing new structures and open spaces by considering the history of the military site and strengthening the infrastructure in this area are among the least mentioned ones.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

There is a growing literature about the redevelopment of former military sites across the globe. However, the literature on the redevelopment of military sites is limited especially concerning the effects of military site closure on local communities. These studies are primarily concerned with economic and social effects of military site closure on host communities. So far, there is no scientific study entirely examining local communities' approach towards the problem of military site redevelopment and their aspirations regarding the redevelopment of such places.

The issue of relocation and redevelopment of military sites in Turkey did not arise for the first time after the failed military coup attempt of July 15, 2016. Since the 2000s, attempts to transformation of military sites have been largely motivated by the authorities in Turkey. In 2011, with the changes on the Organizational Law (see article 1 of the Decree Law No 646), the redevelopment of public lands and the state-owned immovable properties in the city was made possible in order to increase the value of these lands through the revenue generating uses. Since there are a number of military sites located in the perimeter of the city center, these areas were seen as a tool for stimulating the economic growth in Turkey.

After the failed military coup attempt of July 15, 2016, the Turkish government used the attempt as an excuse for opening up the future of military sites in the 81 provinces of Turkey to discussion. In this process, different types of media, including television, radio and newspapers were employed to accustom citizens to the idea of military site transformation and gain their support for these large-scale development projects. The large-scale military site transformation projects in Turkey bring excessive profit to private-sector actors such as pro-government construction companies and land-owners as well as the growth coalition including the actors of the central and local

governments, authorities of important state institutions and institutions affiliated with the central government that hold the political and economic power in the society.

Like many other developing countries, there is very little scientific study about the military site redevelopment practices in the country. Although most of the military areas in the nation continue to fulfill their existing functions, especially since the coup attempt of July 2016, they have been under the risk of transformation. Because of the uncertainty about the redevelopment of the military sites in Ankara, the author asked the following main question: “From the perspective of residents, how should the military sites in Ankara be used? More specifically, Should they be used as they are? Should they be re-used, and if yes, what should be their new function(s)?”

To the best of the author’s knowledge, this is the first scientific study that deals with the issue of redevelopment of military sites in Turkey. It was expected to make contribution to the accumulation of knowledge on the military site redevelopment processes in two ways. First, it provided a framework for understanding how to develop military sites. Second, it discussed residents’ view of military sites, whether and how such areas should be transformed. In this context, a military site, Mamak 4th Corps Command in Ankara, was selected. 150 questionnaires were applied to the local residents living in Altıağaç and Karaağaç neighborhoods that surround this military site.

The socio-demographic profile of research participants showed that most of the residents have been living in these neighborhoods for a long time. This result revealed that they had enough knowledge about the area and its problems which enabled them to give more accurate answers for the survey questions. A similar result was obtained for the statement that transformation decision will strengthen the local economy by creating more job opportunities in the long run.

Results showed that physical environmental (natural and built environment) factors including the presence of natural assets in the military site and as well as the availability of man-made facilities in the neighborhood affected the respondents’ approach the redevelopment of the military sites. When residents were asked to

indicate three uses they would like to see the most in their neighborhoods, they mentioned the areas that received low median satisfaction scores: green areas, indoor/outdoor sports facilities and healthcare facilities. This result is also consistent with the findings of Caplan (1987), who also showed that residents' expectations from their neighborhood environments are often in line with their needs. Moreover, residents gave priority to the same uses (green areas, indoor/outdoor facilities and healthcare facilities) when they asked to indicate the land uses they would like to see in the area where the military site is located. This result showed that residents questioned their needs when they defined their expectations from the military site transformation.

The results of this study revealed that residents were not well informed about the military site transformation process. As discussed in Chapter 3 and 4, as in many developing countries, most military site redevelopment projects are carried out in a top-down fashion in Turkey. Furthermore, results of this study showed that there was no active strategy for public participation in military site redevelopment process and the residents' needs and expectations were not questioned by Mamak Municipality before the preparation of the project proposals. With reference to the growth machine and power elite theories, the residents living in these neighborhoods can be described as a group which is ill informed and powerless in the military site closure process in Turkey since most large-scale development projects are realized without active participation of the residents and their conditions are mostly determined by the decision made by the authorities in Turkey.

When respondents were questioned to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement for a number of statements regarding the possible relocation and transformation of the military site, no statistically significant difference was observed between the mean level of agreement of respondents from Altağaç and Karağaç neighborhoods for almost all statements. The similarities between the answers of the residents from different neighborhoods might be explained by the similar socio-demographic and physical characteristics of the neighborhoods.

The property owners were more likely to see the military site transformation as an opportunity for the improvement of the conditions in their neighborhood and obtaining the uses they would like to see the most in their neighborhood. Arguably, this is because, any improvement in the neighborhood would economically benefit the property owners.

The most of the residents agreed with the statement that reports any redevelopment decision that entails the reuse of Mamak 4th Corps Command site will adversely affect the low income groups living in the neighborhood. Arguably, the previous large scale urban transformation projects that lead to inequalities in the city and result in pushing away the poorer segments of the society away to the outskirts of the city might be one of the reasons why residents agreed with this statement. The large proportion of the residents also agreed with the statement that any transformation decision will result in the reduction of the green and/or open areas in the military site. This might be also explained by the previous urban transformation practices that caused reduction of green areas in the city.

Although the transformation of military sites has been considered necessary by the government authorities, according to the large number of the residents, staying close to Mamak 4th Corps Command is a not security threat. However, most of the residents also disagreed with the statement that the presence of the military site makes them feel more secure when they live and work in the neighborhood. It appears encroachment to military site that brings negative effects to the community such as treat of accidents and public security was not perceived as a treat by most of the residents and living near a military site has no effect on participants' comfort or sense of security.

When respondents were questioned about the relocation and redevelopment decision of the military site, most of them (40%) reported that they agreed with this decision. Content analysis of the responses to the open-ended questions revealed that most residents agreed with this decision under two conditions: 1) this area will be open to the public and include uses for the benefit of the community such as green areas, cultural and sport facilities, healthcare facilities etc. and 2) the green open spaces in

the military site will be preserved and this area will not be used for housing projects, particularly projects realized by HDA. For example, one of the resident responded:

“I agree with this statement if the military site is re-used without destruction of its nature and will be open to public. Thus, families can spend time in the nature with their children. I do not agree the transformation decision of the military site if it will be transformed into residential uses, particularly housing projects developed by HDA.” (A resident from Altağaç Neighborhood).

Some residents also explained why they disagreed with this statement. Survey results showed that they did not agree with this statement because of the economic and environmental contributions of the military site to their neighborhoods. Most of them stated that the presence of the military site has positive impact on the local economy of the neighborhood because of the military service members’ local purchases. They also stated that if the military site is transformed, the green open system in the military site can be destroyed. For example, one of the resident from Karağaç Neighborhood explained why he disagreed with this decision as follows:

“The closure of military site will negatively affect the local businesses in the neighborhood. Therefore, I disagreed with the transformation decision.” (One of the resident from Karağaç Neighborhood).

Another response given by one of the residents from Altağaç Neighborhood:

“The military site includes huge green spaces. We want to see green areas in the area where military site is located, not a concrete jungle!” (One of the resident from Altağaç Neighborhood).

In contrast to the findings of the Bourdieu’s (1984) and Hubbard’s study (1996), the level of education had no effect on the respondents’ place expectations and environmental preferences.

Respondents had supportive views for the Natural Park and National Defense University projects while there were also a considerable number of respondents who were against to these project proposals or neutral about them. In addition, Mamak

Prison Museum and Housing Project for Martyr's Family were not supported by a substantial number of respondents and a considerable percentage of respondents were also neutral about these project proposals. Respondents mostly have supportive views for the Natural Park and National Defense University projects since they gave importance to the protection of the natural areas in the military site and there are not many green open spaces and no university near their neighborhoods. However, as also stated in their answers for the open-ended questions, they were not supportive for any housing project types since their neighborhoods have very dense housing areas. Moreover, they clearly stated in their answers they do not want to see housing projects in the area where Mamak 4th Corps Command is located.

7.1 DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

This study showed that most of the residents were supportive about the relocation and redevelopment decision of the examined military site if this area will be opened to public and include public uses for the benefit of the community such as green areas, cultural and sport facilities and healthcare facilities etc. However, there were a considerable number of residents who were not supportive of a government decision about the reuse of this area because of the negative economic and environmental impacts of military site redevelopment. Others stated that their needs and expectations would not be considered in the transformation process of the military site. These findings show that more residents could be interested in the reuse of Mamak 4th Corps Command site if they believed that they would become part of the planning process and that the site would be transformed by considering their needs and expectations.

The results of the interviews with the public officers in MoEU, HDA and GDNP revealed that although there are some defined criteria to be considered in the transformation process of military areas, mostly real-estate development and the dynamics of real-estate market are taken into account in the redevelopment process of the military sites. Government officers advocated that military areas should be transformed into revenue-generating uses (e.g. residential uses, commercial uses etc.)

to cover the cost of new military buildings and installations. However, as the results of the study showed, respondents would like to see high-quality green open spaces and different types of public uses for the benefit of the local community in the areas where military sites located.

The findings of the study showed that the uses, which were expected to be seen in Mamak 4th Corps Command site by the residents, showed similarities with the uses included in the military site transformation projects realized in developed parts of the world. Similar to the expectations of the residents, in developed countries, different type of public uses and green open spaces were provided in the military site transformation practices. Based on these findings, the author argues that if the residents were involved in the redevelopment process of the military sites, different types of transformation practices could be seen in Turkey. Otherwise, as one can observe in Istanbul, it would be inevitable to see more large scale luxury housing developments mushrooming in the military sites across the country.

It was shown that most of the residents living in Altıağaç and Karaağaç neighborhoods value the protection of natural assets in the military site. However, the economic contributions of the military site transformation to the local community were also considered important by the residents. These findings revealed that the residents' approach the redevelopment of the military sites were not only affected by their environmental concerns but also their economic concerns.

This study showed that some of the respondents were not much aware of the characteristics of the military site such as its size and existing assets (e.g., large green open space system) and the reasons of the relocation decision made by the government. Even the respondents who heard the news about the transformation decision except from those having family member serving in the military site were unaware about the potential of this site since it is enclosed and not open to public. If they knew more about the quality and condition of the buildings and infrastructure or the quality of green areas in the military site, they might have approached the redevelopment of this military site in a different way. For example, if the residents

became aware that the military site had good quality green spaces and natural assets, they might have assessed the projects proposed by Mamak Municipality differently.

Different results might have been obtained if the researcher had selected different neighborhoods with different physical and socio-economic characteristics. For example, residents' economic concerns might have preceded their environmental concerns if the neighborhoods with squatter areas were selected as a study field. Since these neighborhoods experience various socio-economic obstacles, residents might want to replace the military site with the projects which provide more job opportunities to local community. There is a possibility that similar results will only occur in neighborhoods that share similar socio-economic and physical characteristics with Altağaç and Karağaç neighborhoods. Thus, the findings of the research may not be generalized to other contexts. To increase the validity of this research, these findings should be applied to the contexts other than the one in which the author carried out her research.

7.2 IMPLICATIONS FOR PLANNING

The results presented here aimed to guide policy makers, urban planners and designers in Turkey in promoting sustainable development. The survey results suggest that if the redevelopment of military sites in Ankara is inevitable, then these areas should be transformed in ways that serve local communities. To this end, rather than more profitable options, residents' needs and expectations should be considered important in the redevelopment process of the military sites. Planners and designers should put great emphasis on understanding residents' needs and expectations and incorporating their views in development. As suggested by Fainstein (2010), practitioners should be redirected their obsession with economic growth to a concern with social equity and democracy. Moreover, public participation should be a part of planning and decision making process of the military sites to obtain more favorable results in terms of democracy and equity at the end of military site redevelopment projects.

The previous military site transformation practices in the country showed that these areas were replaced with luxury housing and commercial uses and they were mostly allocated for private use rather than opening them to public. These projects also raised concerns about the risk of destruction of nature in the military sites. The results of this study suggest that actors of redevelopment process in Turkey should change their approach the redevelopment of these sites. As this study showed that residents do not want to see any type of housing projects especially realized by HDA in these areas. Therefore, these areas should not only be used for residential and commercial uses produced by HDA and private sector. These sites should be opened to public and protection of natural assets should be considered important for the sustainable redevelopment of these sites. To meet the needs and expectations of the residents in the transformation process of the military site, the planners and designers should put great emphasis on producing projects that combine high-quality green open spaces and different types of public uses for the benefit of the local community.

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APPENDICES

A. NEIGHBORHOOD QUESTIONNAIRE FORM

Part I- Questions Regarding Your Expectations from the Neighborhood

1) Do you live or work in a neighborhood near Mamak 4th Corps Command?

Yes

No

2) How long have you been living / working in this neighborhood? Please fill in the space below.

Approximately _____ years in total.

3) Are you the owner of the place you live/ work around the neighborhood of Mamak 4th Corps Command? (Please tick one of the options below)

• I am a property owner (house / work place belongs to me)

• I'm a tenant

• Other (please specify) _____

4) In the neighborhood you live / work around Mamak 4th Corps Command, please indicate your level of satisfaction with the areas listed below.

Field Types	Qualification Level				
	Very dissatisfied	Dissatisfied	Neither satisfied or dissatisfied	Satisfied	Very satisfied
Green areas such as parks and gardens	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Sports facilities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Playgrounds	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grocery and markets	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Food and beverage places such as restaurants and cafes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Stores apart from food and beverage places	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Cultural facilities such as cinema and theater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Healthcare facilities such as hospitals and health centers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Kindergartens (pre-school education areas)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Education institutions at primary, secondary and high school levels	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
University (Higher education areas)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Residential areas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Workplaces	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Parking areas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Military areas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

5) What would be the 3 areas you would like to see the most in your neighborhood in order of priority? (you can type fields from the list above or not listed)

1. Priority preference: _____

2. Priority preference: _____

3. Priority preference: _____

Part II- Questions about Military Areas near to Your Neighborhood

6) In the last few years, there have been various news reports stressing that Mamak 4th Corps Command will be moved to the outskirts of the city and this area will be used for other purposes. Did you hear or see such news?

Yes, I have seen / heard such news.

No, I have not seen / heard such news.

7) Please indicate your level of agreement with the following statements.

7.1) The presence of the Mamak 4th Corps Command makes me feel more secure when I live / work in the neighborhood. The fact that the military areas move

out of the city and move to another place will make me feel less secure in my neighborhood.

<input type="checkbox"/>	-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	-----	<input type="checkbox"/>
Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Neither Agree Nor Disagree		Agree		Strongly Agree

7.2) Mamak 4th Corps Command employ many soldiers and civilian workers. Therefore, any transformation decision for this area will damage the local economy (for example; employees will no longer do shopping from the neighborhood and they are not going to rent / buy houses from the neighborhood).

<input type="checkbox"/>	-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	-----	<input type="checkbox"/>
Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Neither Agree Nor Disagree		Agree		Strongly Agree

7.3) Mamak 4th Corps Command has wide green / open areas. Any transformation decision will pave the way for the reduction of these green / open areas.

<input type="checkbox"/>	-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	-----	<input type="checkbox"/>	-----	<input type="checkbox"/>
Strongly Disagree		Disagree		Neither Agree Nor Disagree		Agree		Strongly Agree

7.4) Any redevelopment decision that entails the reuse of Mamak Corps Command site will adversely affect the low income groups living in our neighborhood (for example, if luxury residential areas are built in this area, the housing rental

prices will increase in our neighborhood, which will remove poor tenants from our neighborhood).

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

7.5) The transformation of the Mamak 4th Corps Command will pave the way for the improvement of the current negative physical conditions in the neighborhood (for example; constructing a better infrastructure and earthquake resistant buildings, cleaning of unstable buildings).

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

7.6) The transformation of Mamak 4th Corps Command is an important opportunity for obtaining uses that I would like to see the most in my neighborhood.

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

7.7) The transformation of Mamak 4th Corps Command will create more job opportunities than in the past in the long term, thus contributing to the strengthening of the local economy.

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

7.8) I think staying close to Mamak 4th Corps Command is a security threat.

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

8) Do you have any positive thoughts/feelings about Mamak 4th Corps Command besides the positive statements and comments stated above? Please write down your answer.

9) Do you have any negative thoughts/feelings about Mamak 4th Corps Command besides the negative statements and comments stated above? Please write down your answer.

10) In line with your answers to the questions above, to what extent do you agree with the statement that Mamak 4th Corps Command should be moved to the outskirts of the city and this area should be used for other purposes?

<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree Nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree

11) What areas/uses would you like to see in the area where Mamak 4th Corps Command is located? Please state your opinion for each type of uses listed below.

Field Types	Level of demand to See		
	I certainly would not want to see	Does not matter	I would definitely want to see
What is seen in this area today (military facilities, military training areas, green areas etc.)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Green areas such as public parks and gardens	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Public sports facilities	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Public playgrounds	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Grocery and markets	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Food and beverage places such as restaurants and cafes	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Stores apart from food and beverage places	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Cultural facilities such as cinemas and theaters	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Healthcare facilities such as public hospitals and health centers	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Public kindergartens (pre-primary education areas)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Public schools at primary, secondary and high school levels	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
University (Higher education areas)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Residential areas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Workplaces	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Parking areas open to public	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- 12) Mamak Mayor Mesut Akgül had developed 4 alternative project proposals for Mamak 4th Corps Command land. Please indicate whether you are positive or negative about each of his proposals.

	I am extremely negative	I am both negative and positive	I am extremely positive
Natural Park	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
National Defense University	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Mamak Prison Museum	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Housing Projects for Martyr's Families	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

- 13) If a redevelopment decision is made for Mamak 4th Corps Command, which of the following criteria would you like to see considered by the state during the redevelopment process of this site? After reading all of the following criteria, please rank them from 1 to 5; 1 indicates the top priority.

- () The contribution of the transformation to the employment opportunities in the neighborhood
- () The contribution of the transformation to the local economy of the neighborhood
- () Careful use of existing structures in the area without destruction for economic reasons
- () Elimination of the level of soil contamination
- () Protection of forestland
- () Conservation of historical and cultural structures in the area
- () Designing new structures and / or open spaces by considering the history of the military site
- () Formation of open spaces such as public streets, parks and squares

- () Increasing energy efficiency
- () Strengthening the infrastructure in the area

14) If you have any other thoughts regarding the existing function or transformation of the Mamak 4th Corps Command area, please write your thoughts in the space below.

Part III- General Questions about the Respondents

15) How far do you live/work to the Mamak 4th Corps Command area?

- Walking distance less than 20 minutes
- Walking distance more than 20 minutes

16) If you live / work in one of the neighborhoods around the Mamak 4th Corps Command area, which one is this?

_____ Neighborhood

17) Does one of your family members work in the Mamak 4th Corps Command?

- Yes, one of my family members works at Mamak 4th Corps Command.
- No, none of my family members works at Mamak 4th Corps Command.

18) What is your gender?

- Male
- Female

19) How old are you? _____

20) What is your education level? (Please tick one of the options below)

- Primary School Graduate
- High School Graduate
- Two-year University Graduate
- Four-Year University Graduate
- Post Graduate
- Doctorate
- Others, please specify: _____