

**URBAN RESTRUCTURING PROCESS OF ANTALYA WALLED-TOWN AND THE  
ROLES OF STAKEHOLDERS**

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ROLES OF STAKEHOLDERS**

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## ABSTRACT

### URBAN RESTRUCTURING PROCESS OF ANTALYA WALLED-TOWN AND THE ROLES OF STAKEHOLDERS

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With the establishment of SPI (State Planning Institution) in 1960, Turkey entered the ‘planned period’, and ‘planning’ became the major means of the State for realizing its intentions and producing or reproducing space. However, it is argued in the dissertation that another major agent in these production and reproduction processes is ‘society’, which generates its own tools of sanction to impose its will on the space. As a result, space is actually reproduced both by the State and by society and what is actually formed is a hybrid product. The reproduction of the present-day Walled-Town of Antalya has been a product of such a process, in which the generating factor is tourism.

Since the transition into the planned period in Turkey, tourism has been seen as a major resource to overcome foreign income deficit. The State usually applied mass tourism policies in the coastal areas, particularly in the Aegean and Mediterranean. These policies dominantly depended upon ‘sun-sand-sea’ tourism. As a result of these policies, Antalya region soon became a target of development as the main tourism center of Turkey and a period of a series of plans launched. Apart from mass tourism mainly based upon the sun-sand-sea tourism has also become a major tool to regenerate and revitalize historic towns and historic town centers all around the world, particularly in the post-war period. Coherent with this tendency, the conservation planning of Antalya Walled-Town, which was initiated by the State, was also handled using tourism as the main generating factor. The spread of tourism as a land use in the region was seen as a factor in this decision. However, the type of tourism in the Walled-Town is mainly cultural tourism as opposed to sun-sand-sea tourism that is prevalent in the region. In such a context, the Walled-Town was restructured as a tourist-historic city after the 1970s.

In this framework, this dissertation explores the restructuring process of Antalya Walled-Town after 1970, by investigating how it came out to be a hybrid product of official and civilian wills. The reproduction process is one of complex relations, conflicts and compromises, and patronage relations among different stakeholders, which are categorized as official and civilian stakeholders in the dissertation. By exploring how the Walled-Town was reproduced as a hybrid product, the roles of these stakeholders in the restructuring process are revealed and it forms a basis for future planning studies in the area by explaining the nature of the phenomenon.

Keywords: urban planning, tourism, tourist-historic city, stakeholder, Antalya Walled-Town

## ÖZ

### ANTALYA KALEİÇİ'NİN YENİDEN YAPILANDIRILMA SÜRECİ VE PAYDAŞLARIN ROLÜ

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1960 yılında Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı'nın kurulması ile birlikte Türkiye 'planlı dönem'e geçmiştir ve 'planlama' devletin kendi niyetlerini gerçekleştirmesinin ve mekânın üretilmesinin veya yeniden üretilmesinin temel aracı haline gelmiştir. Ancak, bu tezde tartışıldığı üzere bu üretim ve yeniden üretim süreçlerindeki bir başka ana aracı, mekân üzerindeki niyetlerini gerçekleştirebilmek için kendi yaptırım araçlarını üreten toplumun kendisidir. Böylece, gerçekte mekân hem devlet hem de toplum tarafından birlikte yeniden üretilmekte ve sonuçta ortaya melez bir ürün çıkmaktadır. Günümüz Antalya'sında Antalya Kaleiçi'nin yeniden üretilmesi, üretici factor olarak turizmin kullanılmış olduğu böyle bir sürecin ürünüdür.

Türkiye'de planlı döneme geçildiğinden bu yana turizm, döviz eksikliğini gidermede ana bir kaynak olarak görülmüştür. Devlet genellikle, özellikle Ege ve Akdeniz bölgelerindeki kıyı alanlarında, kitle turizmini geliştirme politikalarını takip etmiştir. Bu politikalar baskın şekilde güneş, deniz, kum turizmine dayanmaktadır. Bu politikalara bağlı olarak Antalya bölgesi kısa zamanda Türkiye'nin ana turizm merkezi olarak geliştirilme hedefi haline gelmiş ve böylece bir dizi planlama çalışması başlatılmıştır. Güneş, deniz, kuma dayalı kitle turizminden farklı olarak, tüm dünyada özellikle 2. Dünya Savaşı sonrasında turizm tarihi kentleri ve tarihi kent merkezlerini canlandırmak için temel bir araç haline gelmiştir. Bu eğilimle uyumlu bir şekilde Antalya Kaleiçi'nin devlet tarafından başlatılmış olan koruma planlaması turizmi ana üretici etken olarak ele almıştır. Bu seçimde Antalya bölgesi geneline turizm kullanımının getirilmiş olması etkili kılınmıştır. Ancak, Kaleiçi'ndeki turizm türü bölgedeki güneş, deniz, kum turizminden farklı olarak temelde kültür turizmidir. Böyle bir

bağlamda 1970 sonrasında Antalya Kaleiçi bir turistik-tarihi şehir olarak yeniden yapılanmıştır.

Bu çerçevede bu tez, Antalya Kaleiçi'nin 1970 sonrasındaki yeniden yapılandırılma sürecini Kaleiçi'nin resmi ve sivil isteklerin melez bir ürünü olarak nasıl ortaya çıkmış olduğunu ortaya koyarak incelemektedir. Bu üretim süreci, tezde resmi ve sivil paydaşlar olarak kategorilenmiş farklı paydaşlar arasındaki karışık ilişkilerin, çatışma ve uzlaşmaların, patronaj ilişkilerinin sürecidir. Kaleiçi'nin melez bir ürün olarak nasıl yeniden üretilmiş olduğu açınarak bu paydaşların bu yeniden yapılandırma sürecindeki rolleri ortaya çıkacak ve bu da olgunun doğasını açıklayarak gelecekteki planlama çalışmaları için bir taban oluşturacaktır.

Anahtar kelimeler: kent planlama, turizm, turistik-tarihi kent, paydaş, Antalya Kaleiçi



To My Family  
And In Memory of Our Beloved Professor Emre Madran

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

*“Science is not opposed to storytelling. Science is a genre of storytelling. Stories of the real world, inspired by observations thereof.” Sean Carroll*

In Turkey, particularly through the transition into the ‘planned period’, ‘planning’ has been the major means of the State in realizing its intentions. The reproduction of the Walled-Town of present Antalya has been stimulated by such intentions of the State, especially after the 1970s, by a dual restructuring process: the regional restructuring of Antalya in mass tourism, and the restructuring of the Walled-Town as a tourist-historic city.

Despite the efforts of planning, another major agent by which space is produced is society itself. Whether in an organized or unorganized manner, the civilian stakeholders develop their own way of imposing their -mostly differing- wills on the space, ending up in conflicts or compromises, as well as engaging in a negotiation process with the official stakeholders. Respectively, space comes to be a product of the complex relations, conflicts and compromises among different stakeholders. Therefore, what actually forms as a product is a hybrid of the state-side and society-side intentions and of the related mechanisms of realizing thereof. Within the planning practice of Turkey, this dissertation explores the process of reproducing Antalya Walled-Town as a hybrid product of both by society and by this dual structure stimulated by the State.

#### **I.1. Background to the Study**

The case of Antalya is a particular and significant phenomenon. Antalya has never been an ordinary Anatolian town. Antalya –its ancient name Attaleia– was founded in the Pamphylian region of the Mediterranean and has usually been an important city in the history of the whole Mediterranean region. Ashworth (1991) describes the Pamphylian coast as possessing busy trade routes, fertile coastal plains, “an environment both attractive to settlement and equally vulnerable to seaborne attack”. Attaleia, which has been described as ‘paradise’ in history, was always desired to be possessed by different civilizations and nations from prehistoric times up to the twentieth century. According to the legends

regarding the foundation of the town, in the 2nd century BC, the Pergamon king Attalos II ordered his men to find 'heaven on earth'. What they find turns out to be Antalya after an extensive search. The town is surrounded by the Taurus Mountains of Southern Anatolia and by the Mediterranean Sea. The location and the topography of the town are described by Günay as:

The Gulf of Antalya (Adalia) is a deep and wide body of water which is beautifully defined in the west by the high and steep Bey Mountains, which offer a wonderful silhouette from vistas of the city. The Antalya plain ends up with a rocky cliff in the area where the city is located and at one point, the cliff provides a natural harbor where the old town with the citadel is there. The cliff, as high as 30-50., is accepted a natural asset to be protected carefully (Günay 1991, cited in Altaban 1998, 40).

These characteristics of the town also attracted Benito Mussolini, who came to power in Italy in 1922. Mussolini promised the town to the Italians after the Italian occupation of Antalya lasting between 1919 and 1921.<sup>1</sup> The attempt was defeated by the founder of the Turkish Republic, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk. The interest in the town still continues; today, the town is one of the centers of global tourism.

With the beginning of the tourism industry in the world, the Antalya region turned into the main tourism destination of Turkey, as stimulated by the central government. Besides its natural beauties, the city is rich in traces of the cultures that previously lived in the region; and this character had a major role in the transformation of the town into a tourist center, not only in Turkey but also in the world. In 2012, Antalya was in third place among the world's most visited cities, ranking behind Paris and London.<sup>2</sup> The town was previously ranked fourth in the world in 2010<sup>3</sup> and among the top five in 2011<sup>4</sup>. It is the largest city on the Turkish Mediterranean coast, is one of the hubs of the so-called 'Turkish Riviera'<sup>5</sup> and Turkey's biggest international sea resort.<sup>6</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>“Italians! I will give you such a present at the Mediterranean coast that during the hot summer you will enjoy the Taurus Mountains, of which peaks are covered by snow, and you will cool your feet in the dark blue water of the Mediterranean Sea.” (Çimrin 2012, 328)

<sup>2</sup><http://www.timeout.com/travel/features/1287/the-resort-sceptics-guide-to-antalya>

<sup>3</sup>[http://travel.usnews.com/features/Worlds\\_Most\\_Visited\\_Cities/](http://travel.usnews.com/features/Worlds_Most_Visited_Cities/)

<sup>4</sup><http://www.hurriyetdailynews.com/Default.aspx?pageID=238&nid=36324>

<sup>5</sup>In the popular web encyclopedia Wikipedia, the Turkish Riviera is described as follows: “The Turkish Riviera (also known popularly as the Turquoise Coast) is a term used to define an area of southwest Turkey encompassing Antalya, Muğla and to a lesser extent the provinces of Aydın, southern İzmir and western Mersin. The combination of a favorable climate, warm sea, more than a thousand kilometers of shoreline along the Aegean and Mediterranean waters, and abundant natural



Figure 1.1. Map showing the location of Antalya in the Mediterranean (Source for the base map: Google Earth)



Figure 1.2. Gravure of Antalya in 1712 (unknown source)

In such a natural, touristic and cultural context, the Walled-Town -the historic center of Antalya- stands as an important asset despite all the current problems and conflicts on the issues regarding its uses and users. To mention the most notable ones, according to several observations, there exists little identity in the Walled-Town regarding any local production. The area is rather embarrassing due to uneducated small-scale retailers, which are usually

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and archeological points of interest makes this stretch of Turkey's coastline a popular national and international tourist destination. [...] The Riviera is also the home for the internationally-known Blue Voyage, which allows participants to enjoy a weeklong trip on Gulets to ancient cities, harbors, tombs, mausolea and intimate beaches in the numerous small coves, lush forests and streams that lace the Turquoise Coast.”

<sup>6</sup><http://authenticTurkey.com/antalya-travel-guide/>

immigrants from other parts of Turkey. Since tourism started to affect the area, a bad reputation of the Walled-Town formed in time, due to the existence of prostitution, drug selling and usage, excessive alcohol usage, disturbing high-volume music and noise in the area. In some aspects, such problems still remain. Orbaşı describes the town in 2000 as (2000, 126): “The area has been transformed beyond recognition, in a rapid and uncontrolled conversion into pensions, bars, restaurants and carpet shops, with poor-quality and insensitive alterations, the peace replaced by shopkeepers shouting out to attract tourists, while local establishments like the bakeries and tea houses have altogether disappeared.” She further adds that “tourist perception of the area is poor and cultural understanding even poorer.” (2000, 127) Moreover, there exist very few activities that would attract the local people. Kayır and Salim (2005) state that living in the Walled-Town was a sign of dignity before the 1960s and they further make an emphasis on the transformation of the area into the accommodation of the homeless and the poor, to the sheltering of the criminals and the increased rate of crime in the area (Kayır & Salim 2005, 45). There is a considerable amount of historic buildings and some monumental structures in the form of ruins or rubbish dumps, waiting for their restoration and adaptive re-use; and this obviously has a role in the comment of Kayır and Salim.

Nevertheless, despite the image underlined above, Antalya Walled-Town has a major role in the identity of the whole town and the region; so much so that in the absence of the Walled-Town, Antalya would turn into a mere logistic metropolis lacking any historic urban and cultural attraction. Today’s Walled-Town, as a hybrid product of the stakeholders and its reproduction process, is worthy of exploration.

## **I.2. Conceptual Framework**

‘Stakeholder’ is a term that originated in the 1960s in a document, in which the term was used to describe the customers, shareowners, employees, suppliers, lenders and society, by the Stanford Research Institute (Freeman & Reed 1983). Later, Freeman (1984) introduced the concept to strategic management.

Stakeholders have a positive or negative stake in the critical issues affecting the main phenomenon, which is the reproduction process of the Walled-Town in this study. They might have different views and thus intentions. They might be active or passive. Thus, the term ‘stakeholder’ has a wide range including different community groups, industry or business associations, professional associations, environmental groups, local councils,

government departments, public and private schools, colleges, universities, youth groups, senior citizens' groups, politicians, residents, etc.<sup>7</sup>

'Stakeholder analysis' stands as a fundamental prerequisite for identifying the people, bodies, groups and organizations that have interests in specific urban issues and for understanding their potential roles and contributions to the phenomenon. The analysis might identify and classify stakeholders across a number of different dimensions. For instance, the analysis can separately identify relevant groups within the public and private sectors, and within social and community sectors. In addition, cutting across these categories, the analysis can also look at stakeholders in terms of their expertise.

In this study, stakeholder analysis is performed for a clear understanding of the roles of the state and the society in the issues of reproduction of the Walled-Town, particularly beginning with the 1970s. Since the aim is exploring the reproduction and restructuring process of the Walled-Town as a hybrid product of the state and the society, this dissertation handles the stakeholders in terms of their civilian and official identities. Therefore, relationships, conflicts and compromises among them come out as crucial ingredients. While exploring the conflicts and compromises among the stakeholders, the focus will be around the 'uses and users' of the Walled-Town, in order to narrow down the scope. Therefore, any dynamic or factor that is believed by the author to have affected the current issues on the uses and users of the Walled-Town is taken into consideration and explored.

For the purposes of this study, the intentions of the state and the society are named in succession as 'official' and 'civilian' wills. In this respect, the views and approaches, the strategies, plans, interventions and practices of the representatives of the central and local government (central government bodies, city mayors, city governors, etc.), and the official views and approaches of the bodies, institutions, planners, architects and conservationists who worked in the related plans are defined as the intentions of the state, namely 'official wills'; while the approaches of the civilian stakeholders, mainly the private sector, NGOs (charities, foundations and societies), democratic mass organizations (professional chambers), the local public, the local media, previous and current Walled-Town residents, employees, laborers, employers working in the Walled-Town, other Walled-Town users such as intellectuals of Antalya, and bureaucrats and technical staff in Antalya in their civilian identities, are defined as intentions of society, namely 'civilian wills'. The direct or indirect visible consequences of these diverse approaches are defined mainly as 'state-led

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<sup>7</sup><http://www.blueprintforchangeonline.net/pages/stakeholders/identifying.php>

reproduction' and 'society-led reproduction' of the Walled-Town. However, as will be revealed in the dissertation, neither official nor civilian wills and actions cause a pure reproduction of the Walled-Town. The intersection of these wills and actions; conflicts and compromises, interrelations among the official and civilian stakeholders eventually define the actual reproduction of the Walled-Town.

Among these diverse set of intentions, it is impossible to reach a total consensus even among the groups of stakeholders separately. In other words, each set of stakeholder groups – whether official or civilian-, is expected to have conflicts within it as well. This means that it is as important to give attention to the interrelations within each set of stakeholders as to the interrelations between these groups.

Antalya was restructured through the channel of tourism beginning with the 1960s. The tourism sector in Turkey was intended to be launched mainly through the decisions and recommendations of the national plans of the Turkish government, which are called 'five-year-development-plans' (FYDP). Today, the dominant type of tourism in Turkey is 'mass tourism', especially serving lower income groups, as a consequence of the tourism policies of the state, particularly after the 1980s.

The Global Development Research Center (GDRC) defines 'mass tourism' as "traditional, large scale tourism commonly, but loosely used to refer to popular forms of leisure tourism pioneered in southern Europe, the Caribbean, and North America in the 1960s and 1970s". Differing with mass tourism, alternative tourism is defined by GDRC as "tourism activities or development that are viewed as non-traditional" and it is often defined "in opposition to large-scale mass tourism to represent small-scale sustainable tourism developments". Whereas 'cultural tourism' is defined as "travel for the purpose of learning about cultures or aspects of cultures" by GDRC<sup>8</sup> and as the "form of tourism whose object is, among other aims, the discovery of monuments and sites" by ICOMOS (Charter of Cultural Tourism 1976).

Günay (2000, 201) argues that in Turkey, tourism has in general been approached from two diverse viewpoints. According to the first approach, tourism is a sector that is a means to increase the national income and overcome foreign currency deficit. Therefore, the goal of this kind of tourism policy is to increase bed-capacities by using and creating every opportunity. Whereas, according to the second approach, tourism should be undertaken in

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<sup>8</sup> <http://www.gdrc.org/uem/eco-tour/t-glossary.html>

recreational planning of the country while not disregarding its aim of increasing the national income and foreign currency. In this view, conservation issues should also be considered together with recreation; therefore, the task should be handled as a part of a comprehensive arrangement; the natural environment and cultural heritage should be conserved and if the area is in a coastal region, the task should be handled as a part of coastal planning. Günay claims that in Turkey, the first approach has usually been dominant and therefore the basic aim of tourism planning has been increasing bed capacities. These policies can clearly be traced in the FYDPs. Only after the 1990s, cultural tourism is started to be mentioned in the plans besides mass tourism.

The regional structuring of Antalya through tourism first started with an attempt at a regional development plan; in the plan, tourism was one of the topics included under policies for the development of industry in the region. The development of tourism in the Mediterranean countries in the post-war era has the main role regarding these policies since the Mediterranean destinations have provided particularly the North and Eastern European markets with the sun-sand-sea product (Aslan 2013). In the latter years, the regional plan in Antalya region was partly replaced by a more intense tourism development project, covering the south and west coasts of the country and foreseeing the development of mass tourism, particularly in the Antalya region.

In such a national and regional context, beginning with the 1970s, emerged the idea of planning of the Walled-Town as a conservation site to be regenerated by tourism. The rationale behind the selection of tourism as a generating factor for the historic center lay in the changing identity of the region in tourism. Since then, Antalya Walled-Town has been a well-known pilot project area in the conservation planning history of Turkey. “The solutions to the financial, administrative, legal and technical problems encountered in the course of the project” were going to serve as “models for the conservation of other historical centers in Turkey” (Yalın 1980, 57). This practice led to the transition of the town into a touristic historic entity.

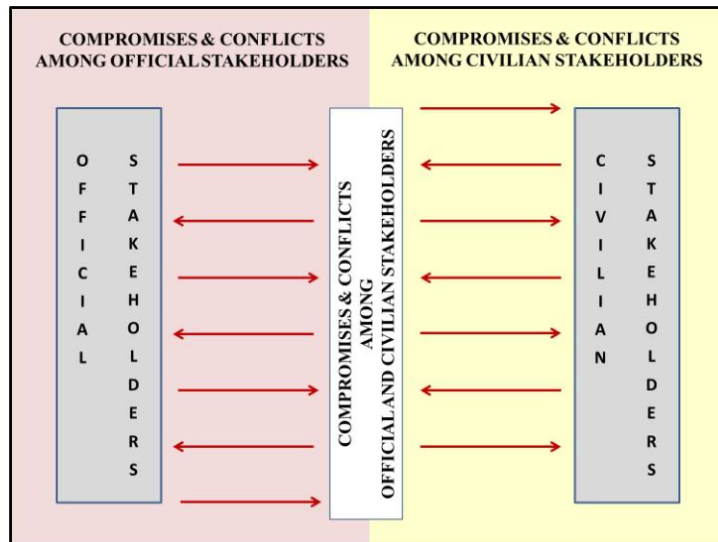


Figure 1.3. Interrelations among stakeholders

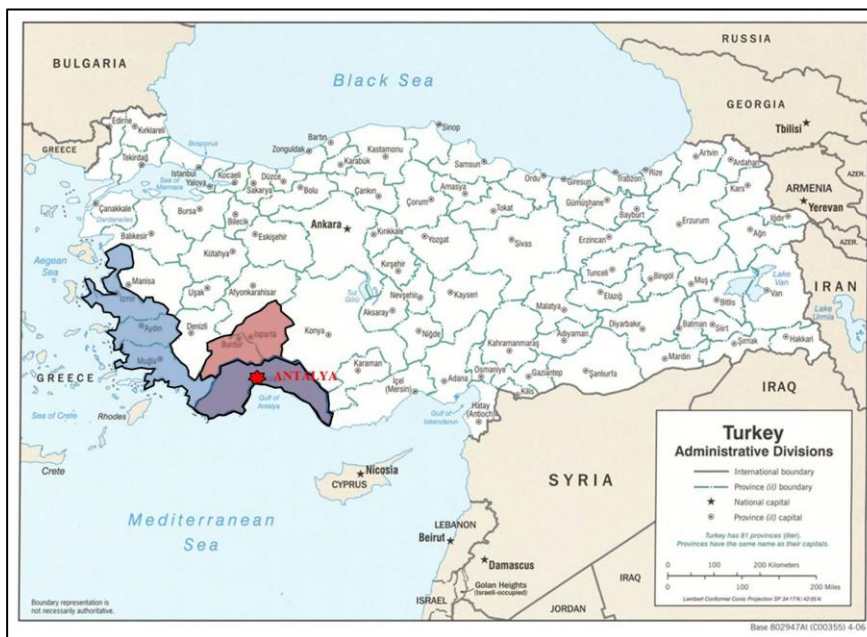


Figure 1.4. The blue and red areas indicate the borders of the regional plans that involve Antalya, the violet area is their intersection; the red mark represents the Walled-Town in this scheme (Source for the base map: ECOI.NET<sup>9</sup>)

Upon an overview of the international literature on urban planning, conservation and tourism, it is seen that most historic towns -particularly in coastal regions- faced a similar fate by turning into touristic cities –if not all them are pilot projects such as Antalya. This phenomenon is analyzed by Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000) and the final product is defined by them as the ‘tourist-historic city’. The term, developed by the authors in their book ‘The

<sup>9</sup>[http://www.ecoi.net/file\\_upload/470\\_1284542004\\_turkey-admin-2006.jpg](http://www.ecoi.net/file_upload/470_1284542004_turkey-admin-2006.jpg)



Tourist-Historic City: Retrospect and Prospect of Managing the Heritage City', also stands as a useful concept to define today's Walled-Town.

It is now widely assumed that the historic city and related urban conservation needs created an economic problem, which required an economic solution. Therefore, using the historic buildings and historic towns as economic resources came out to be an imperative solution and policy. "The most obvious and visible use of historic cities as an economic resource is for heritage tourism" (Ashworth & Tunbridge 2000, 21).

Respectively, in developing a model of the 'historic city', Ashworth & Tunbridge (2000, 48-49) argue that the historic city was born as a result of two processes:

1. The reevaluation of the historic-architectural heritage leading to the introduction of preservation and conservation attitudes and policies.
2. A process concerning the relationship between the historic city and the central functions of the town.

According to the authors, this particular type of city might be viewed as:

- Both a form and a function. It is a particular sort of urban morphology but also, and increasingly, an urban activity.
- Both a particular type of city and a specialized morphological-functional region within a city.
- Both a particular use of history as a tourism resource and a use of tourism as a means of supporting the maintenance of the artefacts of the past and justifying attention to the history of cities.

Therefore, it should be noted that historic character and conservation do not detract from the importance of the place regarding its retailing, office and residential functions. Ashworth & Tunbridge argue that "heritage tourism coexists in various ways with these other users and itself uses resources that were created and are still maintained for other, no less important, reasons." (2000, 21)

Regarding their sizes and functions, the authors make a taxonomy of tourist-historic cities. According to this taxonomy, tourist-historic cities can be categorized as:

- Monofunctional historic gems or tourist resorts, where either the historic or the tourist elements are relatively important.

- Multifunctional metropolises, where tourist-historic elements coexist with other urban functions (cities of global importance and populations in excess of one million) (2000, 203)
- Medium-sized multifunctional cities, where tourist-historic elements coexist with other urban functions.

As a metropolis with a population of its metropolitan area slightly over one million, Antalya would be placed in the second category of this taxonomy, a multifunctional metropolis possessing a tourist-historic town center. The authors describe the tourist-historic metropolis as “embroiled in much stronger crosscurrents of urban development” and they discriminate between ‘Old World’ and ‘New World’ metropolises. ‘Old World’ metropolises refer to “large cities which possess a major preindustrial heritage notwithstanding the vicissitudes of time” while ‘New World’ metropolises have “typically evolved on a more spacious initial plan” (2000, 203-204). They also emphasize that many Old World metropolises are restoring their waterfronts, “which are more complexly related to their historic cores, as supplementary tourist-historic components” (Bruttomesso 1993, in Ashworth & Tunbridge 2000, 205).

Within this context, Antalya Walled-Town can be assumed as an Old World tourist-historic city, which is one of the first of its genre in Turkey. As an Old World coastal metropolis, today Antalya is the social, cultural, administrative and commercial center of its region. The city has several widely known identities. The Chamber of City Planners (Planlama 2009, 3) describe Antalya as an ‘Agricultural Town’ with its fertile agricultural land, closed greenhouses and the production of citrus fruits; as a ‘Nature Town’ with its forests rich in biodiversity and with its wetlands; as a ‘Coastal Town’ with its cliffs, sand dunes, sea, and coastal settlements existing since ancient times; and as a ‘Mediterranean Town’ with its Mediterranean flora and architecture. Cities are dynamic entities evolving around their intrinsic characteristics, planning interventions and market mechanisms in a complex network of stakeholders and relations. Thus, the tourist-historic city should also be conceived as a living entity, populated by its uses and users in a context of the intrinsic qualities of the region. Ashworth & Tunbridge emphasize this aspect of the concept by mentioning that the tourist-historic city “does not exist in isolation but in a series of associations, whether functional or spatial, with other urban activities, thus the tourist-historic city must be occupied and populated by its uses and users” (2000, 5). Therefore, it is crucial first to functionally place the Walled-Town in the bigger frame of the region and then to explore the conflicts and the compromises among the stakeholders focusing on ‘uses and users’ in the Walled-Town.

### I.3.The Aim of the Study

The aim of this study is basically to understand the relations between the socio-spatial reproduction of Antalya Walled-Town by the state and by society itself, while taking tourism as the independent variable.

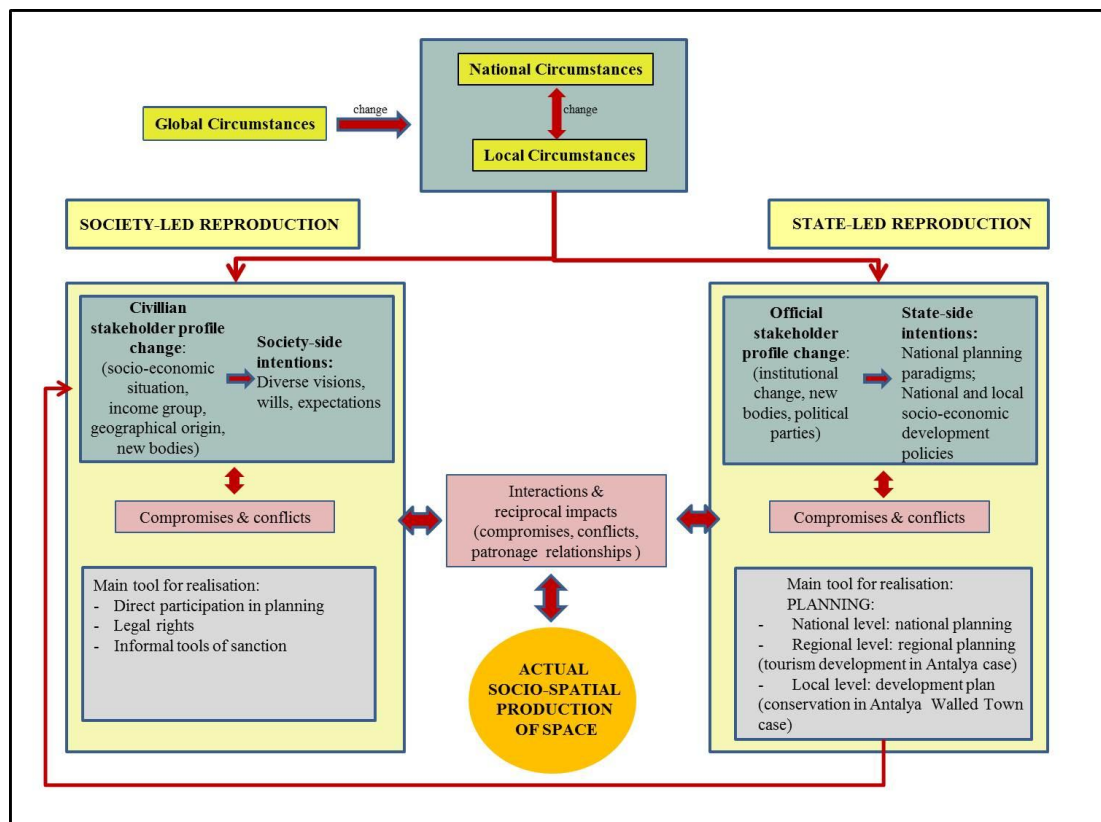


Figure 1.5. Flowchart showing the basic structure of the dissertation's argument

With regard to this definitive aim, the major concern of this dissertation is to achieve an understanding of the state-led and society-led processes in this urban restructuring, and the interrelations among them. Therefore, discovering the major and minor dynamics, the official and civilian wills behind the reproduction and the conflicts and compromises among the stakeholders, revealing the unobservable dynamics such as interpersonal relations (between the stakeholder institutions and persons) and market mechanisms, exposing the formal or informal 'tools of sanction' as the mechanism of realizing the wills, and evaluating the level of impact of the civilian and official wills on the actual reproduction of the Walled-Town can be referred as the secondary aims.

#### **I.4. Research Questions**

In order to reveal the motives behind the state-led and society-led reproduction processes, it is crucial to explore and understand:

- the global, national and local circumstances under which the wills appeared,
- how these circumstances have changed in time and affected the socio-economic development policies, and thus affected the plans produced,
- how these circumstances and changes have affected the stakeholder profiles and thus the related intentions.

Therefore, based on the main argument that “a major agent by which the Walled-Town is produced is society itself and thus the Walled-Town is a hybrid product of the state and the society”, it is asked:

- “Who are the stakeholders, and who are the actors that have a role in the state-led and society-led reproduction of the Walled-Town; what role have they taken on in this reproduction, intentionally or unintentionally?”
- “What have been the conflicts and compromises among the stakeholders on the reproduction of the Walled-Town regarding the uses and the users?”
- “Which tools were used by either the official or civilian stakeholders in order to realize their wills?”

Since the major and minor dynamics behind the actual reproduction of the Walled-Town are to be revealed, the research questions formulating the main argument of this dissertation had to be raised in a way that leads to an understanding of the socio-economic, cultural and political dynamics behind the Walled-Town’s reproduction process. Given the main questions of the dissertation above, the research questions can be formulated as:

**Research Question 1:** What are the major and minor dynamics behind the reproduction process of the Walled-Town?

**Sub-questions:**

1. How can one identify the global, national, regional and local circumstances that had impacts on this reproduction?
2. How did politics affect the tourism sector and thus this reproduction process? (Did political patronage relations emerge among the stakeholders?)

**Research Question 2:** What are the conflicts and compromises on uses and users of the Walled-Town among different stakeholders?

**Sub-questions:**

1. Who are the stakeholders taking part in the process of reproduction?
2. How did the changes in circumstances, politics and policies affect the stakeholder profile?
3. How did the ‘interventions’ affect the stakeholder profile?
4. In what ways did the stakeholders try to realize their wills?

**I.5. Assumptions and Limitations of the Study**

**I.5.1. Assumptions:**

1. ‘Stakeholders’ are defined in the study as those whose activities have strongly affected the phenomenon.
2. Stakeholders in the reproduction process of the Walled-Town may be users, partial-users or non-users of the town.
3. Central and local governments and related responsible bodies in planning works in the name of these governments, in other words subcontractors, are considered as ‘state-side stakeholders’ and named ‘official stakeholders’.
4. The private sector, NGOs, democratic mass organizations, Antalyalites, the residents of the Walled-Town, the laborers, employees, employers in the Walled-Town are considered as ‘society-side stakeholders’ and named ‘civilian stakeholders’.
5. Passive stakeholders, despite not taking an active role, participate in the reproduction process in their own way; such as the ex-residents selling their houses to higher income groups.
6. In the study, ‘actor’ is defined as an active stakeholder.

**I.5.2. Limitations:**

1. Regarding epistemology, producing idiographic knowledge, which gives the formation of the unique, is intended in the dissertation, rather than producing nomothetic knowledge, which sets the rules of the general. Respectively, Antalya Walled-Town is not handled in the dissertation as the case of a general argument; instead, it is directly aimed to explain the phenomenon of Antalya Walled-Town.

2. It should be noted that in the dissertation, it is intended to be descriptive of what has occurred and is occurring, rather than prescriptive of what should, or should not, occur. It is an account of what has been and is happening rather than a manual of instructions about how to make it happen.
3. It is crucial to highlight that this dissertation will neither deal with the theory of conservation, the preparation process of conservation plans, cultural heritage management, nor with the issues of authenticity, urban morphology.
4. In addition, any survey seeking to identify the impact of the urban restructuring process on the current or previous civilian stakeholders (residents, laborers, employees, etc.) of Antalya Walled-Town about how their quality of life or lifestyles changed, etc. has been kept out of the scope. In order to comprehend how people experienced, sensed, are were affected by the above-mentioned urban restructuring process, a further study should be conducted in the future.
5. It is also necessary to note that neither how or to what extent the Walled-Town is socially constructed are dealt with, in terms such as class, race, gender, or culture. It might be examined in further studies, as well.
6. Rather, how the changing circumstances affected the stakeholder profile (their socio-economic situation, income group, and geographical origin), their visions of Walled-Town, and thus their own wills for the Walled-Town and their opinions about the planning practices are examined. Their expectations are also taken into account in cases where they affect how these stakeholders take a role in the production of the Walled-Town.
7. While exploring the process, factors that are believed to have affected the current issues on the uses and users of the Walled-Town are taken into consideration. It is for sure that in case the physical, behavioral or other dimensions were also considered, the investigation would involve some other factors as well.

## **I.6.The Scope of the Study**

The main focus of this dissertation is the period between 1972 and 2013, beginning with the first planning intervention in the Walled-Town. As usual, in order to focus on the present-day Walled-Town, it should first be comprehended what is being dealt with. Therefore, before the reproduction process is explored in a historical analysis, the historical development of Antalya Walled-Town is examined in Chapters II and III under the headings of ‘Historical Development of the Walled-Town before the Foundation of the Turkish Republic’ and ‘Developments in Antalya Town Center between the Republic’s Modernity Project and the 1970s’. In Chapter II, the earlier development of the Walled-Town is briefly

examined to give an idea of its existing spatial structure and current cultural tourism potential.

The method of periodization differs among the Chapters. For the period up to the Republic's Modernity Project, the production process is examined under simple historic periods with reference to the multi-layered identity of the Walled-Town, which is the content of Chapter II. For the period starting with the Republic's Modernity Project, the periodization refers to the political history of Turkey. Therefore, the sub-periods in Chapter III refer to the Republic's Modernity Project, and the transition to the multi-party system.

In Chapter IV, since the independent variable of the dissertation is tourism, the development of the tourism sector in Turkey and in Antalya is examined with the aim of placing and analyzing the Walled-Town within the frame of the bigger picture, so that the present-day Walled-Town phenomenon can be explained in terms of its reciprocal relations with the wider context.

In Chapter V, the reproduction process of the Walled-Town after the 1970s is examined in reference to Chapter IV and with a focus on the conflicts and compromises among the uses and the users of the Walled-Town as stakeholders. The sub-periodization in the Chapter refers to mayoral periods of the town, which were experienced under different political parties.

In the Conclusion Chapter, Chapter VI, the reproduction process will be evaluated.

## **I.7. Research Design**

The major task of this study is to understand and reveal the dynamics behind the process of reproduction in the context of Turkey, with a focus on the 'uses' and 'users' of the site in question. Accordingly, the study is designed to explore the essential relations behind the state-led and society-led dynamics of reproducing Antalya Walled-Town.

The general research methodology of the dissertation is selected as Qualitative Research in order to "... dig deep to get a complete understanding of the phenomenon" (Leedy & Ormrod 2005, 133). Leedy and Ormrod classify two strategies of Qualitative Research methodologies:

1. qualitative research
2. historical research

The first one, the ‘qualitative research’, embodies different strategies, such as ethnographic studies, phenomenology and case study; whereas the second one, the ‘historical research’ deals with the *meaning of events*. Yet, all of them focus on phenomena that occur in their natural settings and on studying these phenomena in all their complexity (Leedy & Ormrod 2005, 133). Among different strategies, the research strategy of this dissertation is selected as ‘historical research’ due to the fact that the research strategy is quite suitable for examining in depth, explain, evaluate and interpret the phenomenon and the research problem.

A ‘historical research’ methodology addresses ‘how’ and ‘why’ questions, derives meanings from context and complexity, and has significant explanatory power. It generates the twists and turns in the story lines. “The task of the historical researcher is not merely to describe *what* events happened but to present a *factually supported rationale* to explain *why* they happened” (Leedy & Ormrod 2005, 161).

Rowlinson (2005) describes ‘historical research’ as follows:

“Historical research is the process of systematically examining past events to give an account of what has happened in the past. It is not a mere accumulation of facts and dates or even a description of past events. Rather, it is a flowing, dynamic account of past events that involves an interpretation of the events in an attempt to recapture the nuances, personalities, and ideas that influenced these events. One of the goals of historical research is to communicate an understanding of past events.” The following are five important reasons for conducting historical research (based on Berg, 1998, as cited in Johnson & Christenson, 2005):

- *To uncover the unknown (i.e., some historical events are not recorded)*: In the Antalya case, it has been seen during the oral history studies that many significant details were not recorded and do not exist in any of the secondary data. In addition, it is also detected that some critical points are known only by a few people.
- *To answer questions (i.e., there are many questions about our past that we not only want to know but can profit from knowing)*: For future approaches and policies in the planning of Antalya Walled-Town, the past would be a guiding element in terms of learning from the mistakes.



- *To identify the relationship that the past has to the present (i.e., knowing about the past can frequently give a better perspective of current events):* The past would be crucial in understanding the current problems of planning in Antalya in depth.
- *To record and evaluate the accomplishments of individuals, agencies or institutions:* In the Antalya Walled-Town case, the interrelations between stakeholders throughout its planning process will be interpreted and recorded.
- *To assist in understanding the culture in which we live (e.g., education is a part of our history and our culture)”:* Since the dissertation will be the first study of its kind –a comprehensive and analytical work handling the problem in depth– it will contribute to the understanding of our planning culture.

The strengths and the limitations of the historical research are:

Table 1.1. The strengths and the limitations of the historical research (Compiled from Types of Research Designs)

Strengths	Limitations
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Is unobtrusive; the act of research does not affect the results of the study</li> <li>• Provides a comprehensive picture of historical trends</li> <li>• Uses existing information</li> <li>• Provides evidence of ongoing trends and problems</li> <li>• Can add important contextual background required to more fully understand and interpret a research problem</li> <li>• Can be used over and over to study different research problems or to replicate a previous study</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Time-consuming</li> <li>• Resources may be hard to locate</li> <li>• Resources may be conflicting</li> <li>• May not identify cause of a problem</li> <li>• Information may be incomplete, obsolete, inconclusive or inaccurate</li> <li>• Data is restricted to what already exists</li> <li>• Original authors bring their own perspectives and biases to the interpretation of past events and these biases are more difficult to ascertain in historical resources</li> <li>• Due to the lack of control over external variables, is very weak with regard to the demands of internal validity</li> <li>• It is rare that the entirety of historical documentation needed to fully address a research problem is</li> </ul>

	available for interpretation, therefore, gaps need to be acknowledged
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The research design of this study can also be named as ‘exploratory research’. An explanatory research design uses the questions beginning with ‘why’ and ‘how’ in order to ‘explain’ a particular phenomenon with the principle of causality. The crucial character of exploratory research design is to ‘explore’ what is behind the observable phenomena.<sup>10</sup>

Consequently, in this historical or exploratory study design, to reveal the essential relations behind the observable process of reproducing Antalya Walled-Town, the approach to the inquiry is neither merely inductive, since the regularities cannot imply the necessity of certain reasons, nor deductive since there are no generalizations from which essential relations can be deduced. Rather, the exploratory research “is a retroductive approach” (Sanders 1981: 17) to the inquiry, which helps to understand any social phenomena in depth as a ‘process’.

This study has been shaped by historical studies and also by empirical study. As Bailey (1994: 34) writes, by ‘method’ we simply mean the research technique or tool used to gather data, by ‘methodology’ we mean the philosophy of the research process. For him, this includes “the assumptions and values that serve as the rationale for research and the standards or criteria the researcher uses for interpreting data and reaching conclusions.” To carry out the research empirically and to collect data, various tools and techniques of qualitative research methods have been employed in this study:

1. Shooting photographs
2. Interviewing stakeholders (representatives of different specific groups)
3. Interviewing several identified ‘wise people’ who have significant experiences with the Walled-Town
4. Reading national and local newspapers and journals (not systematically but selectively)
5. Conducting oral history (memoirs of Tarık Akıltopu and Hüseyin Çimrin)
6. Consulting municipal and governmental publications and statistics (DIE/State Institute of Statistics, Statistics provided by the Governorship of Antalya)
7. Consulting institutional publications or unpublished reports of local Unions and Chambers

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<sup>10</sup>A descriptive research design begins with ‘what’ [is happening] questions that are generally used to ‘describe’ a specific phenomenon.

8. Conducting questionnaires with the operators or managers of accommodation units.

Various kinds of newspaper reports about Antalya have been collected, but for the purposes of this study, the popular national newspaper Milliyet is chosen and scanned for news about Antalya. Many of the local newspapers in Antalya have also been used.

Interview Questions were formulated with some general main points. Under the main headings, sub-questions were directed spontaneously to the interviewee related to their role in the process.

In the dissertation, it is assumed that each organization (body, NGO, democratic mass organization, etc.) represents its constituency in the best way. The representatives of specific interest groups can be analyzed in six dimensions:

1. Representative(s) of the central government (Ministries, Councils);
2. Representatives of local government (Governorship and Municipality);
3. Representatives of democratic mass organizations (both local and national); (Chambers of Commerce, Architects, TURSAB)
4. Representatives of NGOs in Antalya Walled-Town;
5. Users of the area (mukhtars, hotel and pension operators or managers)
6. Representatives of local people in Antalya (Hüseyin Çimrin)

## **I.8. Data Collection**

For the purpose of the dissertation, primary and qualitative data were collected through the tools and techniques listed above.

The study was conducted with questionnaire forms and in-depth interviews. Qualitative data collection was made based on semi-structured in-depth interview questions with headings covering the major themes:

1. Personal identification (occupation and geographical origin)
2. Institutional identification (field, sector, function, etc.)
3. Comments about Antalya Walled-Town (interviewee's own observations and experiences about population, migration, economy, culture)
4. Comments about the tourism in Antalya and Walled-Town
5. Comments about problems in Antalya Walled-Town affecting uses and users
6. Comments about the Walled-Town's present image
7. Personal vision for Antalya Walled-Town

For the selection of the interviewees, the author's own judgment was used based on the criteria of representativeness, availability, ease of access/communication, etc.

### **I.9. The Importance of the Study**

There are many academic works on Antalya regarding architecture, planning or tourism studies. The ones on tourism are basically the products of the field of Tourism Management and they form a major part of the total body of works. Few of the works focus on tourism and city and regional planning; they are from the City and Regional Planning field, such as Hilal Erkuş Öztürk's work titled 'The role of local and global networking for tourism firms and clusters: the case of Antalya' completed in 2008 and Oytun Eylem Dođmuş's work 'The Questioning of National Tourism Policies in the Case of Antalya' (*Antalya Örneğinde Ulusal Turizm Politikalarının Sorgulanması*) completed in 2010. The restructuring of Antalya from diverse perspectives also has been examined by some studies from diverse academic fields, such as Reyhan Varlı-Görk's study titled 'The Making of a 'City of Culture': Restructuring Antalya' in the field of Sociology and completed in 2008 and Melike Gül's work titled 'Urban Transformation Practice in Historic Town Centers, Case Study: Antalya' (*Tarihi Kent Merkezlerinde Kentsel Dönüşüm Uygulamaları: Antalya Örneği*) completed in 2008 in the field of Public Administration. All these valuable works focus either on the urban or the regional scale, or on the surroundings of the Walled-Town rather than the Walled-Town itself. The works in the scope of the Walled-Town are usually from the fields of Architecture, Conservation, Planning and Urban Design. Among them, three of them should be mentioned, which may be used as basic studies for future works on the Walled-Town: the works of Ayşe Süer and of Duygu Öztekin, both from the field of Planning and the work of Görsev Argın from the field of Urban Design. The work conducted by Ayşe Süer titled 'The Analysis of Historical / Cultural Pattern Development and Conservation Plans of Antalya Kaleiçi' and completed in 2006 investigated the urban development and transformation of the Walled-Town in terms of its cultural periods, and later examined the reflection of this historic urban structure in conservation plan decisions. The work of Duygu Öztekin titled 'Conservation Plans in the context of the Social and Physical Environment, Case Study: Antalya Walled-Town' (*Sosyal ve Fiziksel Çevre Bağlamında Koruma Planları Antalya Kaleiçi Örneği*) and completed in 2010 examined the conservation plans and plan decisions in terms of their applicability, and investigated the effects of these plans in Antalya Walled-Town. While doing this, she exposed the physical and social transformation of the Walled-Town prior and after the conservation plans by using the land registries. As a currently completed research, the work of Görsev Argın titled 'Changing Sense of Place in

Historic City Centers: The Case of Antalya Kaleiçi' and completed in 2012 investigated the change of 'sense of place' and 'place image' in the Walled-Town as a result of the restructuring process in the historic area along the lines of tourism. All are valuable works, and this dissertation might be viewed as complementary to them by investigating the reproduction process of the Walled-Town through tourism and the roles of the stakeholders in it. It is sure to be a contribution in understanding the current tourism structure of the Walled-Town and problems among the stakeholders, which can be used as reference in future planning works.



## CHAPTER II

### HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF THE WALLED-TOWN BEFORE THE FOUNDATION OF THE TURKISH REPUBLIC

#### II.1. The Foundation of the Town

Pamphylia is one of the ancient regions of Anatolia, neighboring Lycia, Pisidia and Cilicia. Main towns of the region were Thermessos, Attaleia, Perge, Aspendos, Silium and Side. Texier (2002 in Sürer 2006) notes that the name ‘Pamphylia’ was given by Greeks, and it meant ‘the land of whole clans’ (Bean 1999 in Sürer 2006), or ‘the land where all tribes live’ (Bosh 1957 in Sürer 2006).

The region is located on the southern coast of Anatolia, and is surrounded by the Taurus Mountains<sup>11</sup> running parallel to the Mediterranean Sea in an east-west direction. This led to the formation of coastal plains, on one of which stands Antalya. The region is rich in rivers - most important being Düden, Aksu, Köprü and Manavgat- and thus in fertile lands. The city center is situated on a rocky plain with cliffs that are of 20-30 meters height.

Attaleia was named after its so-called founder, Attalos Philadelphus (Attalos II), the king of Pergamon (Strabo, Horace & Sterrett 1917). According to the legends regarding the foundation of the town, Attalos II ordered his men to find ‘heaven on earth’ and Antalya region came out as the result of this search. Before Attalos II, there had already been a settlement in the area. Under the Pergamon Kingdom, the city was rebuilt in 138 BC, and it was named ‘Attaleia’. Later it was mutated as Adalia in European languages, and as Adalya or Antaliyye in Turkish. In the Republican Period, the city was finally named as Antalya.

The Mediterranean had long been referred to as a big lake in history, its only connection to the ocean (the Atlantic) being via the Strait of Gibraltar. It involves many islands, and there are several seas such as the Aegean, Adriatic, Ionian and Balearic, which are a part of the Mediterranean. It always had connection with the Black Sea via the Bosphorus, and in 1869, it was connected with the Red Sea via the Suez Canal (Sönmez 2008, 13). The Suez Canal also provided for its connection with the Indian Ocean. With such a geography, the region had always been attractive to settle, even if its importance in sea trade changed throughout

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<sup>11</sup> Bey Mountains in several sources

history depending on several events and conditions. Antalya is known to be chronologically settled down by the Helens, Romans, Byzantines, Seljuks and Ottomans before the foundation of Turkish Republic. It is also known that before the Helens it was settled by the Hittites, Lydians and Persians. The archaeological works are rather few in number; therefore, little is yet known about the spatial contributions or spatial structures of pre-Hellenistic and Hellenistic periods. The Roman period is somewhat clearer, since several cultural monuments, which are attributed as primary resources in this thesis, survived to this day. Through the construction of the inner walls and monumental public buildings, which are mostly attributed as primary resources, it can be said that the Walled-Town acquired its basic spatial structure, which is perceivable today, in the Seljuk Era. Due to this multi-layered spatial structure of the town, its development before the Turkish Republic can briefly be examined under the Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Seljuk and Ottoman Periods.

## **II.2. The Hellenistic Period**

The word 'Hellenistic' comes from the Greek word 'Hellas' for 'Greece'. Alexander the Great (356-323 BCE) of Macedon conquered the world, setting out from the then known Macedon to Egypt and India, 'hellenizing' ('making Greek in culture') those lands (Mark 2012). The towns in conquered lands were mostly developed in the Greek style –that is 'in grid plan'-; however, in Antalya, due to the absence of adequate archaeological works, it is not yet known whether Antalya suited this type or not. Therefore, the development of the town in the Hellenistic period could only be studied through assumptions. It is assumed by Sönmez (2008, 33) that before Attalos II, there were two walled small settlements where the Walled-Town stands today: probably a fishing village named Korykos in the south, and another settlement in the north, assumed by Sönmez as Olbia. Later, these two walled settlements enlarged out of their borders and merged; the port in the northern bay was used for sea trade, while the port in the southern town was developed as the naval port (Sönmez 2008, 183). In the Hellenistic Era, the towns had fortification walls, which were usually added after the city was built (Sönmez 2008, 19). Local historian Çimrin (2012) notes Antalya's town walls in the Hellenistic Era as being in two lines. In Ancient Greek and thus in Hellenistic towns, the acropolis, agora, theater and temples were the main structures of the city. Süer, who examined the urban form in the Walled-Town by following the general characteristics of the Hellenistic towns, examining the historical writings and tracing the archaeological findings in Antalya, assumes that the northern part could be the acropolis, as it is topographically higher than the southern one. The agora of the town is presumed by Çimrin (2012) to be at the site neighboring the Kesik Minaret. For the amphitheater, two assumptions exist (Argın 2012, 63); according to the first one, it was built in Mermerli Park,



taking into consideration the suitable topography of the area; however, current findings from the late Roman-Byzantine period found in the northern part of the city suggest this as a stronger alternative for its location (Üreğen 2012 in Arğın 2012).

The city later joined to the Kingdom of Pergamon. In 133 BCE, the Pergamon Kingdom joined the Roman Empire, through the testament of Attalos III (Sönmez 2008, 183).

### **II.3. The Roman Period**

The Roman city of Antalya was a naval fortress, which connected land trade routes to sea trade routes (Yağcı 2009). After the transition of the town to the Roman Empire, the population increased and the town expanded beyond the walls; therefore, a new fortification wall was built (Yağcı 2009). In 130 AD, a monumental marble gate of three arches was built for the honor of Emperor Hadrianus, who visited the town (Çimrin 2002). Hadrian's Gate still stands today as one of the symbols of the city. At the time, it connected the town to the most important cities of Pamphylia: Perge, Aspendos, Sillyon and Side (Erten 1997). Another important and still standing structure of the town from the era is Hıdırlık Tower, which is assumed to be built either as a mausoleum or as a lighthouse (Erten 1997). The typical town in the Roman Empire is in grid plan; there is a clear street hierarchy, with the main streets *decumanus* in the east-west direction and *cardo* in the south-north direction. Within this framework, according to Süer's (2006) work, today's Hesapçı Street in Antalya Walled-Town, beginning from Hadrian's Gate, probably corresponds to the Roman town's *cardo* or *decumanus*, ending at Hıdırlık Tower. At this point, it should also be indicated that according to town historian and settlement archaeologist Numan Tuna<sup>12</sup>, Roman camp plans do not exist in Turkey except in southeastern Anatolia; therefore, the grid layout in the Antalya Walled-Town probably presents a structure of the Hellenistic period.

Another assumption regarding the town in the Roman Period is the existence of a temple or basilica, which is today known as Kesik Minaret (Süer 2006) and attributed as a primary resource in the dissertation. The visible ruins at the north of the structure are interpreted as the Roman forum.<sup>13</sup> The town walls, Hadrian's Gate and Hıdırlık Tower from this period are attributed as primary resources in the dissertation.

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<sup>12</sup> Personal interview 2013

<sup>13</sup> Kesik Minaret Court Report, 2013

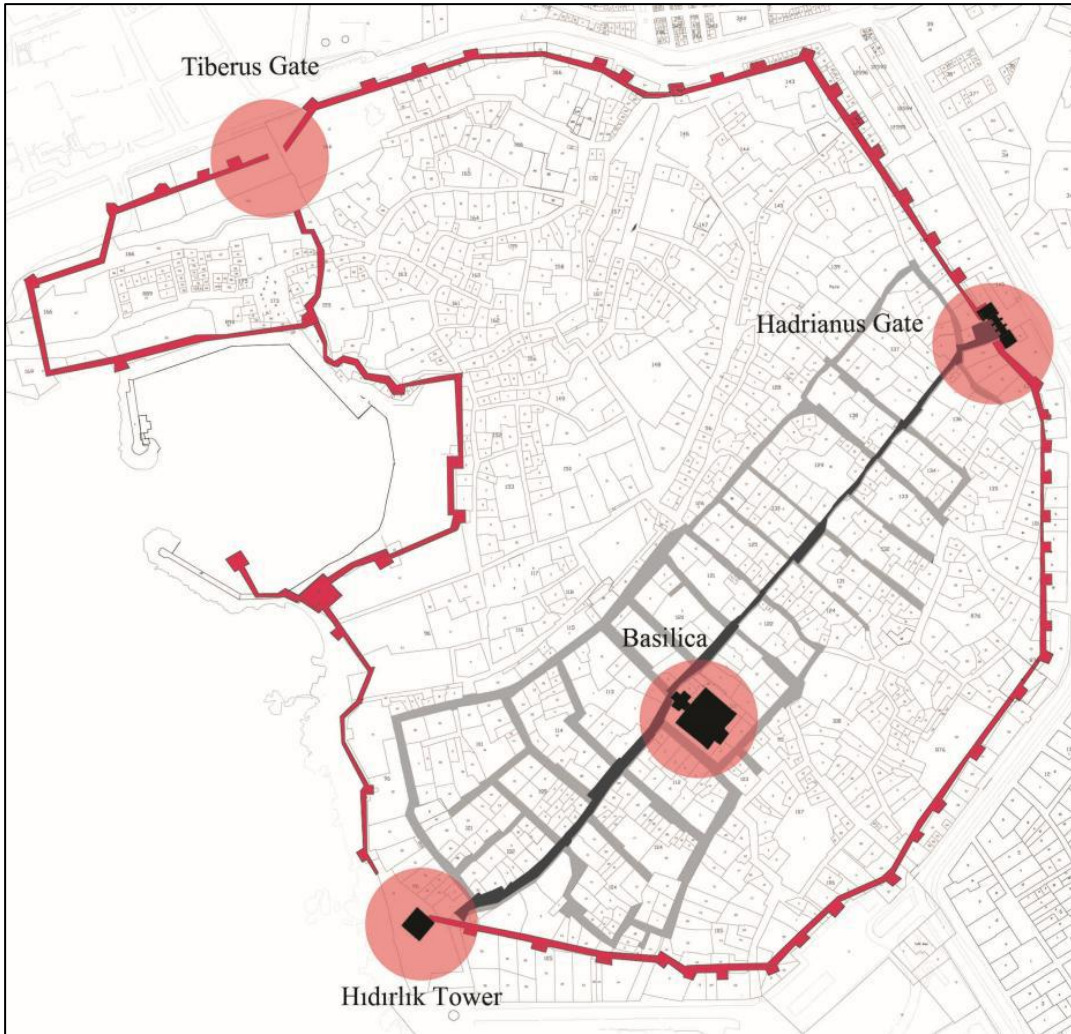


Figure 2.1. Possible Roman layer of the town (Source: Arğın 2012)

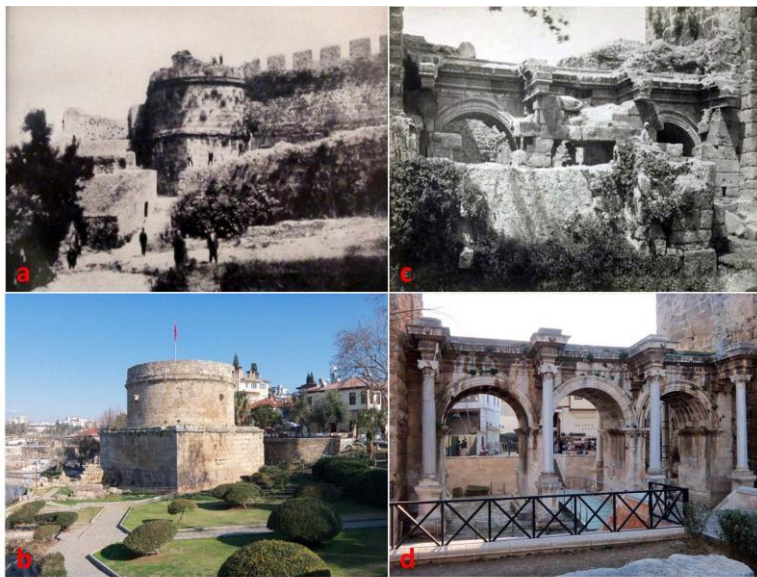


Figure 2.2. a) Hıdırlık Tower in the 1920s; b) Hıdırlık Tower in 2012; c) Hadrian's Gate in 1882; d) Hadrian's Gate in 2012 (Source: B. Eraskın's personal archive)

#### **II.4. The Byzantine Period**

In 395 AD, the Roman Empire was divided into two as the Eastern and Western Roman Empires and Istanbul became the capital of the Eastern, namely the Byzantine Empire. It is known from Yılmaz's (2002) work that Antalya as a major Byzantine node town (Sönmez 2008, 184) was surrounded by a second fortification wall and ditches were built outside the Roman walls. This second wall also covered the monumental Hadrian's Gate. Lanckoronski (2005) describes the second wall as lower than the first one and with triangular towers. According to Tanyeli (1987) and Sönmez (2008), the inner wall surrounding the port and the Clock Tower were also built in this period.

It is known from Foss's work that (1996) while other antique towns in the Pamphylia region were destroyed during the Byzantine period, Antalya survived due to its vigorous fortification walls. Indeed, this view is interesting considering the early 20<sup>th</sup> century fate of the walls, which is to be indicated in Chapter III. Antalya's being an important harbor of the Eastern Mediterranean could have played a role in this survival.

In the Byzantine period, basilicas and churches became the main structures of the towns, due to the importance of Christianity in the Empire. In Antalya, as a Christian city, Kunar (1997) speaks of Panagia Basilica –also known as Aya İrini Church- which is Kesik Minaret today (Çimrin 2002). Several other basilicas and churches were also constructed in this era. Clock Tower is also attributed as a primary resource, which is assumed to be built in the Byzantine period (Argın 2012).

The grid plan of the city was partially distorted into an organic one during the Byzantine Era. (Tanyeli 1987, Yağcı 2009, Öztekin 2010 and Argın 2012). In the 11<sup>th</sup> century, the Venetians built stairs –today known as *Kırkmerdiven*- to connect the port with the commercial center of the town (Erten 1997).

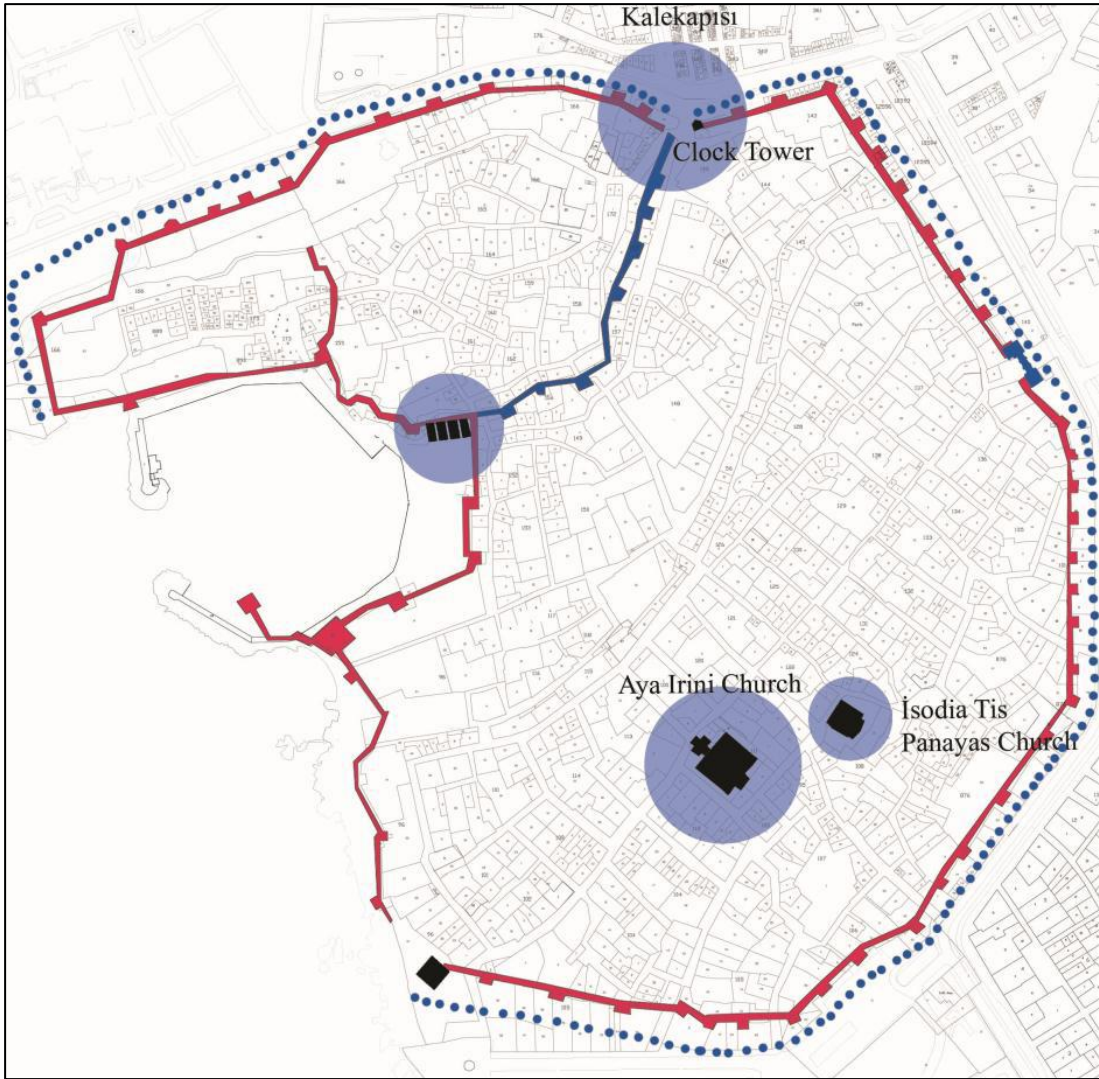


Figure 2.3. Possible Byzantine layer of the town (Source: Argın 2012)



Figure 2.4. a) Kesik Minaret in 2012 (Source: personal archive); b) Clock Tower in 1925 with Yivli Minaret in the background (Source: Personal archive of B. Eraskın)

## II.5. The Seljuk Period

In the 12<sup>th</sup> century, Antalya passed to Turks and then back to the Byzantines again. In 1207, it was conquered by the Seljuk Turks and started to be used as a winter capital, while in other seasons, Konya was used as the administrative center. During this period, Seljuk town Antalya continued to be significant in sea trade among the Mediterranean countries.

The Seljuks repaired the town after the conquest and re-used the Byzantine public buildings by adapting them to Seljuk uses. Tankut (2007, 86) notes three main urban elements of the Seljuk era, which are the madrasah (*medrese*), caravanserai (*kervansaray*), and tombs (*türbe*). Beside these, the Seljuks built many mosques, hammams (*hamam*), khans (*han*) and dervish lodges (*mevlevihane*) in Antalya. Some of the masjids (*mescid*) and mosques were transformed and adapted from Byzantine churches, for instance the Aya İonnis Tu Teoloğu Church, which is now Yivli Minaret Mosque (Argın 2012, 68). The main urban elements from the Seljuk period are the Kulliye of Yivli Minaret with a Madrasah, the Mevlevihane, Ahi Yusuf Turbe and Masjid, Karatay Madrasah, Atabey Armağan Madrasah, İmaret Madrasah, Ahi Kızı Masjid, Karamolla Mosque, Şeyh Şüca Tomb and Zincir Kırın Mehmet Bey Tomb (Antalya Valiliği 2003). Among them Yivli Minaret Complex and Karatay Madrasah are attributed as primary resources in the dissertation.

During the Seljuk era, the town consisted of four ethnic groups: Turks, Greeks, Jews and European Christian merchants. The conquest of Antalya by the Turks was not welcomed by the Cyprusians (inhabitants of Cyprus). After the death of the Seljuk ruler Keyhüsrev I, a fight for the throne started among the sons. During this fight, the Cyprusians provoked the Christians living in Antalya into conquering the town. This resulted in a massacre in the town. One night, with the support of the Cyprusians, the Christians killed the men of the town and took the women and the children as prisoner. After four years of independence from the Seljuks, the town was regained by them in 1216. The rebellion in 1212 resulted in the formation of different neighborhoods for different ethnic groups living in the city and the inner town walls were built upon this event. The construction of inner town walls to separate the ethnic districts from each other was ordered by the town administration (Çimrin 2002, 52). The well-known Arabic traveler İbni Battuta, who visited the city in 1335-40, noted these districts in his travel book, which is the sole source on the Seljuk formation of the town:

From Alanya I went to Antaliya [Adalia], a most beautiful city. It covers an immense area, and though of vast bulk is one of the most attractive towns to be seen anywhere, besides being exceedingly populous and well laid out. Each section of the inhabitants lives in a separate quarter. The Christian merchants live in a quarter of the town known as the Mina [the Port], and are surrounded by a wall, the gates of which are shut upon them from without at night and during the Friday service. The Greeks, who were its former inhabitants, live by themselves in another quarter, the Jews in another, and the king and his court and Mamluks in another, each of these quarters being walled off likewise. The rest of the Muslims live in the main city. Round the whole town and all the quarters mentioned there is another great wall.<sup>14</sup>

In 1308, Seljuk rule ended and the Era of Principalities (*Beylik*) started in Anatolia. In this era, many independent principalities were founded in Anatolia, and it was the *Hamidoğulları Beyliği* (The Sons of Hamid Principality) that was founded in Antalya around 1260. Later, the *Tekeoğulları* (The Sons of Teke Principality), a branch of Hamitoğulları, started to govern the city.



Figure 2.5. Yivli Minaret (Source: Touristic brochure, unknown date)

<sup>14</sup><http://www.fordham.edu/halsall/sbook.asp>

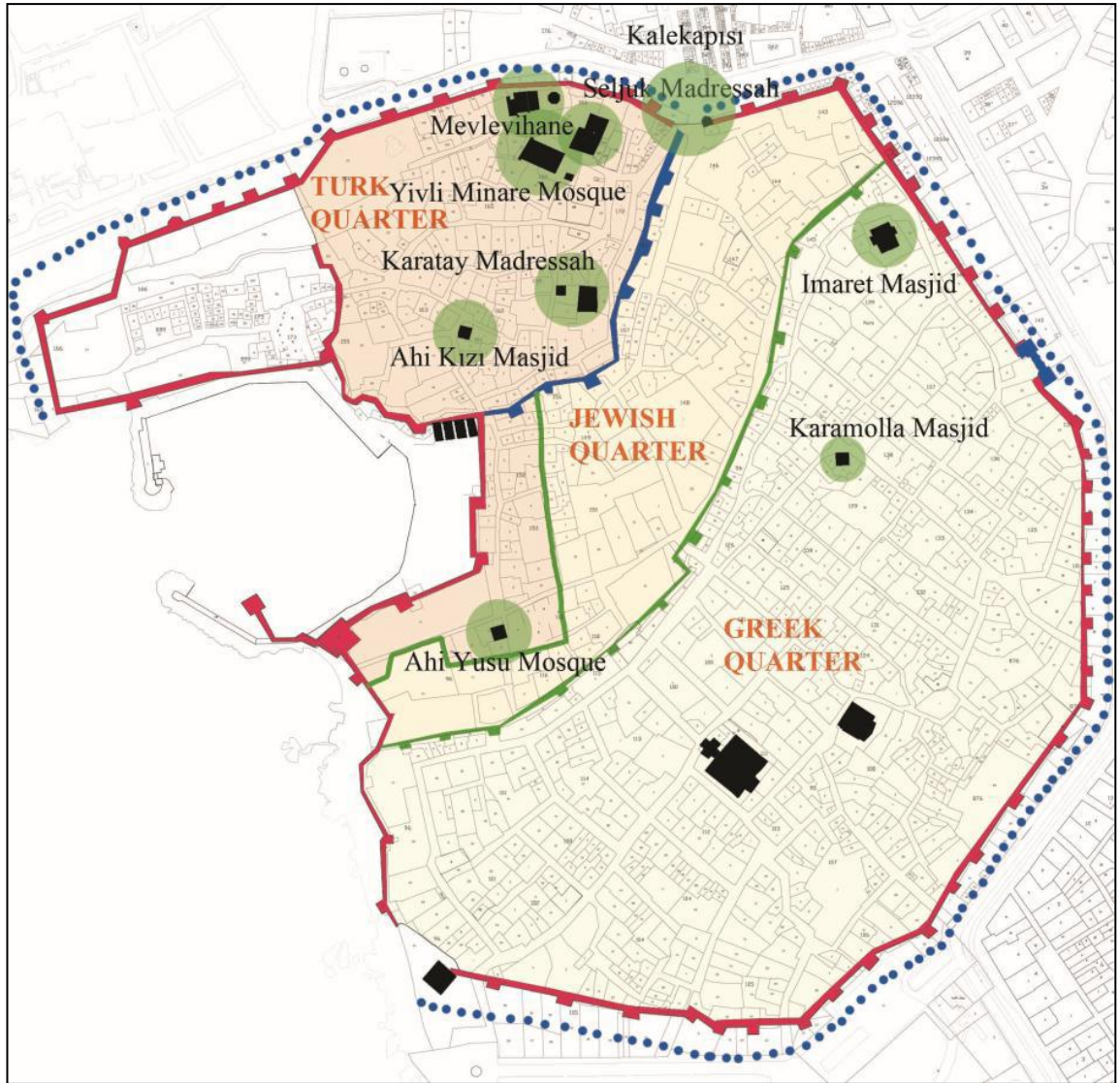


Figure 2.6. Seljuk layer of the town (Source: Argın 2012)

## II.6. The Ottoman Period

The principalities in Anatolia became a part of the Ottoman Empire in the 14<sup>th</sup> century, and so did Antalya in 1390 during the reign of Yıldırım Beyazıt. The administrative structure of the Empire consisted of ‘provinces’, also called as ‘sanjak’. Antalya was a district of the Konya Sanjak, later in 1913 becoming the center of the Teke Sanjak (Çimrin 2002).

In the Ottoman period, many Ottoman towns enlarged beyond the borders of the town walls, as well as Antalya. The town particularly expanded towards the north, where the commercial center is located today. Kuyucu Murat Paşa, Bali Bey, Müsellim and Tekeli Mehmet Paşa Mosques –attributed as a primary resource in the dissertation–were built outside the walls

during this period (Aktüre, 1975, 117). In 1472, the town was besieged by the Crusaders (Venetians). They could not pass through the fortifications but did burn down the outer-wall neighborhoods and broke the chain of the port (Güçlü 1997, 3).

From well-known traveler Evliya Çelebi' writings<sup>15</sup> one learns that in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the walls had eight towers and the town had approximately 1000 houses in four neighborhoods inside the walls, comprising twenty Turkish neighborhoods and four Greek neighborhoods outside the northern part of the town walls; he also mentions on four gates. During this period, Hadrian's Gate was still covered by the town walls, noticed by Beaufort who visited the city in the 19<sup>th</sup> century (Beaufort 2002). The port is reported by Evliya Çelebi to hold up to 200 boats. From the numbers and locations of the khans and shops, it is inferred that the town was important in trade and commercial activities, which mostly took place outside the town walls (Aktüre 1975, 117). In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, İzmir Port gained a dominant position Antalya began to lose its importance as a port city (Güçlü 1997, 67). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Texier, who visited the town, describes the commercial center as weak and the port as empty (C. Texier 1882 in Güçlü 2002, 38). Aktüre (1975, 117-118) evaluates the situation as a result of the difficulties in transportation due to surrounding high mountains, limiting the expansion of the town's hinterland.

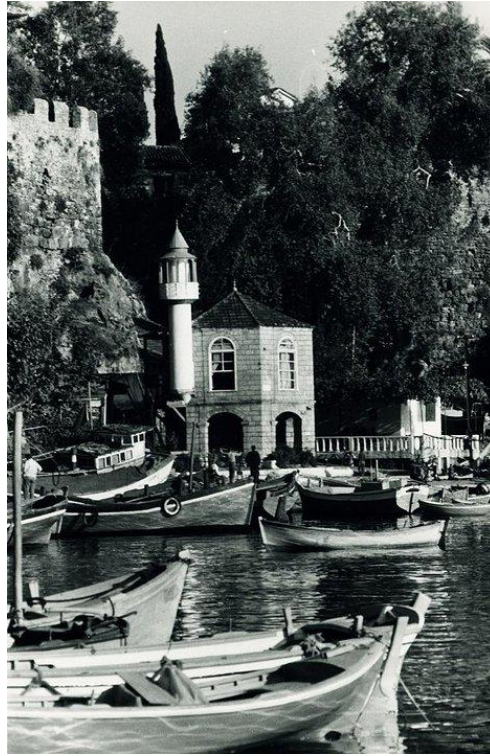


Figure 2.7. İskele Masjid (Source: B. Eraskın personal archive)

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<sup>15</sup> Seyahatname , 1680



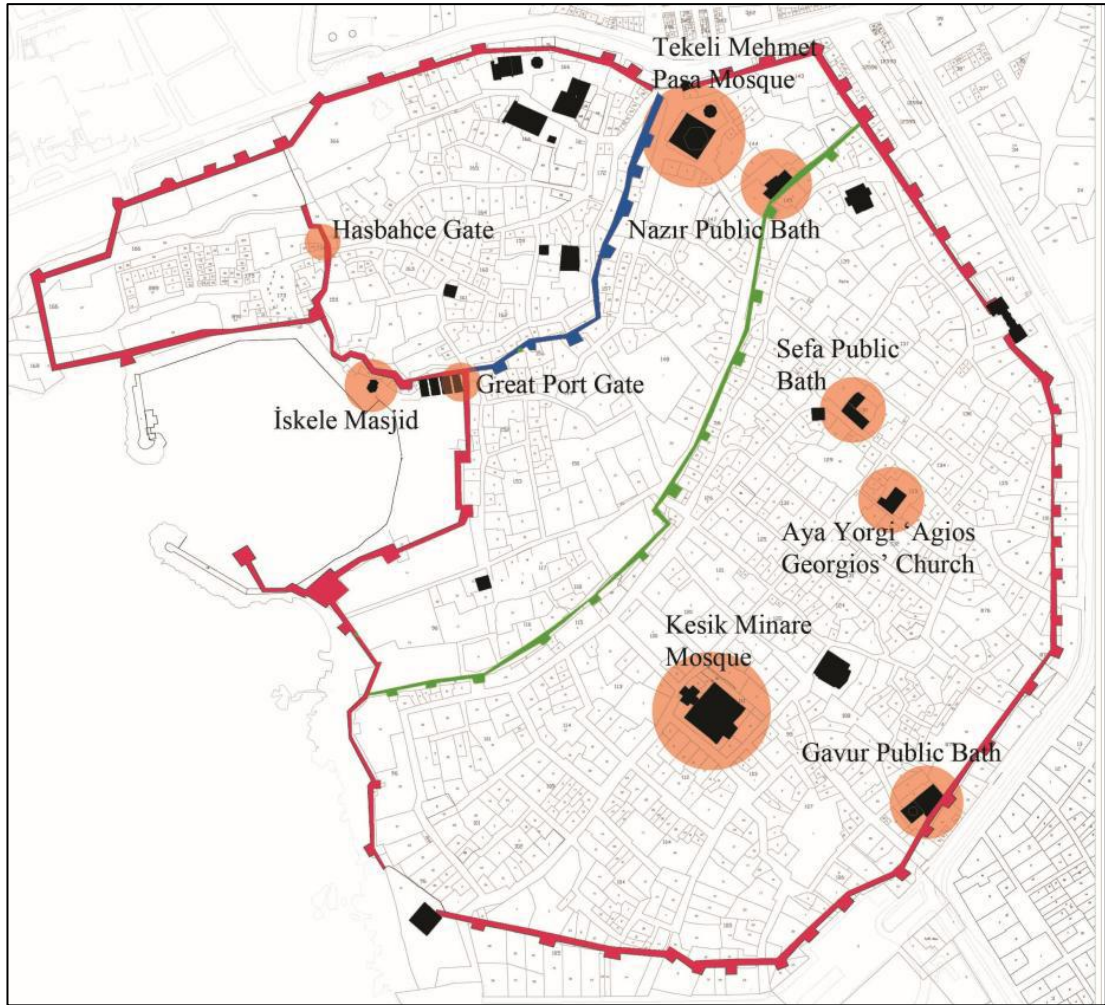


Figure 2.8. Ottoman layer of the town (Source: Argın 2012)

In the Ottoman period, since the main population of Antalya was Muslim, several mosques were built, among them the primary touristic resource of Tekeli Mehmet Paşa Mosque and İskele Masjid. Apart from these, Aya Irini Church (Argın 2012, 71), or Panagia Basilica (Süer 2006, 50) was turned into a mosque by adding a minaret to it. In a fire in 1919, it was severely damaged and its minaret partly collapsed, therefore today it is called as Kesik Minaret ('broken minaret'). Beside the Islamic monuments, a church known as Aya Yorgi ('Agios Georgios') was built, which is used as the Suna-İnan Kırac Kaleiçi Museum today. The public baths of Sefa, Nazır and Gavur were also built in this period. According to the work of Süer (2006), two types of settlement pattern makes notice in this period; the part in which Muslims lived was built in an organic pattern, while the part in which the Greeks lived was rather in grid layout. Parts of the Walled-Town (approximately 500 houses and several public buildings) were damaged several times, due to the fires in the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the earthquake in 1911 (Çimrin 2005).

## II.7. The Italian Occupation of Antalya and their development operations in the town:

After the defeat of the Ottoman Empire in the Balkan War, the Empire was forced to give some capitulations to the Italians through a treaty. The first civilian Italian group came to the town under this treaty and opened an Italian Embassy. In 1913, they founded a school and later opened an eight-bed hospital<sup>16</sup>. In 1914, when the First World War began, they left the town (Çimrin 2012, 139-140).

Following the United Kingdom and France, Italy also had the desire to have new colonies and to enlarge its territory, leading to the country's taking part in the First World War. Its wish was to gain sovereignty in the Mediterranean territory. In 1915, in the secret London Treaty between Italy, England, France and Russia, Antalya and its environs were offered to Italy. In the 9<sup>th</sup> article of the 16-article treaty, it was stated that in case Asian Turkey be occupied by France, United Kingdom and Russia, Antalya would be left to Italy and the Italians would have the right to occupy there. İzmir (Smyrna) was also left to Italy in the treaty. However, the United Kingdom later preferred that İzmir should be occupied by Greece, resulting in Italy's change in attitude, and taking the side of Turkey. Therefore, they had been friendly towards the public of Antalya during their occupation of the city. The Italian soldiers landed in the town in March 1919<sup>17</sup>, in the scope of the Armistice of Moudros.

The first development plan of the town was prepared by Italian engineer G. Scarpa and was approved in 1920. The Italians founded a post office, a branch of Bank of Rome (*Banco di Roma*) to provide farmers and merchants credits, a school and dispensaries; they repaired the roads and the mosques (Çimrin 2012, 139); they constructed the sloppy road of the Dock and the Bridge of Kadın Yarığı (today its ruins can be seen) (Çimrin 2012, 228). They also had a small electricity turbine at the plot of the old burnt flour factory<sup>18</sup> at the Dock, and a cinema in the unused primary school building (located in the place of the present-day stock exchange building) (Çimrin 2012, 161).

The Italians left the town in 1921 by proposing peace to the government in Ankara.

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<sup>16</sup>In the upper part of Mermerli (Çimrin 2012, 165)

<sup>17</sup>The occupation lasted for two years, three months and seven days (Çimrin 2012, 207).

<sup>18</sup>Named 'Maarif Un Fabrikası'; today it is where the car park of the Marina is located.

## CHAPTER III

### DEVELOPMENTS IN ANTALYA TOWN CENTER BETWEEN THE REPUBLIC'S MODERNITY PROJECT AND THE 1970's

#### III.1. Development Movements in the Town in the Republican Period

In the first decade of the newly founded Republic, the 'modernization' ideology was the main driver of the revolutions and novelties in the country. With the reflection of the 'Western modernity project' on the Republic, international planning ideas diffused in Turkey in the context of the modernization of towns, being reinterpreted according to the circumstances of the country. This process mainly occurred in Ankara, İstanbul, İzmir and then spread to other towns of the Republic, including Antalya.

Although the modernity project is a project of the Republic, the modernization of towns was already initiated in the Ottoman era. Therefore, considering that the first town planning acts were inherited from the Ottomans, the modernization efforts in the last decades of the Empire are briefly given to provide a background to town planning in the Republican era.

##### III.1.1. Background

In the first years of the Republic, the Buildings Act (*Ebniye Kanunu*), which dated back to 1882, was implemented in town planning schemes in the country (Keleş 1972, 164). However, this act could not be counted as a proper law in the sense of modern town planning; it might rather be evaluated as an effort and a transitory step.

In the Empire, efforts for the modernization of Ottoman towns began in the same period as the Tanzimat reforms of 1839. However, as Tekeli and Keleş note (Keleş 1972, 164; Tekeli 1998 in Tekeli 2010, 28), these efforts were to deal with the large fires in the towns rather than dealing with the problems of industrialization, which had been the rationale behind the emergence of planning action in the Western world (Beyhan & Uğuz 2012). Besides, although urban population rates started to increase in Ottoman towns in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the urbanization rate was still very low (Tekeli 1980 in Tekeli 2010, 28). According to Tekeli (1980 in Tekeli 2010, 28) the approaches of urban interventions prior to 1848 covered improvements in public health such as transformation of the related responsibilities to local

governments, installation of sewerage systems, coordination of the sewerage network with the road network, new ways for widening roads, and establishment of minimum health standards for housing. The first planning legislation was the Buildings Regulations (*Ebniye Nizamnamesi*) issued in 1848. It introduced regulations about the expropriation of urban lands, building permissions, construction of buildings, widths of roads and heights of buildings on the streets (Tekeli 1980 in Tekeli 2010, 54; Tekeli 1985, 885).<sup>19</sup>

It was presumably the big Hoca Paşa fire in İstanbul of 1864 that led to the replacement of the Buildings Regulations dated 1848 with the Roads and Buildings Regulations (*Turuk ve Ebniye Nizamnamesi*) in 1864 (Artukmaç 1969, 21 in Tekeli 2010, 57). This regulation was more comprehensive than the previous one and it was to be applied in all the towns of the Empire, not only in İstanbul. It introduced rules about the preparation of cartographic maps, expropriation, parceling, and widths of roads and heights of buildings (Tekeli 1980 in Tekeli 2010, 57; Tekeli 1985, 886). In the 19<sup>th</sup> century, new neighborhoods started to be designed according to these new regulations for the people migrating from the Balkans and Crimea due to the territorial losses of the Ottoman Empire (Özcan 2006, 164-5; Beyhan 2012). Antalya was one of the towns that housed these immigrants.<sup>20</sup>

In the Empire, the first municipal body in the modern sense was established through the Province Law (*Vilayet Nizamnamesi*) of 1864. With later regulations, the body took the name of ‘Şehreminlik’. Within the scope of this law and its regulations, the first municipality (*belediye*) and municipal council (*belediye meclisi*) in Antalya were founded in 1868. During the mayoralty of Selahattin Tonguç in Antalya between 1972 and 1980, the mayor and his team discovered a plan of Antalya in the Topkapı Palace Museum. It was prepared and drawn by the Naval Embassy (*Bahriye Sefareti*) in 1876 and it is known to be one of the first development plans of the town drawn in scale. Tonguç notes that the plan was awarded in Brussels (TİMO 2013, 13).

In 1882, efforts to shape the Empire’s urban environment continued with the more detailed Buildings Act (*Ebniye Kanunu*)<sup>21</sup> replacing the Roads and Buildings Regulations. With the introduction of this law, municipalities became responsible for the declaration of urban areas destroyed by large fires to be redeveloped and for the preparation of cartographic road maps.

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<sup>19</sup> “The height of buildings would no longer be determined according to ethnic identity of the owner of the respective buildings, but rather according to the width of the road along which they were placed.” (Beyhan and Uğuz 2012)

<sup>20</sup> Many Arabs migrated to Antalya between 1770 and 1799, later migrations continuing in 1822-1823 from Mora, in 1897 from Girit and Crimeria, and in 1913 from Skopje. (Erten 1997, 89)

<sup>21</sup> The law was overlapping with the Provinces Act (*Vilayet Kanunu*), which was put into effect in 1864. (Özcan 2000)

The law also brought the organization of the road system under a hierarchy, which meant new rules in the design of new neighborhoods (Özcan 2006, 171; Beyhan and Uğuz 2012).

Cartographic maps of the various regions of the Empire were completed in 1921. Several maps and plans of Antalya exist from this period, one is the plan of the town which was prepared in 1907 (*Antalya Şehrinin Harita Umumiyesi*) (TİMO 2013, 211). Güçlü (1997, 87) notes two other maps, which were completed in 1922 in the scales of 1/500 and 1/2000. Probably based on these maps, the Road Direction Plan –the first development plan of the town in the Republican Period- was prepared by developer İskarpa in 1937 (Tekeli 1980 in Tekeli 2010, 124).

### **III.1.2. Developments from the Foundation of the Republic to the Multi-Party System**

This period can also be named as ‘the single-party period’ since the Republican People’s Party was the only political party of the country at the time. From the declaration of the Turkish Republic in 1923 to the permanent establishment of an opposition party<sup>22</sup> in 1946, the Turkish Republic was under the rule of the Republican People’s Party. During this period, it can be argued that the town experienced four significant events that had a role in its socio-spatial development and image: the Turkish-Greek population exchange, Atatürk’s particular interest in the town, demolition of the town walls, and the development works under the governorship of Haşim İşcan.

In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the population of Antalya continued to increase as migration continued from the Caucasus and the Balkans. Before the Republic, during the years 1920-1921, Antalya was a small port town with a population of approximately 25,000. The population still included many Christians and Jews living in separate quarters around the port, on which the economy was still centered. In 1923, following the declaration of the Republic, a compulsory population exchange<sup>23</sup> took place as per the treaty signed between Turkey and Greece in Lausanne (Switzerland) on the 30th of January. It involved the exchange of approximately 1.5 million Anatolian Greeks and 500,000 Muslims in Greece. The Exchange had deep impacts on the socio-economic and political life of Antalya and socio-spatial structure of the town. Since the Greeks who left for Greece were much more in number than the incomers who came to Antalya, the population of the town decreased considerably (Çimrin 2012, 282) and since %73 of the small factories (ateliers) in the town had belonged to the Greeks living in Antalya, they suddenly became abandoned (Çimrin 2012, 274).

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<sup>22</sup>There had been several earlier attempts, which were encouraged by Atatürk.

<sup>23</sup>Called ‘*mübadele*’ in Turkish

Following the Exchange and continuing until 1935, apart from the production sector, the town also suffered from the lack of old building masters<sup>24</sup> that affected the repair of the houses and construction sector (Çimrin 2012, 391). The land and the houses left by the Greeks were shared between the elite of Antalya and the incomers who came from Greece. In the 1920s, the settlement area of the town mostly consisted of the Walled-Town and its surroundings. Incomers from the rural parts were placed in the houses at the Recep Peker (Değirmenönü) Street, and those coming from the urban areas were placed in the houses in the Walled-Town and in the Balbey, Elmalı and Yenikapı districts neighboring it. During the Exchange Greece also sent a Gypsy population from Thessaloniki to Antalya; they were placed in the district which is known as Haşim İşcan neighborhood today (Çimrin 2012, 277-278). One other consequence of the event was the partial change of the owners of the houses in the Walled-Town.

In 1926, the Walled-Town started to be encircled by city parks. During the mayoralty of Şerametzade Zeki Bey (Giritli Zeki), Tophane Park at the upper part of the port area was opened. It was followed by the launch of the transformation works of Karaalioğlu Garden in the east of the Walled-Town into a city park between 1930 and 1934 during the mayoralty of Hüsni Karakaş.

Atatürk had a particular interest in Antalya and probably because of this, he made four visits to the town. The first time took place in March 1930 and lasted for a week. In his visit, while watching the sea and the horizon from the Konyaaltı Beach, he is reported to have murmured as “all the beauties of the world are here without any exception; how happy for the ones who spend their retired time here” (Çimrin 2012, 297). On the day he visited Rumkuş<sup>25</sup> district, he is known to have watched the Konyaaltı beaches, Bey Mountains with snowy peaks, and then known to have stated that “without any doubt Antalya is the most beautiful place of the world” (Çimrin 2012, 301). According to the memoirs of Tarık Akıltopu, the first architect in Antalya, these led to Atatürk’s desire to turn Antalya into a winter capital of the Republic, which would totally change the image and the identity of the town. The works were given a start by the municipality; however, a petition signed by 300 people from Antalya was sent to the Turkish Parliament, stating that the people dealing with gardening would be the victims of this decision by claiming they could lose their gardens in the way to development. Upon the petition Atatürk cancelled the works (Çimrin 2012, 325). Without any doubt, if the idea had been realized, it could have changed the whole fate of the town with a special national

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<sup>24</sup>Widely it is known as that Muslims were not educated in this sector due to their religious beliefs

<sup>25</sup>On that day the name of the place ‘Rumkuş’ meaning ‘Greekbird’ was changed with ‘Erenkuş’ by Atatürk (Çimrin 2012, 302)

emphasis on its development, such as in Ankara. However, it should also be mentioned that no prediction can be made on the fate of Antalya Walled-Town considering the present condition of Ankara Walled-Town. Ankara Walled-Town, although existing in the capital of the country, is below the expectations in terms of its prestige and usage by the local people. Nevertheless, the relative central location of Antalya Walled-Town might have provided a different fate for the Antalya case.

In 1930, the same year of Atatürk's wish to make the town a winter capital of the Republic, a radical decision changed the center of the town: the demolition of the town walls on the order of the City Major Hüsni Karakaş. In the Ottoman period, the development operations in Europe had already been emulated in some of the towns, at different scales, such as the demolition of the town walls of Baghdad, similar to the case in Vienna (Ortaylı 1974, 178 in Tekeli 2010, 59). In the Baghdad case, the fortifications were pulled down because they were claimed to obstruct the expansion of the city. The demolition process was planned, and the traces of the walls on the ground and the epigraph on the walls had been documented beforehand (Eyice 1969, 19 in Tekeli 2010, 59). The process in Antalya was somewhat different. The dominant wind, which comes from the south and southeast, results in cool winters and very hot summers in the town. Due to the complaints of the local people living inside the Walled-Town that 'they could not breathe inside the walls', the walls were pulled down in 1930.

The demolition was attempted to be prevented by Süleyman Fikri Erten, the first officer of antiquities in Antalya; however, he could not succeed (Çimrin 2012, 225). In 1937, in the report of Antalya Municipality, it is noted that the town walls, which kept the fresh air of the town outside the Walled-Town, but which are also described as invaluable in terms of their historical value, are pulled down for public health.

Two points in the demolition process and afterwards should be noted: the way the walls had been pulled down, and the structures built later in the same place. The Municipality gave the responsibility of pulling down the walls to one man: Gypsy Hasan (*Çingene Hasan*), who had migrated to Antalya in the 1920s. Gypsy Hasan pulled down the fortifications all by himself by knocking them down with an iron lever. However, before he could reach Hadrian's Gate, he died under a part of the wall that he knocked down. By the local people of Antalya of later periods, this event is interpreted as the revenge of the walls. It is of particular interest that the town walls, which were said to be very strong in the Byzantine Period, could be pulled down in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century by one man with an iron lever in his hand. The ruins, or the rescued part of the fortifications, including the gorgeous Hadrian's

Gate, are owed to Hasan's tragic death. Today Hadrian's Gate is one of the main symbols of the whole city.

The second point in the demolition process is the construction of new and tall buildings in place of the demolished walls. A dialogue between Mayor Hüsni Karakaş and Atatürk is worth mentioning about the issue. During Atatürk's visit, the Mayor showed Atatürk that the fortification walls had been pulled down to provide the Walled-Town with fresh air. Criticizing the operation, Atatürk asked the Mayor why he had built those 'new walls' showing the tall buildings newly constructed in place of the fortifications. It is seen that although an organization for the protection of the citadel already existed in those days, land speculation -hiding behind the excuses of the climate- was at work.



Figure 3.1. Town walls in 1915 (Source: personal archive of B. Eraskın)

Another demolition work of the Karakaş period was that of shops in the timber buildings around Kalekapısı (between Kalekapısı and today's İş Bank). The demolition was realized for the extension works of the main road.

In 1932, the Community House (*Halkevi*) neighboring the Walled-Town and Karaalioğlu Park was built. Community Houses were closed during the Democrat Party; however, the building in Antalya is still standing and it currently serves as the main building of the Greater Municipality.

In 1937, the first development plan of Antalya, not a whole development plan but a road direction plan, was prepared for a 470-ha area. (Tekeli 1980 in Tekeli 2010, 124) The designation of Ankara as the capital of the new Republic in 1923 necessitated the introduction of the development planning scheme. Therefore, in 1928, the Ankara Directorate of Development was established and in 1930, through the enactment of the



Municipality Act, preparation of development plans became obligatory for all the municipalities in the country (Keleş 1972, 165). Between 1930 and 1933, development plans of the towns, which were approved by the Municipal Councils at the local level, used to be approved by the Ankara Directorate of Development instead of any central authority (Keleş 1972, 165; Özcan 2000, 25). Between 1933 and 1955, %58,5 of the municipalities in the country succeeded in preparing a development plan according to the 1933 Act (*Belediye Yapı ve Yapı Yolları Kanunu*) (Geray 1960). The development approach of Act no. 2290 of 1933 was focused on the beautification of the towns with a narrow physical planning perspective (reducing development into construction of roads and building). No regional perspective existed yet, such as the consideration of regional data and neighboring settlements. Regarding the vision of the plans, the act assumed that development and planning issues could be solved in the long term, i.e. with the ‘comprehensive planning approach’. (Keleş 1972, 165) The plan of Antalya in 1937 was prepared in this framework and Atatürk, İsmet İnönü, Ali Çetinkaya and Kazım Özalp streets were opened (Güçlü 2002, 39). A more intensive and significant development agenda was started in the town during the reign of Haşim İşcan, who performed as Governor in Antalya between 1940 and 1945.

İşcan’s works in Antalya have a particular place in Turkey’s urban development history, not only because they became a model for Turkey despite the Second World War, but also because they contributed to the tourism potential of the town through the ‘beautification’ works which might be seen under the influence of the international planning ideas rather than the act of 1933. During the governorship of Haşim İşcan, an Association for the Beautification of Antalya was founded<sup>26</sup> with the pioneering of Antalya Municipality<sup>27</sup> and many works in the town were realized by means of this association. In these operations, one can trace the diffusion process of international planning approaches and the impacts of the capital city development process of Ankara.

In the 1890s, new movements started to appear against the ‘Hausmannization’ and similar kinds of planning approaches. Among them are the City Beautiful Movement, the Artistic City Planning of Camillo Sitte, the Garden City of Howard, Amsterdam Planning of Berlage, and the Industrial City of Tony Garnier. Between the First World War and the Economic Crisis of 1919, the City Efficient Movement replaced the City Beautiful Movement as the dominant planning approach. (Johnston J. N. 1973, 115-124 in Tekeli 2010, 40) Now, planning was comprehensive, and planners were organizers, not artists. (Tekeli 1998 in

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<sup>26</sup> Muharrem Önal, who had been Special Provincial Director in Antalya before, was assigned as the president.

<sup>27</sup> [http://www.antalya.bel.tr/Webworks/Sablonlar/eskibaskan\\_ozgecmis.asp?KID=25](http://www.antalya.bel.tr/Webworks/Sablonlar/eskibaskan_ozgecmis.asp?KID=25)

Tekeli 2010, 41) In such a context, Haşim İşcan performed the following works in the late 1930s:

- Karaaliođlu Park was rebuilt by Architect Necmi;
- Atatürk Street, the main artery of the town, was widened;
- The water in the ditch around the town walls was moved to a channel in the middle of Atatürk Street;
- Several public buildings including İnönü Primary School, maternity hospital, the Women's Institute and a town library were constructed.
- Cemeteries were moved outside of the town in 1937. (Çimrin 2012, 478)

Karaaliođlu Park, built by Architect Necmi, can be evaluated as the picturesque Antalya version of the City Beautiful Movement, interpreted through the natural characteristics and natural beauties of the city. The Movement had its roots in the Beaux-Arts Movements in Paris, and the cities underwent beautification operations by the construction of monumental public squares, beautiful parks, and fountains in classicist style. According to Tekeli (1998 in Tekeli 2010, 34) the City Beautiful Movement is the evolution of Haussmannization, as it gained a romantic character. In a way, Haussmannization was the production of urban space as a stage according to the needs of the bourgeois. A new urban life and speculation had been the expectations behind the planning. Karaaliođlu Park, which can be seen in this perspective, contributed to the beauty of the town in a functional way and thus had a role in the tourism potential. Today, it is inside the borders of the 'Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Area', which covers the historic town center.



Figure 3.2. Karaaliođlu Park in the 1940s (Source: personal archive of B. Eraskın)

Beside the impacts of the international planning ideas, urban operations realized for a healthier urban space –in accordance with the law- contributed to the new image of the town. Especially the moving of the cemeteries out of town and the clearance of the natural water

channel used as the ditch of the former town walls and its redesign as a modern channel in the middle of the widened Atatürk Street can be counted as the major ones among these operations. While Atatürk Street can stand as a small-scale Haussmann-type boulevard, the automobile ownership and usage in Turkey was yet rare in those times. Later, it became the starting point of the main boulevard of the city running towards the Lara district.

Constructing public buildings such as the town library, maternity hospital, school and Women's Institute can also be counted as the impacts of 19<sup>th</sup> century Western urban planning on Antalya –public buildings linked by major streets, a stage for the new bourgeois of early 20<sup>th</sup> century planning –an efficient city with practical municipal services in transportation, housing, health, etc., and as the results of the ‘modernity project’ of the new Republic. The demolition of these buildings in favor of large squares and open spaces was to be of great debate in the 2000s.

Buildings with residential purposes could only be built in 1944, again through the works of Haşim İşcan. Probably being inspired by Ankara Bahçelievler – i.e. ‘the Garden Houses’-, he founded Bahçelievler Building Cooperative at the beginning of the 1940s. Çimrin (2012, 391) implies that in a sense, İşcan forced the wealthy people of Antalya to participate in this cooperative and to have a garden house in Konyaaltı. According to Çimrin, İşcan wished to construct a modern district and a comfortable urban life. It may also be interpreted as İşcan preferring to discourage higher densities within the old town so as to conserve it. The 200 houses in total were constructed in two styles, each one with a garden and facing the sea. A primary school, five shops, a baker and a seaside club (*gazino*, from the word ‘casino’) accompanied the houses to form a self-sufficient neighborhood. It was the first mass housing initiative in Antalya. In order to prevent any development between the sea and the first group of houses (the space where Atatürk Park is today), the eleven-acre land in front of each house was donated to the owner of that house, with the prohibition of construction to that land. This area was expropriated by the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion in 1977 in order to construct the Atatürk Park (Çimrin 391-392). In this way, the historic center was surrounded by picturesque parks almost from all sides.

The President of the Republic İsmet İnönü visited Antalya in April 1943 in order to see the development works, which had already become widely famous in Turkey (Çimrin 2012, 545). When İşcan's operations are taken into consideration, it might be concluded that a picturesque and past-friendly (he developed the new town outside of the Walled-Town and thus conserved the old city), a beautiful and an efficient town was left to the 1950s. Despite all the beneficial works, the period of İşcan ended with his ‘exile’ to Bursa, another major

town of Turkey, when he wished to prevent building development on the cliffs on the way to Lara in order to preserve the natural beauty of the town. Without any doubt, a picturesque waterfront on the cliffs would have contributed much to the natural beauty of the town<sup>28</sup>. Keleş (1972, 166) claims that prior to the 1950s the plans were perceived as a technical function of the municipalities, and probably due to the single-party system no emphasis was made upon the relations among the planners, the politicians and the local public and the impact of these relations on the success of the plan.<sup>29</sup> However, the exile of İşcan might be counted as an evidence of how patronage relationships affected the fates of the towns also in those days in Turkey.<sup>30</sup>

### **III.2. From the Transition to the Multi-Party System to the 1970's**

This period corresponds to the post-war period; therefore, it is strongly affected by post-war approaches in the world. These mainly include the issues of the character of regime, economy, international aid, capitalist organizational structure, urban planning and design paradigms.

Until the end of the Second World War, Turkey maintained friendly relations with the Soviet Union (Üstün 1997, 31); however, in 1945 the relationship between the Soviet Union (under Stalin) and Turkey worsened. This accelerated Turkey's policy of integrating with the West<sup>31</sup>. However, the Western World required a full democratic regime and thus Turkey needed to pass into the multi-party system. In the Republican period, there were three initiatives for transitioning into a multi-party democracy in Turkey. The first one, in 1924, was the founding of the Progressive Republican Party (*Terakkiperver Cumhuriyet Fırkası*), which was closed down six months later. The second one, in 1930, was the Liberal Republican Party (*Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası*). The Party had two goals: pluralist democracy and liberal economy; in other words, the Western model. The Party could last only 97 days. The founding of a permanent opposition party took place in 1946. The Democrat Party (*Demokrat Parti*) was founded with two important goals: liberalism in economy, and democracy in politics. The Party came to power in 1950.

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<sup>28</sup>Similar to the touristic town Nerja in Spain.

<sup>29</sup> However, it should be noted that he emphasizes the planning of Ankara, and the effects of political relationships into the plan.

<sup>30</sup>When İşcan showed a similar performance in Bursa, he was exiled to Istanbul.

<sup>31</sup>It was already decided with the signing of the Bretton Woods Convention that in the post-war period, Turkey was going to be involved with the Western World. (Tekeli 1981 in Tekeli 2010, 152)

Turkey was severely affected by the First World War and the world crisis of 1929. The economy mostly depended on agricultural production. Although in the first years of the Republic (1923-1933), Turkey followed a liberal economic policy<sup>32</sup>, after the 1929 world crisis, as a Republic with almost no private enterprise, national industry, capital accumulation and skilled labor, Turkey adopted statist economic policies and followed state-sponsored development (Boratav 1990; Kepenek 1990). The 1929 crisis challenged the liberal economic approach. As a response, the Keynesian approach, the basis of which is public intervention in the economy, was developed against the Classic Doctrine; and it was followed mostly by the developing countries in the world. Thus, Turkey followed the system of mixed economy between 1932 and 1960. In this respect, this transition in the economic policy of Turkey stands concerted with the global trends in economy.<sup>33</sup> The changes in the economic approach of the country were triggered by the Marshall Aid in the post-war era. Machado (2007, 95) argues that when the ECA (The Economic Cooperation Administration) first arrived in Turkey, most businesses were state-owned and the Aid had a role in the Democrat Party's promotion in private enterprise and foreign investment.

Although Turkey did not participate in the Second World War, her economy also suffered considerably as a result of the war (Üstün 1997, 32). The United States had a fear of communist parties' success in appealing the voters due to unemployment and poverty caused by the war. Therefore, the U.S. designed a program to rehabilitate the suffering economies of European countries. In January 1947, US President Harry Truman appointed George Marshall to be Secretary of State. Soon, the State Department developed the concept of Marshall Plan, which is formally known as European Recovery Program (ERP). As a result of her suffering economy, Turkey turned towards the U.S. for economic aid and in 1948, she applied for the Marshall Aid. However, the Marshall Aid, designed to support those countries who had suffered war damage did not match Turkey's requirements and Turkey was rejected. Later, it was pointed out that Turkey's role within the ERP could aim at increasing her export of raw materials within the requirements of European and world markets. It was further indicated that since Turkey's economy was based on agriculture, a recovery program that concentrates upon the development of the agricultural sector should be developed and the industrial sector could be developed once the productivity in agriculture was achieved. (Üstün 1997, 33-35) In this context, a convention was signed between the USA and Turkey. Between 1948 and 1952, agriculture obtained 60% of all assistance. (Machado 2007, 88) The 'agricultural revolution' in the country led to

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<sup>32</sup> [www.kalkinma.gov.tr/PortalDesign/PortalControls/WebIcerikGosterim.aspx?Enc=83D5A6FF03C7B4FCA608B4A8502F95DC4B0813776FCA14B256788CDF49C1D36D](http://www.kalkinma.gov.tr/PortalDesign/PortalControls/WebIcerikGosterim.aspx?Enc=83D5A6FF03C7B4FCA608B4A8502F95DC4B0813776FCA14B256788CDF49C1D36D)

<sup>33</sup> [www.kalkinma.gov.tr/PortalDesign/PortalControls/WebIcerikGosterim.aspx?Enc=83D5A6FF03C7B4FCA608B4A8502F95DC4B0813776FCA14B256788CDF49C1D36D](http://www.kalkinma.gov.tr/PortalDesign/PortalControls/WebIcerikGosterim.aspx?Enc=83D5A6FF03C7B4FCA608B4A8502F95DC4B0813776FCA14B256788CDF49C1D36D)

mechanization in agriculture, resulting in increasing unemployment in the rural parts. Thus, in the post-war period, Turkey witnessed a rapid urbanization period through extensive rural-to-urban migration.

Another post-war period novelty was the emergence of new planning practices in the world. One reason behind it was the housing shortage, which was created by the destruction of the cities by the war and the increasing population following the war. This shortage necessitated the development of the construction sector and the construction of mass housing areas. However, Tekeli (1981 in Tekeli 2010, 150) notes that there also existed an ideological reason behind this development in construction, and that was the capitalist western world's vision for the post-war era. This vision gave birth to the foundation of IMF, the World Bank and United Nations. During the war, Britain, as the leading capitalist country, started to make new arrangements in its spatial and urban development policies. Britain's new practices became a model for the world in the post-war period, which also affected Turkey (Tekeli 1981 in Tekeli 2010, 151). Another model for the world in those years was Le Corbusier's –referred as the father of modernism in urban design- approach to planning and his superblocks within this approach. The problems of urbanism in the western world resulted in a new type of organization and the authority became central in many countries through the establishment of ministries of development (Tekeli 1981 in Tekeli 2010, 152).

In Turkey, the existing institutional structure and the approach of the central government were inadequate in coping with the speed of urbanization. Consequently, a transformation took place in the urban planning approach and institutions (Tekeli 2010, 3). Within the scope of this transformation, Law no 2290 of 1933 was replaced with the Development Law no 6785 of 1956. Through the new law, municipalities were given the right to develop outside the municipal borders so that they could control speculation (Keleş 1972, 167). However, according to Keleş (1972, 167) the plan also continued to be perceived as a sole technical issue, the belief that 'the more a planner is far from policy, the better the planning can be' was popular.

Apart from the legal novelty through Development Law no 6785, three new institutional bodies were introduced into the Turkish planning system:

The existing Municipalities Bank was transformed into the Bank of Provinces (*İllerBankası*) in 1945, to provide the municipalities with technical support. Since there had been no department of city planning in the universities until then, the personnel at the Bank of

Provinces were architects; they became experts in making town plans over time. These were the first works toward making a rational comprehensive plan (Tekeli 2010, 4-5).

The Ministry of Land Development and Settlement (*İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı*) was founded in 1958, as a consequence of the problems of rapid urbanization and the debates triggered by Prime Minister Menderes's development activities in İstanbul (Tekeli 2010, 3). Keleş (1972, 168) states that although it was not declared in the law, one reason for the establishment of the Ministry was the preparation of regional plans. Related works launched after 1959 with the participation of United Nations and the European Organization for Economic Co-operation (OECC)<sup>34</sup>; however, the main development in regional planning took place with the establishment of the State Planning Institute (SPI) after 1960 through FYDPs.

As the third new institution, Middle East Technical University's (METU) Department of City and Regional Planning was founded. Following the Second World War, due to the increasing housing problems, many foreign experts were invited by the Turkish government to be consulted on this issue. Among the reports prepared by these experts, the report by Charles Abrams has particular significance, since it emphasized the qualitative and quantitative inadequacy of the available technical capacity, adding that housing problems should be solved not with foreign experts but with local experts who would be educated in a new university department for city planning. Until the 1950s, no planners but architects were dealing with the issues of urbanism. Upon the recommendations of Abram's report, in 1956, METU was founded, and followed in 1961 by the Department of City Planning (Tekeli 1998, in 120, 2009), which educated the first planners and by which the first conservation plan of the Walled-Town of Antalya was prepared in the 1970s. Considering that the first town planning school in Europe (Liverpool) was opened in 1910 and in USA in 1929 (Harvard), the year 1961 is not very late for a developing country like Turkey. However, it can also be said that it is not early enough to start undertaking urban research on Turkish towns.

The developments in these three institutions were later, in the 1960s, to develop the paradigm of rational-comprehensive planning in Turkey (Tekeli 2010, 4). In practice, it was seen that the plans in this period were long-term plans prepared for 25-30 years (Keleş 1972, 168).

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<sup>34</sup> OECC was founded in 1948 and was the ancestor of the European Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD), which was founded in 1961.

With these developments taking place at the national level, owing to the Marshall Aid providing agricultural machinery, Antalya started to be an industrial city with textile, ferrochrome (the first of its type in Turkey), oil, and battery factories and cotton production<sup>35</sup>(Tuncer 2009). People working in these industries started to construct their *gecekondus* (Turkish squatter housing)<sup>36</sup> to fulfill the shelter needs resulting in the development of squatter type settlements, particularly in the neighborhoods of Erenköy and Kepez (Aydın 2010, 9). In 1951-1952, mass housing initiatives continued in the town, with the Officers Building Cooperative (*Memurevleri*). Others followed later, such as Barınaklar in Lara district in 1956. Through these developments, the town started to expand.

Parallel to this, the first comprehensive development plan work was started for the town. In 1955, during the mayoralty of Hayret Şakrak, the Bank of Provinces opened a national competition -supported by the Marshall Aid- for the 'Development Plan of Antalya'. Thirty projects were evaluated within the scope of the competition. The projects were exhibited for a week in İnönü School, to be evaluated by the jury, which also included well-known European town architects, Prof. Paul Bonats from Germany and Prof. Luigi and Prof. Piccinato from Italy. The Turkish jury members were: Dr. Burhanettin Onat, engineer Ahmet Tokuş, engineer Atila Konuk, engineer architect Zabit Mutlusoy, engineer architect Mithat Yener, architect Talat Özışık, architect Recai Akçay, architect Fethi Tulgar, architect Celal Uzer and engineer Celal Uluşan (Çimrin 2012, 610).

According to the final evaluation<sup>37</sup>:

- The first prize was won by engineer Rauf Beyru, architect Turgut Tuncay and engineer-architect İlhan Artuner;
- The second prize was won by architects Radi Birol, Turgut Cansever, Abdurrahman Hancı, Maruf Ünal, Faruk Sırmalı and Sedat Gürel;
- The third prize was won by engineer-architects Melahat Topaloğlu, Mehmet Ali Topaloğlu and architect Bülent Berksan.

The foreign professors explained the reasons behind the selection of the first prize-winning project, as its respect towards the town's past, natural beauties, tissue, and intrinsic values.

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<sup>35</sup>In order to remedy the unemployment problem, Antalya Cotton Weaving Factory started to be built in 1956 and in 1961 it started to operate (Manavoğlu 2000, 193 in Dünden Bugüne Antalya).

<sup>36</sup>In 1948, with Act no 5218, the *gecekondus* in Ankara were declared as legal for a year. Later with Act no 5431, the legalization of *gecekondus* became valid throughout the country (Tekeli 1981 in Tekeli 2010, 153).

<sup>37</sup>1st Mention was given to Raşit Uybadın and Bedri Kökten; 2<sup>nd</sup> one to Sema Seyrek and Gazanfer Erim; and the 3<sup>rd</sup> one to Sabri Orcan and Erdem Yener (<http://v2.arkiv.com.tr/y1481-antalya-imar-plani-mimari-proje-yarismasi.html>)



They also described the town as “here is a particular town with its gorgeous historical richness, its climate and natural beauties” (Çimrin 2010, 610).

In the second prize-winning project, Turgut Cansever proposed a modern Antalya in Konyaaltı, without touching the old town. Historical and natural structures of the town tended to be preserved. However, municipal representatives were rather against the project, claiming that the town would not expand toward Konyaaltı before 500 years (Çimrin 2010, 611).

Çimrin (2012, 612) states that the first prize-winning project and the others were put aside, and none of the projects were ever implemented.

In several documents on Antalya, one encounters another development plan, which was prepared by the Bank of Provinces and approved by the Ministry of Land Development and Settlement in 1957. The planning area was limited by the Walled-Town and Bahçelievler in the west, Şarmpol in the north and Yenikapı in the east. According to the critiques, there were significant mistakes in the preliminary studies reports of the plan on the topics of population growth, migration, housing demand and necessary space for tourism and industry.<sup>38</sup> In addition, it is criticized that the plan didn't consider the climate of the city and that the summers are extremely hot in Antalya. In the end, the town was planned as a town in a continental climate instead of a town on the Mediterranean coast (Dampo 2002).

The high speed of urbanization increased the prices of the urban land, not allowing middle-income groups to build a single house in a single parcel (Tekeli 1981 in Tekeli 2010, 154). Therefore in 1954, the concept of ‘flat ownership’ was introduced into modern Turkish civil law with Acts no 6217 and 2644. “The new law enabled a number of families to get together, build a multi-storey apartment and thus meet the high land prices. However, most middle class families would not readily get together without entrepreneurial initiative. Thus, a new species of contractor emerged, who organized the building process by combining the capital of a number of individuals, constructing a multi-flat building, and selling some of the finished extra flats to other individuals” (Tekeli and Okyay 1982, 133). These petty entrepreneurs are called builder-and-seller<sup>39</sup> (*yap-satçı*) and “their functions were different from the contractors of the previous periods, who were responsible for construction only”.

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<sup>38</sup><http://www.architectureplatform.com/?p=157>

<sup>39</sup>The builder-and-seller organises the capital collection process as well as marketing the finished flats. His financial capacity does not enable him to build more than two or three buildings simultaneously (Tekeli & Okyay 1982, 142).

They “soon became the most prominent interest group in the development process of Turkish cities, as well as the chief dynamic of the housing market” (Tekeli and Okyay 1982, 134).

Ten years after the law, in 1964, the first multi-storey apartment building was built in Antalya by Sucular Building Cooperative. It was called ‘Kırkdaireler’ (meaning ‘forty apartments’) and today faces the Congress Center of Talya Hotel. When first built, Çimrin (2012, 393) states that the public was very curious about seeing the building and understanding how to live there. Çimrin (2012, 452) also notes that this apartment building was later followed by others in the beginning of the 1970s on Güllük Street. This was probably a result of the 1957 Plan as was the case in Konyaaltı. Antalya Civic Council (2010)<sup>40</sup> states that the eight-storey buildings along the Konyaaltı Street were constructed as a consequence of the 1957 Development Plan of the town.

Çimrin notes that local people did not like to sell their houses due to tradition; they preferred keeping the memory of the family ancestors. However, when contractors began to offer a share of fifty percent to the owner of the houses, the tradition was lost and a demolition process started for the houses with gardens, in favor of multi-storey apartment buildings.<sup>41</sup> The trees were cut and the small water channels were closed. Çimrin (2012, 452) highlights that people then began to flow to Antalya and this started the radical change of the city and of its people.

The town continued to receive immigration particularly from nearby towns such as Isparta, Burdur, Konya and from the rural parts of Antalya, resulting in the expansion of the squatter settlement areas in the periphery and in the destruction of the physical environment around the Walled-Town (Manavoğlu 2010, 194). Between 1960 and 1965, the Kalekapısı shopping district was formed and the extension of the commercial center continued up to the 1970s (Manavoğlu 2010, 194). In 1965, the Development Plan of 1957 was decided to be renewed. The Municipality delivered the task to a private planning bureau –instead of the Bank of Provinces- and city planner Bülent Berksan was awarded the contract in 1969.<sup>42</sup> In 1973 the Plan and in 1974 the contract with the planner was cancelled. During this period, only revisions/rectifications were made on the previous plan.

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<sup>40</sup><http://www.architectureplatform.com/?p=157>

<sup>41</sup> This process first started in Ankara in 1955. “.. the market conditions created great stress on planners and planning administrators. Garden houses were rapidly pulled down and replaced by multi-storey buildings on small parcels of land originally designed by Jansen.” (Tekeli and Okyay 1982, 134)

<sup>42</sup><http://www.architectureplatform.com/?p=157>

With the 1961 Constitution that followed the *coup d'état* of 1960, the State Planning Institution was founded to facilitate transition into a period of planned development. Through the establishment of the new institution, the regional development approach started to improve in Turkey, leaving behind the regional planning idea that was limited to physical planning for a development-oriented regional planning. (Tekeli 1981 in Tekeli 2010, 160) Within this new perspective, SPI conducted the Antalya Regional Planning Project between 1960 and 1965 (Keleş 1972, 197). The Project was first developed as a land and water resources development project by the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) in 1959, and was later transferred to SPI and transformed into a regional development plan. In the following years, the Regional Planning Department in the Ministry of Land Development and Settlement participated in the works (Tekeli 1981-2010, 165). The project, serving as a pilot project, involved the cities of Antalya, Isparta and Burdur with the main aim of conducting a pre-investment survey for a balanced socio-economic development. The production sector, tourism, commerce, irrigation, agriculture, forestry and employment were among the issues dealt with in the project, although there was no comprehensive plan that provided their integration. It was financially aided by UNSF and FAO (Keleş 1972, 197).

### **III.3. Chapter Evaluation**

Antalya prior to the 1950s can be attributed as the commercial and administrative center of the agricultural hinterland. It was decided to be connected to other towns of Anatolia by railway; however, later the plan was cancelled in favor of highway transport. The most important urban event of the period can be evaluated as the demolition of the town walls as an impact of the modernity. The expansion of the town towards the north and south under the directions of the Governor Haşim İşcan instead of re-development in the historic core led to the conservation of the Walled-Town in the 1940s. After the 1950s, the town witnessed a major population increase through the development of industry that based upon public investments. In the period Turkish style squatter settlements called as '*gecekondu*' started to appear in the town as a result of the sudden population increase from other regions and rural parts of Antalya. Several planning works of the town were intended in this period; however, the main development took place beginning with the 1970s, which is to be explored in the following Chapters.



## CHAPTER IV

### DEVELOPMENT OF TOURISM SECTOR IN ANTALYA

*"Today... historic cities have acquired high status in modern life, based on the quality of their physical spaces, the persistence of their sense of place, the concentration of cultural and artistic events that support local identity, and an increasingly important economic market, as historic cities have become icons of global cultural tourism" (Bandarin & Van Oers, 2012).*

Having briefly examined the spatial development of Antalya and the Walled-Town up to the 1970s in Chapter II and Chapter III, the following task is to explore the roots of the present structure of tourism in the 'Antalya region' by taking the global, national and local circumstances, and the national and local policies and practices into account. With this aim, this chapter explores the process of restructuring of the Antalya region in the field of tourism, mass tourism in particular, which is stimulated by the state. It is of particular importance to explore the reproduction process of the Walled-Town within this regional restructuring process to comprehend the 'big picture'. The examination in the Chapter mainly consists of five components: global triggering factors; the national political economy and socio-economic development policies; national tourism policies; local triggering factors; and physical planning works in the tourism sector in the Antalya region. As such, the heritage dimension is mentioned in relation to tourism. In order to understand the present structure of tourism in the region, it would be deduced from the examination of the touristic spatial restructuring of the region, the stakeholders of the restructuring process, and turning points in the tourism sector. Since a major milestone took place in the 1960s through the addressing of Antalya region by national bodies with a particular view for tourism, the post-1960 period is given more importance.

#### **IV.1. The Development of Tourism in Antalya during the Single-Party Period: The First Preoccupation for Antiquity and Tourism**

In many countries, tourism is one of the largest industries and an important source of employment. It has been seen as a means of earning foreign currency and creating job opportunities (Ozen & Kuru 1998). The same has been true for Turkey.

In the era that corresponds to the single-party period in Turkey, tourism on a global scale is in a stage of birth. The development of global tourism accelerates with the post-war period, with the sectorial tourism planning practices that are known to have started in the world after the Second World War. During this era, an agenda of tourism also exists in Turkey, with several tourism plans and bodies set up under national institutions to be responsible for tourism issues; however, tourism is not yet taken as a sector and as a development policy of the country.

At the local scale, in Antalya in this period, several works are undertaken with the awareness of the historic richness of the town. These individual efforts are more related with the development of the notion of heritage, protecting the historic resources of the town, and partly their stimulation of tourism.

##### **IV.1.1. The Notion of Tourism on the National Scale**

In Turkey, tourism in the modern sense started with ‘Tanzimat’. The opening of Pera Palace Hotel was the start of western style accommodation in Turkey (Özdemir 2006).

The year of 1923 might be evaluated as the beginning of an organized tourism affair in Turkey, through the establishment of a private body, the Travelers’ Association (*Seyyahin Cemiyeti*) - renamed in 1930 as the Touring and Automobile Club of Turkey (*Türkiye Turing ve Otomobil Kulübü*). It mostly served tourists visiting Istanbul. With the efforts of the Association, the first road map and touristic guides of the country were published. It also opened courses and exams for being tourist guides and organized tourism related studies, meetings and conferences (Sezer & Harrison 1994 in Nohutçu 2002, 3).

Tourism in Turkey first entered into the program and budget of the government in the 1930s. The tourism administration at the governmental level started with the establishment of a specific

bureau through Act no. 2450<sup>43</sup>. The bureau, called the ‘Turkish Office’ (*Türk Ofis*) was established under the Department of Foreign Trade (*İktisat Vekâleti Dış Ticaret Dairesi*) in the Ministry of Economy in 1934; and the ‘Tourism Desk’ inside this bureau was responsible for tourism and promotion (Göymen 1998; Doğmuş 2010). The Desk became a part of Ministry of Commerce in 1939 under the General Directorate of the Press (*Matbuat Umum Müdürlüğü*). (Ministry of Tourism 1993) It was restructured as the General Directorate of the Press, Publication and Tourism in 1949 (Tarhan 1998).

The same period started to diffuse the tourism works to regions other than Istanbul. After the İzmir International Fair in 1936, research was conducted on tourism in İzmir and the Aegean region. In 1937, the Governorship of İzmir prepared the ‘Aegean Region Tourism Plan’, indicating the measures to be done to make the region a tourism center (Doğmuş 2010, 49). These developments at the regional scale were accompanied by several local initiatives, such as the establishment of tourism departments in the municipalities of İstanbul and Bursa.

In the post-war period, many entrepreneurs and governments in the world invested in the tourism industry. These were mostly short-term physical planning works with the aim of tourism development. One consequence of these developments has been the development of mass tourism, especially in the coastal areas (Doğmuş 2010, 23) and particularly in Southern European countries such as Italy, France and Spain (Doğmuş 2010, 45).

#### **IV.1.2. Tourism on the Local Scale**

The material evidence of the cultural richness of Antalya throughout history had an essential role in the town’s tourism potential. The first activities of collecting historic artifacts around Antalya were given a start by Italian archaeologists during the occupation of the town by the Italians. These relics, gathered in the Italian Embassy building, were later to be moved to Italy. Agostini Ferrante, Italian Ambassador in Antalya, advocated the idea of moving the artifacts, claiming that Turks were not giving importance to them. This assertion was opposed by Süleyman Fikri Erten, who had been a high-school history teacher in Antalya in those years. He wished to prevent the loss. Therefore he got himself assigned as a voluntary historic artifact officer by the *Mutasarrıf* of Antalya and started to collect the relics in the region. This event had been the basis of the establishment of Antalya Museum. After the Italians left Antalya in July 1921, the relics

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<sup>43</sup> *İktisat Vekâleti Teşkilat ve Vazifeleri Hakkındaki Yasa*

in the Italian Embassy building were taken under protection in an old house in the Walled-Town. Later they were moved to Saint Panaya Church (Sultan Aladdin Mosque today) in 1922 and to Yivli Minaret Mosque in 1937 (Çimrin 2012, 224-225). This was a start for the growth of awareness of the historic and cultural richness of the town.

Another significant historic monument in the province, Aspendos -an ancient Greco-Roman city in Pamphylia, located about 40 km east of the modern city of Antalya- started to affect the fate of the town in the 1930s. It is widely known for having one of the best-preserved theatres of antiquity in the world. On the 9<sup>th</sup> of March, 1930, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk visited Aspendos during his one-week stay in Antalya. Impressed by the ancient theatre, he asked for its restoration and its use for events of art and sports for free (Çimrin 2012, 302-304).

The same era corresponds to the foundation of the second opposition party in the republic. In August 1930, by the incentive of Atatürk, the 'Liberal Republican Party' (*Serbest Cumhuriyet Fırkası*) was founded as the opposition party. Atatürk asked Dr. Burhanettin Onat, a well-educated gentleman and a doctor, to join the Party (Çimrin 2012, 337). Upon this request, Onat became the chairman of the Party's Antalya branch. The party did not last long, only six months; however, Onat's entrance into politics was later to be influential in Antalya's development in tourism before the 1960s. Onat's first visit to Antalya was in 1920 for professional purposes related to medicine. This visit impressed him due to the beauty of the town and at the end of the Turkish War of Independence, he settled down in Antalya to live here permanently. After settling down in Antalya, he deepened his knowledge in history and archaeology (Çimrin 2012, 340-341). Upon the request of Atatürk, in 1930 he founded the Antalya branch of the Liberal Republican Party. Onat's wish was to participate in the municipal elections (Çimrin 2012, 345). However, Hüsnü Karakaş was elected as the Mayor of Antalya (Çimrin 2012, 350).

During those years, in 1932, Community Centers (*Halkevleri*) were founded in Turkey in order to educate the public. They were closed by the Democrat Party in 1951. During their period of activity, they served in several fields, including museums and exhibitions. In Antalya, the Community Center was built in place of the former *Türk Ocağı*, where the Greater Municipality of the town stands today. In the Center, three women and 113 men were working in the 'museums and exhibitions' section. They contributed to the discovery of several ancient pieces in the region, to their exhibition in Antalya Museum today, and to the education of the general



public in history and ancient relics by writing historical articles in the Antalya Newspaper (Çimrin 2012, 359-370).

In 1946, Onat achieved his previous wish and was elected as the new City Mayor from CHP. However, due to several political issues, he was dismissed soon after, in 1947. Çimrin (2012, 351) states that the reason behind this dismissal had been his protest against the decision of Governor Sadri Akan to pull down the two historic towers -belonging to the breakwater- by the sea in the Walled-Town. It might be inferred as a consequence of the patronage relationships in the country. After the dismissal, Onat founded the 'Association for Tourism and Promotion of Antalya' together with high-school English teacher Osman Batur in 1949. Batur was the legal chairman of the association, and Onat stayed as the honorary President until his death in 1976. Many high-school students were taking responsibilities in the Association, and they were encouraged by Onat to learn a foreign language, since, according to him, the future of Antalya was in tourism. The members of the Association knew at least one foreign language and served as free guides to those who requested. During this period, although small in number, international tourists began visiting Turkey, especially Istanbul since the Government opened Ottoman palaces and Hagia Sophia to the public. The Orient Express was the main means of transportation to Istanbul. Although a railway network existed, connecting Istanbul to other regions of Turkey (but not Antalya), most tourists remained in Istanbul due to accommodation problems in other towns.

One important point in the integration of Antalya to the mainland is its physical connection with the rest of the country. In the newly founded Republic, in accordance with the ideology of modernization, the main transportation policy of the country was building a railway network<sup>44</sup> connecting the regions to each other, in order to link centers of production and consumption and to distribute socio-economic development throughout the country (Aydemir 1993, 57). One aspect of this policy was connecting this network to Antalya, the gateway to the Mediterranean. In 1924, we learn from Antalya Newspaper, the only newspaper in the town at that time, that the people of Antalya were complaining about being deprived of economic and civic opportunities due to lacking a railway, port and highway. It was demanded from the Parliament to act on the issue. Therefore, connecting the network from Afyon-Karahisar to Antalya came on the agenda of the Turkish Parliament, and the Act on the Construction of the Afyon-Karahisar-Antalya

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<sup>44</sup> Constructing railways in Anatolia began in the Ottoman Period, with the opening of the İzmir-Aydın line in 1856.

Railway was issued in 1933, after a preparation period of ten years. In the written records of the Parliament, a deputy<sup>45</sup> expresses his pleasure that the paradise-like towns would eventually be connected to each other. However, in 1936, the Burdur-Antalya extension of the project was cancelled when the budget for the project was transferred to the renewal of Burdur-Antalya highway<sup>46</sup>. Upon the change in the project, to console the disappointed people of Antalya, the government tried to provide transportation from Antalya to Burdur Train Station by buses, and put a train ticket sales office at the center of the town, in Kalekapısı (Deniz 2011). As of 2013, Antalya still lacks a railway connection, but lately it is included in a project for high-speed train connection.

#### **IV.2. The Development of Tourism in Antalya during the Multi-Party Period**

The method of planned development in Turkey started to be practiced in this period after the 1960 *coup d'état*, through the introduction of development plans and the State Planning Institution (SPI) in 1961 Constitution. The new constitution put an emphasis on social and economic rights and brought a new organizational structure for a new socio-economic order (Versan 1965, 97). According to the new Constitution, economic, social and cultural development was dependent upon planning (art.129/1), and carrying this development in a democratic way and therefore preparing development plans was a responsibility of the state (art.41/2) (Tan 1976, 24). This development in the country supported the country's desire to take part in the world and Mediterranean tourism market, a market which was mainly developed in the post-war period. It was the start for Antalya region's development in mass tourism.

On the local scale, until the 1970s, the main factors that triggered tourism were the historic richness of the town and Antalya Festival, which began with the use of the ancient Aspendos theatre. Beginning with the 1970s, conservation issues of the historic town center, the Walled-Town, started to be considered by the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion (the former Ministry of Culture and Tourism). The tool of regeneration for the area was to be tourism, as decided by the Ministry.

With this, a new regional structure, which reshaped the region through tourism, started to form with the stimulation of the state mainly by SPI and Ministry of Tourism and Promotion;

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<sup>45</sup> Mollaoğlu, Cemal B.

<sup>46</sup> The real reason for the cancellation is said to be military purposes in order to prevent another possible Italian occupation of the town (anonymous).

meanwhile, efforts for the reproduction of the Walled-Town at the local scale were also started, with the triggering of state action by the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion. The present day Walled-Town is reproduced within the framework of these regional and local intentions of the state and the society for the production of space.

#### **IV.2.1. Tourism Development between the Transition to the Multi-Party System and the 1960 *Coup d'État*: The First Tourism Incentives**

##### ***IV.2.1.a. National Dynamics***

A major phenomenon changing the fates of many towns in the world occurred in Europe between 1945 and 1955. After the Second World War, sun-sand-sea consumption boomed on the Mediterranean coast, suddenly triggering tourism in the world. Later, early in the 1970s, the phenomenon was to be described by Lefebvre as the transformation of the perimeter of the Mediterranean “into a leisure-oriented space for industrialized Europe” (Fraser 2011). In 1950, a new type of tourism accommodation appeared in Europe: tourist villages, or holiday villages in today’s jargon. Club Méditerranée, widely known as Club-Med, started its first holiday village in Mallorca, Spain. These villages have also served as economic catalyzers in underdeveloped parts of some Mediterranean countries, especially Spain and Italy (Bhatia 2002, 187). In 1955, Club-Med started the all-inclusive system in its holiday village in Tahiti. These developments were to spill over to Turkey soon: in succession, the first incentives in tourism in the 1950s, then the tourism development plans in the 1960s, and then the intensive incentives in the tourism sector, in particular post-1980 in Antalya region.

Corresponding to these developments, in 1950, after twenty years of étatism, the Democrat Party (DP) came to power with their economic liberalization policies, aiming to decrease government intervention and support the private sector by favorable credit facilities (Tokgoz 1997 in Nohutçu 2002, 4). In this era, tourism, a developing sector in the world, began to be represented at ministerial level in Turkey. Although there were also other actors in the tourism arena, all authority was gathered in the hands of the central government under the strict control of the DP until the 1960 military intervention.

Under the rule of the Democrat Party, tourism in Turkey was being considered as a solution to overcome the shortage of foreign currency (Barutçığıl, 1982). From the written records of the

Turkish Parliament, it is seen that the debates on a tourism incentive law started in 1950 and the same year, the Tourism Enterprises Incentive Law (Act no 5647) was issued (Turkish Republic Official Gazette, 30 March 1950). In the Records, it is also seen that in 1952, Antalya Deputy Dr. Burhanettin Onat and his friends made a proposal to the Turkish Parliament for the first tourism industry incentive law of Turkey. The proposal was prepared in 1950, and it waited in queue for being opened to negotiation in the Parliament. On Onat's insistence, the proposal was opened to negotiation<sup>47</sup>, and in 1953, the Tourism Industry Incentive Law (Act no 6086) was issued (Turkish Republic Official Gazette, 22 May 1953). The law were brought incentives including a credit system and tax concessions, and a license system that required the tourism facilities to be at international standards, Following the Tourism Industry Incentive Law, the Foreign Capital Incentive Law was issued in 1954, both encouraging foreign investors.

In 1955, another significant step followed these Acts, which led to the spread of tourism in the country; the Turkish Tourism Bank (*T.C. Turizm Bankası A.Ş.*) was founded as the bank of the sector.<sup>48</sup> In the years following the Second World War, European countries were trying to mitigate the negative impacts of the war on tourism; therefore, in order to revitalize the tourism industry, they started to establish agents for credits and tourism accommodation facilities. Among the new agencies, there were banks that would provide financial support and would function as an umbrella institution for the tourism enterprises. Switzerland and France were the leading countries in this practice. Other countries with rich natural resources observed the positive effects of tourism in the national economy, such as tourism also affecting the incomes of other sectors and its significance in creating employment opportunities. Therefore, they also showed a particular interest in attracting vacation tourism, established organizations, and beginning with Western Europe, the tourism industry spread all over Europe. These developments motivated Turkey to establish, on the 23<sup>rd</sup> of June 1955, the Tourism Bank. The idea behind the foundation of the Tourism Bank was expressed by the Prime Minister of the period, Adnan Menderes, as “unless economic life and infrastructure in a country is satisfactory, tourism does not exist there.”<sup>49</sup> Following on from this idea, three issues were dominant in the foundation motives of the Bank: investment in tourism facilities, administration of the facilities and banking. Therefore, the responsibilities were gathered under three main facilities: banking,

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<sup>47</sup> Parliament written records, 7.5.1952

<sup>48</sup> The Bank was to support private investment by credits and technical assistance (Tarhan, 1998).

<sup>49</sup> Bulletin of the Tourism Bank, “Our Minister in the founding years: Dr. Mukerrem Sarol”, issue 8, July 1985, pp.8-11

investment, and business administration facilities. In this respect, the responsibilities of the Bank were: (Özdemir 2006, 24)

- Advertising to develop and improve domestic and international/external tourism
- Founding travel agencies,
- Organizing trips,
- Maintaining relations with the agents in all sectors of tourism,
- Establishing tourist facilities, encouraging the agencies in administration, and supporting them financially in the framework of the Act of Banks

Within the framework of its responsibilities, the Bank and TURBAN, the business administration body of the Bank, were the main factors in spreading tourism in Anatolia before the mid-1980s (Özdemir 2006, 24).

#### ***IV.2.1.b. Local Dynamics***

In the 1950 elections, Onat became a deputy of Antalya for the Democrat Party and his delegacy continued for the next two terms. During his deputyship, he dealt with the cleaning of many archaeological relics found around the town, and the restoration of Üçkapılar (Hadrian's Gate), Yivli Minaret, Karatay Madrasah, Aspendos and so on (Çimrin 2012, 352). The works of the Association for Tourism and Promotion of Antalya were continuing with great efforts, but Çimrin (2010b, 6) expresses that Antalya was still not known enough for the efforts to bear fruit. According to Çimrin, in 1953, a visit from Ankara changed the atmosphere of the town. In May 1953, students and professors of the State Conservatory Theatre Department visited Antalya. Since Aspendos Theatre was already known in Turkey, the group had taken their costumes of 'Romeo and Juliette' with them in case there would be a chance to perform the play at the theatre. They visited the governor of Antalya İhsan Sabri Çağlayangil to ask for permission. Upon Atatürk's wish in 1930 for the usage of the theatre for performances, oil wrestling competitions were being held at the theatre since 1951. However, Çimrin (2010b, 7) notes, these organizations were not enough to attract the tourists to the theatre. Considering Atatürk's wish on the 9<sup>th</sup> of May, 1930, during his Aspendos visit, the governor agreed with the offer through the support of the Association for Tourism and Promotion of Antalya. On the 27<sup>th</sup> of May, 1953, the Governorship and the Municipality gave buses to serve the Association and the public of Antalya, including the villages, flowed into the theatre. Due to the success of the performance in front of an audience of approximately 10 thousand people, the Deputy of Antalya Dr.

Burhanettin Onat, City Governor İhsan Sabri Çağlayangil, City Mayor Seyit Ali Pamir, the head of the Association for Tourism and Promotion of Antalya Osman Batur, and other notables of the town wished to transform it into an annually held regular activity (Çimrin 2010b, 7).

Onat, through the Association for Tourism and Promotion of Antalya and with the financial support of the Governorship and the Municipality, supported the regular organization of theatre performances in Aspendos. This led to the birth of Antalya Belkıs Theatre and Music Festival in 1954.<sup>50</sup> This Festival has been the basis of what is today the Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival (Çimrin 2012, 352).

The media had an important role in introducing the Festival to other parts of Turkey (Çimrin 2010b, 7). This resulted in domestic tourism; people especially from Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir started to visit Antalya at Festival time. However, there was a lack of accommodation, as the town had yet few hotels; the Association for Tourism and Promotion of Antalya thus took the responsibility of hosting the visitors in houses. The voluntary families applied to the Association for the hosting (Çimrin 2010c, 6). Onat also dealt himself with the distribution of the domestic and foreign tourists to the house-pensions during the Antalya Festival and *bayrams* (public religious holidays) (Çimrin 2012, 338). Meanwhile, not only the Festival, but the town was also being introduced to Turkey. This attracted more tourists to the town, leading to the development of a more organized house-pension operation. According to Çimrin (2010c, 7) tourism in Antalya started through these series of events.

The first touristic leaflets and travel books were published by the General Directorate of the Press and Publication through Onat's own efforts in the middle of the 1950s (Çimrin 2010c, 7; Çimrin 2012, 338). The efforts of the governor of Antalya İhsan Sabri Çağlayangil and his friends were complementary to these. The first posters of Konyaaltı Beach, Aspendos Theatre, Side, and Yivli Minaret were published in Greece in the printing house of Yorgo Pehlivanoglu, who had moved to Greece from Antalya with the Population Exchange of 1923 (Çimrin 2010, ARO 01, 30-35).

Before and in the first years of the Republic, tourism-related travel was mostly organized by maritime agencies, which consisted of multinational firms' bureaus in Turkey. Between 1925

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<sup>50</sup> *Antalya Belkıs Tiyatro ve Müzik Festivali*

and 1940, several other travel agencies were established.<sup>51</sup> In 1958, the first tourism travel agency was founded in Antalya by Ali Rıza Öndemir and in ten years, Antalya had three agencies in total. Following the year 1968, the travel agency business became more profitable, leading to the increase of the agencies in number (Çimrin 2010e, 8).

Çimrin (2010c, 7) states that the tourism activities in the town were as yet being organized by individuals. In the category of foreign tourists, it was mostly Germans who were visiting the town, but still in low numbers. In 1959, an interesting event happened, which can be considered the discovery of Antalya by Germans. In 1957, during the mayoralty of Şakrak, fifty tents started to be built in Konyaaltı Beach to be used in the summer.<sup>52</sup> (Prior to this, there used to be portable tents, which were put and used by the locals, in Konyaaltı and Lara Beaches). In 1959, a journalist from the German Magazine ‘Bunte’ visited Antalya to do an interview with the Governor of Antalya, Niyazi Akı. While walking around the town, she noticed the empty tents in Konyaaltı Beach and in the interview she asked Mr. Akı what the purpose behind the tents was. Instead of telling the journalist that the local people of Antalya leave the town in summer for mountain pastures, and therefore the city government constructed these tents in order to keep the local people in the town, Mr. Akı told her that they had built the tents for German tourists so that they could have a holiday in Antalya free of charge. Çimrin himself translated the explanation of Mr. Akı to the journalist. One month later Mr. Akı received the last issue of Bunte Magazine, on which cover page existed a photo of Konyaaltı Beach with the headline “These tents in the Turkish Riviera are waiting for the Germans for a free holiday”. The event resulted in the flow of German tourists to Antalya in the summer of 1959. Antalya was caught unprepared for the sudden flow, so by means of collective voluntary labor, these tents were transformed into livable areas. In the next year, it was announced that the campaign was held only for the year 1959 (Çimrin 2010d, 6-7).

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<sup>51</sup><http://www.frntr.com/halkla-iliskiler-turizm-ve-insan-kaynaklari-ulastirma/1242167-seyahat-acentalari-ve-tarihi.html>

<sup>52</sup>[http://www.antalya.bel.tr/Webworks/Sablonlar/eskibaskan\\_ozgecmis.asp?KID=28](http://www.antalya.bel.tr/Webworks/Sablonlar/eskibaskan_ozgecmis.asp?KID=28)

## **IV.2.2. Tourism Development between the *Coup d'États* of 1960 and 1971: the Rise of Antalya Region as a Potential Tourism Zone**

### ***IV.2.2.a. National Dynamics***

An important global development that took place in the post-war era was the establishment of the United Nations (UN) in 1945, replacing the former League of Nations. The UN contains specialized agencies, of which the oldest one is the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). FAO was established in 1945 to deal with hunger, better nutrition and better living standards by increasing agricultural productivity. As part of its responsibilities, FAO carries out research and provides technical assistance on projects in individual countries.<sup>53</sup> In 1957, FAO's Mediterranean Forestry Sub-commission submitted a comprehensive report entitled Mediterranean Forestry Programs in relation to Agricultural Rehabilitation and General Development. Soon it evolved into the 'Mediterranean Development Project' of FAO.<sup>54</sup> The 'Mediterranean Development Project' had two basic motives:

1. "The realization that the lands around the Mediterranean, which were once the centers of civilization of high prosperity, had fallen behind as a result of a complex group of reasons.
2. There was the philosophy that if the countries around the old sea were assisted to put their forests in order and to improve their agricultural methods, the general environment for economic development would improve, so that the road to future prosperity would be open." (Groenveld)

In order to get better results from FAO's activities, activities were to be concentrated in the so-called 'spearhead zones'. Upon the country report of Turkey, emphasis was decided to be put on the development of coastal regions and Antalya region was recommended to be chosen as a 'spearhead zone', so that a project for the integrated development of that region could be organized. In 1958, The United Nations General Assembly established the 'Special Fund' in order to enlarge the scope of the UN program of technical assistance in certain fields.<sup>55</sup> The Special Fund was to focus on large projects. In this context, the Mediterranean Development Project concentrated on pre-investment surveys in co-operation with the UN Special Fund in

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<sup>53</sup> <http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/212623/Food-and-Agriculture-Organization-FAO>

<sup>54</sup> <http://www.fao.org/docrep/x5386e/x5386e01.htm>

<sup>55</sup> <http://atom.archives.unesco.org/united-nations-special-fund;isaar>



spearhead zones in four countries: Turkey, Tunisia, Morocco and Greece.<sup>56</sup> Governments were going to make direct requests to the Special Fund and so did Turkey. Following this, an agreement was signed by the Government of Turkey and the UN Special Fund in 1959. Based on this agreement, the Plan of Operation for Antalya as a sub-project of the Mediterranean Development Project was agreed upon in 1960 and became operational in 1961. FAO was asked by the government to be the Executing Agency (Groenveld). The initial aim of the sub-project was<sup>57</sup> :

- To carry out works that would stand as the basis for the preparation of the economic development program of the region.
- To gain experience for preparing and realizing similar development programs in other regions in Turkey and the Mediterranean.
- To ensure the training of Turkish experts on the subject.

Meanwhile, the *coup d'état* of 1960 took place on the 27<sup>th</sup> of May in Turkey. As one result of the coup, a new constitution was prepared and approved: the Constitution of 1961. In this framework, several new institutions were established, including the State Planning Institution (SPI). Through the establishment of SPI, Turkey entered a planned development era; therefore, the post-1963 period has been called as the 'planned period' (Goymen 1998). 1961 Constitution placed two principles<sup>58</sup> in the preparation process of development plans: maximizing the national savings; and directing the investments to the priorities of that area as necessitated by the public interest (Tan 1976, 23). In other words, as Tekeli (1998, 15) states, the new constitution underlined the principles of the social welfare state, centrally planned economic development and rational use of resources. The development plans were to be prepared for five-year periods and to be named five-year-development-plans (FYDP). The constitution delineated a mixed economic system, therefore, by 'investments', both public and private investments were implied (Tan 1976, 24). FYDPs were legal documents and were basically national goals and objectives at a macro level. They were imperative for the public sector, and guidance for the private sector.

The changes directly reflected on the Antalya region. Following the signing of the contracts with the UN and FAO, to secure a balanced socio-economic development for the region, which was still a spearhead zone of the Mediterranean Project, a rational comprehensive development plan was attempted to be prepared and the Plan of Operations was revised. The revision was signed in

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<sup>56</sup> <http://www.fao.org/docrep/x5572e/x5572e0d.htm>

<sup>57</sup> <http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/4/356/5192.pdf>

<sup>58</sup> art.41/2

1963 and approved by the Special Fund. The plan was declared to be terminated on the 1<sup>st</sup> of July 1965. In the organizational structure of the project, FAO was to serve as the Executive Agency on behalf of the UN, and in 1961 the SPI Undersecretary was assigned to be the representative of the Turkish Government in all matters. SPI was further responsible for the integration of the project into national planning (UN, unknown date). Besides, a Planning Board for the Antalya region, consisting of representatives of related ministries and headed by the SPI Undersecretary, was to serve as an advisory body to SPI, to coordinate the activities of the ministries regarding the project, and to be responsible to the Executive Agency (UN 1963).

A basic aspect of planning is the relation between the socio-economic policies and physical development. FAO expert Groenveld stated that the type of ‘regional planning’ undertaken by the project staff of Antalya region was ‘socio-economic development planning’ rather than ‘physical planning’. However, Groenveld advocated that the two types of planning should have been in close relation. In 1963, the Ministry for Land Development and Settlement joined the Project. The Regional Planning Department under the Ministry became responsible for evaluating the diverse approaches of the two executive agencies, namely FAO and the SPI; however, the main contribution of the Ministry took place in physical planning.<sup>59</sup> As mentioned before, since the major emphasis was on economic development, the executive agency for the project on the Turkish side was SPI. The physical planning was realized by the staff of the project group coming from the Ministry of Settlement and Public Works.

Meanwhile, the initial project area, which included Antalya and part of Isparta, was enlarged to include the entire provinces of Antalya, Isparta and Burdur. FAO expert Groenveld states that the plan was to constitute the basis for the implementation of the Turkish national plan –namely FYDP- in the region, and was also to serve as a model for similar plans in other parts of Turkey (Groenveld). The development plan included three sector programs: forestry, agriculture and industry. The original Plan of Operations proposed the development of forestry in the first step, agriculture as the second and industry as the third. However, the revision of the plan, depending upon the first survey in the area, proposed putting the development of non-agricultural sectors such as industry, services and tourism in the first place.

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<sup>59</sup> <http://dergi.mo.org.tr/dergiler/4/356/5192.pdf>

In the pre-investment survey report<sup>60</sup> dated 1963, the development of the tourism industry and proper supporting services were proposed among the development possibilities for the region, emphasizing that agriculture and forestry would not be satisfactory to fulfill the demand for employment and therefore the development of other branches of the economy was necessary. In particular reference to the tourism industry, it was also emphasized that the existence of a good transportation infrastructure was crucial; respectively, the construction of the new Antalya port, and the improvement of airport transport so as to carry international traffic were strongly recommended. In the report of the UN by the industrial expert Ingmar P. Andren (Andren 1964) on the industrial development of the region dated 1964; the problems of the region in the tourism industry were widened to include facilities and commerce besides transportation. In such, in the report, the preliminary problems were declared as:

- Connections: sea, air and highway connections were very poor,
- Accommodation: in general, management was lacking,
- Amenities: the region lacked pleasant shops, restaurants, companies that organize trips, travel offices and guides.

As an agriculture-based city, in which tourism was slowly emerging through local initiatives, these problems would be seen natural and were to be overcome in time through comprehensive planning of tourism.

In the meantime, a section for regional planning was established under the SPI, and four types of regional plans were defined: those for potential development areas, those for backward areas, those for areas with special problems because of rapid industrial growth, and those with special problems because of metropolitan expansion. Antalya region was included in the first group. Groenveld, an expert of FAO, pointed out that a regional plan could be carried out more easily if a national development plan existed. In this regard, Antalya staff is claimed to be fortunate since Turkey passed into the planned period. However, Groenveld claimed that although the regional plan –prepared for a coordinated, integrated socio-economic development- would have been in the framework of the national plan, regional planners should have followed independent thought and judgment rather than strictly obeying the national plan. This way, the weak points of the national plan could be revealed and new development policies could be designed. Groenveld also claimed that if independence would not be possible, one of the advantages of regional planning would have been lost. From the comments of the expert Groenveld, it might be inferred

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<sup>60</sup> Prepared by 25 foreign experts and about 40 Turkish professionals

that diverse approaches existed between the conformity of the regional and national plans at the time. This might be proved by the Regional Planning Office, i.e. the Antalya Regional Planning Project Team's report, dated 1963; it is understood from the report that during the preparation works of the first FYDP, FAO and the SPI had different points of views in some issues of regional planning, including investments in the Antalya region. In the report it is stated that the SPI preferred to consider all planning works in the scope of the main national plan, which depended on sectors in Turkey rather than the concept of regional planning. Therefore, in the report it was concluded that the probability of the compromise between the Antalya Project and the national plan would be low. The implementation of the original project was advocated by the regional planning team, since it would provide the cooperation of several government services at regional scale for a particular goal for the first time. Moreover, since Antalya had the opportunities to develop, the selection of Antalya as a spearhead zone was advocated by the team and it was claimed that the investments would have been efficient. However, later, FAO chose to submit to the central government's would to make changes in the Antalya project in the scope of the national plan, and the SPI became the executive agent through Act no. 91.

Accompanied by these discussions, the first national plan, namely the 1<sup>st</sup> FYDP, was prepared, covering the period of 1963-1968. Prior to the plan, Expertise Commissions were founded, which involved experts (approximately 90 in number as of 1966) from the public and private sectors, One of these commissions was the 'Tourism Expertise Commission'. The aim of the commission was carrying out inventory work in the tourism sector and follow-up with due diligence; making predictions and projections for the FYDP and following up with investments and precautionary measures, preparing a detailed report on these issues and submitting the report to the SPI, and in this way supporting the preparation of the FYDP in the tourism sector. To achieve its aim, the commission was divided into sub-committees (16 in number as of 1966), under three groups. In the 1960s, 80 experts were responsible in the committees, of which 55 were from the public sector, while 25 were from the private (Akoğlu 1966). The Tourism Expertise Commission met for the first time in July 1961 and started works for the inventory. The first follow-up report was submitted to the SPI on the 30<sup>th</sup> of December, 1961 (Tourism Expertise Commission 1963). In the 1962 report of the commission, it is emphasized that tourism activity did not only consist solely of construction of hotels, but also creating a foreign currency resource for foreign tourists, as well as creating domestic tourism. The necessary investments were gathered under two groups: the restoration of historic, religious and archaeological relics; and the construction of tourist facilities. In this respect, the restoration of

the ancient town of Side in Antalya was recommended, together with the restoration of other ten ancient cities in Turkey (SPI 1962, 7). As far as it can be detected from the reports, this was the first time a spatial focal point –that is Side- came into prominence among others in the region.

In 1963, in the same year that the first FYDP came into effect, the Tourism Expertise Commission prepared the Five Year Tourism Plan. In the plan, Turkey was divided into ten tourism regions and Antalya was considered one of the five priority regions out of these ten; however, among the five, it was declared to be a priority zone only during the following five years. According to the plan, the five priority regions were:

1. The Marmara
2. The Aegean
3. Antalya
4. Çukurova-Antakya
5. Central Anatolia

The reason behind the suspicion of Antalya's priority was its lack of sufficient highway and sea connections.<sup>61</sup> It was also stated that airport transfer was available in Mediterranean countries experienced in tourism; however, in Turkey, it was not yet satisfactory to provide mass tourism. In this respect, the Marmara was declared among other regions to be ready for housing tourists, since the highway, sea and air transport potential of the region was high and it also had a capacity to develop tourist facilities and services. The Aegean was seen as the second priority region, since it corresponded to the tourist numbers, which ranked second. However, for Antalya, it was concluded that to be capable of tourism, it needed a long preparation period. Thus, the Marmara and Aegean regions were given more priority in the plan and tourism development in Antalya was scheduled to be encouraged after the development of these two regions. According to these assessments, it was predicted that the tourist diffusion among these regions would respectively be:

- %80 The Marmara
- %60 The Aegean
- %30 Antalya
- %20 Central Anatolia
- %10 Çukurova-Antakya

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<sup>61</sup>It was stated that neither highway nor sea connections were satisfactory anywhere, except the first two regions.

In this respect, the proposed bed capacities for 1967 in the Five Year Tourism Plan were 7,732 for the Marmara region, 5,902 for the Aegean region, 656 for Antalya, 303 for Çukurova-Antakya, and 899 for Central Anatolia. The bed-capacity given to Antalya was distributed among Antalya center, Konyaalti, Lara, Side and Alanya, which means that these points were seen as possible tourism centers. However, it should also be mentioned that in the plan, it was claimed that for Antalya it was better to wait for the development of the area by the FAO project, and later to determine the intensity and character of the tourism investments in the region.

In the 1<sup>st</sup> FYDP prepared by the SPI and covering the period of 1963-1968, compatible with the Five Year Tourism Plan, it is stated that due to the scarcity of resources in the next five years, it would only be possible to develop part of the country's areas that were suitable for tourism. Therefore, to prevent a meaningless spread of resources, works would concentrate on the regions which were high in potential of attracting tourists and which were able to give results soon. Beside this, centers that had already developed or started to develop in tourism would also be considered.<sup>62</sup> It might be interpreted as the continuation of the investments at least in Side in the Antalya region. Moreover, although not written in the First Plan, it is stated in the second FYDP that in the first FYDP, the Marmara, the Aegean and Antalya were declared as priority zones as the principles of national tourism policy.

In the FYDP, it is noted that as of 1961, the number of tourists had increased by %12 in the previous decade, although no deliberate efforts had been made to achieve this result. From this point, it was assumed that this number would increase by %20 in the following years by means of related investments and advertisement works. Among the most important tourism projects were the establishment of holiday villages, camps and the initiation of pilot projects. The budget of the projects covered hotels, pensions, restaurants, entertainment units, holiday villages and camps, beaches, health tourism, tourist sites, hunting, souvenirs, education, maintenance and advertisement.<sup>63</sup> As such, regarding the investments, advertisement, service facilities and the souvenir industry were going to be given as much importance as the accommodation units.<sup>64</sup>

In order to ensure the efficiency of the plan, several precautionary measures were taken; among them were:

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<sup>62</sup> 1st FYDP art.425

<sup>63</sup> 1st FYDP art.425-428

<sup>64</sup> 1st FYDP art.63-67

- A very good advertisement had to take place in order to attract tourists. This would be ensured by cooperating with foreign firms that were experienced in the sector. In addition, domestic tourism would also be encouraged beside foreign tourism.
- A body would be established as soon as possible to handle the tourism affairs of the country on a regular basis through the necessary authority and capabilities.
- In towns and cities, the establishment of Tourism Development Councils would be encouraged, 'which all institutions and organizations related to tourism would join'. This council would be responsible for the tourism development planning of the area, encourage new projects and control the project works. In case these councils initiated tourist interest in the area, those areas would be given priority in distributing support by the state.
- Measures would be taken to facilitate the tourists' stay in Turkey; in particular, customs and currency exchange transactions would be simplified, tourist information offices would be opened and services would be provided to facilitate tourist's visitation and relaxation activities.
- The Tourism Bank would be rehabilitated and its abilities enhanced so as to provide credits sufficient for tourism facilities and appropriate for the tourism industry.
- Studies would be carried out in preparation for regular festivals to be held in various places around the country.
- The education of tourism personnel would be given priority.
- In areas with tourist facilities, the production and marketing of food and beverage and souvenir services by the local population would be supported and regulated.

Within the framework of the FYDP and the above listed measures, a major step in tourism was taken by the government in 1963. The issue was carried to the ministerial level by renaming the Ministry of the Press, Publication and Promotion, established in 1957, as the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion (The Official Gazette, 12 July 1963). The Ministry of Tourism and Promotion was established as a specialized governmental organization responsible for guiding, supporting, coordinating and supervising tourism.

Meanwhile, the Tourism Bank, which was established with state capital to provide credits for tourism investments and operations in 1955, was restructured in May 1960 with the aim of establishing and managing 'model tourism facilities' for the private sector and providing

technical and project support to private entrepreneurs, through the Act no. 74470 (The Official Gazette, 10 May, 1960). In 1962, it started to operate under the name the Turkish Republic Tourism Bank (*TC Turizm Bankası A.Ş.*) and operated continuously until 1989 (Özdemir 2006, 25). In 1962, the Tourism Development Fund was established for providing grants and loans for the construction of roads, hotels and motels so that potential sites would develop. The Tourism Bank became the responsible agent for the fund. Despite the novelty, the Tourism Bank still needed time to get into motion, which was to begin in 1967 with the allocation of financial resources to the Bank.

In 1964, resulting from the initiative of the SPI, an inter-ministerial commission was established to provide coordination among the bodies responsible for tourism. The commission firstly made an evaluation of the tourism policies of the FYDP and stated that the plan lacked tourism incentives as a national policy, although tourism was supported through incentives in experienced countries. Besides, it was pointed out that the plan lacked a concrete investment policy that supported private enterprise. Thereby, the revision of the Tourism Incentive Law was proposed by the commission.

In 1964, the SPI requested the inter-ministerial commission to start the works of the 2<sup>nd</sup> FYDP; however, since the results of the 1<sup>st</sup> plan were still unclear, it was postponed. The next year, comments and suggestions for the 2<sup>nd</sup> plan started to be gathered by the SPI. In the SPI report (Akoğlu 1965, 3) tourism policy was taken to be a part of the general economic policy; therefore, precautionary measures in the tourism sector were addressed in parallel to the general economic policy. It was emphasized that an efficient tourism sector capable of triggering the general development depended on an efficient tourism policy. Consequently, compatible with the policies of OECD countries and the International Union of Official Travel Organizations, liberalization was proposed.

Physical planning works in the field of tourism started with the precautionary measure no 313 in Year 1964 Program Implementation Plan. Strongly related to physical development, another point recommended by the Expertise Commission was the completion of the Burdur-Antalya railway project, which was cancelled in the 1930s. In addition, the Istanbul-Antalya route was also recommended to be developed (Tourism Expertise Commission Report 1964). In the report of the SPI (Akoğlu 1965), the emphasis on tourism-oriented physical planning continued and it was considered as compulsory as the socio-economic planning carried out by the SPI. In the



1966 report, it was underlined that the two Ministries were responsible for tourism-oriented physical planning works. According to the 9<sup>th</sup> article of Act no. 7116 dated 1958, the responsibility for determining tourism development areas belonged to the General Directorate of Planning and Development under the Ministry of Land Development and Settlement. Whereas the responsibility for making all kind of plans and studies to assess the opportunities of the country and develop tourism belonged to the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion through the 8<sup>th</sup> article of Act no. 265 dated 1963. For the coordination in fulfilling these responsibilities, a Tourism Planning Technical Bureau was established in 1964 through a protocol between the two Ministries. However, in the report it is stated that despite the bureau having completed several distinct physical plans in the country, no physical plan existed that covered all the high potential areas of the country in tourism. Tourism-oriented physical planning was seen as the only tool that would declare the exact locations of the investments (Akoğlu, T. 1966b). The issue gained more importance due to the tourist facilities project in the 2<sup>nd</sup> FYDP. In the 1968 the SPI report on tourism-oriented physical planning, it was emphasized that the preparation of a physical plan covering all Turkey or regions with a high potential of tourism had been overdue since the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion had started to cooperate with the Bank of Provinces for the tourist facilities project. Together with the acceleration of the physical planning works, urgent preparation of settlement plans for tourist facilities in Antalya-Side (to be completed in the period of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Plan) was recommended. In this way, the emphasis on Side as a major touristic attraction point and tourism center continued.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> FYDP covered the period of 1968 to 1972. First in the Plan, the 1<sup>st</sup> FYDP is briefly evaluated and it was concluded that the expected demand of the previous Plan was achieved; however, the supply could not be realized in terms of quality and quantity, in other words the development which was foreseen in the Plan was not achieved.<sup>65</sup> In the Second Plan, tourism was seen as a major foreign currency source and all opportunities were to be used to benefit from it. In this regard, mass tourism was specifically targeted and %87 of the investments was decided to be allocated to mass tourism facilities. A major part of these investments were to be distributed to accommodation units, of which the capacity would be oriented towards ‘mass tourism’, and which would be built in areas of high tourism potential. Holiday complexes with high accommodation capacity would particularly be supported according to the FYDP.<sup>66</sup> Regarding physical planning, it was decided that the physical plan of the country featuring all

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<sup>65</sup> Art.31

<sup>66</sup> Art.299

the priority zones be completed and tourism investments be realized according to this plan. In practice, physical planning works started in the Mediterranean, Göreme, Uludağ, the South Aegean and partly in the Marmara. In the Second Plan period, hotels were mostly concentrated in the Marmara region. In the sub-section on tourism, the main principles of the tourism policies in the Second Plan may be summarized as:<sup>67</sup>

- The economic, social and cultural functions of tourism would fully be benefited from in the Second Plan period.
- Tourism investments would be concentrated in particular areas with a high tourism potential. Accommodation and transportation capabilities suitable to mass tourism would be created, and these investments would be supported through credits and other financial and legal measures in accordance with a physical plan.
- The ‘model facilities’, infrastructure, and the supporting units would be built by the public sector, while others by the private sector.
- Cooperation with other Mediterranean countries would be sought in tourism promotion.
- In the conservation, restoration and interpretation of historic and archaeological values, monuments and artefacts, the zones declared in the plan would have priority.

According to the 1969 Program and Implementation Plan of the Second Plan, tourism-oriented physical planning works were to be accelerated, the exact locations in the Marmara, Aegean and Mediterranean regions to concentrate the investments were to be declared and the plans of those places were to be completed. The Ministry of Tourism and Promotion and the SPI were assigned as the responsible bodies. Beside this, two ‘tourist sites’, in the character of tourist towns, were to be introduced in the Mediterranean and Aegean coasts and investments were to be concentrated in these sites. The Ministry of Tourism and Promotion, the Ministry of Land Development and Settlement and the SPI were to be responsible bodies for the development of these sites. Concerning the adaptive use of historic structures, the restoration of madrasahs and similar buildings were to be evaluated in order to transform them into hostels and encourage youth tourism.

In 1969, the SPI report on transportation (SPI 1969), reveals that Alanya was selected as the camping center, while Patara stood as the main tourism potential center with a possible 100.000 bed-capacity. Kemer followed it with an 84,000 bed-capacity and Finike with a capacity of 60,000. Later, in the same year, while the Plan of Operation of the UN was in process, a decree

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<sup>67</sup> Art.593

underlined a new direction for the development of the region. The decree of the Council of Ministers dated 1969 defined the concept of 'tourism development zones', and in this respect in 1969, the Çanakkale-Antalya coastal band was designated by the Council of Ministers as a 'Tourism Development Zone'. By the same decree in 1969, a Project Directorate was established under the SPI undersecretary. The directorate defined a general perspective on the tourism development of the zone, and proposed an organizational model for its realization. In this context, south Antalya and east Antalya (Belek) were declared as the priority tourism development areas. However, the previous development plans by the SPI had given the priority to Davutlar-Güzelçamlı-Dilek in the Aegean and the Side region in Antalya. The International Side Competition on architecture and urbanism was already held. The previous priority areas were also supported by the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion. Nevertheless, with the new situation, a new framework appeared for Antalya. And this has played an important role in the development of the tourism sector, particularly through the South Antalya Development Project. The project zone was located in the southern part of Antalya Bay, and covered a coastline reaching from Antalya to Gelidonya, 80 kilometers in length and 3 kilometers in depth. It was carried out by the Tourism Bank and supported by the World Bank.

Following this decision, in the 1970 Program and Implementation Plan of the Second Plan, it is stated that the increased life standards in Western and Northern European countries provided Turkey with the opportunity of becoming a tourism destination by means of planes. In relation to the decisions of the 1969 Program, the two 'tourist sites', which were to be planned and to serve mass tourism, were confirmed as Side and Dilek, with the responsible body as the SPI. Physical planning works in the Mediterranean, Marmara and Aegean regions were to be in the scales of 1/25,000, 1/5,000 and 1/1,000 and were to demonstrate the implementation phases of the priority construction sites. Since Turkey still lacked trained tourism staff, training centers for tourism and hotel management were to start instruction in Antalya for the accommodation facilities to be installed in the region under the responsibility of the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion.

In the meantime, beginning with 1967, when financial resources were provided for the Tourism Bank, the Bank started to fulfill its responsibility of encouraging and financially supporting investments in the tourism sector. Within the framework of banking facilities, the Tourism Bank was an investment bank and it was the sole financial institution supporting the tourism sector. It had a great role in the increase of bed capacities, also supporting travel agencies, restaurants and

means of sea transportation. One of the most important types of accommodation that the Bank supported was 'house-pensions'.

As part of its investment responsibilities, during its period of operation, the Bank carried out its own investments, built TURBAN facilities in its own and other public land, and carried out investments supported by the Ministry of Tourism on the Ministry's behalf. Özdemir (2006, 26) classifies the investment activities of the Bank in three main groups, which are to be performed in the next sub-period of 1971-1980:

1. The investment of the Bank: they were planned for providing new tourist facilities, rehabilitating the existing ones and extending efforts.
2. Investments carried out in the name of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism: Among the investments supported by the Ministry and carried out in its name, Özdemir (2006, 26-27) highlights seven as the most important, one of which is the Antalya Walled-Town Marina Restoration.
3. The South Antalya Tourism Development Project: The Project is a work of the Tourism Bank, and supported by the World Bank. From Antalya to Gelidonya, a total bed capacity of 25,000 was planned, of which 14,000 constituted the first phase. The Project included purification plants, marinas, infrastructure, hotels, holiday villages and hundreds of other facilities (Özdemir 2006, 27).

#### ***IV.2.2.b. Local Dynamics***

While the developments at the national and regional level were taking place, at the local level, the Antalya Expo in Karaalioğlu Park started to accompany the Antalya Festival in 1962. The Festival was held in May and the Expo in October. In the Expo, the products of the industry in Antalya and activities of the government bodies and NGOs were exhibited. It continued until the end of the 1970s, when it disappeared as more importance was given to the National Film Festival (Çimrin 2010c, 6). The National Film Festival, which may be regarded as the beginning of the Golden Orange Film Festival, was added to Antalya Festival by the initiative of Mayor Avni Tolunay. Until 1963, the theatre and music festival was held by the Association for Tourism and Promotion of Antalya; later, Mayor Tolunay added the organization of the Festival

to the responsibilities of Antalya Municipality, thus also adding the Film Festival. Mayor Tolunay also accelerated the promotion works of Antalya in Turkey and abroad.<sup>68</sup>

In 1964, the Antalya Regional Directorate of Tourism was founded as a body of the Ministry of Tourism and Information. The tourist guide of the Directorate, Hüseyin Çimrin, was sent to Germany as a trainee. There, Çimrin continued his works for promoting Antalya, and through his efforts, the first Charter from Germany arrived Antalya in March 1969. The plane, with 125 tourists inside, landed on the Military runway. Charter trips once a week followed this first one for two years. Çimrin (2010f, 8) states that the Charter trips were discontinued due to discontent with services at the hotels, and this led to a ten-year unproductive period in tourism.

### **IV.2.3. Tourism Development between the 1971 *Coup d'État* and 1980 *Coup d'État*: The Development of Antalya Region as the Main Tourism Center of the Country**

#### ***IV.2.3.a. National Dynamics***

Turkey entered the 1970s with the *coup d'état* of 12 March, 1971, also known as the ‘coup by memorandum’, which was the second military intervention to the government in the country. Between 1965 and 1971, the AP (Justice Party), the inheritor of the DP with its liberal economic approach, was in power, with Süleyman Demirel as prime minister. Differing from the coup of 1960, the coup by memorandum proposed two options to the prime minister: either Demirel were to resign, or the military were to take absolute power. Demirel chose to resign and the Coup brought ex-deputy of CHP Nihat Erim as the prime minister for two years. This period is named as the ‘Nihat Erim Government’ and it was the start of a closed economy under the strict control and interference of the government.

Under these circumstances, tourism continued to be the main source of foreign currency income and an important input in the national economy of the 1970s. In the context of the prevalent approaches to tourism, ‘mass tourism’ was highlighted as the main target in the southern coastal band in the 7<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Tourism Coordination Council in 1970. Within this framework, the physical master plan for the Bodrum-Antalya-Belek coastal band was introduced and 1/10,000 scale master plans of Antalya-Belek and Antalya- Tekirova were approved by the

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<sup>68</sup> [http://www.antalya.bel.tr/Webworks/Sablonlar/eskibaskan\\_ozgecmis.asp?KID=8](http://www.antalya.bel.tr/Webworks/Sablonlar/eskibaskan_ozgecmis.asp?KID=8)

council. It was stated that to stimulate mass tourism, a planning approach that involved the following ideas was necessary:

- establishment of holiday village type facilities,
- developing air transport and charter tourism,
- developing an industry to serve catering, accommodation and recreation needs of holiday villages.

For the master plan of the southern coastal band, an order was placed with the Scandinavian Organization of Planning and Development (SPDA).<sup>69</sup> According to the plan, Antalya was to be the first focus area regarding bed-capacities, and Bodrum-Marmaris-Datça was to be the second. In the east of Antalya, a coastal band of 29 kilometers (Antalya-Belek) with an 85,000 bed capacity, and in the west of Antalya, a coastal band of 60 kilometers with approximately a 65,000 bed capacity were to be planned in the first 5 and 10 year-periods. In the report of the SPI Undersecretary dated 1970 (Ölçen 1970), it is stated that the existence of an airport in Antalya since 1954 and a developed transportation network in the eastern part of the town triggered the selection of the 29-kilometer band in the east of Antalya as the priority area. In contrast, the south-west of Antalya, despite being more appropriate in terms of climate and natural beauties, was to be second in priority due to transportation problems. The East Antalya and South Antalya plans were prepared by the SPI Undersecretary. The part of the East Antalya Plan that coincides with the 'contiguous area' (*müccavir alan*) around the Antalya Municipality jurisdiction area was revised in 1972 and approved in 1/25,000 scale and partly in 1/5,000 scale (Tourism Expertise Report 1977). The South Antalya Tourism Development Project, prepared in collaboration with the Ministries of Land Development and Settlement, of Tourism and Promotion, and of Forestry became operational on 07.07.1972 by the approval of the Ministry of Land Development and Settlement. The 1/25,000 scale Master Plan (*Çevre Düzeni Planı*) included the settlements of Beldibi, Göynük, Kemer, Tekirova, Aslanbucak, Çamyuva, Kuzdere, Çıralı, Ulupınar and Adrasan; and the Olympos National Park (Antalya Governorhsip 1986, 328-9).

While the construction of tourist facilities was going on in the region, an evaluation of the works by the 1971 Program and Implementation Plan of the Second Plan stated that the implementation works were not in coherence with the policy of mass tourism. Although mass tourism was targeted as the main tourism policy of the country, most licensed facilities that were built

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<sup>69</sup> In the 1971 Program it was stated that the physical plan of the coastal line from Antalya to Bodrum was completed in 1970 and works were launched for the Aegean coast.

through the initiative measures in 1968 and 1969 were addressed towards the upper income group rather than middle and lower income groups. The situation was interpreted as the misunderstanding of the objectives of mass tourism by the organizing bodies and it was expressed that model facilities for mass tourism needed to be realized. Also, in the context of mass tourism, 'travel in groups' was seen as an important step, and this step was going to be a decisive influence in the tourism structure of Antalya region in latter years through package tours. The concept of 'package tour'<sup>70</sup> as a crucial component of mass tourism had already arisen in the world in those years. The concept might be examined under two groups (Wong and Kwong 2004): the 'package holiday' realized by tour operators, and the 'all-inclusive system'. In general, the 'package holiday' includes pre-arranged accommodation and transportation (Mok and Armstrong 1995); whereas the 'all-inclusive system' is a system of a pre-arranged and pre-paid vacation that includes accommodation, transportation, catering, guidance, entertainment and similar activities (Sheldon and Mak 1987). In universalizing the all-inclusive system, Club Mediterranean (Club Med) took the leadership (Issa and Jayawardena 2003). In 1957, Club Med transformed into a joint-stock company and in 1966 it was opened to the public. This development accelerated the diffusion of mass tourism and all-inclusive system in the world. Package tours, in a general sense, were mostly preferred by those that chose to travel in groups. Therefore, the policy of targeting travel in groups implies an initiative for package tours in Turkey and particularly in the Antalya region. It was triggered by the interest of foreign entrepreneurs in the mass tourism sector in Antalya. In 1971, Club Med decided to build a holiday village in Antalya Kemer. The project was transferred to an Italian firm, Club Valtur, by the Ministry in 1972. In 1974 it was opened as the first all-inclusive system of Antalya. This was followed by others also stimulated by the state after the 1980s, transforming Antalya into a region of package tours and an all-inclusive system in time. Besides the policy of attracting 'travels in groups', since transportation by plane became the most preferable means of travel, the opening of Antalya Airport to international traffic was expected to contribute to mass tourism.

With the 1971 Program and Implementation Plan, two significant conditions arose regarding the fate of Antalya Walled-Town. As of 1971, the physical plans prepared by SPI for the Aegean and West Mediterranean were to be implemented. At this point, a milestone occurred for the settlements in Antalya: the development plans of the settlements, due to decree no. 6/122209, were to be prepared or revised in accordance with tourism-oriented physical planning. Inside the

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<sup>70</sup> The first 'package tour was organized in England in 1841; later, after the 1920s with the use of steam ships, package tours started to develop (Bato Çizel 2001, 9).

borders of the municipalities, these physical plans were to be prepared in cooperation with the Ministry of Land Development and Settlement, General Directorate of Planning and Development. The second important issue regarding our subject in the 1971 Program was the introduction of yacht harbors –marinas- into Turkish tourism as a tourist facility. Marinas on Marmara Island, Bodrum and Kuşadası were to be the leading ones, and in the following years they were followed by Antalya Yacht Harbor.

In 1971, through another decree of the Council of Ministers, the responsibilities of regional tourism planning and administration of the SPI undersecretary were transferred to the Ministry of Land Development and Settlement for the reason that the SPI undersecretary was not competent in implementation (Ateş 1993). Since various state institutions had different development priorities at the time, land use decisions occasionally conflicted with each other; therefore, efforts were started for their reconciliation. A similar superimposition is seen throughout the 1971 plan works of the Regional Planning Department. In 1971, the Regional Planning Department of the General Directorate of Planning and Development under the Ministry of Land Development and Settlement prepared a report on the regional development, urbanization and settlement layout of the Antalya region (Ministry of Land Development and Settlement 1971). The department, as a basis for tourism-oriented physical planning of the region, assessed the alternative zones in the region in terms of the distribution of natural and historic resources, rank of priorities, demand, transportation, services and relations with other centers. In this way, centers were categorized in three groups and designated for receiving directed investments in the first phase of a 15-year plan. According to this categorization, the centers were as such:

1. First degree tourism centers: Antalya center
2. Second degree tourism centers: Alanya, Isparta (Manavgat and Side were also being considered in this group)
3. Third degree tourism centers: Kaş, Finike, Eğirdir (Kemer was also being considered in this group)

In the report, it is claimed that Antalya center was an attraction in its own; therefore, it was the first place that should be defined as a tourism center and it should be arranged and reshaped in a compatible way with a tourist accommodation character. However, in the other reports, Side, Belek and Kemer had priority.



In the third development plan, which covers the period from 1973 to 1977, the main principle continued to be the development of ‘mass tourism’ in Turkey. Several large capacity hotels and holiday villages were already built by the state and had started to operate, particularly in the period of the First Plan.<sup>71</sup> During the Second Plan period, apart from several model facilities, the public investments concentrated on infrastructure and supplementary investments. In this period, accommodation units were mostly built by the private sector and supported by state incentives. Nevertheless, physical planning works were still inadequate to attract private entrepreneurs to invest in tourism. Therefore, new measures needed to be taken. In this perspective, the investments, advertisement works, organization of the whole sector, and public control were to be in concordance with the requirements of mass tourism in the Third Plan.<sup>72</sup> Although the tourist number, tourism revenue and the capacity of accommodation units were stated to be lower than the previous plans had targeted, the rate of increase in tourist numbers and tourism revenue were above the average international rates<sup>73</sup> and this was an encouraging factor for the government. However, due to the 1973 petrol crisis and the following global stagnation, the desired development could not be achieved.

The Third Plan continued to gather the accommodation investments in the priority zones. Besides, the plan maintained an emphasis on the priority of investments in the conservation of historic values, which was crucial for conservation plans to be given a start and for the contemporary use of historic properties.<sup>74</sup> Without any doubt, Antalya Walled-Town was affected by the newly introduced policies and measures, and a start was given for the yacht harbor project. The plan also required cooperation between the Ministries of Land Development and Settlement and of Tourism for the preparation of physical plans for tourism zones and on the implementation of the plans. Meanwhile, the works for model facilities continued and in this respect, in the 1974 Program and Implementation Plan of the Third Plan, several facilities were mentioned: İstanbul Çırağan Hotel and İzmir Konak Hotel by the Pension Fund (*Emekli Sandığı*), Antalya Hotel by the Tourism Bank, Yalova Thermal Resort and Abant Hotel, and hotels with a low capacity in several towns by Bank of Provinces.

Concerning the efficiency of the works, the coordination between the bodies responsible for physical planning, is evaluated to be poor in the 1973 Program and Implementation Plan of the

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<sup>71</sup> The hotels in this period were concentrated in the Marmara Region.

<sup>72</sup> Art.619

<sup>73</sup> Art.614

<sup>74</sup> Art.898

Third Plan, claiming that the plans could not have a guiding role in making the investments. The physical planning of the Antalya region in 1/25,000 scale was completed after these comments were submitted (1975 Program) and in 1977, it was approved as the 1/25,000 scaled tourism development master plan (*Çevre Düzeni Planı*) (Kan 1989, 160). For the physical plans to be implemented, development projects started to be prepared. The South Antalya Development Project, which was included in the investment program of 1976, is one of those projects. The South-west Antalya Coastal Region Project, prepared by a foreign firm and covering an area of 33 kilometers with a proposal of 70,000 bed capacity, was approved by the Ministry of Land Development and Settlement in 1976. In the same year, the Physical Planning Section for tourism development was established under the Tourism Bank; and in 1978 it came under the control of the Tourism Planning Directorate of the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion (Günay, 1982, 1998 in Keskinok 2012, 356). The planning of South Antalya has been carried out by the Physical Planning Section of the General Directorate of Investments, under the Ministry of Tourism (Inskip and Kallenberger 1992, 100). As the functional executing entity to carry out activities for the implementation of the projects (with the approval of the Ministry), the Tourism Bank was appointed by the Ministry.

The planning objectives of the South Antalya Development Project were: (MOAŞ 1987; Inskip and Kallenberger 1992)

- to promote the tourism sector for the economic and social development of the region,
- to integrate the tourism sector with the other sectors of the region to realize balanced regional development,
- to meet the need for recreational facilities while protecting the natural environment,
- to create a variety of tourist activities to meet the needs of different income groups,
- provision of the legal basis for a multi-purpose environmental control,
- to promote tourist facilities which would be dependent on the near vicinity for the provision of goods and services rather than the promotion of self-sufficient touristic facilities, and to equip the existing settlements nearby with the necessary supply outlets,
- to encourage the small sized enterprises to create competition and variety in the market.

As already mentioned, the first and second development plans aimed to concentrate tourism investments in 'priority zones' of high potential in order to make the investments more efficient through better infrastructure. Within this framework, physical planning works were started in the Mediterranean, Göreme, Uludağ, South Aegean and partly the Marmara regions.

Correspondingly, Turkey took on board a suggestion from the World Bank that the Bank could provide credits for the regional tourism development projects prepared by the Turkish government. This initiated the meetings between the government and the World Bank, and as a result, South Antalya was selected as the pilot zone for World Bank credit. A protocol on common planning and implementation was signed between the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion –as the holder and the coordinator of the project-, the General Directorate of National Parks –since the whole project area was under national park status -, and Ministry of Land Development and Settlement –as the authority to approve environmental plans, development master plans and development implementation plans-. In 1976, the agreement for the loan (25 million US \$) was signed between the representatives of the Turkish government and the World Bank in Washington. The World Bank loan was used for coastal engineering, financial analysis, areas of expertise and mostly for the development of infrastructure such as water supply and sewage systems, archaeological conservation and firefighting equipment. Meanwhile, the school of tourism and hotel management received technical and financial assistance from the International Labour Organization (ILO) (Inskeep and Kallenberger 1992, 100). The project became effective as of 1978 (Antalya Governorship 1986, 331)

Esengil (2001) mentions another plan –the Tourism Master Plan- which was also prepared by the Ministry in 1973; however, its report could not be accessed.

In the 1977 Report of the Tourism Expertise Committee, it is stated by the Policy Sub-Committee that producing a dynamic tourism policy, which aimed to minimize the cost while maximizing economic, social and cultural return, was targeted. New proposals and policies were to be produced along with the changes in circumstances or with the consequences of the implemented policies, and this was to form the basis of a dynamic tourism policy. In the report, it is emphasized that after the petroleum crisis of the 1970s, long-term tourism investments needed to be abandoned in favor of gaining the maximum foreign currency from tourism in the short-term.<sup>75</sup> According to the payout analysis, it is inferred that foreign currency need was in crisis and tourism was the most important alternative to gain the necessary foreign currency as soon as possible. Therefore, investments in the sector should start from the ones that would bring urgent foreign currency. At this point, two considerations listed in the report for the production

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<sup>75</sup> However, underlying the scarcity of the resources, the idea of considering the ecological and environmental dimensions of tourism separately from its economic and social dimensions was also emphasized in the report.

of a tourism policy for the next FYDP stand as worthy of highlighting regarding the investments and the organization:

1. In using the natural and cultural resources in the tourism sector, a unique image particular to the country should be created. Creating similar facilities with other countries would result in a bad imitation, such as creating an American Miami or French Riviera in Turkey. The real advantages of Turkey are the archaeological values, thermal springs, the historic and social fabric and so on; therefore, an investment type should be selected that would highlight these attractions.
2. The mass tourism goals of Turkey should be re-evaluated. Mass tourism necessitates an intensive infrastructure and a developed type of organization; which is in contrast with the circumstances of the country.

The first consideration shows that although the main policy was the development of mass tourism, Turkey was also following a policy of cultural tourism. And this was a triggering factor for the transformation of Antalya Walled-Town into a tourist-historic city, while the second consideration stood as an obstacle for a healthy transformation. Two corresponding projects were started while the works for South Antalya were in process: The Antalya Yacht Harbor as a part of the Walled-Town (the Antalya Yacht Harbor Project would be explored in Chapter V) and Side and Its Environs Development Project. In the 1977 Program and Implementation Plan of the Third Plan, it is stated that Side and Its Environs Development Project is completed to be submitted to Ministry of Land Development and Settlement for approval. Despite being simultaneous projects of the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion, no interrelations existed between the two, revealing an example of inadequate organization. In the section of the 1977 Report on Problems of Tourism Policies in the 3rd FYDP Period, it is stated that the sector lacked organization; coordination among the public and private sectors was not developed; the regulations were unsatisfactory and confusing. Since the responsibility of each institution was not arranged by regulations, confusion in responsibilities, plan redundancies and plan gaps occurred. The concentration of the investments in regions with high tourism potential and the provision of mass tourism accommodation and transportation opportunities did not depend upon a physical plan. In the report, it was claimed that although the country was not ready yet, mass tourism was targeted; besides, Act no. 6086 could not fulfill the day's needs. A development that might be interpreted as a step for improvement in matters of organization is the concept of 'Tourism Sector Master Plan'. In the 1977 Expertise Report, it is stated that the 'Tourism Sector Master Plan' would be produced by the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion and all the physical

plans would be considered within the framework of this plan through the necessary steps and scales. The master plan would relate the long-term goals regarding the development of the tourism sector with space. Within this perspective, several principles and measures were listed:

- The evaluation of natural and cultural tourism resources, the restoration of historic resources would be arranged together with scientifically related bodies and they would be opened to tourism.
- Mass tourism would be developed parallel to the infrastructure and tourism superstructure of the country. Until then, individual tourism and mass tourism would be assessed together in a balanced way.
- The private sector would be the base in tourism investment and enterprising. The necessary infrastructure would be developed by the public sector and in order to encourage the private entrepreneurs, ‘model facilities’ would be established.
- In order to protect the environment, physical planning would be integrated with national land use system. In order to provide maximum benefit from infrastructure, ‘organized tourism development zones’ would be declared in the regions of which physical plans were completed.
- Necessary bodies would be established within the institutions related to tourism planning, and measures would be taken to ensure coordination among the institutions and bodies.

Within the context of these measures, ‘organized tourism zones’ were to be declared in high potential zones and in this respect it was immediately to be realized in South Antalya. The Ministry of Tourism and Promotion was assigned as the responsible body and the Tourism Bank as the coordinator body. (Program and Implementation Plan 1978) In the 5th Five Year Development Plan of Antalya Province, it is stated that Kemer was declared to be the administrative center of the South Antalya Development Project; the establishment of Beldibi, Kızıltepe, Günezdeniz and Tekirova organized tourism zones working together with Kemer was also among the aims of the project.

The expected tourism revenue in the Third Plan could not be achieved either, due to the economic stagnation and petrol crisis of 1973. In addition, starting from 1976, the revenue-expense balance showed a deficit. The 4<sup>th</sup> FYDP was prepared in such a framework. The fourth plan covered the period of 1978-1983. With the new plan, the concept of ‘organized tourism

zones' was legally introduced. The main approach of the plan continued to be mass tourism, particularly in the priority zones.

To increase the competence of the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion and provide cooperation between the public and the private sector, transition policies were declared. In this respect, in 1979, İzmir, Muğla, Antalya and Cappadocia were designated as 'tourism development zones' with an aim to provide high levels of infrastructure and control over tourist facilities.

#### ***IV.2.3.b. Local Dynamics***

As mentioned earlier, within the framework of the project of the Tourism Coordination Council, Antalya had a transit role due to having the closest airport. This decision resulted in conflicts at the local level. (*Antalya Municipality 1975-1976 Term Working Report 1977*, 39)

In the projects and plans of the Antalya region, the Walled-Town in the center was not yet considered with a particular emphasis. The unique emphasis to the town center is made in the regional planning works of the Regional Planning Department under the Ministry of Land Development and Settlement; however, it is not defined in the report whether the town center included the Walled-Town or not.

Planning works also started for the Antalya Walled-Town in the middle of the 1970s, but independently from the regional planning efforts. The regional planning mainly focused on increasing bed capacities and encouraging tourism enterprises to stimulate mass tourism; meanwhile, the idea of planning the Walled-Town arose out of a conservation motive of the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion.<sup>76</sup> The impact of the regional development on the Walled-Town conservation project was the selection of 'tourism' as the tool for its regeneration. As previously stated, due to the region's newly forming identity in tourism, the concept was also followed in the conservation approaches in the region, including the Walled-Town. Within this framework, the Walled-Town was decided to be handled in two phases by the Ministry: the old harbor area as the first phase, namely the Yacht Harbor Project, and the rest of the Walled-Town as the second phase. The process is described in detail in Chapter V.

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<sup>76</sup> Interview with Güler Yalım, 2012

#### **IV.2.4. Tourism Development between the 1980 *Coup d'État* and 1990: Development of Intensive Mass Tourism in the Antalya Region**

##### ***IV.2.4.a. National Dynamics***

The third *coup d'état* in the history of the Turkish Republic occurred on 12 September 1980, headed by General Kenan Evren. The motives behind the coup were the developments of the 1970s, mainly the rampant terror and years of economic instability accompanied by large-scale unemployment. There was a vast foreign trade deficit. Actually, before the coup, austerity measures known as the 'Precautionary Measures of January 24' were taken in January 1980 by the Demirel Government (AP). The measures were prepared by SPI Undersecretary Turgut Özal and aimed liberalization in Turkey by minimizing the state intervention, establishing a free-market economy and integrating Turkey with the global economy. In this way, they were eliminating the welfare-state policies and abandoning the mixed-economy system. Before the Demirel Government could apply the measures, the coup took place in September, which, according to some economists, occurred on purpose to guarantee the realization of the measures<sup>77</sup>. The army basically had four aims: to suppress terrorism and political radicalism; to restore the economy; to introduce a new constitution and related legal arrangements to stabilize the system and to prevent anarchy; and to re-establish civilian democracy (Hale 1988, 166). Due to the army's lack of knowledge in economic issues, Turgut Özal was assigned as the Minister of Finance<sup>78</sup>.

Due to the Measures of January 24, the 4<sup>th</sup> FYDP covering the period between 1979 and 1983 could not be realized. The policies for gaining foreign currency led to tourism being taken as the priority sector in development. Tourism was also considered as a means of integrating Turkey with the Western world. The January 24 Measures foresaw a free-market economy encouraging the private sector. In this context, the state took the responsibilities of tourism infrastructure and model facilities, whereas business administration was to be left to the private sector. In 1980, the government made an agreement with the IMF in order to guarantee a stable political environment for a more stable economy (Onifl 1988a). This agreement gave assurance to foreign tourism firms for operating in the Turkish tourism sector. To attract foreign investments, the foreign trade regime was liberalized and exchange controls were removed.

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<sup>77</sup> <http://ekonomi.milliyet.com.tr/imf-destekli-24-ocak-turkiye-yi/ekonomi/detay/1707660/default.htm>

<sup>78</sup> <http://www.turkishweekly.net/article/333/turgut-ozal-period-in-turkish-foreign-policy-ozalism.html>

A new legal framework in tourism was introduced with the Tourism Incentive Framework Decree in 1980. With this decree, the Tourism Coordination Council was established to identify and to plan the areas in which the investments were to be concentrated, to create new financial resources and approaches for the sector, to encourage foreign capital in the sector, and to arrange the basics regarding the encouragement of tourism investments (Ulutürk 1998, 164 in Toker 2007). Another institutional change occurred in the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion. In 1981, cultural and touristic issues were combined under one single umbrella ministry, removing the Ministry of Culture and renaming the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion as the Ministry of Culture and Tourism.

Although the 4<sup>th</sup> FYDP could not be realized, the policies of attracting mass tourism continued throughout the period. For the development of mass tourism, attracting low-income worker families into Turkey for their vacations, encouraging foreign investors and operators were emphasized in the 1982 Program and Implementation Plan of the 4<sup>th</sup> FYDP. The revision of Tourism Incentive Law was already on the agenda for a long time for a more efficient stimulation of the private sector. In 1982, it was finally revised with Act no. 2634, which can be referred to as a turning point in the tourism development of Turkey. The Act became operational in 1983, and addressed issues such as:

- the identification of tourism zones, areas and centers;
- the encouragement of tourism investments and enterprises;
- licensing;
- the approval of development plans by the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement;
- allocation of state-owned land at low leasing rates;
- special loans for capital;
- various types of tax exemptions;
- customs duties and other concessions;
- conservation of natural resources (Inskeep and Kallenberger 1992, 100-101)

Following the Act, related legal arrangements were adopted, such as the Act for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Properties (Act no. 2863), the National Parks Act, and the



Environment Act (Act no. 2872). Within the same framework, a series of regulations to encourage investment in tourism<sup>79</sup> were also issued in 1983:

- Regulation on the Control of Tourism Investment Enterprises and Institutions (*Turizm Yatırım İşletme ve Kuruluşlarının Denetimi Hakkındaki Yönetmelik*),
- Regulation on the Employment of Foreign Personnel and Artisans in Licensed Tourism Enterprises (*Belgeli Turizm İşletmelerinde Yabancı Personel ve Sanatkârların Çalıştırılması Hakkında Yönetmelik*),
- Regulation on the Preparation and Approval of Development Plans in Tourism Areas and Centers (*Turizm Alanlarında ve Turizm Merkezlerinde İmar Planlarının Hazırlanması ve Onaylanmasına İlişkin Yönetmelik*),
- Regulation on the Allocation of Public Land to Tourism Investments (*Kamu Arazisinin Turizm Yatırımlarına Tahsisi Hakkında Yönetmelik*),
- Regulation on the Control of the Tourism Development Fund (*Turizmi Geliştirme Fonunun Denetlenmesine Ait Yönetmelik*),
- Regulation on Lottery Games (*Talih Oyunları Yönetmeliği*),
- Regulation on Yacht Tourism (*Yat Turizmi Yönetmeliği*)

The 1982 Tourism Incentive Law introduced the concept of the ‘tourism center’. The Act involved three separate concepts regarding places for tourism:

- Tourism zones (*turizm bölgeleri*): regions of which the borders are declared by the Council of Ministries upon the proposal of the Ministry of Tourism.
- Tourism areas (*turizm alanları*): Areas with rich socio-cultural values, foreseen to be developed first and of which the borders are declared by the Council of Ministries upon the proposal of the Ministry of Tourism.
- Tourism centers (*turizm merkezleri*): Places that carry a significance regarding tourism and of which the borders are declared by the Council of Ministries upon the proposal of the Ministry of Tourism. These places might be inside or outside the borders of tourism zones.

Evaluated within the dominant planning paradigm of the county at the time, that is ‘comprehensive planning’, a categorization among these concepts can be interpreted as a must

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<sup>79</sup> Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Turkey – Tourism: Opportunities for Investors, 1987, and. Tourism Bank, Legal and Financial Aspects of Tourism Investments in Turkey, July 1988

since it implies a spatial hierarchy. First, tourism zones were to be declared at country scale, then tourism areas were to be developed to point out the areas in which the investments would concentrate, and finally tourism centers were to be planned in these tourism areas to specify the interventions and investments (Günay 2000, 206). However, in the following years, the concepts of tourism zones and tourism areas left their places in favor of tourism centers, which had a significant role in the restructuring of the coastal areas.

In 1982, the new constitution was prepared and put through a national referendum. With the referendum, Kenan Evren became the President of Turkey. Meanwhile, Özal established a new party called the 'Motherland Party' (*Anavatan Partisi, ANAP*), which followed the main ideas and direction of reforms in Britain known as 'Thatcherism'. In 1983, general elections were held in Turkey again with the permission of the military and ANAP won the elections. Through this development, economically and politically a new era started in Turkey, known as the Özal Era; the style of running the country is known as 'Özalism', modeled on Thatcherism (Murinson 2013)<sup>80</sup>. The program of stabilization continued after 1983 under the ANAP government. Özal gave great importance to export, tourism and the construction sectors, and in this period, tourism again became the main tool for gaining foreign currency. By means of the Tourism Incentive Law No. 2634, the government allocated state-owned land to tourism investors for a 49-year lease. Moreover, regulations regarding foreign investment already took place within the framework of the January 24 Measures through decree 1980/7168; in addition to this, through the decree no. 1984/30, foreign investments were allowed up to 100 per cent in projects. The difficulty of attracting private sector investments for the development of accommodation and commercial facilities in the Antalya project was overcome through the new approach. Besides, many new tourism centers were declared. These centers can be interpreted as the opportunities for new construction as supported by Özal; however, they also changed all the coastal structure in years, as mentioned in the previous paragraph.

As of 1983, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism had three major tourism development projects which were all in the southern coastal areas: Antalya, Köyceğiz and Side. On these sites, infrastructure had already been completed. In the Antalya Project, Kemer was declared as the service town of the region for the tourists' needs. It was also the administrative center of the project. The major tourism investment areas in the scope of the South Antalya Development Project are shown in figure 4.1 (Ministry of Culture and Tourism 1983). In Antalya, the bed

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<sup>80</sup> <http://www.strategicoutlook.org/europe/news-kindred-spirits--margaret-thatcher-and-turgut-ozal-.html>

capacity licensed by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism was declared to be 5230 and the aim of the project was a bed capacity of approximately 25,000 as of 1995. The total distribution of bed capacities in coastal Antalya for 1995 in the first phase is shown in table 4.1:

Table 4.1. The total distribution of bed capacities in coastal Antalya for 1995 in the first phase (Antalya Valiliği 1986, 321)

<b>Location</b>	<b>Place</b>	<b>Bed-capacity</b>	<b>Total in region</b>
Antalya West	Beldibi, Kızıltepe - Tekelektepe, Kemer, Çamyuva, Tekirova, Olimpos, Adrasan, Göynük	25,000	25,000
Antalya East	Serik-Belek	15,000	27,000
	Side	12,000	
Antalya Center	Lara	10,000	14,700
	Walled-Town	120	
	Konyaaltı	4580	
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>67,700</b>	

According to these proposed numbers of bed capacities, both the regions lying east and west of the Antalya town were to be developed approximately equally, while the center was delivered half its capacity. With an addition of 8,707 bed capacity in 1985, the total number increased to 76,406 in the region. In Antalya West, upon detailed planning, it was to reach 54,883 beds as shown in table 4.2 (Antalya Governorship 1986, 167); leaving 21,117 beds for East Antalya and Antalya Center. According to the new distribution, the approximately equal development of East and West Antalya was removed and West Antalya was given emphasis. From the bed capacities given to individual points, it is seen that Kemer and Tekirova in the west were to be the main centers of tourism in the region.

Table 4.2. Bed capacities in West Antalya (Antalya Governorship 1986, 167)

<b>Place</b>	<b>Bed capacity</b>
Beldibi	7,702
Kızıltepe-Tekelektepe	4,859
Kemer	11,820
Çamyuva	4,858
Tekirova	11,177
Olimpos	5,500
Adrasan	4,575
Göynük	4,412
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>54,883</b>

In the Vth 5 Year Development Plan of Antalya Province prepared by Antalya Governorship in 1986, it is stated that –despite the already increased number of beds in 1985- Antalya still suffered from a lack of satisfactory bed capacity, and the town’s primary development tools were to be tourism and agriculture. In the plan, it was emphasized that in the national development plan, a total number of 100,000 was proposed for all Turkey; however, it was claimed by the Governorship that Antalya on its own should have this capacity and efforts would be given to realize it (Antalya Governorship 1986, 224). Upon this, a bed capacity of 100,000 in total was targeted for Antalya in the plan period. Another policy of the plan was attracting retired people to Antalya (Antalya Governorship 1986, 344).

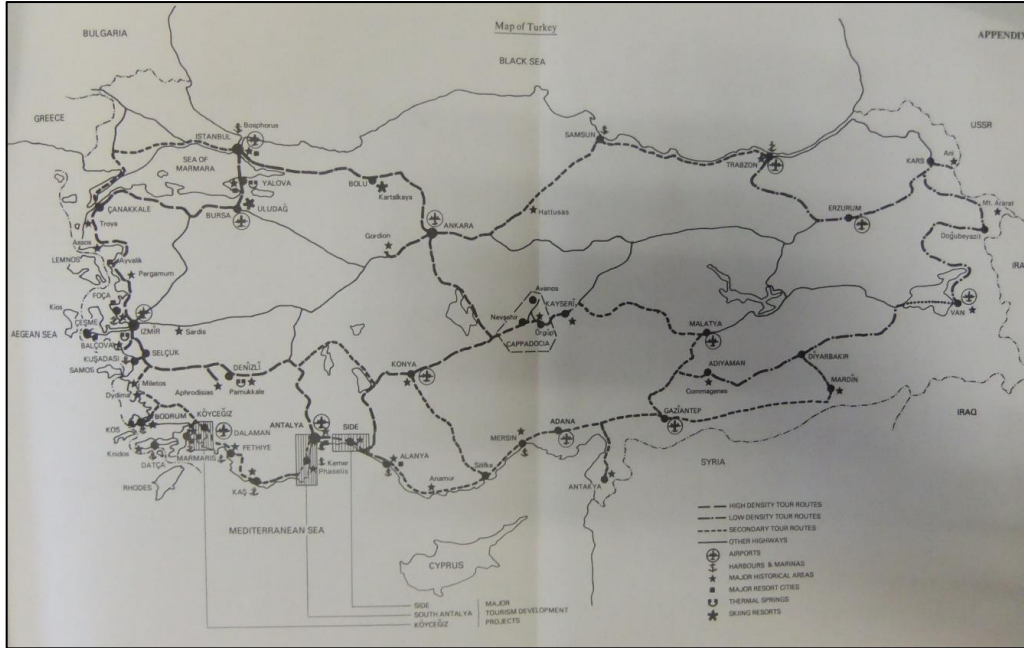


Figure 4.1. The major tourism investment areas within the scope of the South Antalya Development Project (Ministry of Culture and Tourism 1983)

Like the three major tourism development projects of the Ministry, the majority of the new tourism centers were located in the southern coast of the country, and particularly in the Antalya region. South Antalya and Side, which were previously developed through the ‘tourism development project’, were declared as ‘tourism areas’ in 1982. The Walled-Town and Konyaaltı districts of Antalya town center were declared as ‘tourism centers’ in the same year. Belek and Lara tourism centers were declared in 1984, Çolaklı in 1985, Serik-Manavgat and Alanya-İncekum were declared in 1986.<sup>81</sup> In 1989, Antalya-Lara and in 1990, Kaş-Kalkan coastal bands were declared as ‘tourism areas’. No more tourism areas were declared in the county after that, but tourism centers became the dominant concept in practice (Gönlüm 1992 in Günay 2000, 206).

Side, Belek, Serik and Alanya tourism centers are all located in the eastern part of the Antalya region. In the report of Antalya East Master Plan, it is stated that the area of Antalya East from Lara to Köprü differed from Antalya South in one very important aspect: the area contained very few sites of private ownership and agricultural land. Therefore, most of the area was governmental property and could consequently be planned as one recreational park from west to

<sup>81</sup> 1987, Antalya Coastal Band Tourism Investment Zones (*Antalya Kıyı Bandı Turizm Yatırım Alanları*, Turkish Tourism Bank)

east. In the report, it was also expressed that Antalya East might not quite be as spectacular as Antalya South. However, it was closer to Antalya Airport as an advantage, and above all, it would be cheaper and easier to develop, since it had the special quality of state ownership of the land, which makes a plan much easier to be enforced.

The Plan described Antalya East as a ‘tourism area of the future’ with 100,000 beds. It should also be mentioned that the report highlights the wish behind making Turkey a first class tourism destination. Thus, it was intended to realize the plan as soon as possible. Within the context of the wish, an organization of private investors and developers were to develop and manage the infrastructure required for the private tourist facilities, while realizing these within the borders of the governmental plan and state control in order to ensure environmental quality and benefit to the local people (Inskeep and Kallenberger 1992, 104).

Marine activities continued to be a significant part of these plans through the proposals of harbors at different scales. A large number of small marinas and a few larger harbors were proposed at Antalya East and Antalya South. The Antalya East Master Plan foresaw that together with the old harbor in the Antalya Walled-Town, a unique environment would be formed along the coastline in terms of marine activities. Actually, it would be correct to evaluate this phenomenon as the basis of the so-called Turkish Riviera today.

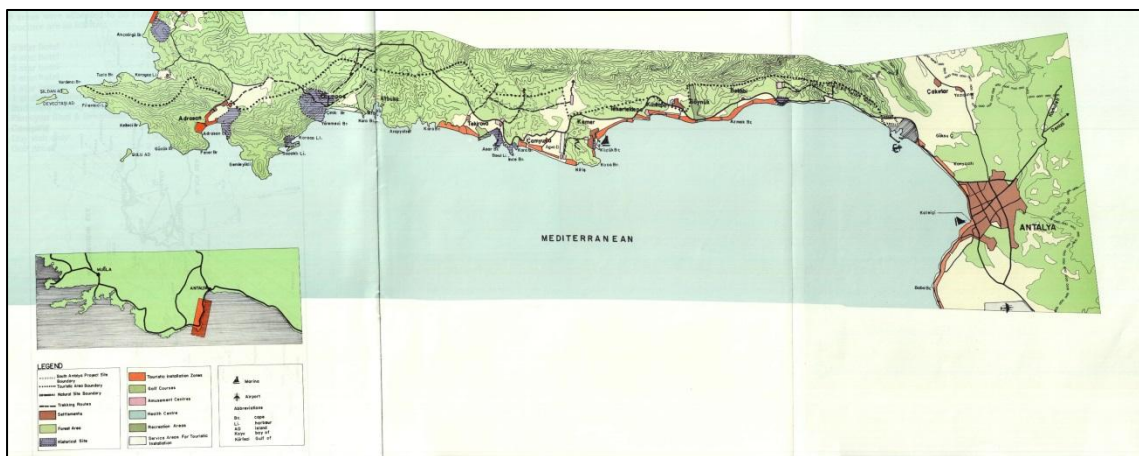


Figure 4.2. South Antalya Tourism Development Plan<sup>82</sup>

<sup>82</sup> 1991, South Antalya Development Project, Ministry of Tourism

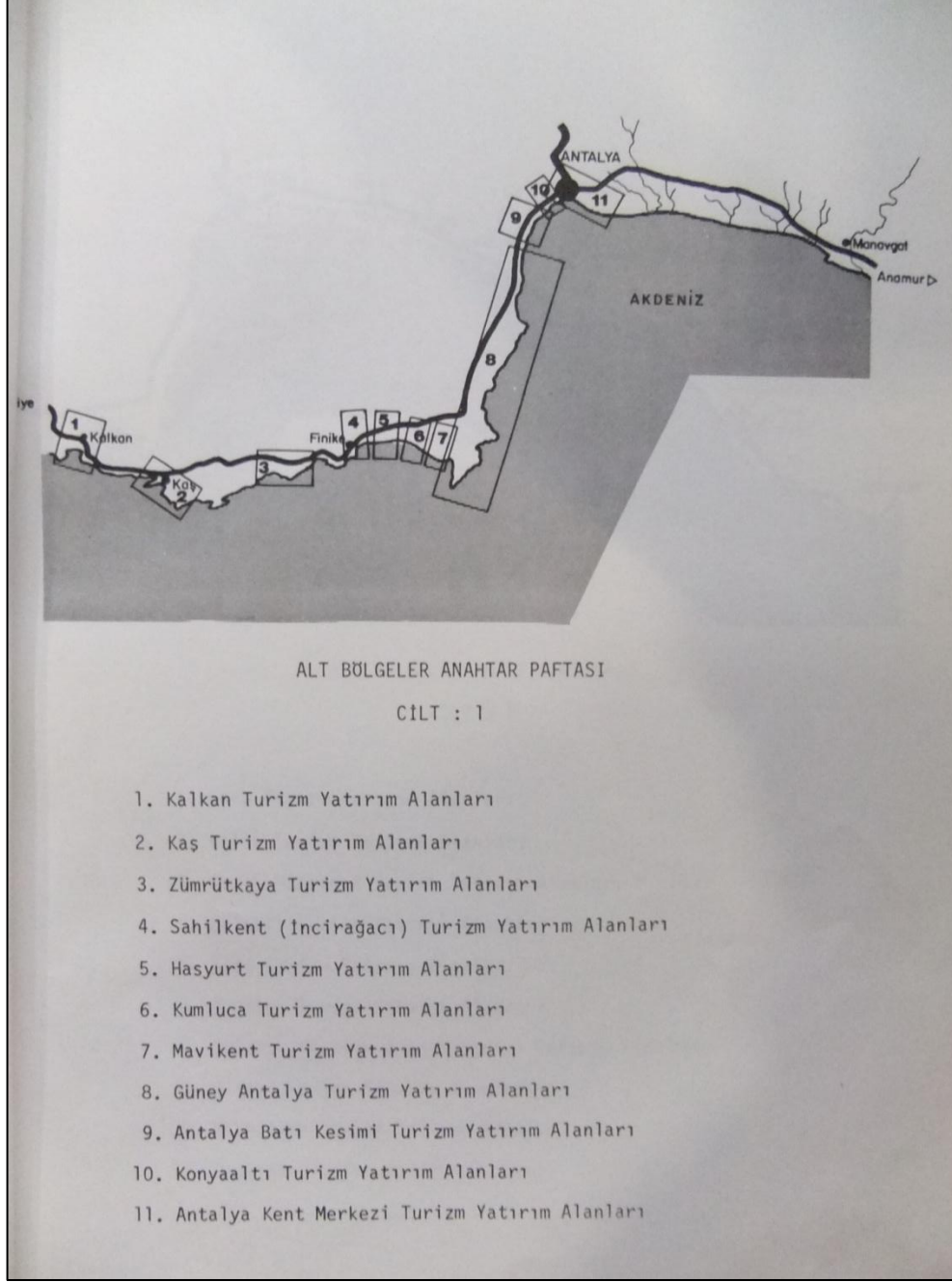


Figure 4.3. Investment areas in the southwest of Antalya (1. Kalkan a; 2. Kaş; 3. Zümrüt kaya; 4. Sahilkent (İncirağacı); 5. Hasyurt; 6. Kumluca; 7. Mavikent; 8. South Antalya; 9. Antalya East; 10. Konyaaltı; 11.

(source: Turkish Tourism Bank 1987)

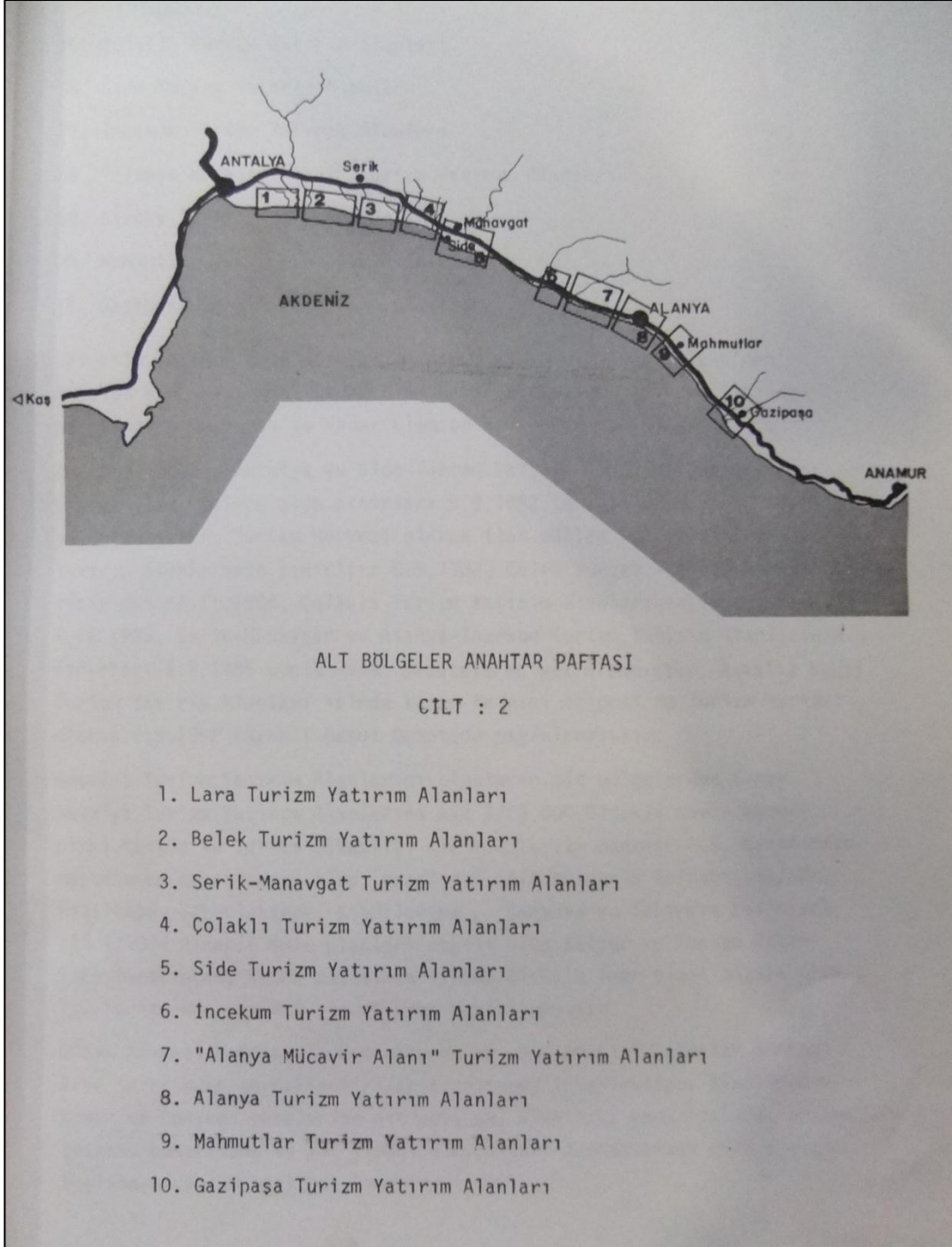


Figure 4.4. Investment areas in the east of Antalya (1. Lara; 2. Belek; 3. Serik-Manavgat; 4. Çolaklı; 5. Side; 6. İncekum; 7. 'Alanya Municipal Area extension'; 8. Alanya; 9. Mahmutlar; 10. Gazipaşa ) (source: Turkish Tourism Bank 1987)

With the enactment of Development Law (Act no. 3194) in 1985, a radical change occurred in tourism development policies. According to the regulations of the Act no. 2634, development



master plans were to be approved by the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement, while tourism-oriented development implementation plans (*turizm amaçlı uygulama imar planı*), even on parcel scale, were to be approved by the Ministry of Tourism. According to the 9<sup>th</sup> article of the Development Law, which covers all the settlements of the country, the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement is authorized in regional or sectorial plans. However, with the Act, local governments were given limitless authority for plan approval. Keskinok (2012, 356) points out that as a consequence, the regional tourism planning perspective was abandoned for ad hoc policies and local planning frameworks with the decentralization of planning powers to local governments.<sup>83</sup> The same year, a Promotion Fund was established in order to increase the financial resources of the bodies that were responsible for promotion in Turkey and abroad, and the Regulation on the Allocation of Public Land for Tourism Investments (*Kamu Arazisinin Turizm Yatırımlarına Tahsisi Hakkında Yönetmelik*) was renewed.

Within this new perspective, many ad hoc practices took place in the so called tourism centers. Günay (2000, 204), who both worked in tourism planning works before the 1980s and served as an expert in the latter court cases against tourism areas and centers after 1990, stresses that in practice, tourism centers were means of incremental planning and due to the concept of the ‘tourism center’, which was defined as possible ‘to be inside or outside of the tourism areas’, practices on parcel scale were realized regardless of any planning principles. This brought a conflict among the central and local governments as well. The confusion in authority and the establishment of many new local governments in coastal settlements resulted in the misuse of the coastal areas for uses such as intensive construction of second houses or tourist accommodation units, particularly in Ayvalık, Kuşadası, Finike-Kumluca, the South Antalya Tourism Development zone, Antalya town and Alanya. According to Günay, compared to second housing, tourist accommodation units contributed more to the public interest and provided a better, more environmentally sensitive structure. However, the author puts forward that in contrast to the useful concepts of tourism development zone, tourism development area and organized tourism zone, the concepts of tourism areas and tourism centers were misused and resulted in arbitrary development, leading to private use of the areas that were originally allocated for public use and benefit (Günay 2000, 218-219).

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<sup>83</sup> “Local governments were given more planning powers in terms of the ratification of all scales of urban plans, including development plans and master plans within their areas of jurisdiction” (Keskinok 2012, 356)

Another important issue of the period was that of the activities related to the operation of the Tourism Bank in 1984. Upon the principles and policies of the 5<sup>th</sup> FYDP, after 1985, the Bank did not invest on its own any more, but only provided credits (Özdemir 2006). As mentioned before, the agencies under the umbrella of the Tourism Bank were known as TURBAN. In 1986, through Act no. 3291, privatization was decided upon and in 1988, through the decision of the Higher Planning Council no. 88/9, ‘TURBAN’ was separated from the Bank and gained a separate firm status: “TURBAN Tourism Inc.” (‘*TURBAN Turizm A.Ş.*’) with the administrative name: TURBAN. TURBAN. Inc. started to operate in 1989. This was followed by the decision of the Higher Planning Council (no. 89/T-2 in 1989) on the merging of the Turkish Development Bank and Turkish Tourism Bank, ending the latter entity (Özdemir 2006, 25). Özdemir, former director of TURBAN, criticizes the decision, saying that the two Banks could not coordinate due to different functions and an experience of thirty-five years had been lost. The sending of the archives and the library of the Tourism Bank to SEKA (the Turkish public body in charge of handling paper) had a major role in this loss of years of experience and information, which was also a challenge during the data gathering of this dissertation.

In the 5<sup>th</sup> FYDP, covering the period of 1984-1989, a small change in tourism policy took place, and the post-1990 period is thus explored under the next section, 1990-2013. In the 5<sup>th</sup> FYDP, the emphasis on mass tourism continued; however, this time it was stated that individual tourism would also not be ignored. Moreover, tourism types other than sun-sand-sea were also taken into account, together with an emphasis on conserving the ecology and nature. Another new policy was extending the international tourism relations beyond OECD and OPEC countries to involve the Balkans and developing countries.

#### ***IV.2.4.b. Local Dynamics***

The impositions of the 1980 *coup d'état* and the 1982 Tourism Incentive Law had effects on the spatial structure of Antalya, leading to a radical change in its urban coastal areas. The development plan prepared by Zühtü and Müzeyyen Can was approved in 1980 (see Chapter V); however, with the local government that had the plan prepared and approved, it was put out of commission. In this period, the plan had its first erosions before the launch of its implementation. The boundary of the natural conservation site (*doğal sit alanı*) in Lara coastal band was decreased to 30 meters from 100 meters by the conservation council (KTVKK) upon the request of a hotel. By 1982, the Ministry of Tourism acquired the power of making plan

revisions and started to make partial revisions, undermining the integrity of the plan. In 1984, Lara was declared as 'Lara Tourism Center' and in 1985 related planning works were launched by the Ministry of Tourism; later, the area was declared as a 'Tourism Area' and in 1986, the 1/5,000 scale Master Development Plan was prepared by the Municipality along the principles of the Ministry. The plan proposed a 65,000 bed capacity for the area, of which 27,500 was to be in tourist facilities, 5,000 in camping areas, 12,000 in 'oba' tourism areas, and 20,500 in public tourism areas (Aydın 42). In this context, the 1/25,000 Antalya Master Development Plan was revised and the plan of Lara Tourism Center was included in the revised plan.

#### **IV.2.5. Tourism Development after 1990: Growing Emphasis on Cultural Tourism**

##### ***IV.2.5.a. National Dynamics***

Although similar national policies for tourism continued in this period, attention was now slightly oriented towards developing alternative tourism types and cultural tourism, in order to benefit from tourism in all seasons all over the country and to conserve traditional values. Besides, the rapid invasion of the coastal areas by tourist facilities regardless of planning principles, which particularly took place in the 1980s, caused awareness to grow towards the conservation of the natural beauties of these areas and the carrying capacity. However, despite this development the invasion also continued.

As mentioned in the previous section, after 1985, the concept of regional planning was abandoned, and administrative powers were decentralized. This led to the disregard of the regional tourism framework by local governments in the coastal tourism settlements (Keskinok 2012). Allocating large amounts of land to tourism by the local governments was accompanied by looser controls. Consequently, together with the entry of alternative tourism and cultural tourism to the agenda, the policies of developing mass tourism and increasing bed capacities continued in this period, but with several precautionary measures to conserve nature. In the 6<sup>th</sup> FYDP covering the period of 1990 – 1994, priority was to be given to the conservation of natural beauties and cultural values and tourism was to be encouraged in certain areas by putting these values under protection. Also, incentive policies were developed to make alternative tourism more attractive.

However, despite all these precautionary measures, the South Antalya Project was revised again two times in this period, increasing the bed capacities. The first revision had already taken place in 1988; the others were made in 1990 and 1996. These revisions, together with low taxes, free land assignments and credits introduced by the 1982 Act, continued to increase demands for the land in the coastal areas to be used in tourism facility construction (Atik, Altan, Artar 2010).

Actually, in the 1991 report of the SPI, it is seen that the State makes a self-critique by admitting that the Tourism Incentive Act of 1982, the related regulations that went into force in 1983, and the following incentive measures stand as the main reason behind the rapid increase of bed numbers. However, the report states that the increase in bed numbers should be stopped since the infrastructure was not able to keep up with the superstructure. This implies that the increase of bed capacities was not to be stopped but rather to be paused. On the other hand, the report continued to say that a standstill of the tourism investments might lead to pressures –generated by the desire to acquire rent in a short time- for plan modifications to change the tourism investment areas into second housing areas. The report evaluates the situation as precarious, since limited areas for building qualified tourist facilities would be lost in favor of other uses. As can be inferred from the report, the SPI admits that the 1982 Act and related legislative actions caused a rapid increase in bed numbers, yet the State actually continued to support increasing bed capacities while defining the unsatisfactory infrastructure as being a problem. Development should be paused and continue later; while doing this, the construction of second housing would be better off being prevented.

The 1991 report makes another self-critique regarding conservation issues. It is stated that the natural and cultural resources of a country constitute its basic components for its tourism potential; nonetheless, the rapid development in tourism beginning with 1983 brought with it the danger of a decrease in the quality of the environment. In order to prevent this decrease, land use plans were developed by the Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement (the successor of the previous Ministry of Land Development and Settlement). Beside these plans, the National Park Law was enacted. In all of these actions and plans, it was aimed to maintain a balance between conservation and use without destroying the natural resources. However, it is also admitted in the report that the objective could not be reflected into practice due to inadequate inventories regarding the resources and the carrying capacity; deficiency of experts in the planning groups related to the environmental fields; the resistance of the land owners and second housing cooperatives against construction limitations or

prohibitions; the absence of an environmental master plan to form a framework for the regional and sectorial plans; the insufficient sensitivity exercised toward environmental issues during the preparation processes of the related plans; and the onslaught of construction density, aesthetic ignorance, and infrastructure problems faced during the implementation processes. All these led to two types of distortion in the environment according to the report: exceeding the carrying capacity in harming the land, air and the flora-fauna; and destroying the visual landscape by dense development in the environment. In this way, it was stated that tourism development defeated its own purpose, since it destroyed the environment which provided the major capital for its existence in the first place. Taking all this into consideration, 'sustainable tourism development' was proposed in the report, which would conserve resources in the course of long term use.

The concept of 'sustainability' gained particular importance with emphasis on the environment and ecology after the 1970s. In 1972, the first related conference on the human environment was held in Stockholm. In 1987, 'sustainable development' was defined and introduced in the international platform through the Brundtland Report prepared by the UN World Commission on Environment:

The ability of humanity to ensure that it meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs. Sustainable development is not a fixed state of harmony, but rather a process of change in which the exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development and institutional changes are made consistent with future as well as present needs (UN Brundtland report 1987).

It is seen that within the context of this newly introduced international concept, the State partly updated its vision of the environment, so that in the report it was stated that the tourism development should be in harmony with the natural landscape, cultural properties and the social structure. To do this, the completion of a natural resources inventory throughout the country was seen as urgent. Upon this, the preparation of environmental plans, the identification of carrying capacities, and the revision of the existing land use decisions according to the results of these works were proposed. Beside all these measures, precautionary measures were also emphasized to prevent the construction of second housing; it was also stated that the integration of the existing second housing into tourism should be supported.

Through these realizations that are expressed in the report of 1991, a new area started in tourism policies of the country, with emphasis shifting slightly from rapid tourism development and bed-increase to sustainable tourism, conserving natural resources and development of cultural tourism.

Another new ingredient of the Turkish tourism sphere in this period, beginning with the 1990s has been the political crises, the first of which was the 1990 Gulf Crisis and 1991 Gulf War. It was followed by terrorist actions in 1993 and 1994. PKK terror was targeted directly towards tourism areas in the coastal regions. These crises affected the spread of package-tours and all-inclusive system, since they had become the main resources for tourist facilities to guarantee themselves in such an ambiguous atmosphere (Özdemir 1998). Antalya took the leadership in Turkey in spreading the all-inclusive system. Marco Polo as an all-inclusive system touristic facility had already started to operate in 1989 in Antalya. Upon the crises and the competition among the Mediterranean countries, more and more tourism facilities started to cooperate with tour operators and began to operate through the all-inclusive system and package tours. Tour operators are commercial entities that market the tourist product as a package. They work together with travel agencies in the destination countries and they perform under the Law of Travel Agencies.

After 1990, the emphasis of developing alternative tourism types existed in all Annual Programs and Implementation Plans of the FYDPs as a part of the national tourism policies. As such, pursuing the policy of the previous FYDP, the 7<sup>th</sup> FYDP, covering the period between 1996-2000, continued the emphasis on improving alternative tourism types in order to support the seasonal and geographical distribution of tourism in the country and to take into account the changing tourist profile in the market. Therefore, works to develop tourism types such as golf, winter, mountain, thermal, health, yacht, caravan, cruise ship, congress and entertainment were to be performed. It is seen that the range was enlarged since the previous plan. Another emphasis in the plan was that on the measures to be developed to market the 'second housing' in priority zones.

It is the 1997 Annual Program and Implementation Plan of the 7<sup>th</sup> FYDP, in which 'cultural tourism' is introduced beside other types of tourism, which continue their development processes. In the plan report, it is emphasized that although cultural tourism is considered in

Turkey as subsidiary to summer tourism, it should actually be handled, organized and advertised as a main branch of tourism.

As a result of the observation of international tourism trends by the State, the development of individual tourism and domestic tourism were added to the national tourism policies. Within this framework, it was decided (1997 Annual Program and Implementation Plan of the 7th FYDP) to increase in number the scientific meetings and studies related to areas where the ancient Anatolian and Ottoman-Turkish artefacts are concentrated and to support their advertisement.

In the meantime, mafia conflicts came on the agenda of the country by way of a series of events such as armed clashes and suicides. The events were related to gambling casinos. As a result, the State decided to close the casinos to maintain public safety and on 11.02.1998, through a modification in the Tourism Incentive Law no. 4266, the casinos were shut down in Turkey. Upon this, gambling tourism moved to Cyprus.

In 1999, Turkey was shocked by another event, the İzmit earthquake. The country and the tourism sector entered a long-standing crisis. The head of the Mediterranean Hoteliers Union (*Akdeniz Turistik Otelciler Birliđi, AKTOB*), Ahmet Barut claims that the all-inclusive system was again the main factor in recovery of the tourism sector from the crises in a short time.<sup>84</sup>

The crises continued in the 2000s, with the global crisis of the 11 September terrorist attacks in the USA, and the 2003 War in Iraq that followed. Turkish tourism was severely affected from Iraq War (2004 Annual Program and Implementation Plan of the 8th FYDP).

In 2003, the Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of Culture were unified again as the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Following it, the 1982 Tourism Incentive Law no. 2634 was revised with the Act no. 4957 (Official Gazette no. 26186). Within the context of the FYDPs' policy of conserving and using the areas where historic and cultural values concentrated, the concept of 'Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Area' (*Kültür ve Turizm Koruma ve Gelişim Bölgeleri, KTKGB*) was introduced in the new law. Upon the changes in the previous law, the KTKGBs, 'Tourism Centers' and 'Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Sub-Areas' were declared (Art. 3, Act no. 4957/2634) by the Council of Ministers upon the

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<sup>84</sup> [http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/5978433\\_p.asp](http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ekonomi/5978433_p.asp)

proposal of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. According to the law, KTKGBs, these three types of areas were defined as:

**Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Areas:** Areas of which the borders were declared by the Council of Ministers upon the proposal of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, in order to conserve the areas in which historic and cultural values are concentrated or which have high tourism potential, to support sectorial development and planned development;

**Tourism Centers:** Areas that possess significance regarding tourism activities which might be inside or outside of the borders of KTKGBS, which are foreseen to be developed with priority, and of which borders and locations were to be declared by the Council of Ministers upon the proposal of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism;

**Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Sub-Areas:** Lands which are determined by 1/25,000 or lower scale plans and which cover different tourism types and one or more of the uses of culture, education, entertainment, commerce, housing and all kind of technical infrastructure.

The authority to conduct tourism planning in these areas belonged to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Large areas in which organized tourism activities could be developed were preferred by the Ministry to be declared as KTKGB. The designations necessitated the plans of these areas to be prepared according to pre-determined principles and objectives. From the administrative aspect, it was aimed to alleviate the burden of the public sector in KTKGBs by activating a system in which the project was to be directed by a main investment agent.

In 2006, a start was made for the conservation and use of the local historic, cultural and natural properties within the scope of regional programs. In addition, local NGOs and local governments that provided the local historic, cultural and natural richness with advertisements were to be supported and all the investments related to the sector were to be handled in a manner protective of the natural, historic, social and the cultural environment (2006 Annual Program and Implementation Plan of the 8<sup>th</sup> FYDP). Through the new actions, it was aimed to improve cultural tourism.



In the 9<sup>th</sup> and last FYDP, covering the period 2007-2013, it was aimed to develop and spread cultural tourism in the country. Therefore, areas that preserved their authentic characteristics were to be supported and opened to tourism. Works to develop alternative tourism were to be continued. A new emphasis in the plan is the ‘Tourism Industry Master Plan’, which was to be prepared in order to achieve long-term development in the tourism sector. Within this framework, the ‘Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023’ and ‘Activity Plan for Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2007-2023’ were introduced by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism and approved by the Higher Planning Council on 02.03.2007 (Official Gazette no. 26450). It was basically aimed to guide the sector. In the section of the plan titled ‘Branding on Urban Scale’ (‘*Kentsel Ölçekte Markalaşma*’), the necessary works are listed in the scope of cultural tourism and branding cities in tourism. In the plan, it is stated that in order to stimulate domestic tourism in the country, cultural tourism would be supported; in order to diversify tourism, urban and cultural tourism would be developed; Antalya would be one of the four major cities for which plans and projects to develop urban tourism is to be prepared; each year, a town would be declared as a ‘Cultural Tourism Town’ to stimulate cultural tourism. It is also evaluated in the plan that in coastal parts of Antalya, Muğla and Aydın, mass tourism known as ‘sun-sand-sea tourism’ has reached its margin of consumption. Therefore, it is recommended to organize activities that would make the tourists leave their accommodation units in order to increase secondary spending.

#### ***IV.2.5.b. Local Dynamics***

In the 1990s and 2000s, many tourism investment areas were designated in the town. The most significant of them is the Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Area (KTKGB) designated on 31.12.2004 (Official Gazette no. 25687) which covers the historic town center. Following it, the North Antalya KTKGB was designated in 2005 in order to support alternative tourism.

Antalya Golden Orange Film Festival, being held in every autumn continues to be a cultural event attracting domestic tourism. Besides, Walled-Town stands as the main urban attraction in the town, which exists in all the sightseeing tours organized in the region by tour operators.

### IV.3. Chapter Evaluation

As exposed throughout the Chapter, Antalya has always been a major potential attraction center for tourism, with its particular geography between the mountains and the Mediterranean, the many archaeological sites within this special natural landscape, its particular natural setting on the cliffs and its particular multi-layered town center.

If the single-party period, which also corresponds to pre-war era, is to be evaluated, it can be concluded that tourism initiatives, which mostly took place at the local level, were steps towards the development of cultural tourism. The tendency was valid for the entire region, including the archaeological sites such as Aspendos, and the first museum that was established in the Walled-Town with the works of Süleyman Fikri Erten. At the country level, initiatives and bodies regarding tourism were yet very few. The first significant step in the tourism sector, which actually did not exist yet, took place through the enactment of the Tourism Incentive Law in 1953. As revealed in the Chapter, from the archives it is known that Antalya has a particular role in this enactment. The same years corresponded to the boom of Mediterranean tourism in the international arena in the post-war period. It was also the period in which the all-inclusive system was born.

The period also witnessed some other significant events in the global arena, such as the Cold War, the USA's program of Marshall Aid, and Turkey's wish to join with the Western world. As a consequence of these, Turkey passed into the multi-party system, applied for the Marshall Aid and witnessed an agricultural revolution through the mechanization of the agriculture in the country. However, this led the rural population to become unemployed and a process of migration to larger cities started in Turkey.

Under such circumstances, Turkey entered the 1960s with the 1960 *coup d'état*. Another global event that took place in the post-war era showed its affect in the Antalya region in this period; that was the establishment of UN and beginning of the Mediterranean Project of FAO, an organization of the UN.. FAO conducted studies in four Mediterranean countries and declared the Antalya region as a 'spearhead zone' that had particular features to be developed with priority. With the application of the Turkish government to the program and the related fund, a new era started for the Antalya region. However, as it can be followed in this dissertation, the 1960-1971 sub-period is a rather chaotic era, when the administrative structure of the country

and the deficiencies and ambiguities in this structure were taken into consideration. A new constitution was enacted, a new governmental body, the SPI was founded, and Turkey entered the 'planned period'. The ambiguity directly affected the socio-economic and tourism policies of the country during this period. It would be helpful to summarize the significant points that affected the restructuring of the Antalya region through tourism.

It is seen that the restructuring of the Antalya region in this period was initiated from the global and national sides. For sure, FAO's Mediterranean Development Plan could be assumed as the main triggering factor for the start in the structural change of the region. Turkey had a will to compete in the Mediterranean tourism market; however, as Günay (2000, 200) expresses, despite its will, the country did not have much chance to compete with the other countries and achieve its desire with 15,000 bed-capacities in 1960. The planning via FAO increased the chance to do it.

From the FYDPs of the 1960s, it can be inferred that the first tourism policy Turkey developed was that of mass tourism. Mass tourism is a kind of tourism that markets the natural resources of a destination, namely the 'sun-sand-sea', in standardized vacation packages. This entails the basic strategy of large scale investments. The expropriation of coastal lands in order to allocate them to investors was already introduced with the 1961 Constitution. Therefore, a new coastal structure started to be created from the 1960s onwards. The United States Agency for International Development (US.AID) played a major role in the investments.

During the period, FAO stands as the global stakeholder in social and economic development of the region, while as the executive body the SPI is the main stakeholder at national level. FAO provided feedbacks on the regional and national plans, while the SPI in a sense obliged FAO to comply with the national plan in their regional planning practice. The Regional Planning Department of the SPI was in an active relationship with FAO and with the SPI through the comments and proposals it submitted on plans, problems and conflicts. It is also the body of the SPI responsible for regional tourism-oriented physical planning and therefore had relations with the bodies responsible for physical planning.

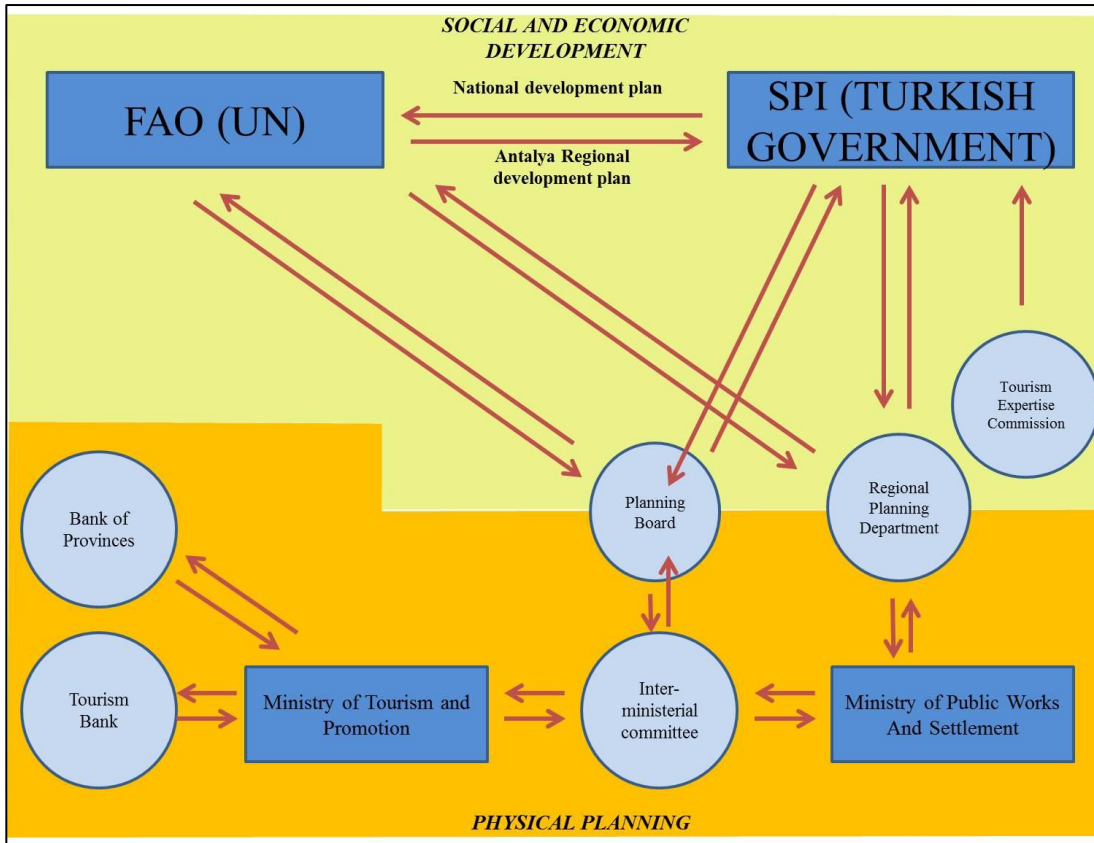


Figure 4.5. Organizational structure of the Antalya regional project before the development of the South Antalya Project (inferred from the reports)

In the preparation of FYDPs, the Tourism Expertise Commission, one of the many expertise commissions, has a significant role, since it provides feedback and submits comments and proposals to the SPI. The commission involves experts both from the public and the private sectors.

The Ministry of Tourism and Promotion, the Tourism Bank as a body of the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion, the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement, the inter-ministerial committee that provides coordination among the bodies, and the Bank of Provinces stand as the responsible bodies from tourism-oriented physical planning in the country. The Council of Ministers appears as the last but most crucial stakeholder of the period.

The foundation of the UN can be assumed as the main global factor, while the 1960 Turkish *coup d'état*, the restructuring of the Tourism Bank, the establishment of the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion and the introduction of ‘touristic development zones’ through the decree of the

Council of Ministers can be assumed as the main national factors that can be considered 'milestones' in the pre-1970 era. In this period, the addition of the National Film Festival to Antalya Festival can be seen as a significant factor at the local level. A final evaluation covering the period of 1960-1970 is the adoption of different visions for planning by the state-side bodies involved in the decision making process. Administrative confusion is occurring among the decision-making institutions and bodies responsible of implementation and physical planning. As will be revealed, similar conflicts, differences in visions, changes in bodies and responsibilities, the superimposition in responsibilities and practices continued in the following periods.

Turkey entered the 1970s again with a *coup d'état* that took place in 1971. Örs (2005) highlights a very significant point in the atmosphere of the country in this period; due to the political ambiguity and conflicts, a continuous support for the plans and projects prepared by technical cadres could not be provided by the political authorities and it was impossible to develop a consensus among the Ministries on these plans and projects. In such circumstances, the socio-economic development of the Antalya region had as priority, the development of tourism. In this respect, the development of subsidiary industries for the tourism sector in the region's settlements and the conservation of historic values were prioritized. However, the foreign currency deficit and the panic aroused thereof were causing deviations from these policies. Although the environmental dimension of the policies and the social benefits of the plans and projects were all considered, the direction of the policies gradually started to be oriented towards the consumption of the coastal areas rather than toward regional and local development. Partial projects by diverse bodies also kept emerging in the period, due to the insufficient level of organization.

In response to the ambiguity in organization, the 3<sup>rd</sup> FYDP required cooperation between the Ministry of Land Development and Settlement and the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion on the preparation of physical plans of tourism zones and on the implementation of the plans. In this period, with the SPI on the top, the SPI Undersecretary, the Tourism Expertise Committee, the Tourism Coordination Council, the Regional Planning Department of the General Directorate of Planning and Development under the Ministry of Land Development and Settlement, the SPDA (Scandinavian Organization of Planning and Development), the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion and the Tourism Bank stand out as the stakeholders in the tourism planning of the Antalya region.

One turning point of the period is the start of the package-tour system. In the 7th meeting of the Tourism Coordination Council in 1970, the construction of holiday villages were recommended. Later, in the 1971 Program and Implementation Plan of the second plan, travel in groups was targeted. Both were package-tour supporting policies, triggering the start for package-holidays and the all-inclusive system. In 1974, the first facility with an all-inclusive system started to operate in Kemer, Antalya. Package tours in the world brought standardization of the tourism product over time; however, since it was newly arising in Turkey in those years, no standardization of the offered product yet occurred.

As of 1971, the development tool for settlements in the coastal region of Antalya became tourism. According to Decree no. 6/122209, all the settlements were to be planned in accordance with tourism-oriented physical planning. This was a crucial decision for the regeneration and conservation of historic towns in the coastal part, and Antalya Walled-Town was the leader one among them, due to its central position and rich, multi-layered heritage. Beside the introduction of tourism as the main generator for the coastal settlements, the introduction of yacht harbors to the Turkish tourism industry catalyzed the restructuring of the Walled-Town through the start of works for the transformation of the old harbor into a marina. Another emphasis on historic values came with the third development plan. According to the plan, investments that aimed for the conservation of historic values would be given priority. Later, in the 1977 Report of the Tourism Expertise Committee, historic values were again highlighted, so that Turkey could create a difference as a destination among other countries through these values. All these emphases show that beside the mass tourism policy, Turkey was also following a policy of cultural tourism.

Turkey entered the 1980s yet again with a *coup d'état*, the last military intervention in the country. 1980 was a turning point for the country from many aspects, such as the beginning of the liberal period, the abandonment of the mixed economic system, the socio-economic policies and the development of the tourism industry strictly based on low-priced mass tourism. Before the 1980s, the tourism industry was formed by small-scale operators with no integrative network and the type of international tourism in Turkey was rather cultural tourism with a decentralized interest (except the particular interest towards İstanbul). In the 1980s, Turkey witnessed rapid construction of tourist facilities in the coastal areas, particular in Antalya, via the new encouragement measures brought by the 1982 Tourism Incentive Law. Günay (2000, 231) as a

planner and a former official stakeholder, states that the practice in tourism planning in Turkey was not implemented in accordance with the visions and intentions of the planners.

The plans depended on strategic plans, 1/250,000 in scale, aiming at policy development. Later, plans and projects on the scale of streets and buildings were also produced. In this context, two different planning types were developed (Günay 2000, 202):

- Environmental Master Plans (*Çevre Düzeni Planları*): these plans were produced in the scale of 1/25,000 in the regions where important tourism resources of the country were concentrated. In the plans, tourism investment areas were identified and infrastructure decisions were made for them. Through these plans, tourism investors were informed about suitable lands for investment (Tourism Investments Handbook 1981 in Günay 2000, 202).
- Tourism Development Projects: these projects were directly intended for implementation. The Ministry of Tourism designated high tourism potential areas for mass tourism, obtained the land ownership in these areas, produced plans in the scale of 1/1,000 and approved these plans (Tourism Investments Handbook in Günay 2000, 202).

Within this framework, tourism development projects were prepared for Side and South Antalya. According Act no. 2634, inside the borders of the tourism centers, the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement was authorized for development master plans, while the Ministry of Tourism was authorized for implementation plans.

Despite Act no. 2634 of 1982 also being supported by the planners of the time, in practice, the concepts –rather than being the tools of comprehensive planning- were transformed into tools of incremental planning and arbitrary development, usually of high density. Especially after 1985, tourism areas and centers were declared depending upon the proposals of investors rather than planning principles. Economic profitability was preferred to environmental and public issues. In addition, in this period, Turkey became a relatively cheap tourism destination due to reasons such as the low level of wages.

In the 1990s, cultural tourism and alternative tourism types came on the agenda of Turkey one more time; however, beside these new policies, 1990 also became the start of an ambiguous atmosphere in tourism due to a series of crises arising from various reasons. These crises and the pressures of the tour operators can be regarded as the rationale behind the all-inclusive

system becoming the most wide-spread system in the country in a short time. Within such an environment, bed capacities continued to increase.

In the 2000s, the shift of tourism policies from mass tourism to cultural and alternative tourism could show itself more clearly, despite the period also witnessing the crisis of September 11, 2001 and the 2003 War in Iraq. With the Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023, the main tourism policy of Turkey has become developing cultural tourism and alternative tourism types. Antalya was selected as one of the four major towns by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism to develop urban tourism as well. Together with the designation of the historic town center as a KTKGB in 2004 and the objective of developing urban tourism in Antalya, it is for sure that Antalya is entering a new era. However, as will be revealed in table 4.3, it is all surrounded by tourism centers in which the all-inclusive system is dominant, which implies that Antalya historic town center and thus Antalya Walled-Town are surrounded by a network of tourist accommodation units, travel agencies and tour operators that dominate the tourism sector in the region. How the Walled-Town was reproduced within this context will be explored in the next Chapter.

The main factors that affected the restructuring process in the Antalya region and the sub-factors related to them can be evaluated and summarized in Tables 4.3 and 4.4.

Table 4.3. Emphases in the FYDPs and their Annual Programs and Implementation Plans, regarding tourism in Antalya

<b>Development plans (FYDPs)</b>	<b>Objectives of tourism development</b>	<b>Emphases in Annual Programs and Implementation Plans of FYDPs</b>	<b>Particular Emphasis on Antalya</b>
1 <sup>st</sup> plan: 1963-1967	Priority zones were to be determined to develop tourism, in order to prevent spread of resources and concentrate them in certain areas to increase efficiency. Priority zones were to be high potential areas for attracting tourists, which could yield results soon.		Antalya was declared as a priority zone



<b>Development plans (FYDPs)</b>	<b>Objectives of tourism development</b>	<b>Emphases in Annual Programs and Implementation Plans of FYDPs</b>	<b>Particular Emphasis on Antalya</b>
2 <sup>nd</sup> plan: 1968-1972	Tourism was to be a major foreign currency source and all opportunities were to be used to benefit from it. In this regard, mass tourism was targeted. Holiday complexes with high accommodation capacity would particularly be supported.	<p>Tourism-oriented physical planning works were to be accelerated; the exact locations to concentrate the investments were to be declared as the Marmara, Aegean and Mediterranean and their plans were to be completed. Besides, two ‘tourist sites’, in the character of tourist towns, were to be introduced in the Mediterranean and Aegean coasts and investments were to be concentrated in these sites. (1969)</p> <p>The two ‘tourist sites’, which were to be planned and to serve mass tourism, were confirmed as Side and Dilek. (1970)</p> <p>Travel in groups was to be supported via air transportation. Yacht harbors –marinas- were introduced into Turkish tourism. Inside the borders of the municipalities, development</p>	

<b>Development plans (FYDPs)</b>	<b>Objectives of tourism development</b>	<b>Emphases in Annual Programs and Implementation Plans of FYDPs</b>	<b>Particular Emphasis on Antalya</b>
		plans of the settlements were to be prepared or revised in accordance with tourism-oriented physical planning. (1971)	
3 <sup>rd</sup> plan: 1973-1977	The objective of ‘mass tourism’ remained; therefore, the entire organization of the sector was to be in concordance with the requirements of mass tourism. Priority zones were to be the centers of investments to be made.		Physical planning of the Antalya region in the scale of 1/25,000 is completed. (1975)  The first phase of Antalya Project is completed. (1976)  The South-west Antalya Coastal Region Project is approved by the Ministry of Land Development

<b>Development plans (FYDPs)</b>	<b>Objectives of tourism development</b>	<b>Emphases in Annual Programs and Implementation Plans of FYDPs</b>	<b>Particular Emphasis on Antalya</b>
			and Settlement (1977)
4 <sup>th</sup> plan: 1978-1983	The main approach of mass tourism continued and the concept of ‘organized tourism zones’ was introduced.	Organized tourism zones were to be declared in high potential zones and it was immediately to be realized in South Antalya. (1978) Low-income worker families were to be attracted to Turkey for vacation. (1982)	
5 <sup>th</sup> plan: 1984-1989	The emphasis on mass tourism continued; however, this time it was stated that individual tourism would not be ignored either.		
6 <sup>th</sup> plan: 1990-1994	Priority was to be given to the conservation of natural beauties and cultural values; tourism was to be encouraged in certain areas by putting them under protection. Incentive policies were to be developed in order to make alternative tourism more attractive.		
7 <sup>th</sup> plan: 1996-2000	To improve the seasonal and geographical distribution of tourism in the country and to respond to the changing tourist	Cultural tourism was declared to be in need of being organized separately as a particular tourism	

<b>Development plans (FYDPs)</b>	<b>Objectives of tourism development</b>	<b>Emphases in Annual Programs and Implementation Plans of FYDPs</b>	<b>Particular Emphasis on Antalya</b>
	<p>profile in the market, works to develop alternative tourism types such as golf, winter, mountain, thermal, health, yacht, caravan, cruise ship, congress and entertainment were to be performed.</p> <p>Measures were to be developed to market the 'second housing' in priority zones.</p>	<p>branch. Individual international tourism and domestic tourism were to be supported.</p> <p>(1997)</p> <p>Works to develop alternative tourism were to be continued, third-age group tourism was added to the list. (1999)</p>	
<p>8<sup>th</sup> plan: 2001-2005</p>	<p>Works to develop alternative tourism were to be continued; eco-tourism was added to list.</p>	<p>Works to develop alternative tourism were to be continued. (2001, 2002)</p> <p>Organization efforts were to be made to market 'second housing' in priority areas. (2004)</p> <p>Taking the conservation-use balance into account, local historic, cultural and natural properties were to be prioritized within the scope of regional programs.</p> <p>Inventories of these properties were to be conducted. Local NGOs and</p>	

<b>Development plans (FYDPs)</b>	<b>Objectives of tourism development</b>	<b>Emphases in Annual Programs and Implementation Plans of FYDPs</b>	<b>Particular Emphasis on Antalya</b>
		<p>local governments that provided the local historic, cultural and natural richness with advertisement were to be supported. (2006)</p> <p>Tourism investments were to be diversified and moved from intensively used developed areas to other areas. (2006)</p> <p>All investments related to the sector were to be handled in a manner protective of the natural, historic, social and the cultural environment. (2006)</p>	
9 <sup>th</sup> plan: 2007-2013	To develop and spread cultural tourism, areas that conserved their authentic characteristics were to be supported and opened to tourism. The Tourism Sector Master Plan was to be prepared in order to achieve long-term development in the tourism sector. Works to develop alternative tourism were to be continued to improve the		

<b>Development plans (FYDPs)</b>	<b>Objectives of tourism development</b>	<b>Emphases in Annual Programs and Implementation Plans of FYDPs</b>	<b>Particular Emphasis on Antalya</b>
	seasonal and geographical distribution of tourism in the country and to respond to the changing tourist profile in the market.		

Table 4.4. Main global, national and local factors between 1960 and 2013 that can be evaluated as ‘milestones’ in the tourism structure in Antalya

<b>Level</b>	<b>Main Factor</b>	<b>Related Factors</b>
<b>1950-1970</b>		
Global and national	Establishment of the United Nations in 1945	Declaration of the Antalya region as a spearhead zone by FAO in the ‘Mediterranean Development Project’
		Introduction of new international financial support opportunities
	The Turkish <i>coup d’état</i> of 1960	The Constitution of 1961
		Establishment of the State Planning Institution (SPI)
		Transition into the ‘planned period’
	Restructuring of the Tourism Bank in 1960	The Bank’s support in tourism investments beginning from 1967
		Establishment and management of ‘model tourism facilities’
Establishment of the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion in	Change in organizational structure related to tourism	

<b>Level</b>	<b>Main Factor</b>	<b>Related Factors</b>
	1963	
	Introduction of ‘tourism development zones’ through the decree of the Council of Ministers dated 1969	Designation of the Çanakkale-Antalya coastal band by the Council of Ministers as a ‘Tourism Development Zone’
		Start of the South Antalya Development Project
Local	The National Film Festival added to Antalya Festival in 1963	Advertisement of the town in Turkey
<b>1970-1980</b>		
Global and national	Introduction of the concept of the ‘package tour’: package holiday realized by tour operators, and the all-inclusive system	Recommendation for construction of holiday villages
		Targeting travel in groups
		Start of operation of the all-inclusive system in Antalya
	‘Tourism’ becoming the development tool for the settlements in the coastal region of Antalya	The decision of tourism-oriented physical planning of all settlements in Antalya in accordance with tourism
	Introduction of yacht harbors to the Turkish tourism industry	Start of works for transforming the old harbor of Antalya into a marina
	Establishment of the Ministry of Culture in 1971	Start for issues of culture to be taken into consideration
Local	Start for conservation planning works for the Antalya Walled-Town	Selection of ‘tourism’ as the tool for the regeneration in the Walled-Town conservation project was imposed by the policies of regional development
<b>1980-1990</b>		
Global and national	Thatcherism	Özalism, liberalism, privatization
	Enactment of Tourism Incentive Law in 1982	Acceleration in the development of mass tourism
		Acceleration in the development of

<b>Level</b>	<b>Main Factor</b>	<b>Related Factors</b>
		tourist facilities
	The unification of the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion and the Ministry of Culture as the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 1982	The handling of tourism and culture issues under one umbrella institution
	Decentralization of administrative powers through the Development Act of 1985	The abandonment of regional planning
		Transfer of plan approval rights to local governments
		Increase in the designation of tourism centers
		Acceleration in the development of tourist facilities in the coastal settlements
		Start for the sector of second housing in the coastal areas
	The separation of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism to the Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of Culture as in 1989	
Local	The opening of the yacht harbor	Start of tourism in the Walled Town
<b>1990-2013</b>		
Global and national	The fall of the Iron Curtain	Start of tourist influx from post-socialist countries, especially from Russia
	Desire to conserve the traditional values, spreading tourism all over the country in all seasons, to take the changing tendencies itouristic profile in the world into consideration	Emphasis on ‘cultural tourism’ and alternative tourism types was added to FYDPs



<b>Level</b>	<b>Main Factor</b>	<b>Related Factors</b>
	Introduction of the concept of 'sustainable development' in the international platform in 1987	Start of efforts for 'sustainable tourism development'
	1990 Gulf Crisis and 1991 Gulf War	Ambiguity in tourism sector
		Stimulation/rise of the all-inclusive system as a rescuing tool
		The start of the leadership of Antalya in spreading the all-inclusive system
	Terror in tourism areas in Turkey in 1993-1994	Stimulation of the spread of the all-inclusive system and tourist facility standards among tour operators
	Growing global tendency of individual tourism rather than mass tourism	Start for the development of individual tourism and domestic tourism
	Increased mafia conflicts in Turkey	The prohibition of gambling casinos by a modification in the Tourism Incentive Act of 1982; the removal of casinos from Antalya to Cyprus
	1999 İzmit Earthquake	Stimulation of the spread of the all-inclusive system
		Antalya receiving immigrants from the Marmara Region
	Unification of the Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of Culture as the Ministry of Culture and Tourism in 2003	The handling of tourism and culture issues under one umbrella institution
	The introduction of Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Areas (KTKGB) by the revision of the Tourism Incentive Law in 2003	Designation of the historic town center of Antalya and North Antalya as KTKGBs

<b>Level</b>	<b>Main Factor</b>	<b>Related Factors</b>
	The preparation of the Tourism Strategy of Turkey 2023	
Local	Designation of the historic town center as KTKGB in 2004	Emphasis on the development of cultural tourism

### Summary of Spatial Development

In terms of spatial development alternatives, it is seen that decisions on possible points in the region to be developed as tourism centers changed many times, or in some cases the choices differed simultaneously in different reports, decisions, proposals or projects. The first point that was identified in the reports in the 1960s is Side. In the 1962 report of the Tourism Expertise Commission, the restoration of the ancient town of Side was recommended within the scope of the conservation of historic and archaeological relics and the construction of tourist facilities (SPI 1962, 7).

It was followed by three simultaneous sets of proposals in 1963 regarding tourism development and spatial restructuring of the Antalya region within the country and within the region itself:

1. In the Five Year Tourism Plan by the Tourism Expertise Commission in 1963, Antalya was declared as a tourism development priority zone after the Marmara and Aegean regions.
2. In the same plan, Antalya center, Konyaalti, Lara, Side and Alanya were highlighted.
3. The spearhead zones in FAO's Mediterranean Project included Antalya, Isparta and Burdur.



Figure 4.6. The restoration of the ancient town of Side in Antalya was recommended by the Tourism Expertise Commission in 1962 (Base map: Google maps)



Figure 4.7. Tourism development regions proposed by the Five Year Tourism Plan by the Tourism Expertise Commission in 1963, Antalya was decided to be a primary priority zone after the Marmara and Aegean Regions (Source for the base map: ECOI.NET)



Figure 4.8. Five points for concentration of bed-capacities proposed by the Five Year Tourism Plan by the Tourism Expertise Commission for Antalya in 1963: Konyaaltı, Antalya Center, Lara, Side and Alanya (Base map: Google maps)



Figure 4.9. Project boundary of the ‘spearhead zone’ of the Plan of Operations by FAO and UNSF, 1963: Antalya, Isparta and Burdur (Source for the base map: ECOI.NET)

In this regard, there came out different visions for Antalya by FAO, the SPI, the Regional Planning Office and the Tourism Expertise Commission. The Five Year Tourism Plan prepared by the Expertise Commission proposes the development of Antalya in the third phase, while FAO proposes tourism as a means of development in the spearhead zone of the Antalya region;

the Regional Planning team supports the selection of Antalya as priority zone, while the SPI prefers a strict national plan with sectorial priorities in the country.



Figure 4.10. Points declared as ‘possible tourism development centers’ by UN in 1964: Finike, Demre, Kaş and Kalkan. (Base map: Google maps)

In the 1964 report of UN industrial expert Andren (Andren 1964), different points were emphasized as centers of possible tourism development, namely Finike, Demre, Kaş and Kalkan.



Figure 4.11. Points with the highest bed capacities in 1969, SPI: Alanya, Patara, Kemer and Finike (Base map: Google maps)



Figure 4.12. ‘Tourism Development Zone’ as declared by the Council of Ministers in 1969 (Source for the base map: ECOI.NET)

In the 1969 report of the SPI on transportation (SPI 1969), it is seen that rather different points were given the highest bed capacities in the region; according to the report, Alanya was to be the camping center, while Patara the main tourism center with a possible bed-capacity of 100,000. Patara was followed by Kemer and Finike with bed capacities of 84,000 and 60,000 respectively.

Later, through the declaration of the ‘Tourism Development Zone’ by the decree of the Council of Ministers in 1969, two sub-regions gained significance: south Antalya and east Antalya, particularly Belek.



Figure 4.13. Main tourism potential centers in the ‘Tourism Development Zone’ in 1969 (Base map: Google maps)

According to the master plan of the southern coastal band prepared by the foreign firm SPDA, Antalya had the first priority in tourism development and Bodrum-Marmaris-Datça had the second. In the Antalya region, a 29 km band in the east of Antalya, namely the Antalya-Belek band was selected as the first phase, since it had better transportation opportunities. The 60 km second band in the west of Antalya was going to be developed in the second phase. This implies that Belek had priority to West Antalya, especially to Kemer, which was to be the priority point in the following decisions.

In the report on Antalya's regional development in 1971 by the Regional Planning Department of the General Directorate of Planning and Development under the Ministry of Land Development and Settlement, alternative zones for tourism development were proposed regarding the distribution of natural and historic resources, rank of priorities, demand, transportation, services and relations with other centers. According to this categorization, Antalya center was declared as a first degree tourism center; Alanya and Side-Manavgat, in other words east Antalya was declared as the second; and Kaş, Finike, Eğirdir and Kemer, in other words west Antalya, was declared as the third.

In this framework, potential tourism development centers detected in the related reports between 1960 and 1971 can be listed as follows (from east to west):

- Alanya
- Side
- Belek
- Lara
- Antalya center
- Konyaaltı
- Kemer
- Finike
- Demre
- Kaş
- Patara
- Kalkan



Figure 4.14. Priority areas according to the master plan by SPDA (base map: Google maps)

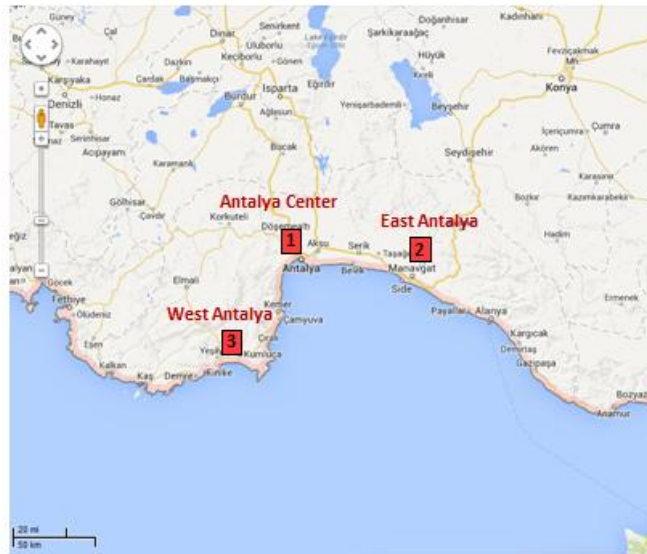


Figure 4.15. First, second and third degree tourism centers according to the report of the Regional Planning Department of the General Directorate of Planning and Development under the Ministry of Land Development and Settlement (base map: Google maps)

In practice, it is seen that it was Kemer and Belek which were developed with priority through the investment within the scope of the South Antalya Tourism Development Project.



Table 4.5 showing the spatial distribution of tourist accommodation types in the districts of the Antalya Region reveals the current spatial tourism structure in the region. From the table, it can be inferred that the Walled Town is the unique area that serves cultural tourism and survives through it.

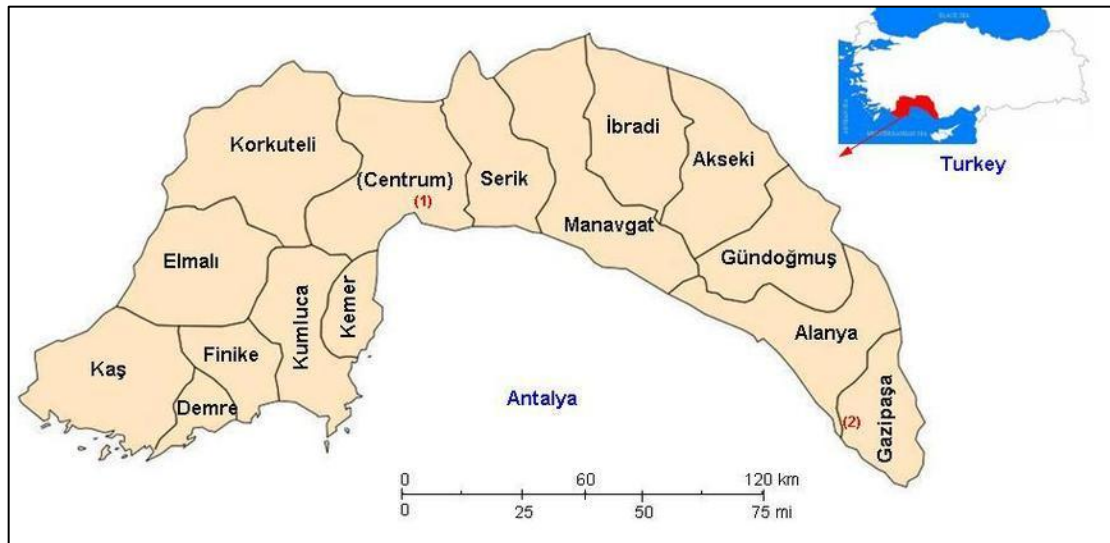


Figure 4.16. Districts of the Antalya Region (Source: magnificentturkey.weebly.com)

Table 4.5. Spatial distribution of tourist accommodation types in the districts of the Antalya Region, data is classified between 'Facilities with Operation License from the Ministry' referring to 'O' in the table and 'Facilities with Investment License from the Ministry' referring to 'I' in the table; data is given as 'number of tourist facility + number of beds' for each group (Data was gathered through the Antalya Provincial Directorate for Culture and Tourism)

Accommodation Type	License Type	Antalya West						Antalya Center					Antalya East			Total		
		Kaş	Demre	Fınike	Kumluca	Kemer	Konyaaltı	Döğemealtı	Kepez	Muratpaşa	Aksu	Serik	Manavgat	Alanya				
1 Star Hotel	O	46	0	0	0	0	1223	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	10
	I	0	0	0	0	1	82	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	4	0	2	1437
2 Star Hotel	O	275	0	0	157	962	658	7	0	1	94	521	0	0	0	0	16	51
	I	0	0	0	0	2	220	2	0	0	0	1	0	0	3	0	200	4432
3 Star Hotel	O	424	0	0	0	236	2342	12	0	0	0	180	0	0	0	0	400	1392
	I	3	0	0	0	19	3829	11	0	0	0	11	0	2	20	185	46	22359
3 Star Hotel	O	44	0	0	0	6	130	1	0	0	0	166	0	0	0	0	8	23
	I	0	0	0	0	1212	130	0	0	0	0	0	0	54	472	2222	0	4300

4 Star Hotel	0	2	0	0	0	27	2	0	1	6	2	6	48	88	182
	223	0	0	0	0	9310	708	0	336	3762	911	5568	29327	37924	88069
4 Star Hotel	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	0	0	3	2	5	27	17	57
	0	0	450	0	138	760	760	0	0	1084	2135	2976	14676	10497	32716
5 Star Hotel	0	0	0	1	36	9	8043	0	0	10	17	42	77	50	242
	0	0	0	297	29767	8043	8043	0	0	7605	19472	41425	64065	34492	578166
Motel (Small hotel)	1	0	0	0	6	2	1087	0	0	2	0	4	8	12	37
	0	0	1500	0	4712	1087	1087	0	0	1430	0	3431	6987	8081	27228
Boutique Hotel	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Pension/ Apart	1	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	3
	160	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	56	216
Pension/ Apart	1	0	0	0	11	3	127	0	0	3	0	0	3	28	49
	60	0	0	0	485	127	127	0	0	284	0	0	646	3600	5202
Pension/ Apart	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	2	0	3
	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	196	0	0	470	0	666



## CHAPTER V

### REPRODUCTION OF ANTALYA WALLED-TOWN AFTER THE 1970S

*“Tourism is a twentieth century phenomenon. You cannot put it aside. One must accept it as a phenomenon that exists, good or not so good. Millions of people travel. One cannot stop them. They will come, so let them be used as a source for development.” (Kuban 1978, 84, in Orbaşlı 2000, 3)*

*“History has become heritage, heritage has become an urban resource, and this resource supplies a major ‘history/heritage industry’, which shapes not merely the form but the functioning and purpose of the ‘commodified’ city.” (Ashworth & Tunbridge 2000, 2)*

When one arrives in the 1970s, one finds Antalya as a town that had conserved its historic core, except for the new development outside the town walls. Due to the abandonment of the rural areas after the Marshall Aid and the related agricultural revolution in Turkey, as well as the developing industry in Antalya (in the textile, ferro-chrome, oil, battery, cotton, and most recently the tourism sectors) the city started to receive intense migration either from the rural parts of the province or from other towns of the country. All these led to the first development of *gecekondu* (squatter) areas. Besides *gecekondu*, the introduction of ‘flat ownership’ in 1954 launched a process of high-rise development in Antalya, replacing the low-rise garden houses.

In response to the migration and rapid urbanization that Turkey witnessed, efforts for conserving the immovable historic artefacts came on the agenda, leading to the establishment of the Higher Council for Immovable Antiquities and Monuments (*Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler ve Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu*, GEEAYK) on 02.07.1951 through Act no. 5805, in order to solve the problems related to historic structures during the development works and to conserve the structures.

The Higher Council was to conserve the historic properties in the country, to define the principles and related programs regarding their maintenance, to regulate conservation practices and declare scientific opinions on the conflicts regarding these properties. However, a subsidiary

body to implement the decisions of the High Council and control implementation works was still lacking, and the Council was still operating with the former antiquities law (*Asar-ı Atika Nizamnamesi*) enacted in 1906 (Çelik and Yazgan 2007, 5). In the meantime, since the planning approaches could not develop any conservation policies yet, the traditional fabric of Antalya outside the borders of the Walled-Town was mostly lost before the 1970s. Amidst this urban development, the districts of the historic town center, including the Walled Town, Balbey Neighborhood, Haşim İşcan Neighborhood and Kalekapısı (Khans District or *Hanlar Bölgesi*) managed to survive.

Before examining the reproduction process of the Walled-Town between 1972 and 2013, firstly the ‘uses’ and the ‘users’ dimensions of the Walled-Town as a tourist-historic city are given, since the conflicts and compromises on the Walled-Town will revolve around these concepts. After defining the main terms of the chapter, focused on these concepts, the rest of the chapter will analyze the production of the Walled-Town in a chronological order. While doing this, the network of relationships and their impacts on the Walled-Town will be revealed.

## **V.1. The ‘uses’ and the ‘users’ of the Walled Town**

### **V.1.1. The object of focus: Uses**

For the purpose of the thesis, ‘uses’ in the Walled-Town can be analyzed from two perspectives; the first is their role and function as tourist resources, while the second is their everyday role and urban function in the life of people.

Antalya Walled-Town has become a tourist-historic city and thus a heritage tourism resource. Accordingly, the users might have distinct demands upon these tourism resources. Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000, 60-62) define a ‘tourism resource’ as ‘any facility which is, or could be, used by tourists’ and they classify these resources as primary and secondary resources according to their uses by the tourists. This classification will be used in the Chapter in order to define the main attractions and supportive facilities of tourism in the town, since it would be helpful in analyzing the conflicts and compromises on the uses of these resources in the Walled-Town.

According to the categorization, primary resources are those that attract the tourists by being the motive for their visit, while secondary resources are those that support the visit. However, as the authors point out, “a foreign visitor in search of culture may regard a museum as a primary attraction, while incidentally using restaurants and souvenir shops, while conversely a visitor on a gastronomic or shopping holiday may make an incidental use of a museum on a rainy afternoon.” Therefore they make a distinction between ‘intentional’ and ‘incidental’ use of facilities and conclude that “the former is usually primary while the latter, being dependent, is secondary.” However, they also emphasize that visitors might also visit cities for their primary attractions but spend most of their time and money on secondary facilities.

In this respect, the primary and secondary tourist resources in the Walled-Town can be classified according to their identities of being a landmark or basic attraction point. In identifying these resources, the landmark list of Antalya Walled-Town on the promotion brochure of Antalya Directorate of Tourism<sup>85</sup> is used and two other resources are added to the list based on their attractiveness on the virtual public realm<sup>86</sup>. The classification is given in Table 5.1 (Primary and Secondary Tourist Resources in the Walled-Town) and the ones coming from the list of the Tourism Directorate are highlighted in italic.

Obviously, a change in a primary resource would affect the secondary resources. This is also true in their use dimension. As will be shown in Antalya case, in case there is a lack of use of a primary resource, the other uses around and the users of the area are affected by it; in the case of no use of the primary resource, the effects are mostly negative.

Within the context of the tourist-historic city, Ashworth & Tunbridge (2000, 48-49) observe that the introduction of conservation policies and related limitations for the physical fabric of the area, and the limited transport opportunities in the old and preserved streets put pressure on the commercial units to migrate out of the area without any imposition of the planners. Since the migration is not a legal obligation, the phenomenon cannot be described as ‘expulsion’. However, it leaves an abandoned or underused area, which becomes unattractive from a visual dimension, and it may also house unwelcome activities such as drug usage, prostitution, etc. The phenomenon can be evaluated as similar to ‘filtering down’. Parallel to the conservation of the historic town or historic core of the city, new structures are built in the historic core, and

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<sup>85</sup> <http://www.antalyakulturturizm.gov.tr/dosya/1-280291/h/antalyatanitimbroshuru.pdf>

<sup>86</sup> Popular websites on travel such as Trip Advisor and Wikitravel

existing structures in the historic city become deteriorated, obsolete, fall out of fashion for business and commerce, and thus filter down in use, “a process that ultimately results in abandonment.”<sup>87</sup>

Table 5.1. Primary and Secondary Tourist Resources in the Walled-Town (ones in italic are taken from the Antalya Directorate of Tourism list)

<b>Primary Tourist Resources</b>	<b>Secondary Tourist Resources</b>
<i>Hıdırlık Tower</i>	Tourism-based accommodation units: Hotels (boutique), pensions and hostels
<i>Hadrian's Gate</i>	Catering and entertainment: restaurants, cafes, bars, nightclubs, bars, taverns
<i>Kesik Minaret Mosque</i>	Tourism-based commerce: souvenir shops
<i>Yivli Minaret Complex</i>	Cultural-leisure shopping: Arts and crafts
<i>Karatay Madrasah</i>	
<i>Tekeli Mehmet Paşa Mosque</i>	
Clock Tower	
Town Walls	

Ashworth and Tunbridge (2000, 50) thus argue that the central business district (CBD) becomes partly separated from the historic city. The authors emphasize that this abandonment is partial, because some commercial activities can profit from being located in the historic city or historic center, such as the leisure shopping based on tourism or culture. The process has been experienced by Antalya as well.

The Walled-Town is a totality of an urban environment, thus it is an interrelated complex of urban functions coexisting in the town. Therefore, the Walled-Town involves urban functions such as residential uses (housing), tourism-based accommodation units (boutique hotels, hotels, pensions, hostels, house pensions), tourism-based commercial activities, other commercial activities, cultural or administrative units located in robust historic structures (museums, mosques, churches, public offices such as the Council, etc), catering and entertainment units (cafes, bars, restaurants, nightclubs and discos), art galleries or art centers, public or private office buildings, public administrative buildings (military, government, etc), educational units

<sup>87</sup> <http://www.brookings.edu/~media/research/files/reports/2001/9/metropolitanpolicy%20bier/bier.pdf>



and religious units. Among them, as shown in table 5.1, tourism-based accommodation units, tourism-based commercial units, catering and entertainment units, and cultural-leisure shopping are also defined as secondary resources in the dissertation. In addition to these, there are abandoned or underused buildings in the present Walled Town, part of these vacant buildings being either on sale or for rent, while the rest are either dilapidated or under construction. The present land-use of the Walled-Town according to this categorization is shown in Figure 5.1.

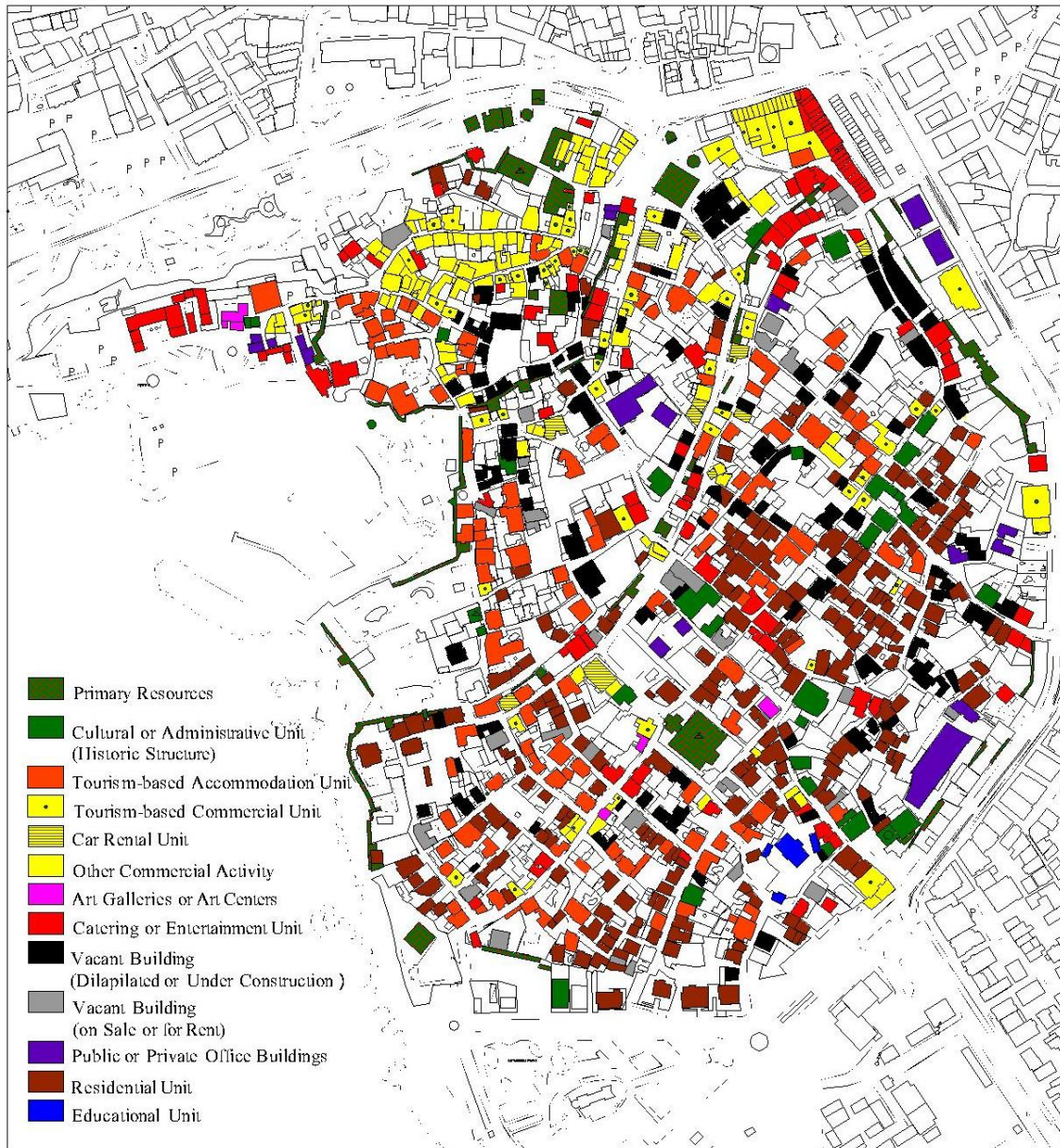


Figure 5.1. Land-use of the Walled-Town in 2013 (Personal rendering; Source for the base map: Antalya Chamber of Architects)

### **V.1.2. The object of focus: Users**

Ashworth & Tunbridge (2000, 131-132) state that groups of users mainly use the multifunctional tourist-historic city ‘intentionally’ or ‘incidentally’. The authors then add the spatial dimension of these groups to incidental/intentional distinction and consequently define four possible combinations as a product of the relationships between these dimensions<sup>88</sup>. By basically using the authors’ classification, the users of the Walled-Town might be defined as:

1. Intentional users from outside the city-region: these are mainly the tourists.
2. Intentional users from inside the city-region: these are mainly recreating residents making use of the city’s recreational and entertainment facilities or merely enjoying its historic character while engaging in other activities.
3. Incidental users from outside the city-region: these are mostly non-recreating visitors travelling for business, congress, health or family purposes.
4. Incidental users from inside the city-region: these are mainly non-recreating residents or tradesmen as the ordinary or daily users of the area.

### **V.2. The examination of the reproduction of the Walled-Town between 1972-2013**

A set of relationships will be exposed in this section between the stakeholders, taking the related global, national and local circumstances and policies into consideration. While doing this, each sub-period of the Chapter will be related to the corresponding period in tourism development, which was explained in Chapter IV. In this way, it will be possible to follow the relationships -if there are any- between the reproduction of the Walled-Town and the turning points in national policies, politics, the economy, and tourism development in the region. To make the Chapter easier to follow, each sub-period will be examined under four sub-headings. Firstly, the general development of the town in each sub-period will shortly be given in order to see the Walled-Town in its larger urban context. Later, plans and projects produced for the Walled-Town in each sub-period will be examined including the condition of ‘primary resources’ in the period, namely whether they are restored, in use, or in non-usage. Then comes the stakeholder profile analysis of each sub-period. By doing this, it will be revealed how the official and civilian stakeholder profiles in the Walled-Town in general changed in time. After the stakeholders are

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<sup>88</sup> “These four combinations can be recombined in various ways according to the aspect of the use of the historic city being considered.” (Ashworth & Tunbridge 2000, 132)

revealed, conflicts and compromises among stakeholders on the uses and the users of the Walled-Town will be examined together with the use of sanctions of the stakeholders for realizing their own wills. Within this framework, the sub-headings are:

1. Development of the Town in General
2. Works under the Official Plans and Projects Produced for the Walled Town
3. Stakeholder Profiles
4. Conflicts and Compromises among Stakeholders and Their Tools of Sanctions

### **V.2.1. Sub-period of 1972-1980, the Mayoralty of Selahattin Tongu under CHP (the Republic People’s Party)**

The consequences of the 1970 Turkish *coup d’etat*, the confusion in the regional plans and projects and in the organizational structure related to the political ambiguity in the country, the start of package-tours and the all-inclusive system in Antalya, the designation of tourism as the generator factor for all the coastal settlements in the region, the introduction of yacht harbors to Turkish tourism and the emphasis in the 3<sup>rd</sup> FYDP on the conservation of historic values all corresponded to this period of the town, under the mayoralty of Selahattin Tongu. The period ended with the 1980 Turkish *coup d’etat* and Tongu was removed from office like all the other mayors in the country.

Tongu<sup>89</sup>, a local citizen of Antalya and a lawyer at the age of 30, had already started to develop a vision and discuss new projects about Antalya together with his other young friends before he became the mayor. The basic livelihood of the citizens in those times was agriculture, but the city also had great cultural potential. Therefore they imagined a city of culture. In 1973, Tongu was made a candidate for the mayoralty by his party, the People’s Republican Party, CHP and was elected as the new city mayor.

In 1973, Act no. 1710, or the Conservation Law (*Eski Eserler Kanunu*) was enacted as the first legal arrangement foreseeing the conservation of the historic environment as a whole (Madran 1989) and introducing the concept of ‘conservation area’ or ‘conservation site’. Therefore, accompanied by the effects of the other corresponding factors explored in Chapter IV and briefly listed above, the law had a role in shaping Antalya in this period under the mayoralty of Tongu,

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<sup>89</sup> Interview in 2013

who himself advocated the conservation of the historic values and the creation of a cultural town.

Table: 5.2. Local and central governments during the mayoralty of Selahattin Tonguç

Local Government	Period	Central Government
Selahattin Tonguç (CHP)	1973	Melen Government (military)
	1974	Talu/Ecevit Government (military/CHP)
	1975	Irmak/Demirel Government (military/AP)
	1976	Demirel Government (AP)
	1977-1979	Demirel/Ecevit Government (AP/CHP)
	1980	Demirel/Ulusu Government (AP/military)

#### ***V.2.1.1. Development of the Town in General***

During the mayoralty of Selahattin Tonguç, the town witnessed important development schemes and expanded towards Lara and Altinkum. In 1970, the Teachers' Land Cooperative was founded, resulting in the formation of Altinkum Neighborhood. Spontaneously, the land surrounding the town was parceled as a result of the continuing migration due to the developing industry and tourism. The *gecekondus* gained their deeds through appropriate national acts. In 1974, the agreement dated 1969 with planner Bülent Berksan (working in the Bank of Provinces) regarding the development plan of the town was cancelled, since it could not add on the plan previously prepared by the Bank of Provinces. Upon this, between 1974 and 1976, works to fix the plan took place; however, in 1976, it was decided that a new plan was necessary and in 1977 the task was delivered to a private bureau owned by planners Zühtü and Müzeyyen Can (Aydın 2010, 10). Regarding tourism, the 1/25,000 scale Master Plan proposed the tourism-based use of the western and eastern coasts of the town with a 20,000 bed capacity, of which 10,000 was to be in the Lara Band and 6,500 in Arapsuyu. While proposing tourist facilities on the coastal band, measures were also taken to guarantee the usage of the coasts for the public good, such as the arrangement of Lara Beaches as public beaches; proposing the usage of the forest behind the beaches as camping areas; maintaining the cliffs' designation as a 'natural

conservation site' of 150-meter width and 8,5-kilometer length; the arrangement of the first line of land behind the natural conservation site area as public spaces and arrangement of the second line of land as tourist facilities; and implementing a similar arrangement –first line of public spaces and second line of tourist facilities- in the Arapsuyu region. The plan proposed the expansion of the town towards the north and the west in order to conserve the agricultural land; by this way, middle-income groups settled in the northern part of the town. Other main aspects of the plan included the reservation of land for mass housing in order to prevent squatter settlements; and precaution measures in order to improve the new port (Aydın 2010, 10). Another important aspect of the plan was reserving the land between the main road and the coast along Konyaaltı, starting from Cumhuriyet Square, as a green band; however, it was not approved in the Municipal Council (*Belediye Meclisi*) and thus dense development took place in this band. Regarding the Walled Town, the plan proposed a tourism-based use, in coherence with the Conservation Plan of the Walled Town.

In the Walled Town, 5-6 new concrete buildings were already constructed. In the beginning of the 1970s, several buildings around Cumhuriyet Square and Atatürk Street were also given high-rise building permits and when Tonguç became the mayor, they were under construction: Konuk İşhanı (close to Hadrian's Gate), Saray Cinema and Kültür Cinema. He emphasizes that Kültür Cinema was a building which was given a permit for ten storeys and it was being constructed in the location of the demolished town walls. Tonguç states that these buildings were being allowed to suffocate the Walled Town, as no conservation policy had been developed yet. Therefore, when he became the mayor, he had the municipality lock and seal these constructions in order to protect the historic fabric from further development pressure. As a result, the municipality had to deal with the issue in the court for a long time. Meanwhile, Tonguç visited Topkapı Museum for 15 days and worked there. During this working period, he found an old plan of the town from the Ottoman Period belonging to the Naval Office (*Bahriye Sefareti*).

In 1980, as a result of the *coup d'état*, Tonguç was removed from duty by telephone like all other mayors in the country. The intervention also put an end to the projects which were given a start by Tonguç.

### ***V.2.1.2. Works under the Official Plans and Projects Produced for the Walled Town***

The first planning works for Antalya old harbor and its surroundings took a start in 1973, with a focus on its conservation and use for tourism.<sup>90</sup> Planning works, which were given a start by the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion in 1974 and funded by the Tourism Bank, were evaluated by the Higher Council for Immovable Antiquities and Monuments (*Gayrimenkul Eski Eserler Anıtlar Yüksek Kurulu, GEEAYK*). With the decision no. 7044 dated 14.04.1973, the area surrounded by the old city walls and the old harbor was declared a ‘conservation site’<sup>91</sup> (Yalın 1980, 57) while 127 monumental structures (town walls, bastions, mosques, masjids, wells, etc.), 473 residential structures, 93 gardens, and 25 monumental trees were registered as ‘cultural properties’. Following the designation, a protocol, including the expropriation of the houses in the old harbor area, between the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion, the Ministry of Land Development and Settlement, Antalya Municipality and GEEAYK was signed. In order to make the implementation possible, the Act of Tourism Centers was enacted and Antalya old harbor was declared as a tourism center. In 1979, new arrangements took place in the conservation site and according to the new approach, the Walled-Town and the old harbor area were decided to be handled separately. The planning authority of the Walled-Town was to be the municipality, while the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion was to be the authority to plan the old harbor area (Alkış 2001). Actually, this led to different planning processes for evaluating the old harbor area separately from the rest of the Walled-Town until today.

Former director of the Investment Department of the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion of the time, Güler Yalın, an architect who graduated from METU, (1980, 59) mentions that the project consisted of two phases. The first phase –the old harbor and the surrounding area- was meant to “serve as a model for others” (Yalın 1980, 58). Yalın continues that in the second phase of the project –the Walled-Town handled by METU-, the inhabitants were supposed to do the restoration of the houses according to guidelines set by METU and she adds that this phase was regarded as the backbone of the whole project (Yalın 1980, 59).

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<sup>90</sup> Earlier, a study on the city was carried out in 1972 by METU Faculty of Architecture members Okan Üstüncök, Aysıl Yavuz and Ömür Bakırcı.

<sup>91</sup> Tankut expresses that conservation on an urban scale in Turkey appeared with the concept of the ‘conservation site’, which was introduced through Law no. 1710. She further claims that the former concept of the ‘protocol area’ has no significance to be taken into consideration.

### V.2.1.2. a. Old Harbor Project in Antalya

Long before the designation of the old harbor area as a conservation site, the port of Antalya had already been replaced by a modern one, of which construction started in 1964 and was completed in 1973. The project in the old harbor was launched in 1974. Yalın states that (1980, 58) the Antalya harbor project was a pioneer effort in the state-supported conservation of the architectural heritage on a large scale. The objectives of the project were “to save irreplaceable examples of Turkish architecture in the historic center of the city of Antalya, examples which are threatened by uncontrolled development resulting from intense industrial activity in the region” (Yalın 1980). It was also hoped that the project would “discourage emigration to other areas by improving the socio-economic conditions of the local inhabitants, mostly fishermen, laborers and other low-income people” (Yalın 1980).

Regarding the major goals, the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion drew up a partial development plan (*vaziyet planı*) in 1/1,000 scale for the project area. It involved the construction of a marina complex in the old commercial harbor and reproduction of its surroundings as a tourism and recreation area. It also included the restoration of the larger houses on the town walls facing the old harbor to be used as tourist accommodation units. The plan was approved by the Municipality of Antalya and the Ministry of Land Development and Settlement<sup>92</sup> in 1974, and by the Conservation Council with decision A-185 dated 08.10.1976. The plan was later used as a basis of all the works in the area up to today. A team of architects and engineers was appointed to the project: chief architect Öztan Ecevit, architects Ali Nihat Güney and Sadık Mercangöz as the major team; and civil engineer Mehmet Emin Gürlek, architect Mehmet Emin Yalın, architect Yalın Can Bulçum as the assistant team. Between 1976 and 1981, the Antalya Custodial Contracting Commission (*Antalya Emanet Komisyonu*) was founded with the aim of speeding up the implementation of the project in an efficient way. Chief architect Ş. Yekta Tuna was assigned as the head of the Council up to 1981 and after 1981 chief architect Ali Nihat Güney was assigned in his place. Architects Sadık Mercangöz and İbrahim Bostancıoğlu, and civil engineer Vural Yayla continued on the construction works (Özdemir 2006, 237). Expropriation of land by the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion gave the start for the implementation of the project (Yalın 1980, 57).

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<sup>92</sup> ‘Ministry of Public Works’ (functioned between 1928 and 1983) and Ministry of Land Development and Settlement (functioned between 1958 and 1983) were unified as ‘Ministry of Public Works and Settlement’.

The team assessed all the structures in the area in terms of their physical conditions and potentials, studied their lost architectural features and determined new uses based upon the research. A 5.5-hectare area was rehabilitated with new infrastructure; the old port was transformed into a marina, a space was created for the local fishing boats, ruinous buildings were converted into shops or catering units such as cafes and restaurants; the old four-storey warehouse of the Ottoman Bank was converted into a 60-bed hotel by the efforts of the architect Öztan Ecevit (the building was not demolished upon his wish) to be run by TURBAN (the operative name of the Tourism Bank). The waterfront was landscaped; an open-air amphitheater and a car park were created at the northern entrance to the harbor. “Restaurants and outdoor cafes catered for a capacity of 4,000 people” (Bilgen 1988, in Orbaşı 2000, 124). The business administration of the recreation area was delivered to the Tourism Bank by the Ministry; and the area was operated by the TURBAN Walled-Town Enterprise (*Turban Antalya Kaleiçi İşletmesi*). The Bank delivered services to more than fifty shops in the harbor area. Within this scope, forty shops were tendered in the first phase: a beer house, a restaurant, two boutiques, two carpet shops, a pastry shop, a sea travel agency, five souvenir shops, an arts and crafts atelier and shop, two sea and hunting materials shops, a newsstand, a sandwich shop, a tavern, a beer-wine house/bar, an ice-cream seller, a travel agency, a tuck-shop, two leather shops, a plaza café (*meydan kahvesi*), a bank, a cafeteria, a kiosk, a drinking house (*meyhane*), a pharmacy, and a barber (Özdemir 2006). These uses were accompanied by an open-air amphitheater, a 60-bed hotel (Adalya), a car park as given above, and a port directorship, frontier control, security, post office and tourism information (Mimarlık 1984). Adalya Hotel was originally built as a bank building in 1869, and later used as a storage space by Ottoman Bank. The building was transformed into a hotel by Öztan Ecevit by keeping the façade and was re-opened in 1983 by the Ministry of Tourism. For forty years, its administration was assigned to the Tourism Bank (Özdemir 2006, 31). In time, a new process was launched under the project: Build-Operate-Transfer (BOT) (*yap-işlet-devret*). Through the novelty, the building of the Gashouse (Gazhane) was allocated to Club 29<sup>93</sup>, which became a well-known night club in Turkey.

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<sup>93</sup> Which later left the area.



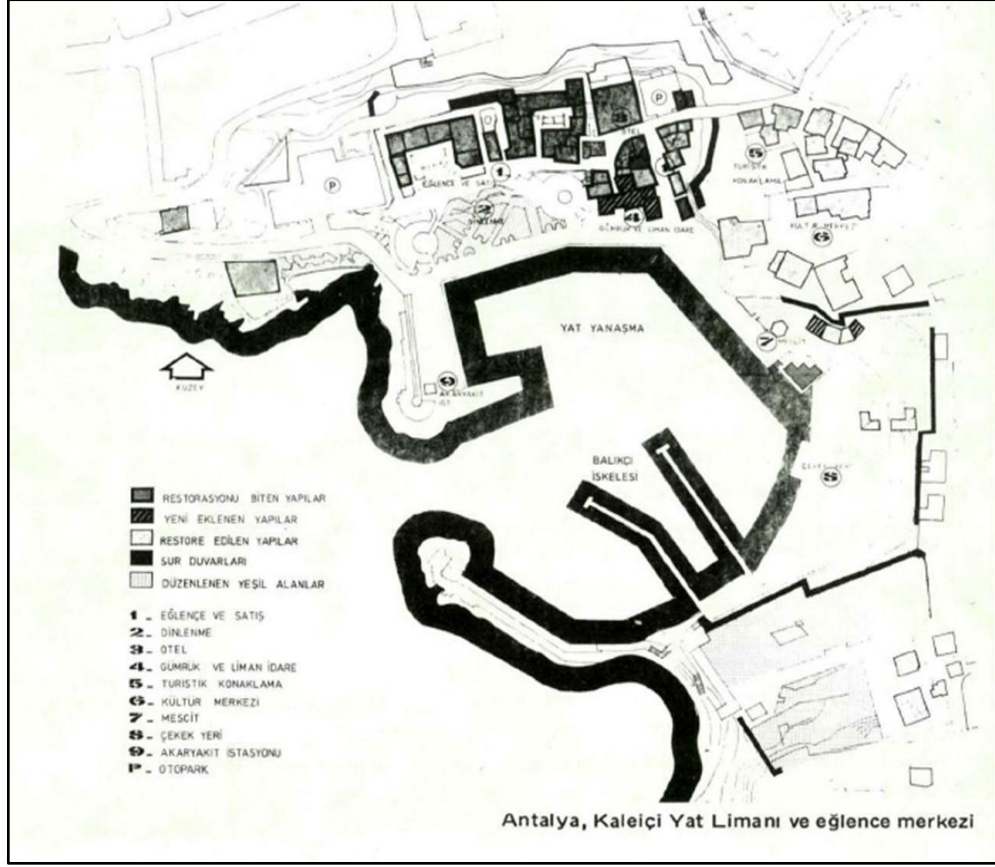


Figure 5.2. Antalya Walled-Town Yacht Harbor Entertainment Center (Official Plan)

### ANTALYA KALEİÇİ / ANTALYA CITADEL

1. Birahane/Beer-House
2. Restoran/Restaurant
3. Halıcı/Rugs and Carpets
4. Butik/Boutique
5. Muhallebici/Pudding Shop
6. Pastane/Pastry Shop
7. Hatıra Eşya/Souvenirs
- A. Tuvalet-Duş/WC-Shower
8. Mahalli El Sanatları Satış Yeri/Local Handicrafts
9. Butik/Boutique
10. Butik/Boutique
11. Halıcı/Rugs and Carpets
12. Deniz, Av ve Yat Malzemeleri/Fishing and Yachting Supplies
13. Hatıra Eşya/Souvenirs
14. Hatıra Eşya/Souvenirs
15. Kuyumcu/Jewellery
16. Hatıra Eşya/Souvenirs
17. Gazeteci ve Tütüncü/Newspaper and Tobacco Stand
18. Sandviççi/Sandwich
19. Kuruyemiş/Dried Fruits and Nuts
20. Manav/Green Grocery
21. Taverna/Tavern
22. Bira-Şarap Bar/Beer and Wine Bar
23. Dondurmacı/Ice Cream Stand
24. Bürolar/Offices
25. Turizm Enformasyon/Tourism Information
26. Reçelci/Turkish Jams
27. Börekçi-Lokmacı (1. Kat Derici)/Turkish Pies and Sweets (1st Floor Leather Goods)
28. Büro/Office
29. Meydan Kahvesi/Turkish Cafe
- B. Liman İşletmesi/Harbour Management
30. Banka/Bank
31. Derici/Leather Goods
32. Kafeterya/Cafeteria
- C. Danışma/Information
- D. Gümrük/Customs
- E. Tuvalet/WC
- F. PTT/Post Office
- G. Karakol/Police
33. Büfe/Buffer
34. Deniz ve Av Malzemeleri/Sea and Hunting Equip
35. Meyhane/Tavern
36. Çiçekçi-Eczane/Florist-Pharmacy
- H. Turban Adalya Otelı/Turban Adalya Hotel
- I. Otopark/Parking Lot

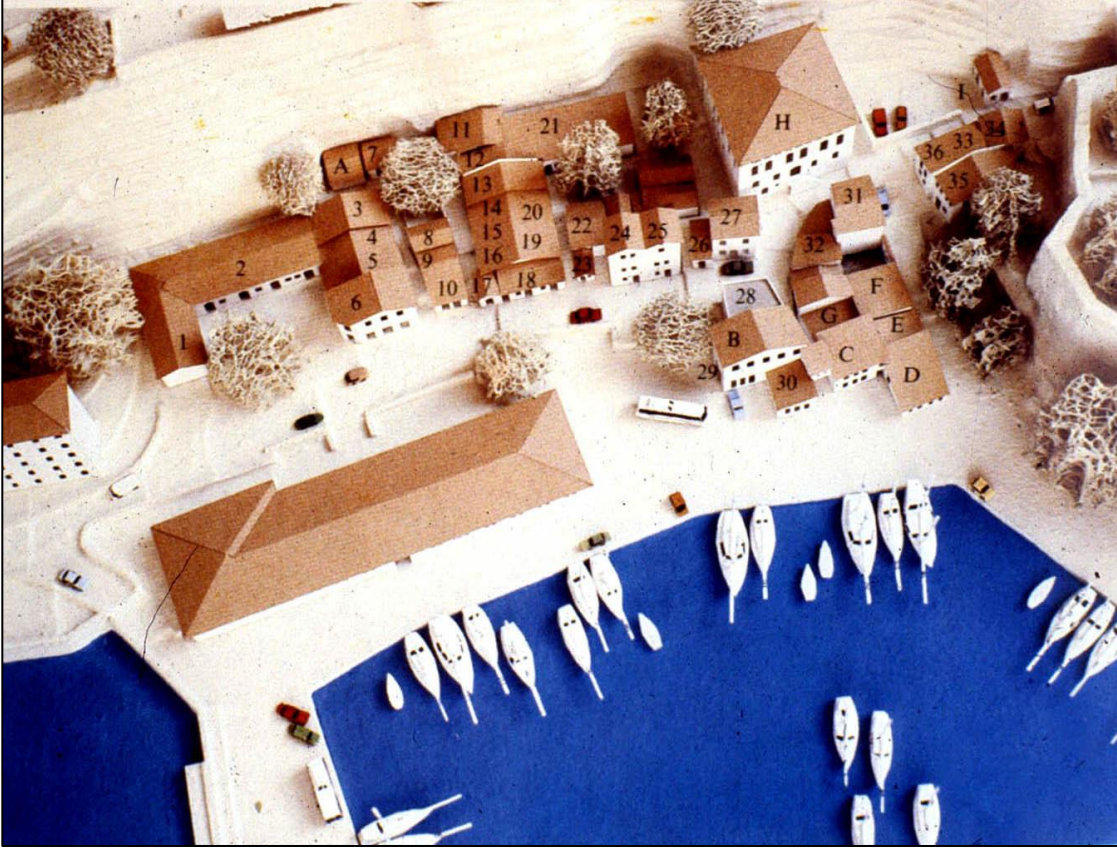


Figure 5.3. Model of the Yacht Harbor Project and the attributed uses (Personal archive of Baykan Günay)

In the harbor area and around it, 101 plots were expropriated<sup>94</sup> (119 parcels totaling 17,139 square meters); through this process, the owners of the houses and plots changed (Yalim 1980, 57). In Yalim's article dating back to 1980, it is seen that the financial aid provided by the Tourism Bank of Turkey and the technical aid provided by the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion were going to help "in the relocation of people displaced by the planned commercial and tourist activities"(Yalim 1980, 57).

#### **V.2.1.2. b. The Planning of the Walled-Town**

In 1967, the Walled-Town was designated as a protocol area, a term in operation before the introduction of the concept of 'conservation site' in 1973. With the novelty in the legislation, the Walled-Town was designated as an 'urban conservation site' in 1973. Corresponding to those years, the preparation of the conservation plans for the entire conservation site of the Walled-Town were delivered to Middle East Technical University (METU) by the Ministry of Tourism, to be completed in 1979. Müzeyyen Can<sup>95</sup>, who was preparing the development plan of the town together with Zühtü Can, states that this had been great news for them, because prior to this decision, their planning area borders also included the Walled-Town and they had no idea about what and how to plan there, due to the historic condition of the area. It is seen that this was a justifiable worry when Gönül Tankut's evaluation of the 'protocol area' is taken into consideration: "Protocol areas, which had been handled as a passive part of the development plans for years, could not be mobilized for conservation and contributed much to the stagnancy of the development plans through the perpetual suspension of problems and postponing of their solutions."

Consequently, in 1979, with the division of the planning of the Yacht Harbor and the Walled-Town by a recent arrangement related to conservation (Alkış 2001), there were three separate areas being planned by three diverse bodies or groups:

1. The Yacht Harbor: the responsible body was the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion (its planning done by the team of chief architect Öztan Ecevit)

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<sup>94</sup> In a report of CHP Antalya Provincial Branch dated 1977, it is claimed that they were expropriated without the approval and permission of the municipality; however, the mayor of the period Selahattin Tonguç expresses that he by himself worked on the issue of expropriations. (See section V.5.1.4.)

<sup>95</sup> Personal interview, 2012

2. The Walled-Town conservation site: the responsible body was Antalya Municipality (the conservation plan being prepared by METU)
3. Outside the Walled-Town: the responsible body was Antalya Municipality (the development plan being prepared by Zühtü and Müzeyyen Can –in several sources it is attributed to the Antalya Master Planning Bureau)

Architect Güler Yalım<sup>96</sup>, one of the first students and graduates of METU herself, says that during her freshman year, in 1957, the deputy of Antalya Ahmet Tokuş took the second year architecture students of METU to Antalya. There, they were accommodated in the Walled-Town. By this event started the interest of METU in Antalya. In 1972, after her graduation she started to work in the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion. Together with Minister Erol Akça and assistant secretary Aydın Alacakaptan, they visited Eyüp and Sultanahmet in İstanbul to carry out conservation works. Afterwards, the Walled-Town of Antalya arose as a subject; Yalım notes that the South Antalya Tourism Development Project did not yet exist. Soon after, a research was carried out in the Walled-Town, and the preparation of a ‘conservation plan’ was decided to be done. Upon this, Yalım carried the issue to her school METU and consulted Gönül Tankut. Tankut suggested that they could provide some input and they started to work on the task as a group. In this respect, the works continued from three branches: the METU group, the Investment Department of the Ministry, and the Tourism Bank (by the group of Nazım Üstünger; they were appointed by the Minister and investigated the buildings). The partial works of the mentioned groups were combined when the Antalya Master Planning Bureau was established. Upon this development, the task was going to be transferred to the bureau. Later, the Ministry made a contract with the METU team, an Applied Research Unit, involving four members of the Faculty of Architecture: Gönül Tankut, Murat Balamir, Özcan Esmer and Ülker Çapur.

At the time, Gönül Tankut had degrees in Architecture (Zurich), City Planning (Yale University) and Political Science and Public Administration (Ankara University); Murat Balamir had degrees in Architecture (METU; Architectural Association, London), Town Planning (UC, University of London), and Political Science and Public Administration (Ankara University); Özcan Esmer had degrees in Architecture (METU), M.Science in Tropical Architecture (Pratt Institute, New York) and in City Planning (METU). Therefore as a team specialized in architecture, town planning and political sciences, they started to work on the task.

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<sup>96</sup> Personal interview in 2012

When the municipality wanted to start projects for the Walled Town, Tonguç learnt that the Ministry of Culture had already made an agreement with METU for the conservation plan of the area. In the organizational structure, the municipality's role was given as facilitating the coordination. Upon this, Tonguç wanted to meet Gönül Tankut from the METU Project team, and after that day, they worked jointly, completed the work in a short time and Tonguç emphasizes that the students of METU Faculty of Architecture at that day also made a major contribution to these works.

The Ministry of Tourism and Promotion explains the motive in delivering the Walled-Town conservation project to a university as the requirement of an integrated conservation-development planning for the area, since it was much bigger than the old harbor area in surface area and in population and had more complex problems. Thus, the experience of the harbor project necessitated a more comprehensive work for the Walled-Town, based on a better pre-survey (Tankut 1979).

Tankut lists the basic aims of the plan as:

- To minimize the paradox/conflict between the presentation of the historic environment and everyday life,
- To repair the social justice in the neighborhoods of the Walled-Town,
- To recover from the economic depression,
- To rehabilitate the physical environment,
- To conserve the historic, cultural and regional environmental values,
- To add the Walled-Town into the tourism portfolio of Antalya by equipping the Walled-Town with the necessary tourism-based functions.

The public survey was conducted in 1977 and completed in 1978. According to official statistical data, the population of the Walled-Town was 4,300 in 1975. The Walled-Town consisted of four neighborhoods: Tuzcular, Barbaros, Kılıçarslan and Selçuk. The buildings were classified by the planning team into three groups in terms of their functions:

- housing,
- commerce,
- social facilities.

The total number of dwellings was 974. The houses were usually one or two-storey, including several which were more than two-storeys. There were 59 building blocks in the total planning area. The survey (which covered 72% of the total area) revealed that 48% of the houses in the planning area contained historic value; while 52%, 28% of which was new development, did not. It is noted that the distribution of the houses with historic value in the area was not homogeneous, since in some blocks 100% of the houses carried historic value, whereas in others this rate might be less than 48%.

In the whole Walled-Town, the number of commercial units was 181. The functional profile of these units is shown in Figure 5.4.

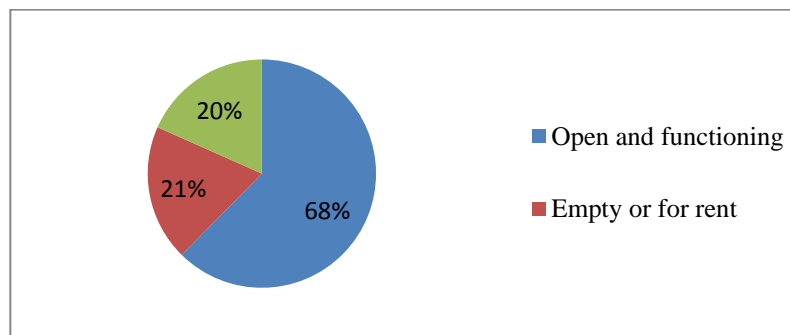


Figure 5.4. Functional profile of commercial units in the Walled-Town.

While open and functioning units were concentrated close to the town center, places used for storage purposes were mostly diffused in the inner parts of the neighborhoods. The number of people busy with commerce was 170. 46% of them resided in the Walled-Town, while 54% resided outside. The planning team concluded that the commercial units in the area were mostly traditional uses such as grocery stores, repairmen, shoes repairmen and tailors, which had no link with the tourism sector.

The main decisions of the Plan on the uses were the following:

- Commerce would take place along the middle town walls; in the part closer to the center, there would be tourism-based commerce, while towards the south, tourism-based services and recreation would take place. The 1/500 scale development plan would bring detailed functional decisions for the area.
- The southeast part of the commercial spine (between Hesapçı Street, Kocatepe Gate and Hesapçı Gate) would be the accommodation area. It was selected due to its proximity to

main attraction points, its central location in the historic site and the concentration of the historic buildings suitable for accommodation purposes.

The population in the four neighborhoods of the Walled-Town was assumed to be as shown in table 5.3:

Table: 5.3. The population of the Walled-Town Neighborhoods

Neighborhood	Population	%
Barbaros	1,350	27
Kılıçarslan	1,800	36
Selçuk	1,250	25
Tuzcular	600	12
Total	5,000	100

In the plan, it was foreseen that residential density would increase in the following years in the Walled-Town and according to the plan this would partly happen through the ‘return home’ of the real owners of the houses to the area, which never took place.

The Plan consisted of a 1/1,000 scale plan, an explanatory report of 42 pages, plan regulations of 19 pages, and a list of conservation decisions of 50 pages. The Plan was submitted to GEEAYK in December 1979 (Esmer 1982, 15) and was delivered to Zühtü and Müzeyyen Can –Antalya Master Planning Bureau- for its translation into the terminology of a valid development plan.

When the Plan Regulations<sup>97</sup> are explored, the articles related to uses and users can be summarized as follows:

- The plan regulations aim to be a means of arrangement that is open to social and physical changes (art.I.2);
- The plan regulations determine the zoning (art.I.3a) and transportation (art.I.3c) decisions;
- Housing areas can only be used as pensions apart from residential purposes (art.II.4.b);
- In the first degree natural conservation sites, no functional change (except housing, accommodation and tourism services) is permitted in existing buildings (art.II.4.d);

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<sup>97</sup> Antalya Conservation Development Plan Regulations, 1979

- In the second degree natural conservation sites, only housing, accommodation and tourism services are permitted apart from sports and recreational uses (art.II.4.d);
- No tourist facility and business (including commerce and accommodation) can be established in the Walled-Town without having a ‘license’ from the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion (art.III.2.f.xix).

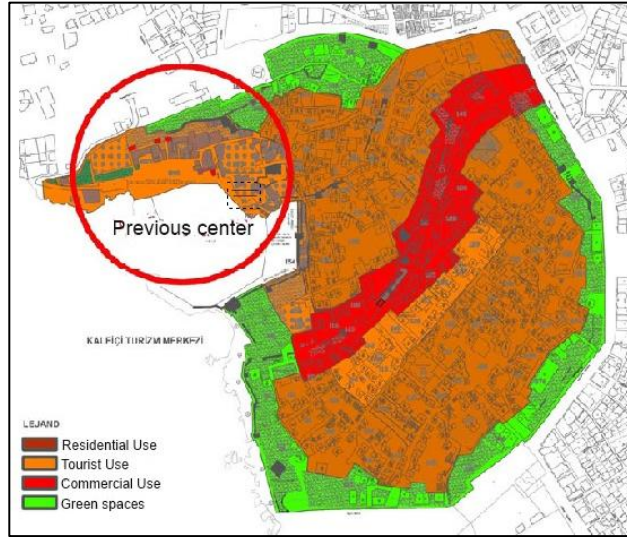


Figure 5.5. Land-use decisions of 1979 Conservation Plan (Source: Öztekin 2010, 83)

In the amendment to the regulations (*ek yönetmelik*), the ‘house pension’ is defined as one of the uses of the area. The introduction of the term stands as an important ingredient in the functioning of the Walled-Town, since until the end of the 1970s, tourists coming from Ankara and Istanbul used to be partly hosted at homes of voluntary families. (Çimrin 2012, 473)

In house pensions, the main aim is to provide additional and clean accommodation units during the peak seasons, while at the same time to provide the tourists with an opportunity to learn about the Turkish social structure and develop international friendships and cooperation. House pensions also provide cheap accommodation opportunities to those with a limited budget.

According to the regulations, a ‘house-pensions council’ was to be established with the following members:

1. The city mayor
2. Province Director for Land Development
3. Province Director for Culture and Tourism



4. The Tourism Bank Custodial Contracting Commission
5. The Director of the Museum
6. The Director of Land Development in Antalya Municipality
7. The Director of Infrastructure and Construction in Antalya Municipality
8. An architect from the Municipality
9. The authors of the development and conservation plans

The Council was to be responsible for making the necessary assessments before giving licenses to house pensions. At the end of the assessment, the license was going to be delivered by the municipality. The pensions were to be under the control of the municipality.

The Antalya Walled-Town Plan has a particular place in the conservation planning history of Turkey. Another similar project was the Süleymaniye Complex (*Küllüye*) and Neighborhood Project carried out by the Office of Conservation of Historical Areas, of the Municipality of Istanbul. The Süleymaniye Project covered an area of 45 hectares and the Antalya Walled-Town Project, together with the Marina, covered an area of 42 hectares (Esmer 1982, 15). Esmer<sup>98</sup> emphasizes that the Walled-Town Plan has been the first in Turkey in terms of its socio-economical and physical comprehensiveness.

Beside the Old Harbor and the Walled-Town conservation projects, mayor Selahattin Tonguç initiated the first infrastructure works, laying out sewerage pipes in the Walled-Town around 1975. It was a preliminary work; a comprehensive work for sewerage took place later in the 1990s during Hasan Subaşı's mayoralty in Antalya.

### ***V.2.1.3. Stakeholder Profile***

Yalım states that when they visited the Walled-Town in 1957, it was the main residential area of Antalya, it was lively and the buildings were in good condition, being taken care of, the owners of the houses still living there. According to Öztekin's study (2010, 79) there were 1089 buildings in the Walled-Town in 1945, together with the vacant plots there were 1253 units. Figure 5.2 gives the distribution of the general uses in 1945 over 1253 units. It is seen that two thirds of the total units were residential uses whereas one third of the total units were

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<sup>98</sup> Personal interview 2012

commercially used. Commercial uses were concentrated at the northern part of the Walled-Town. From the pre-surveys of the 1979 Conservation Plan it is detected that residential uses show an increase of %3 which can be interpreted as the development of some of the vacant plots (Öztekin 2010, 80). There were 1129 buildings in 1979, together with the vacant plots there were 1345. The distribution of the land-uses in 1979 before the implementation process of the Conservation Plan is given in Figure 5.3 over 1345 units.

Tonguç and Kadri Yakut<sup>99</sup>, the property owner of Marina Puding<sup>100</sup> Hotel and a retired admiral, both state that abandonment of the Walled-Town had already started before the 1970s. Yakut claims that the phenomenon has two main reasons behind it: the construction of modern apartment buildings outside the Walled Town after 1954, and the designation of the Walled-Town as a ‘protocol area’ in 1967. Tonguç emphasizes that it was the higher-income group who first started to leave the Walled-Town in favor of modern buildings; his family was one of these people. It was rather the middle and lower-income groups, including the gypsies living in the quarter known as the ‘Roman Quarter’, who continued to stay. According to Tonguç’s and several other interviewees’ expressions, the quarter was the most vital district of the Walled-Town at those years.

Later, these people started to sell their houses. Yakut claims that the major step of the abandonment was launched with the designation of the protocol area. He also mentions that it was before the start of the works for the old harbor; namely, it was prior to the designation of the Walled-Town as a ‘conservation site’. The later designation accelerated the abandonment. The reasons for these designations to indirectly force people to abandon their houses were the limitations brought by the Ministry of Culture regarding the repair and the restoration of the houses. Yakut states that the typical plaster used on the walls of the historic houses in the Walled-Town was the ‘Khorasan plaster’ (*Horasan sıvası*); the Ministry did not permit residents to change this type of plaster while repairing or restoring the houses. Yakut claims that this and similar prohibitions were followed by chaos, as the buildings were deteriorating, but the citizens could not repair them due to the newly introduced limitations. He goes on to say that the people who could not afford repair started to leave their historic houses. Consequently, ‘buyers’ (*‘alıcılar’*) entered the arena of the stakeholders in the Walled Town. This new stakeholder group launched a period of convincing the local citizens in selling their historic houses.

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<sup>99</sup> Personal interview 2013

<sup>100</sup> The name ‘Puding’ comes from the name of the traditional stone used in the courtyards of the Walled-Town.

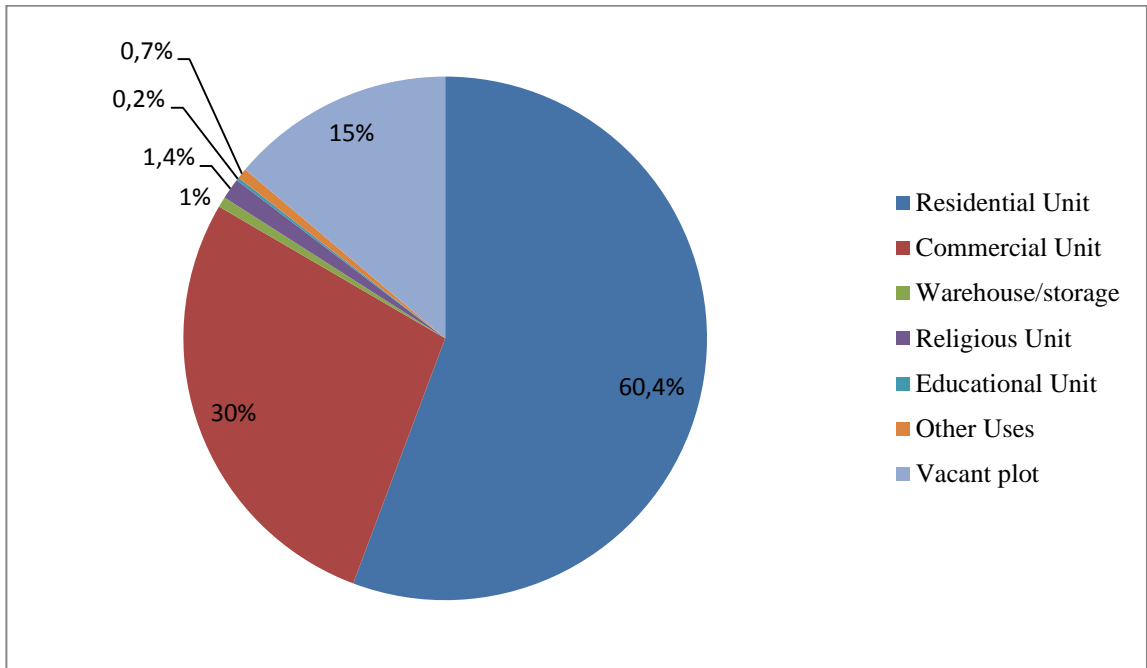


Figure.5.6. Distribution of Uses in the Walled-Town in 1945 (bases on the data in Öztekin 2010)

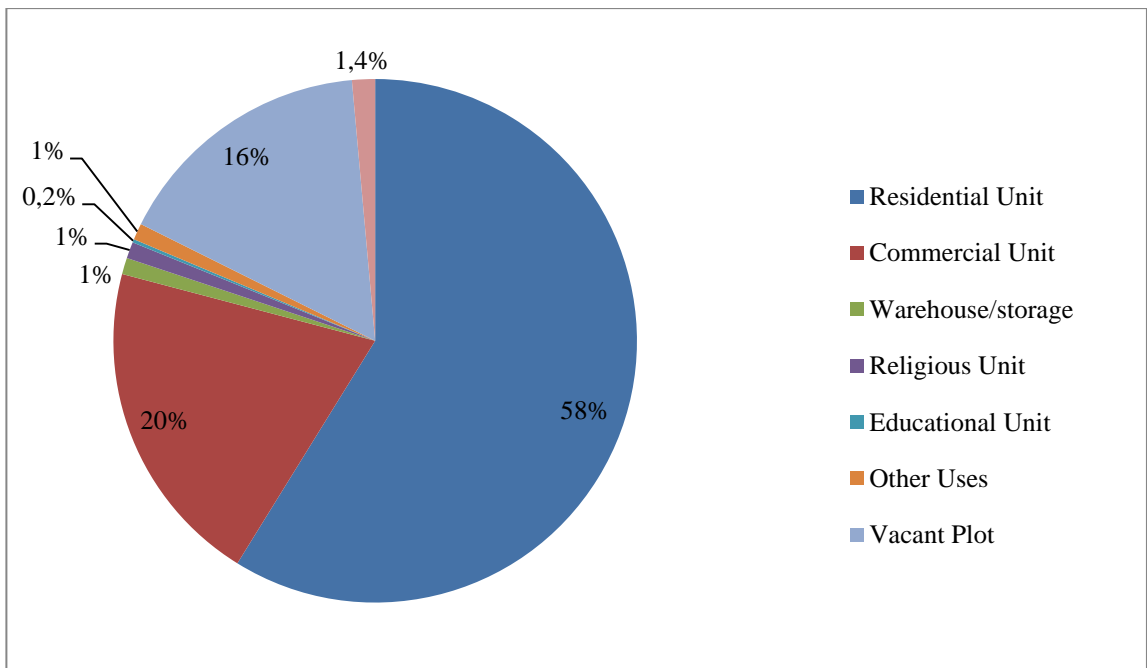


Figure 5.7. Distribution of Uses in the Walled-Town in 1979 (bases on the data in Öztekin 2010)

According to the public survey conducted in 1977 and completed in 1978, the population of the Walled-Town was 4,300 in 1975 and the majority of the population consisted of young people less than 44 years of age.

As shown in Figure 5.8, approximately two thirds of the households were tenants, meaning that the majority of the real owners of the houses were not living in the area. There was an increase in the number of tenants, while the average tenancy period was declining.

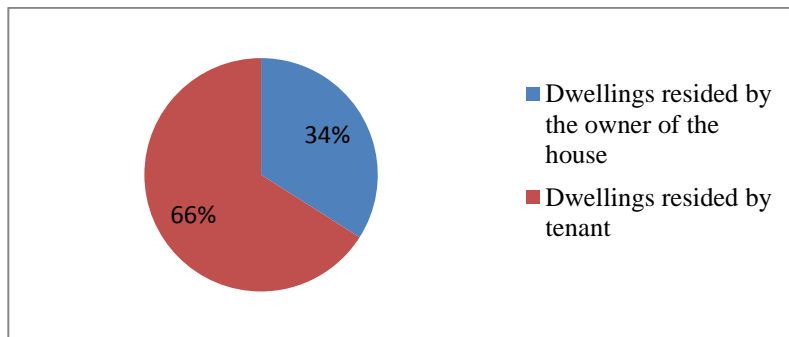


Figure 5.8. Owner/tenant rate of the residential units of the Walled-Town in 1975

As shown in Figure 5.9, 181 commercial units were also mainly used by tenants.

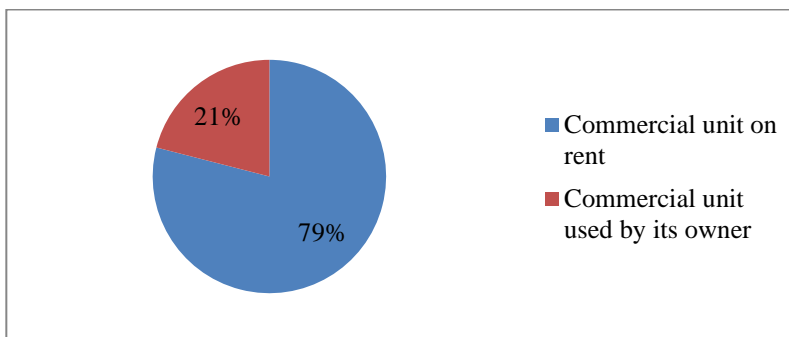


Figure 5.9. Owner/tenant rate of the commercial units of the Walled-Town in 1975

From the interviewees' comments and the results of the public survey conducted by the METU planning team, the main civilian stakeholders of the period were the owners of the houses, the owners of the commercial units, the renters as residents and the renters as tradesmen. During this period, a new civilian stakeholder group appeared: the developers who bought the houses of the owners. From the survey it is seen that the tenant population is double the owner population in the Walled-Town, with a decrease in tenancy periods. In 1982, Esmer (1982, 15) says for the

Walled-Town that ‘with the tenancy having increased more than %55 –especially in the last five years- and the collapsing buildings, it is an urban district in breakdown.’ He points out that a tendency of decrease was observed in the tenancy periods in the last years. It shows that the owners started to abandon their houses in the Walled-Town before the 1970s. When the population and physical condition in 1957 and in the 1970s are compared, it can be inferred that ‘filtering down’ took place in the Walled-Town between those years. The observation of the phenomenon was also expressed by Esmer in 1982: “The results of the questionnaires conducted in the Walled-Town were revealing that the area presented a similar situation that was observed in American and European inner cities known as ‘filtering down’ (Esmer 1982, 15).

“It is important to distinguish the phenomenon of filtering, which has been empirically researched for nearly a century, from the ideological assumptions of housing policies based on filtering.”<sup>101</sup> The process of ‘filtering’ is an urban, social and geographic change. The term is commonly associated with the Chicago School of urban studies, particularly with Homer Hoyt's 1939 model of sectorial land use patterns. The peripheral urban growth pushed the well-off to leave their houses in the central city for moving to new housing. This led to vacancies in the center, which became housing opportunities for a lower-income group. The SAGE Encyclopedia of Geography defines the phenomenon as “an outward movement of households generated by new construction, as vacancies move in the opposite direction, ending in low-status neighborhoods in the inner city.” The term is similar in meaning to the Chicago School’s concepts of invasion and succession borrowed from ecology. According to the SAGE Encyclopedia of Geography, invasion and succession emphasize “the push factor of immigrants to the city center, creating outward ripples in the urban social geographic fabric.” However, in Hoyt’s filtering down approach, market mechanisms are emphasized and given as the generative force of the social move. That is, new modern dwellings in the periphery are demanded by the higher-income group, and this creates a chain reaction of movement.

Filtering is the opposite of gentrification. “Filtering can be said to take place when the household that moves into a dwelling is of lower socio-economic status than the household that moves out, while gentrification takes place when the household that moves into a vacancy is of higher socio-economic status than the household that vacates the dwelling.” (SAGE Encyclopedia of Geography) The mechanisms that underlie the neighborhood change may vary; these mechanisms might be housing market dynamics, housing policies, urban politics, and the

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<sup>101</sup> [http://www.sage-ereference.com/geography/Print\\_n429.html](http://www.sage-ereference.com/geography/Print_n429.html)

political economy of space. In the Walled-Town projects, it might be said that both phenomena are observable; in a sense, gentrification took place in the Yacht Project, while filtering in the Walled-Town. Gentrification was carried out by the state in the harbor area by the expulsion of the people, by expropriation of the buildings (not only houses), their restoration and rehabilitation, and by their rent to higher-income groups as hotels or recreational services such as catering. In contrast, ‘filtering’ is what happened before and during the implementation process of the Walled-Town conservation plan. In filtering down, no imposition existed in the geographical move before the designation of the Walled-Town as a protocol, and later as a conservation site. The main mechanism behind was the housing market dynamics. However, after the designation of the area as a protocol area and later as a conservation site, prohibitions in repairing the buildings triggered the filtering process. A newspaper article<sup>102</sup> dated 1979 indicates that there were many graffiti on the walls of the Walled-Town houses:

- “We don’t want to live with mice”.
- “Our houses will collapse on us”.
- “Let licenses be provided to the Walled-Town”.
- “The Walled-Town should either be pulled down or be restored”.
- “The Walled-Town became the home of the mice.”
- “Mayor, you have made promises, but haven’t kept them.”
- “Poor Walled-Town residents cannot be ignored.”
- “Licenses are our right, we’ll get it!”
- “We will call to account for the Walled-Town, which has been turned into ruin.”

The article reveals the housing conditions arising from the prohibitions and justifies the reason behind the filtering down process after the designation of the area as a protocol area and as a conservation site.

Another civilian stakeholder that appeared in this period, in 1972, is the Association of Turkish Travel Agencies (TURSAB). It was established as a non-profit institution.<sup>103</sup> The main aims of the Association are “the development of the travel agency profession in harmony with the country’s economy and tourism sector, and protection of professional ethics and solidarity.”<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>102</sup> “Dünya Cenneti Antalya’ya Tepeden Bakan “Kaleiçi” Halkı Dertlerini Duvarlara Dökmüşler...”, Milliyet, 28.10.1979, page 18

<sup>103</sup> It is a legal personality by Act no. 1618, concerning Travel Agencies and the Association of Travel Agencies

<sup>104</sup> [http://www.tursab.org.tr/en/tursab/about-tursab\\_1061.html](http://www.tursab.org.tr/en/tursab/about-tursab_1061.html)

As a leading institution, TURSAB performs a major role in all issues concerning Turkish tourism through the decision-making, implementation and operation stages. TURSAB works in co-operation with all authorities, public and private organizations, in order to achieve its goals and objectives for the development of tourism. Its involvement encompasses all areas of the development and management of tourism, from policy formation and definition of strategies to preparation of legislation, planning and promotion (TURSAB 1997). It is not a stakeholder peculiar to the Walled-Town, but functions throughout the country; however, as will be seen in section V.2.7, it became a significant stakeholder through the increase of the tour operators and travel agencies in the region.

The period had different official stakeholders: the Ministry of Land Development and Settlement, the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion, the Tourism Bank, TURBAN, GEEAYK, Antalya Municipality, the Yacht Harbor Planning Team, METU and the Antalya Master Plan Bureau.

Within this framework, the stakeholders of the period are listed according to their official or civilian sides in the table:

Table 5.4. Stakeholders in the Walled-Town between 1972 and 1980

<b>National level</b>			<b>Local level</b>	
<i>Official stakeholders</i>		<i>Civilian stakeholders</i>	<i>Official stakeholders</i>	<i>Civilian stakeholders</i>
Ministry of Tourism and Promotion	Tourism Bank	TURSAB	Antalya Municipality	Local inhabitants (owners and tenants)
	TURBAN		Antalya Master Plan Bureau	Old harbor users: Laborers and fishermen
	Yacht Harbor Planning Team		Council of Plan Control and Supervision	Corporation of Conservation-Beautification

National level		Local level	
<i>Official stakeholders</i>		<i>Civilian stakeholders</i>	<i>Official stakeholders</i>
<i>Civilian stakeholders</i>		<i>Civilian stakeholders</i>	
	METU Applied Research Unit		Buyers
Ministry of Public Works and Settlement			
GEEAYK			

#### ***V.2.1.4. Conflicts and Compromises among Stakeholders and Their Use of Sanctions***

As an official stakeholder at the national level, Güler Yalım draws attention to the fact that there was no coordination between the plans on the regional scale, and that things were mostly happening accidentally. For instance, the years that the implementation of the Side Tourism Development Project started (see Chapter IV) coincided with the Walled-Town-Yacht Harbor Project. Yalım states that all the projects were carried out individually. She further makes a comment on the possible contribution of the projects to each other; for instance, she argues that the functioning of the Walled-Town might have been supported by opening front-offices and information offices for the regional projects, so that the Walled-Town might have benefited from the Side Project or other projects in making vital use of the area (supported by services provided directly or indirectly). Instead, the Walled-Town had always been thought separately, and it has been surrounded by mass tourism, which does not contribute to it much.

The interest of Tonguç and Ministry of Tourism in the Walled-Town and Yacht Harbor can be evaluated as simultaneous interests. The municipality, in its wish to revitalize the yacht harbor and the Walled Town, had no financial resources to deliver to the Walled-Town for realizing the



expropriations. Tonguç<sup>105</sup> arranged a personal meeting with the Minister of Finance, who was a fellow citizen of Antalya like Tonguç; the Minister told Tonguç that if he delivered money to Antalya, then all of Turkey would request the same. Later, Tonguç proposed that the money of the Ministry be delivered to the Ministry of Tourism, so that Ministry of Tourism could deliver it to the Walled-Town. Upon the agreement of the Minister, Tonguç then visited the Minister of Tourism and presented the proposal. The Minister of Tourism also agreed with the proposal. At a dinner with the ministers of the three Ministries, the Minister of Land Development and Settlement also supported the proposal and told Tonguç that he can have the plan approved in a short time. Later, the Ministry of Finance delivered a certain amount to the Ministry of Tourism, for approximately 35% of this money to be delivered to the Walled-Town. Tonguç also had the idea of arranging the northwest of the Walled-Town as Atatürk Park to be integrated with the neighborhoods of the Walled-Town. At that point, the Minister of Tourism hesitated, saying that the Ministry of Tourism could not finance expropriation to build a city park. Upon this, Tonguç told him that then as the first issue, he would change the name of the park into ‘Atatürk Tourist Park’. Therefore, says Tonguç, the name of Atatürk Park is written as ‘Atatürk Tourist Park’ in all the legal decisions and documentation. For the rest of the Project, to restore 101 houses among 900 in the Walled-Town, the municipality needed credits. The Minister of Tourism sent Tonguç to the director of the Tourism Bank; however, the director İlhan Evliyaoğlu refused, saying that the amount was huge. Tonguç also expresses that the old harbor was an unsafe place in those days. Upon the refusal of the director, Tonguç contacted many high-level bureaucrats, and put pressure on the director of the Tourism Bank. Consequently, the Bank gave the credit. Later, the project team was declared. The memoirs of Tonguç reveal the tools of sanctions that the official stakeholders use to impose their wills.

Another tool of sanction is revealed to be forcing residents to leave the area, which can cause conflicts between the official and civilian stakeholders. As such, at the Yacht Harbor scale, the expulsion of the people from the area by the yacht harbor project had long been an issue of debate among the public. Prior to the implementation, the buildings in the old harbor area were used for commercial purposes; most were warehouses, storage and rowing boat production yards, while a small number were sea-travel agencies. Besides, a small mosque, small restaurants, cafes (for men), and a fish market existed. The buildings were of stone and said to be in ruinous condition by the planning team. Former director of the Tourism Bank Education Department, Mehmet Özdemir (2006, 135) and former general director of TURBAN, Öztan

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<sup>105</sup> Personal interview 2013

Ecevit, and Selahattin Tonguç, all express that before the Ministry's launch of the project, the area was a garbage dump, the shops were mostly empty and ruinous, it was a place of addicts and it was not safe.

From the article of Yalim dated 1982, it can be understood that there was a social reaction to the project:

Since the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion is carrying out the project on behalf of the local authorities, support of the Antalya Municipality was essential and has been forthcoming. The state is now taking steps to establish contact with the general public to ensure its cooperation in this work. Local exhibitions are presented on every aspect of the project. Open panel discussions are arranged, and polls are taken to determine public reaction to the plans. These polls unfortunately indicate a good deal of indifference and even antipathy; the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion continues to do its best to change this, and to display its determination by enthusiastic planning, preparing exhibitions and appropriating funds.

From the paragraph, it can also be inferred that there were negotiations with the local people, but they were done in order to inform the people of the plan and persuade them to cooperate with the project, rather than create a real participation process in the project. Therefore, the people were forced to cooperate. Later, Yalim also touches upon the change in the opinions of the local public: "To its credit, local people are gradually beginning to show more interest and attempts at cooperation in the Antalya harbor project" (Yalim 1980, 59). From Kadri Yakut's comments, it can be inferred that a consensus was finally achieved between the owners of the houses and the State, only after the project conflict between the official and civilian stakeholders increased.

Kadri Yakut, as a civilian stakeholder owning a house in the Walled-Town, states that with his two brothers, he owned a mansion (*konak*) that included a bastion overlooking the sea. He mentions another conflict among the official and civilian stakeholders on the usage of the town wall bastions. Within the scope of the Yacht Harbor project, the project team wanted to expropriate the bastions inside the borders of Yakut's property on behalf of the State, in order to exhibit it publicly. The three brothers welcomed this decision and for the public interest they wanted to donate the bastion to the State instead of selling it by expropriation. However, claims Yakut, the State expropriated the houses on the walls, then restored and rented them instead of

exhibiting the town walls. He says that the people living in those houses sold their houses to the State in order for the houses to be demolished so that the town walls and town wall bastions could be revealed and exhibited. He further expressed his disappointment that if these houses were to be restored and used as hotels, the people previously owning them could also have done it, instead of being enforced to sell their properties. He describes the following process as such: “This event caused a hard feeling on the part of the local citizens toward the State, and a sense of fear followed it. People were scared of the State, thinking that it could expropriate their houses, too. This fear continued until 1983, to the mayoralty of Yener Ulusoy. This fear triggered the sales.”

According to Mehmet Özdemir, with the project, the Walled-Town started to operate as a vibrant recreational site with several functions, rather than a dead historic heritage site. Öztan Ecevit, the chief architect in the project, claims a similar idea, that the expulsion of the people in the old harbor and the gentrification were necessary in order to transform the area into a livable prestige area. Before the project, the harbor was used by fishermen and laborers, Ecevit claims that during the project conflicts appeared between the project team and the fishermen since they were no more allowed to locate their boats in the harbor to make the area attractive for more elegant uses. Sadık Mercangöz, one of the two main architects in the project, in contrast to Ecevit’s view, expresses self-criticism for the expulsion. Mercangöz continues to say that moving the people from the conservation area had already been abandoned in other countries; local people were living inside their own houses, such as in Italy. Instead of moving the people from their houses in order to bring tourism, opportunities should have been provided to them to repair their own houses, and afterwards the tourism would have begun naturally, not by imposition. Helping the people to repair their houses is a responsibility of the state, of the public, Mercangöz says. He continues that however, they took the people out from their places and imposed certain uses, deciding where a souvenir shop should be, where a restaurant should be, and so on. He criticizes the practice for not creating a natural atmosphere, but creating an artificial environment by imposition. Capital followed after this artificial atmosphere due to the increased demands. Part of the capital is deliberate, Mercangöz states, showing the Suna-İnan Kıraç Museum of the Koç group of companies as an example. However, he adds that those were very discrete instances; and the area should have become an everyday place for the people living there, apart from its functioning as a place for tourists. The houses should have been lived in. Moreover, he argues that it is no different from any other tourist destination of Turkey, since there is no traditional,

authentic production and commerce peculiar to Antalya, rising from its intrinsic values, and that nearly all the shops sell the same things.

The difference between the views of Özdemir, Ecevit and Mercangöz is a good example of the divergences in vision among official stakeholders.

During the Walled-Town project, some similar and some different views were formed among the stakeholders. Before the planning works in the Walled-Town, the METU planning team described the area as depressed, with a weak economic base and low environmental quality, similar to the comments of Özdemir, Ecevit and Tonguç about the old harbor. The restrictions on repairs and economic scarcity created the poor-looking image of the area. 935 properties existed in the Walled-Town and few of them were vacant land. Tonguç mentions that some local citizens of the Walled-Town were expecting the construction of high-rise buildings in the Walled-Town, such as in the other districts of the town. Therefore, when the works were completed, Tonguç had faced great difficulty in the Municipal Council when the plan was being approved. Tonguç emphasizes that even the intellectuals in the Council rejected the plan, proposing high-rise development in the Walled Town. Especially the owners of large mansions who already started to live outside the Walled-Town were opposed to conservation and in favor of construction of high-rise concrete buildings. Tonguç claims that “they opposed the plan because if the high-rise was permitted in the Walled-Town, it was these large mansions which would be redeveloped in the first phase”. Upon this refusal, Tonguç suggested a solution: “I made a proposal to those who had properties in the Walled Town. In that period, due to the excess of land parcels opened for development, we started to give these parcels in exchange for residential apartment flats (*kat karşılığı*). Consequently, a large accumulation of houses, shops and commercial units formed at the hand of the municipality in a short period. I suggested that whoever wished could come to us, and we would give them a house or commercial unit at a rate higher in value than their own property in the Walled-Town, which they would then leave to us. Our aim was not to make the Walled-Town a passive, lifeless conservation area; we wanted to conserve both the cultural heritage, by restoring it, and the social tissue.... Finally, the plan was approved by the Council and the implementation phase started. In 1973, I had my major votes from the neighborhoods in the Walled-Town and in 1977 I had the lowest number of votes from the Walled-Town, as a result of these works.” Tonguç’s proposal can be evaluated as a very early example of development rights transfer, which entered the agenda on the country in 2004.

During the public survey work, Esmer, a member of the planning group, (1982, 10) states that the local people of the Walled-Town were the major supporters of the project group together with the Municipality. Esmer emphasizes that none of the residents was unwilling in showing their house. (1982, 15) In addition, Esmer notes (1982, 11) that the residents of the Walled-Town founded the Corporation of Conservation-Beautification and this corporation played a major role in informing the related ministries of the problems of the Walled-Town and thus assisted in the preparation of the plan. According to Esmer, through these aspects, the Plan can be counted as the first major experience in the country. However, from the newspaper article dated 1979, it is seen that the local public was only partly supporting the project. In the article, two local women who are sisters complain about expropriation of the houses for tourism purposes. They express that they inherited the houses from their ancestors and they would never ever leave these houses even if the house collapsed on them due to the repair restrictions. They also add that they had always opened their houses for tourists to see inside; and then they ask the reason behind the expulsion of the real owners and about the expropriation of the houses. They complain that the technocrats want to delete their memories. In addition, one of them mentions that she has seven children, and says that no one would rent her a flat with seven children. They also request the journalist to share their voice so that everyone can be informed about the fire that is in the hearts of the local people of the Walled-Town.<sup>106</sup>

In the projects Tonguç saw during his visits abroad, he noticed that without the support of the public, the projects could not be completed. Later, the municipality started to think about ways to find investors. Within this framework, the municipality enforced the banks to buy a house from the Walled-Town; forced the Koç family, and also blocked the investors in the city –for instance by sealing the construction of the Talya Hotel- in case they did not invest in the Walled-Town.

In 1978, Tonguç, together with his consultant Erhan Karaesmen, attended an international meeting on historic towns in Strasbourg. At that meeting, Antalya drew great attention by the audience and after Venice, Antalya was selected as the second model town. The meeting and the selection opened the way for a credit of 250 million dollars as the support of the UN with a 1% interest rate at a 20-year term. Within this framework, each country was going to send two or three experts to Antalya to support the project and contribute, as had happened in Venice. However, on 12.09.1980, with the end of Tonguç's mayoralty, the process could not continue,

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<sup>106</sup> Milliyet, 28.10.1979, page 18

since the mayors of the Military Period were not interested. Tonguç claims that the 1980 *coup d'état* has been the worst obstacle in Antalya's fate as a culture town and in case the process could have been continued, with the credit, all of the METU plan would have been realized in a short time.

Another initiative which should also be mentioned regarding this period is the application of Aga Khan Group to make the Walled-Town a holiday village. Orhan Kuntay, who talks about the application, also claims that it was rejected.<sup>107</sup> No further information could be obtained about the application.

Conflicts on the usage and ownership of Mermerli Park also started in this period and continued. Yakut states that in those years, the State Hydraulic Works (*Devlet Su İşleri*) started a project to construct lodging for their employees in the park. With Yakut's initiative, the project in Mermerli Park was cancelled and the lodging was constructed in Konyaaltı.

### V.2.2. The Sub-Period of 1980-1983: Mayoralty under the Military Government

Turkey entered the 1980s again with a *coup d'état*, and the last military intervention in the country. The most important national event that affected Antalya in this period was the enactment of the Tourism Incentive Law in 1982. With the enactment, Antalya entered into a process of rapid tourism development based on mass tourism. Thus, it was also the start of the period which surrounded the Walled-Town with regional mass tourism.

On 12.09.1980, Selahattin Tonguç was removed from mayoralty by a telephone call. Following this, brigadier general and former Antalya Governor (1962-1965) Nuri Teoman was brought to the mayoralty by the military government. After Teoman, Mehmet Kenan Aktekin was assigned as the new mayor until the 1984 local elections.

Table 5.5. Local and central government between 1980 and 1983

Local Government	Period	Central Government
Nuri Teoman	1981-1982	Ulusu Government (military)
Mehmet Kenan Aktekin	1983	

<sup>107</sup> [http://www.radikal.com.tr/radikal2/toki\\_miras\\_yiyen\\_bir\\_kurum\\_mu-909711](http://www.radikal.com.tr/radikal2/toki_miras_yiyen_bir_kurum_mu-909711)

### ***V.2.2.1. Development of the Town in General***

After the *coup d'état*, the municipalities of Çakırlar, Varsak, Altınova and Güzelyalı were added to the municipal borders of Antalya, and according to the new borders of the town, works for a Development Master Plan in 1/25,000 scale started in 1981. The plan was approved by the Ministry in 1982. The Regional Master Plan (*Çevre Düzeni Planı*) of the Antalya region in 25,000 scale became effective in 1982; by this time master development plans (*nazım imar planı*) in the scale of 1/5,000, and implementation plans (*uygulama imar planı*) in the scale of 1/1,000 were also completed (Antalya Governorship 1986, 312).

In the 1980s, migration into the town and the interest of retired people in having a house in Antalya resulted in a boom of construction activities and high-rise apartments in the city. In addition, in the 1979 plan, the development along Konyaaltı was decided to be garden houses of four storeys with a six-meter side setback. However, in the Municipal Council, this side setback was decreased to three meters and the storey was increased to nine (Aydın 2010, 37), which resulted in a wall-like development when viewed from the sea. Çimrin (2012, 613-614) expressed this general process in the town as the abandonment of gardens and climate-friendly houses in favor of multi-storey and disharmonious buildings. Çimrin (2012, 614) also claims that each government approved the plans that were going to add rent (profitability) to their partisans' lands; resulting in land speculation and 'patchwork' plans. One part of this development took place on the Lara cliffs. The 1979 development plan had defined the 'natural conservation site' in Lara as 150 meters in width and 8,5 kilometers in length. However, in 1983, 150 meters were dropped to 35 meters with the Conservation Council decision (Aydın 2010, 11). Aydın (2010) claims that this decision of the military era basically started the period of destruction of the Antalya cliffs, together with the Development Law no. 3194 of 1985.

### ***V.5.2.2. Works under the Official Plans and Projects Produced for the Walled-Town***

The Walled-Town Conservation Plan was approved by the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement in 1982. The same year, General and President of Turkey Kenan Evren ordered for the demolition of the storeys above the second floor in the Walled-Town. Kadri Yakut, who was formerly a colonel, says he witnessed the order himself. However, the order could not be executed since the buildings were occupied by people.

### V.5.2.3. Stakeholder Profile

In this period, the abandonment of the Walled-Town continued with the sale of the local citizen's houses to buyers. Two tourism-based accommodation units started to operate in the Walled-Town, one pension and one house-pension.

In 1983, Act no. 1710 was abolished with the enactment of the Conservation Law no. 2863. With the new law, the concept of the conservation site was re-defined and the 'conservation-based development plan' (*koruma amaçlı imar planı*) was introduced as a new type of planning tool (Akay 1992). The new Law also abolished GEAYYK, which thus disappeared as an official stakeholder.

Table 5.6. Stakeholders in the Walled-Town between 1980 and 1983

National level			Local level	
<i>Official stakeholders</i>		<i>Civilian stakeholders</i>	<i>Official stakeholders</i>	<i>Civilian stakeholders</i>
Ministry of Tourism and Promotion	Tourism Bank	TURSAB	Antalya Municipality under the Military	Local inhabitants (owners and tenants)
	TURBAN		Council of Plan Control and Supervision	Owners or operators of Tourism-based accommodation units
	Yacht Harbor Planning Team			Buyers
	METU Applied Research Unit			
Ministry of Public				



National level		Local level	
<i>Official stakeholders</i>		<i>Civilian stakeholders</i>	<i>Official stakeholders</i>
			<i>Civilian stakeholders</i>
Works and Settlement			
General Directorate of Foundations			

#### ***V.5.2.4. Conflicts and Compromises among Stakeholders and Their Use of Sanctions***

The political circumstances of the period affected the implementation of the plan prepared for the Walled-Town from several aspects.

In this period, former mayor Selahattin Tonguç continued trying to convince the new mayors in getting interested in the credit which was made available to the Walled-Town by the UN to complete the implementation of the Conservation Plan. However, Tonguç states that he was not successful in doing so.

Esmer (1982, 13) claims that another obstacle which also victimized the local residents was the delay in the implementation process of the Plan, since no license existed for the repairs. Esmer states that despite the Plan still not being approved by the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement as of 1982, through the approval of GEEAYK, normal repair licenses could have been provided to local people. However, the residents could find no authority for their repair problems while the authorities waited for the approval of the Ministry.<sup>108</sup>

A conflict among the official stakeholders arose in this period, regarding the control of the plan. In the conservation plan, the necessity for a ‘Council of Plan Control and Supervision’ was set by the planning team: “For the continuous and efficient implementation of the Walled-Town Master Plan, it is favorable to establish an institution that will cooperate with the related Ministries and the Municipality and to establish the institution from the METU team which had

<sup>108</sup> The approval of the Ministry is only necessary for the expropriations, for the implementations related to article 42 of the Development Law, and for providing the infrastructure.

prepared the Conservation Plan. It is necessary to define the institution, to get the decision from GEEAYK and to define its competences.”<sup>109</sup> Esmer indicates that the Council had to involve a member from the METU Project team according to the plan. The idea of establishing a council was also supported by the executives from the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion and by the Municipality. However, Esmer emphasizes that no one from the METU team was invited to the council. In a seminar in Antalya, Esmer recognized that neither the Walled-Town residents nor the planning team knew about the actual existence of the ‘Council of Plan Control and Supervision’, which had been founded through Law no. 5805. The council had locally taken over the responsibilities of GEEAYK shortly before the seminar.

Regarding the uses in the plan, the purchase of several buildings by the Municipality, the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion, other Ministries and the banks was proposed, in order to attract public institutions that could support the repair and maintenance of these structures and to enable initial examples of implementation of the Plan.<sup>110</sup> However, no institution was willing to inform the related authorities and to open a campaign<sup>111</sup> (Esmer 1982, 13).

### **V.5.3. The Sub-Period of 1983-1989: The Mayoralty of Yener Ulusoy and Metin Kasapoğlu under ANAP (the Motherland Party)**

The mayoralties of Yener Ulusoy and Metin Kasapoğlu – who were both from the same party as the central government, ANAP - correspond to the transition into a liberal economy under Özalism, the rapid tourism development in the Antalya region triggered by the 1982 Tourism Incentive Law, the declaration of many tourism centers, the decentralization of planning authority in Turkey through Development Act no. 3194 enacted in 1985 and in relation to this the beginning of an incremental planning process in Antalya. In the first local elections after the last military period, Yener Ulusoy from ANAP was elected as the new mayor of the town in 1984. In 1987, Metin Kasapoğlu from ANAP continued as the mayor.

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<sup>109</sup> Regulation of the Conservation Plan, section on General Principles

<sup>110</sup> This proposal was also compliant with article 15 of the Law of Antiquities. (Esmer 1982, 13)

<sup>111</sup> Esmer adds that the Antalya Seminar could also have been an efficient platform for this.

Table 5.7. Local and central government between 1983 and 1989

Local Government	Period	Central Government
Yener Ulusoy (ANAP)	1984-1986	Özal Government (ANAP)
Metin Kasapoğlu (ANAP)	1987-1988	

### *V.5.3.1. Development of the Town in General*

As the major change of the period regarding urban planning on the national scale, Development Law no. 3194 was issued in 1985 and planning authority was decentralized accordingly, causing the advent of incremental planning in Turkey. The Law transferred the powers of plan preparation, change and approval to municipalities. Accompanied by the designation of many new tourism centers and by the incentives brought by the Tourism Law of 1982 to attract investors into tourism, coastal areas came under the pressure of development. Besides the regional scale, Antalya also experienced this pressure on the urban scale.

Esengil (2002) and Aydın (2010) claim that the new development law become a major agent in corrupt urbanization in Antalya. Although it was attributed as a reform by the government, it could not achieve its goal, since no democratic control mechanism existed yet and the responsibilities of the local governments were still unclear, the municipalities lacked adequate financial resources as well as equipment and city planners (Aydın 2010, 11). Aydın claims that in the case of Antalya, the Municipal Council saw itself as an institution making the plans rather than approving them and in this way thousands of plan modifications and plan notes that are in contrast with urbanization legislation and planning principles were added to this, also giving extra floor construction rights in tourism areas<sup>112</sup>. Issues were not taken to the court by the Chamber of Architects, since it was not yet known by the Chamber that it had the right to do it; however, in 1988, the Chamber discovered its rights and by this way the extra floor rights given by the Municipal Council was cancelled by the court (Aydın 2010, 12).

In this period, the pressure on the coastal area resulted in the transformation of the tourism areas into housing areas in the region. It was Lara that was directly exposed to the phenomenon. In

<sup>112</sup> In 1986, Antalya Municipal Council approved the Antalya Development Plan notes using the name 'Plan Legend' (Aydın 2010, 11).

addition to this, building densities were increased. In Lara, it was first decided to permit construction up to 100 meters, soon later it was decreased to 60 meters, and then 30 meters distance to the cliffs<sup>113</sup>. Consequently, Lara's image changed through cliffs, which today are full of apartment buildings with private ownership. In this way, the coastal image and identity of the town started to change. The change of the borders of Lara Natural Conservation Area in 1984 and the change in the investment policies of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism led to the decision of the Antalya Municipality Council for revision in the development plan. At the time, it was advocated by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism that the tourist facilities should be in direct relation with the sea. Although the public ownership of the land prevented plan modification to some extent, the land possessed by private owners was transferred to housing cooperatives. In this way, tourism areas with a 0,6 ratio of GFA (gross floor area allowed to be constructed) to the plot surface area (*emsa*) were transformed into housing areas with a ratio of 0,8. The acceleration of tourism in the region, especially after 1985, led to the initiatives of the land owners in this area that involved the transformation of zoning from housing to touristic facilities. The initiatives mostly resulted in a one-storey addition to the tourist facilities (Aydın 2010, 49).

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<sup>113</sup> In the mayoral period of Hasan Subaşı, the buffer zone width of the conservation site were increased to 60 meters again (Aydın 2010, 58)

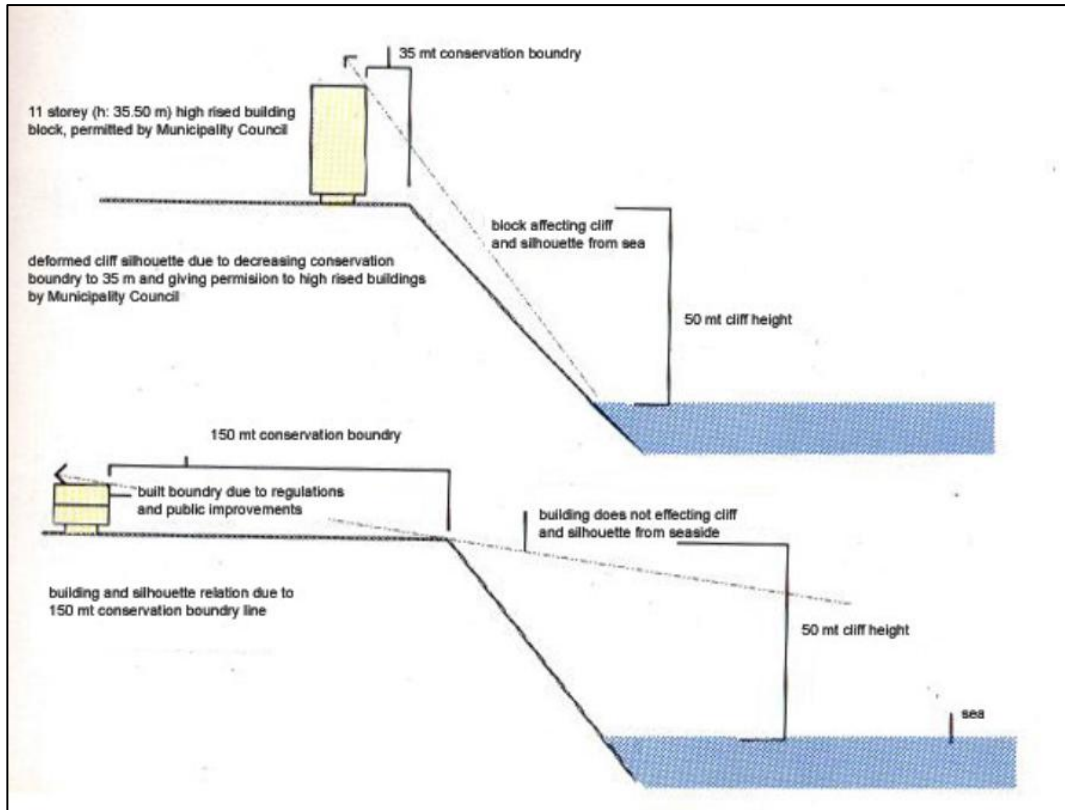


Figure 5.10. Changes made in the Basic Decisions on Coastal Usage Defined by the Lara Development Plan and the Regulatory Plan (Saydam 2006)

#### ***V.5.3.2. Works under the Official Plans and Projects Produced for the Walled-Town***

In 1983, Yener Ulusoy started a search to buy a historic building in the Walled-Town to be used as a municipal guesthouse, but he could not find a suitable one<sup>114</sup>. However, this also triggered the fear through rumors that the municipality would expropriate the houses. As a result, the abandonment of the houses by selling them to private developers accelerated again.

In 1983, the Yacht Harbor started to operate. In the first phase of the project, 57 buildings were restored, and the 65-bed Adalya Hotel and restaurants, beerhouses, catering services, souvenir shops, port administration units including a post office and bank were opened. Adalya Hotel was operated by the Tourism Bank (Antalya Governorship 1986, 169) and the shops were rented to private enterprises in 1983 through tenders (*ihale*) and rent agreements (Özdemir 2006, 32). In 1983, restoration works started for the twelve historic buildings on the fortifications (Antalya

<sup>114</sup> Personal interview with Kadri Yakut, 2013

Governorship 1986, 169). In 1985, the Antalya Marina complex, consisting of thirty three gastronomic facilities and a fifty-yacht capacity marina, was gathered under one operational entity – the Antalya Walled-Town Business Administration – to operate the marina, and to undertake the general administration of the shops. In 1988, a 15-yacht capacity port was added to the marina, increasing the total capacity to 65 (Özdemir 2006, 32).

In 1984, the ‘Project of Antalya Walled-Town Complex’ (the Walled-Town restorations and the Yacht Harbor Project) was awarded a ‘Golden Apple’, which would be assumed as the Oscar of tourism, by the International Federation of Tourism Journalists (FIJET). The same year, it was awarded the national ‘Environmental Design Award’ by the Sedat Simavi Foundation. In 1986, these awards were followed by the ‘Gümüş Samur’, a traditional award of the Society of English Tourism Journalists. Özdemir (2006, 134) notes that the project took other awards as well in the following years.

‘La Pomme d'Or’ or ‘The Golden Apple’ is the FIJET equivalent of the Oscar. Since it was established in 1970, the award has been presented. The award for excellence is presented each year to an organization, country, city, or person “in recognition of superior efforts in promoting and raising the level of tourism”.<sup>115</sup> (From 1970 to 2013, Turkey was awarded twice: to Antalya in 1984, and Ankara-Altındağ in 2012.)

The award ceremony was held in the Antalya Walled-Town on 28.04.1985. The ceremony hosted the award commission and twenty-eight well-known tourism writers and journalists, President of Turkey Kenan Evren, and several ministers. The head of the Golden Apple Commission Nicky Handrece highlighted the motives behind the deliverance of the award to Antalya in his speech by expressing that the Antalya Walled-Town project had been such an effort that it deserved the award; nearly 70 houses were rescued by transforming them into boutique shops, handicraft ateliers and restaurants of traditional food and this effort is well appreciated.

Another development in this period was the re-definition of the borders of the Antalya Walled-Town Urban and Archaeological Conservation Site Area on 26.12.1986 with the decree no 2929 of the Higher Council.

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<sup>115</sup> [http://www.fijet.net/fijet\\_golden\\_appel\\_dyn.php?langue=en](http://www.fijet.net/fijet_golden_appel_dyn.php?langue=en)

### ***V.5.3.3. Stakeholder Profile***

With the opening of the yacht harbor, a new group of stakeholders entered the arena. The profile of this new group differs among the descriptions of the interviewees. According to some of the interviewees, an elegant tradesmen group entered the yacht harbor, while according to some others, Prime Minister Özal gave the restaurants to his own partisans and thus a kind of gangster network started in the Walled-Town. As could be inferred from the comments of different interviewees, actually, both groups entered the yacht harbor and thus in the Walled-Town. Until its privatization, TURBAN was the main umbrella operator agency in the yacht harbor; therefore, all the services were under the serious control of TURBAN.

In this period the reproduction of the Walled-Town through tourism started to show itself not only by the new facilities in the yacht harbor but also by the transformation of the buildings into tourism-based accommodation units after 1985. From the personal 2013 survey of the tourism-based accommodation units, %29 (24 in number) of the current units were opened in this period: 9 house-pensions, 5 pensions, 7 boutique hotels and 3 hotels. Operators of these accommodation units emerged as a new group of civilian stakeholders. In the report of the conservation revision plan of 1992, it was stated that the 1979 plan proposed the development of the house-pensions; however, when the survey was conducted for the 1992 plan, it was seen that mostly large-scale pensions and hotels were constructed. Based on the 2013 survey, it can be said that only %37 of the total tourism-based accommodation units were developed as house-pensions in the period covering 1983-1989. The abandonment of the Walled-Town by local citizens also continued in this period since they could not afford restoring their houses according to tourism-based uses (Uyar 2007).

In 1987, through Act no. 3386, modifications were made in the Conservation Law no. 2863 and a new official stakeholder was introduced: the Regional Conservation Councils. The law brought decentralization in conservation issues to some extent through this decision. The Higher Council for the Conservation of Cultural and Natural Heritage (*Taşınmaz Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Yüksek Kurulu*) was to be the central body particularly to set the general principles, while the regional conservation councils (*Taşınmaz Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıkları Bölge Kurulları*) were to be the decision makers in their region along the general principles set by the Higher Council. In the new law also, the term ‘monument’ was removed and the term of ‘cultural property’ (*kültür varlığı*) was introduced instead.

Table 5.8. Stakeholders in the Walled-Town between 1983 and 1989

National level			Local level		
<i>Official stakeholders</i>		<i>Civilian stakeholders</i>	<i>Official stakeholders</i>		<i>Civilian stakeholders</i>
Ministry of Culture and Tourism	Tourism Bank	TURSAB	Antalya Municipality		Residents (owners and tenants)
	TURBAN				Tradesmen
	Higher Council				Owners or operators of Tourism-based accommodation units
	Antalya Regional Conservation Council				Owners or operators of catering and entertainment units
General Directorate of Foundations					Buyers

#### ***V.5.3.4. Conflicts and Compromises among Stakeholders and Their Use of Sanctions***

Most of the interviewees evaluate the Walled-Town of the 1980s as having become a prestige area again since the yacht harbor project was completed and it was opened. However, local historian Çimrin states that the area was gentrified and opened to higher-income groups, since the new restaurants and cafes were expensive for the local citizens. It can thus be inferred that while the yacht harbor became a prestigious area for some users and some stakeholders, it was a cause of alienation for some others.



Beside the new image of the yacht harbor, conflicts were still continuing between the official and civilian stakeholders about the expropriation issues.

Around this time, speculative activities accelerated in the Walled-Town, with the interest of the Koç Family, a well-known Turkish business family, in the area. Kadri Yakut reports that when the family started to buy houses from the Walled-Town, a series of rumors started among the public, claiming that the family would buy, restore and then sell the houses. However, it did not occur. As Kayhan Dörtlük, the director of AKMED (Mediterranean Civilizations Research Institute) states, the Koç family did not realize a mass purchase of the houses to sell them. The purchases evolved spontaneously over time and it all started with the deep love of Suna Kıracı for Antalya Walled-Town. Later, other family members also individually bought several houses; currently they use the buildings either as their personal property, or as a public entity such as AKMED, the Suna-İnan Kıracı Museum or the guesthouse for researchers that is under construction. By highlighting the Koç family's use of the houses with good intentions, Yakut makes an emphasis on speculative purchases, which is the opposite of the Koç Family's actions. Yakut states that buyers started to make purchases mainly for profit (*rant*). Similar kinds of purchases can also be seen in the present Walled-Town through the restored buildings that are on sale. Regarding this phenomenon, he asserts that these buyers approached the issue by thinking that the Koç family's actions would increase the value of the Walled-Town, so that it would be profitable to buy the houses, restore them, and then to sell them. In order to reach their goal, they made promises to the local people, such as for a new modern flat in Antalya. In this way, many properties changed ownership. However, he claims that these houses would have been transformed into house-pensions instead, but to do that the people needed support from the State, to restore their houses and to decorate them. If it could have happened, he goes on to say, the local citizens would still be living in the area, the historic buildings would survive, and the area would serve tourism. He further claims that the function of house-pensions is much better than giving the historic buildings for rent to be used as pensions because when the tenant cannot gain money he/she ignores the building, whereas when it is used as a house-pension, the owner of the house keeps the building in good condition.

#### **V.5.4. The Sub-Period 1989-1999: The Mayorality of Hasan Subaşı under DYP (the Right Path Party)**

In the 1989 local elections, lawyer Hasan Subaşı from DYP was elected as the new city mayor. According to Aydın (2010, 13), negative urban developments of the previous mayoral period and the extra floor allowance taken to the court by the Chamber of Architects have a role in this change of mayorality.

Subaşı's mayorality period corresponds to the first crises of the tourism sector, beginning with the 1990 and 1991 Gulf Crisis, continuing with the 1993-1994 PKK terrorist activities in coastal areas. As a southern Anatolian town and a major tourism center of Turkey, Antalya was directly affected by these crises. The crises were in great effect in the spread of the all-inclusive system in the Antalya region. In order to secure themselves in the atmosphere of uncertainty, more tourist facilities started to operate via package tours and the all-inclusive system, which brought with it a new network among the regional stakeholders of tourism. So that now, besides mass tourism, the Walled-Town was being surrounded by a new type of network, which it could not take part in. Another phenomenon that affected the Walled-Town in this period -as the other parts of Turkey- was the fall of the iron curtain in 1989. Consequently Turkey started to receive tourists from the post-socialist countries; however, it also had negative effects on the Walled-Town. As a positive change for historic areas such as the Walled-Town, a change in national tourism policies regarding cultural tourism also took place in this period. In the national development plans, cultural tourism was now also – although slightly – being supported beside mass tourism. In this environment, the conservation planning works continued for the Walled-Town.

Another major change in Subaşı's term of office is the introduction of 'greater' or 'metropolitan municipalities' (*büyükşehir*) in Turkey. In the towns that were declared as a '*büyükşehir*', the local government was separated into one central administrative body that was the Greater Municipality, and several district municipalities (*ilçe belediyeleri*). Accordingly, in 1994, the Antalya Greater Municipality and three district municipalities were formed<sup>116</sup>.

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<sup>116</sup> Today, the metropolis of Greater Antalya consists of five districts or boroughs: Konyaaltı (112,647), Kepez (399,006), Muratpaşa (416,576), Aksu ( 45,094), and Döşemealtı (27,995).

Table 5.9. Local and central government between 1989 and 1999

<b>Local Government</b>	<b>Period</b>	<b>Central Government</b>
Hasan Subaşı (DYP)	1989	Özal Government (ANAP)
	1990	Akbulut Government (ANAP)
	1991	Akbulut/Yılmaz Government (ANAP)
	1992	Demirel Government (DYP)
	1993	Demirel/Çiller Government (DYP)
	1994-1995	Çiller Government (DYP)
	1996	Çiller/Yılmaz/Erbakan Government (DYP/ANAP/RP)
	1997	Erbakan/Yılmaz Government (RP/ANAP)
	1998	Yılmaz Government (ANAP)

#### *V.5.4.1. Development of the Town in General*

Until 1994, urban development schemes in the town were realized according to the revisions of the 1980 (1979 completion date, 1980 approval date) development plan in the scale of 1/5,000 prepared by Zühtü and Müzeyyen Can and amendments to this plan, including the ‘Plan Legend Notes’ which were approved in the previous period. In 1993, works for a new development plan started, and the task was assigned to Dr. Kamutay Türkoğlu, Dr. Ahmet Uzel, Dr. Mehmet Tunçer and Saffet Atik under UTTA Ltd. Development plans in the scales of 1/25,000 and 1/5000 were prepared. In 1997, the plan was taken to the court by eight professional chambers, claiming that it lacked data, no satisfactory relationship existed between the population and public facilities, no rehabilitation works were proposed in existing neighborhoods, transportation decisions were unsatisfactory and agricultural land was opened to development (Aydın 2010, 102). As a result of the court, the 1/5,000 scale development plan was cancelled; however, not to leave the town without a plan, the plan was re-approved by the Municipal Council in 1998, excluding the contested areas (Aydın 2010, 104).

In this period, important projects took place, related both to the image of the whole town and to the surroundings of the Walled-Town. A modern slaughterhouse replacing the old one, a new

bus station, a new and modern stock market, the Antalya Cultural Center and Atatürk Culture Park and a new sewerage system are the products of this mayoral period. In this period, in order to fix the previous mistaken decisions, the border of the Lara Natural Conservation Site was increased back to 60 meters.

Meanwhile, the Coast Act, no. 3621, was issued in 1990 and with the law a construction moratorium up to 100 meters from the coast was introduced. This led to demands of plan modifications to change zoning from tourist facilities to housing, and they were realized – without any public and social facilities – resulting in high-rise and linear development on the Lara cliffs, in contrast with the natural beauty of the town as well as the region’s climate. Meanwhile, several touristic facilities built illegal extra storeys and illegal buildings in the borders of the Natural Conservation Site as well. Later, these illegal developments were legalized by the Municipal Council (Report of the Chamber of Architects Antalya Branch regarding the Urban Development Problems of Antalya and the Preparation of the Development Master Plan Amendment, dated 1993 and cited in Aydın 2010, 58). According to the evaluation of the Chamber of Architects, the 1/5,000 scale plan approved in 1998 also caused hotel rows parallel to the sea in Lara Kundu.

In the close vicinity of the Walled-Town, through the coordination of the Antalya Chamber of Architects, a series of urban design projects and contests were launched, such as the Kalekapısı environmental design and the Mediterranean Youth, Culture and Art Park environmental design. Among them, the Kalekapısı Project could be seen as in direct relationship with the Walled-Town. ‘Antalya Kalekapısı and its Surrounding Kebab Restaurants and Bazaar Area Environmental Design Project’ (*Antalya Kalekapısı ve Çevresi Kebapçılar ve Çarşı Bölgesi Düzenlemesi Projesi*) was approved by the decision (no. 2978) of the Conservation Council on 16.05.1996. A major part of the project was implemented and part of the Şarampol Street was pedestrianized, and the new Dönerciler Market was constructed. Also, Balbey historic district in the town center was designated as a conservation site and 39 civil architectural structures, two mosques and three fountains were registered as ‘cultural property’ on 27 06.1990 by the decision (no. 851) of the Antalya Conservation Council. The conservation development plan for the neighborhood was prepared and then approved by the decision (no. 2098) of the Conservation Council on 06.01.1994, but could not be realized.

#### ***V.5.4.2. Works under the Official Plans and Projects Produced for the Walled-Town***

In the 1979 conservation plan, tourism was foreseen as the basic function of the area; however, a proper distribution of the tourism activities was not handled in the plan. Besides, local people were having trouble with the strict limitations on repair and restoration due to financial difficulties. The first phenomenon was causing problems about the uses and locations of those uses in the Walled-Town, while the second phenomenon was contributing to the physical decline of the area. Therefore, on 18.01.1989, with decree no. 224, the Antalya Conservation Council declared that the 1979 Plan should be revised (Öztekin 2010, 63). After being selected as the new mayor, in order to solve the problems of the Walled-Town more efficiently, Subaşı contacted Emre Madran from METU, who had previously worked in the conservation plan as assistant to the project group, and asked for a revision plan. Thus, works for the revision of the conservation plan started and the 1979 conservation plan was revised by architects Nimet Özgönül and Emre Madran under the METU Parlar Foundation. The architects were both academicians at METU, Faculty of Architecture, Restoration Program.

In the revised plan report, the changed demands and functions in the Walled-Town of the last 10 years, the excessive number of the plots to be expropriated, the tendency of opening larger pensions or hotels in the area instead of house-pensions, the need to concentrate tourism-based and commerce-based functions in certain zones, and the need to increase residential usage of the buildings were listed among the reasons for the urgent need to revise the 1979 plan. The revised plan was approved on 13.05.1992 by the decision (no. 1442) of the Conservation Council.

The 1992 plan had proposed a development that gave more emphasis to residential development and less opportunities for tourism-oriented functions. However, taking into consideration that historic buildings can benefit from tourism in order to survive, tourism-based functions were permitted for restored historic buildings. The change in land-use decisions, the prevention of dense usage of the buildings with commercial and tourism-based functions, the determination of the functions for the listed buildings, the investment of public institutions in the Walled-Town by using some of the buildings were among the main decisions brought by the plan. It is seen that the plan revision put particular emphasis on the investment of public institutions in the Walled-Town, in order to stand as a model and make model implementations. In other cases around the world, it is observed that the phenomenon contributes to the conservation process and

the revitalization of the area by helping the removal of illegal functions and providing an elite usage of the area.<sup>117</sup>

In the planning works in this period, the yacht harbor area continued to be handled separately than the plan of the Walled-Town.

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<sup>117</sup> One of the most well known examples is the Barcelona Ciutat-Vella Project.

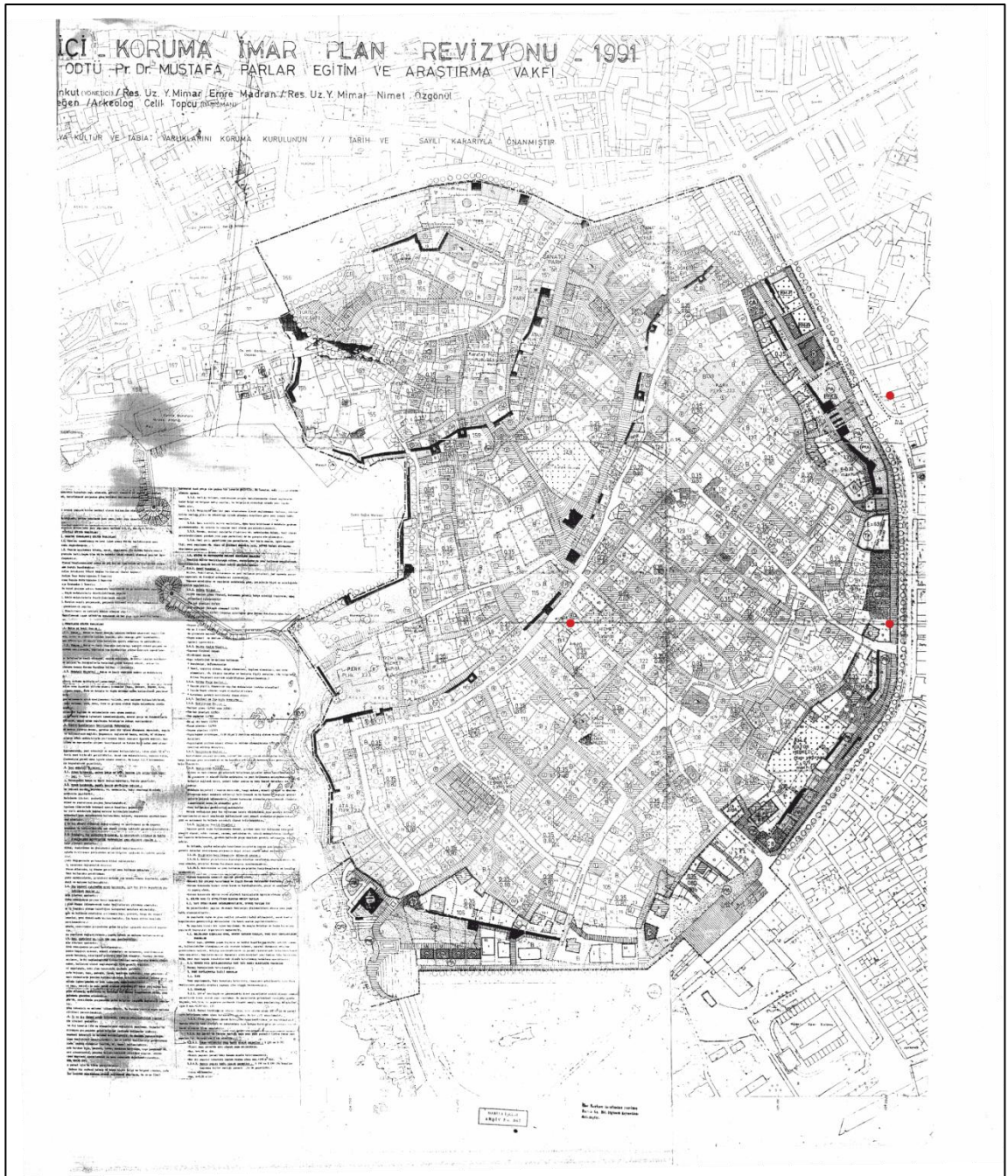


Figure 5.11. 1992 Revised conservation plan of the Walled-Town.

However, Subaşı expresses that he was aware that this revision plan was not going to be a total solution, since he believed that the structure in which the local government, central government including the conservation council and Governorship were responsible together would not operate efficiently. Subaşı advocated the increase of the authority of the Greater Municipality in the issue and applied for several rights; however, he was rejected by the central government.

Thus, the chaotic situation of authority among the institutions remained. Nevertheless, with the plan revision, the problems could slightly be overcome. Limitations were relaxed. Upon this, it became possible to make modifications inside the buildings while keeping the façades<sup>118</sup> and this had a positive effect as it enabled the adaptive-use of many buildings as pensions and hotels.

In this period, Subaşı also established the fire brigade unit for the Walled-Town, since the basic danger for the Walled-Town has always been fire.

In 1997, an urban design project was started by the Greater Municipality, Wall Front Design Project (‘*Sur Önü Düzenleme Projesi*’). The project area covered the area from the *Dönerciler Çarşısı* to Hıdırlık Tower. The main aim of the project was the conservation and bringing out of the walls and the design of the near surroundings by more detailed projects. Respectively, on 23.03.1998, through the decision (no. 3736) of the Antalya Conservation Council, the conservation site type of the Walled-Town took its latest status as ‘Urban and Third Degree Archaeological Conservation Site’.<sup>119</sup>

#### ***V.5.4.3. Stakeholder Profile***

In this period, illegal functions such as drug selling and prostitution entered the Walled-Town and thus a new stakeholder group emerged, consisting of drug-sellers, drug-users, pimps and prostitutes. Several reasons may be listed behind the phenomenon. Since natural surveillance of the area had been lost with the absence of the local residents, the first factor behind the appearance of these new uses can be concluded as the abandonment of the Walled-Town by its local citizens. Interviewees indicate that around the mid-1990s, several women from the post-socialist countries started to work in prostitution market and this caused an increase in prostitution in the Walled-Town. As a result, the area suddenly became a favorite place of woman-sellers. This phenomenon immediately affected the visits of the local citizens of Antalya to the Walled-Town. Even some of the interviewees, who have been official stakeholders as well, did not enter the Walled-Town and did not let their children go there.

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<sup>118</sup> With this, concrete entered into the houses as well, says Recep Sönmez from the Antalya Chamber of Architects.

<sup>119</sup> Report of Antalya Chamber of Architects titled Walled-Town and Problems



The low tourist number was also effective in this transition. When the crises of the tourism sector of this period are taken into consideration, it can be evaluated as predictable. Due to the Gulf Crises, Turkey was declared as dangerous for yachting, therefore yachts suddenly left Antalya. The number of elegant tourists in the Walled-Town declined suddenly. It was also affected by the terrorism at the coastal areas in 1993-1994. Several interviewees claim that because of these reasons, the people who rented the pensions to operate it could not make any profit; therefore, they started to give the rooms for rent for an hour for prostitution purposes.

The third reason behind the emergence of the new stakeholder group was the privatization of TURBAN that operated the yacht harbor. Following this, the elite restaurant and café owners started to leave their businesses at the yacht harbor and a group of uneducated tourism personnel or operators arrived in the Walled-Town. This caused a decline in the quality of the tourism-based catering and entertainment units, which also affected the number of elite people visiting the Walled-Town, either as tourists or local citizens of Antalya.

The immigrants coming from the other parts of the country also had a role in the low-quality or illegal uses. According to the interviewees, some of these people established gangster-like groups, and their perception of the Walled-Town did not care its historic character. This new civilian stakeholder group that entered the Walled-Town in the 1990s still exists today; however, it might be said that currently these people are relatively more aware of the historic value of the area. Another aspect that should be mentioned regarding the new stakeholder group is the emergence of groups within it, which caused conflicts as well.

Since the mayoralty of Selahattin Tonguç, public institutions, local government bodies, NGOs were encouraged to invest in the Walled-Town; however, in the Conservation Revision Plan's report it is written that neither of them were interested in using and thus investing in the areas or buildings in the Walled-Town. From Kadri Yakut's comments, it is known that in Yener Ulusoy's period, the municipality had the idea of transforming a historic building into an official guesthouse. Though it could not be realized and thus existed in the plan report, it should be mentioned regarding the interest of the public sector. Among the private sector, the interest of the Koç Family in the Walled-Town started in this period and in the following period Suna-İnan Kıraç Museum was opened.

Besides these new groups of civilian stakeholders, the democratic urban management approach of mayor Subaşı reflected in the emergence of other stakeholders. In this period, a start was made for the establishment of the Municipal Master Planning Bureau and the Antalya Civic Council (*Antalya Kent Konseyi*). The idea of forming a civic council was proposed by democratic mass organizations and NGOs to the candidates of mayors in 1994 local elections and all the candidates promised to do it in case he was elected. So did Hasan Subaşı and after the 1994 local elections, works started for establishing the council and in 1997 it was finally founded (Aydın 2010, 17).

This period witnessed a major change in the local governmental scale regarding the official stakeholders. Muratpaşa District Municipality was introduced as a consequence of the new municipal arrangement –the introduction of greater municipalities- at the national level. Through the new restructuring, the authority to grant building permits for the Walled-Town passed over to Muratpaşa Municipality, a phenomenon that resulted in illegal building activities in the following years.

1990-1999 is also the period in which Antalya Chamber of Architects started to action as a fundamental actor regarding the urban issues in the town. Apart from the Civic Council, another important civilian stakeholder that emerged in this period was a cooperative named the ‘Conservation of Walled-Town and Tourism Development Cooperative’ (*Kaleiçi’ni Koruma ve Turizmi Geliştirme Kooperatifi*). Related directly with the conservation and tourism issues in the Walled-Town, it was founded in 1993 through the initiatives of the Antalya Chamber of Architects. The majority of its members were local citizens of the Walled-Town from lower-income groups<sup>120</sup>; therefore, the initiative could happen in the form of a cooperative rather than a foundation (*vakıf*), which was to be transformed into a foundation when adequate income could be provided. The basic aim of the cooperative was carrying out works to solve the problems regarding the conservation and to support cultural tourism in the Walled-Town. Under these main aims, other aims of the cooperative were:

1. to overcome problems related to the conservation plan and its revisions
2. to overcome problems related to expropriation issues
3. to carry out works to overcome problems of infrastructure

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<sup>120</sup> Şükrü Kaya Esel, Muhterem Yurdaer, Nuray Çağlar , who were mukhtars of the time, were assigned as the presidents of the cooperative in succession.

4. to keep the local citizens of the Walled-Town in the Walled-Town and to carry out works to provide them with opportunities to restore their houses
5. to facilitate the restoration of Karatay Madrasah, Kesik Minaret, Hıdırlık Tower and other historic monuments and their use in art activities
6. to ensure the cleanliness of the Walled-Town
7. to prevent fires
8. to realize the restoration of model houses in the Walled-Town and to promote them
9. to build public toilets and open them for service
10. to carry out works for keeping the ownership of all the structures in the Walled-Town with their real owners
11. to carry out works to prevent dirt and noise in the Walled-Town
12. to carry out works to organize the traffic and the parking spaces in the Walled-Town
13. to support the conservation of the streets in their original state
14. to prepare magazines, brochures and publications to promote the Walled-Town
15. to conserve the water channels of the Walled-Town
16. to support the promotion activities
17. to organize announcements in certain places of the Walled-Town
18. to enable the control of development in the Walled-Town
19. to prevent behavior that would disturb the tourists
20. to carry out works to prevent illegal development in the Walled-Town.

With these aims, the cooperative organized the Walled-Town Festival (*Kaleiçi Şenlikleri*) every year, and fought against expropriations in the Walled-Town until it was closed in 2000.

When the personal 2013 survey in the Walled-Town is taken as the basis, it is seen that approximately %33 of the current tourism-based accommodation units were opened in this period. Operators of these accommodation units considerably increased the number of the related civilian stakeholder.

Table 5.10. Stakeholders in the Walled-Town between 1989 and 1999

National level			Local level		
<i>Official stakeholders</i>		<i>Civilian stakeholders</i>	<i>Official stakeholders</i>		<i>Civilian stakeholders</i>
Ministry of Culture and Tourism	Higher Council	TURSAB	Antalya Greater Municipality		Residents (owners and tenants)
	Antalya Regional Conservation Council		Muratpaşa District Municipality	City Police	Local Tradesmen
General Directorate of Foundations					Immigrant tradesmen
					Owners or operators of Tourism-based accommodation units
					Owners or operators of catering and entertainment units
					Antalya Chamber of Architects
					Conservation of Walled-Town and Tourism Development Cooperative

#### ***V.5.4.4. Conflicts and Compromises among Stakeholders and Their Use of Sanctions***

On the scale of the town, according to Aydın (2010, 13), this was a period in which the municipal government had a close relationship with the democratic mass organizations<sup>121</sup> and NGOs through many meetings, which played an active role for these organizations with regard to urban issues. However, Aydın<sup>122</sup> also implies that the same concern could not be shown for the Walled-Town. As far as it is inferred from the works and the reports, Antalya Chamber of Architects appear as the main actor in this period that undertook the responsibility of connecting people to discuss the issues on the Walled-Town and produce solutions to the problems. The panel titled ‘Ten Years of Conservation’ (*Korumanın On Yılı*) organized by the Chamber on 16.11.1990 on the problems of the Walled-Town stand as the initiative action for further actions in this period. In the panel, which was participated by the municipality, related institutions, METU planning team, local citizens of Antalya and the operators in the Walled-Town, the Chamber expressed that minimum bed-capacity which was necessary for benefiting from the tourism incentives was 70; therefore, it caused the disregard of the legal limitations on constructions regarding conservation in the Walled-Town, particularly in the vacant plots. The Chamber also criticized the alienation of the Walled-Town from the local citizens of Antalya and proposed that the Walled-Town should be considered and planned as an organic part of the city. It is further pointed out that the model facilities by the Ministry only existed in the yacht harbor and the Ministry also suspended all the investments in the area including the expropriated areas. Therefore it was concluded by the Chamber that the Ministry, the municipality and the related public institutions should cooperate in order to restore the monumental structures and orientate the investors. In the panel, local resident of the Walled-Town Faik Pehlivanoglu claimed that a conservation approach should provide the local citizens with opportunities to restore their own houses instead of expropriation. Well-known Turkish architects Tarik Akıltopu and Cengiz Bektaş added that the implementation caused the loss of the traditional life of the Walled-Town; Akıltopu concluded that ‘Walled-Town was rescued but without its history’ while Bektaş concluded that conservation should be realized for the people not sole for the conservation of the physical structure. City planner Sefa Erdal questioned the function of tourism in the area stating that tourism turned into a goal itself rather than a tool in helping the conservation of the area.

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<sup>121</sup>Democratic mass organization (*demokratik kitle örgütü*) is a term used in Turkey to describe particularly the professional chambers, such as those of engineers, architects and city planners that also defended the public interest.

<sup>122</sup> Personal interview 2013

In the following years in this period, many conflicts arouse between the stakeholders from every group. Conservation of Walled-Town and Tourism Development Cooperative took responsibility as an actor in order to overcome many of these problems. A notable one is the use of the Mermerli Park. In the 1992 revision of the Conservation Plan, Mermerli was assigned as a park; however, in 1993, since the area had already been designated as a tourism center, the Ministry of Tourism considered other uses for the area together with the Burnt Hospital (*Yanık Hastane*) such as delivering it to tourism investors. The initiative was met with resistance by the Walled-Town Cooperative, which advocated the allocation of the area for public use. This idea was also supported during the 1994 local elections by the city mayor candidates of Antalya. Thus, the Ministry struggled with the park's handover to a commercial foundation; as a result of the conflict, the area was allocated to the municipality<sup>123</sup>.

The cooperative also fought to develop cultural tourism in the Walled-Town. It tried to provide the return of the historic buildings that had been expropriated but not yet issued for their adaptive re-use to their real owners. It also worked to provide the restoration and adaptive reuse of primary tourism resources –Karatay Madrasah, Kesik Minaret, Hıdırlık Tower- in art activities. In this way, the cooperative aimed to control every kind of development in the Walled-Town to provide a better tourism-oriented and cultural atmosphere. Within this framework, in the report of the cooperative dated 21.10.1993, it is stated that the body was going to connect with the World Bank as soon as possible for achieving these goals. However, Aydın<sup>124</sup> states that the cooperative could not reach its goal, because of the attitude of the Ministry of Tourism. Aydın underlines that the Walled-Town Cooperative was formed by lower-income group residents of the Walled-Town, who organized the Walled-Town Festival with their own means in order to revitalize the area. He further goes on to say that the people were against the expropriations and the non-usage of the primary monuments in the area; therefore, they went to Ankara to visit the Minister of Tourism of the time, Abdülkadir Ateş –who was minister between 1991 and 1994-, to ask for the return of the expropriated structures back to their real owners. Aydın also highlights that these low-income people, headed by muhktar Kaya Esel, afforded their travel costs themselves to realize the visit. However, only 15 days after the visit, the minister put these structures on tender; as such, Aydın asserts that Ateş caused the biggest harm that was ever given to the Walled-Town.

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<sup>123</sup> In the files of the cooperative, it is seen that the cooperative officially wrote to Prime Minister Tansu Çiller, to Minister of Culture Fikri Sağlar and to Minister of Tourism Abdülkadir Ateş.

<sup>124</sup> Personal interview, 2013

From this perspective, Subaşı criticizes the planning actions, since the Walled-Town could not be conserved together with its local people. He advocates that not only the physical tissue, but the social structure and the occupancy of local citizens should have been conserved as well. Therefore, Subaşı concludes that it was important to bring some kind of social activity spaces, exhibition spaces or guesthouses of the NGOs and community organizations to the Walled-Town. Subaşı states that the basic problem of the Walled-Town was the co-existence of the restored structures and the garbage dump. The restoration of the historic structures in the Walled-Town should not have taken that much time, credits should have been provided to the local public according to Subaşı. He reports that because of this, together with the presentable Walled-Town, undesirable scenes were also being exhibited, which also made keeping the safety of the area more difficult.

Tools of sanctions of the new immigrant stakeholder group also had effects in this unsafe image of the Walled-Town. As a result of the conflicts between the group and the Tuzcular muhtar, the muhtar was murdered in his office. Another basic conflict that also started in this period among the civilian stakeholders of the Walled-Town is the use of the area by bars and discos, which resulted in loud noise after midnight, disturbing the local citizens. In the correspondences of the Walled-Town Cooperative, it is seen that the issue was taken to the Governorship of Antalya in 1994 and met with positive response by the Governor Saim Çotur. With the new decision, the music of the cafes, bars and discos were to be turned off at midnight. Despite these efforts, the conflict resurfaced in the following period and continues today. Subaşı indicates that before the decision of the Governorship, the noise pollution caused by the bars and restaurants added to the non-usage of the monuments. To permanently solve the problems, Subaşı claims that a pioneering body was necessary and the Greater Municipality should have been that body. Therefore, he applied to the central government for acquiring several rights and was also supported by Emre Madran. However, he was rejected. He concludes that as long as the multiple-headed administrative structure of the Walled-Town continues, the problems will continue. He also highlights that Antalya never had enough money, and in the case that financial support could not be received from the central government for the projects that the local governments had prepared, the local government could apply for credits available in the world. The delivery of money from the Bank of Provinces to the municipalities is a constitutional right, and local-central government oppositions do not stand as obstacles to block this right. Whatever conflict is experienced between the central and the local government, the local government received its Bank of Provinces legal share, which was determined according to the population of

the town. The municipalities fulfilled the basic needs from this pay. However, in the case when the municipality prepared extra projects, it had to find extra financial resources and in this stage, local-central government conflicts might be an obstacle in finding credits. Subaşı himself experienced this; when the central government was in ANAP's rule, he was facing serious opposition. Nevertheless, as the mayor, he continued to search and apply for credits to several institutions to realize the projects in Antalya. Nonetheless, he could not do it for the Walled-Town since he did not have the legal rights. He claims that if the central government had agreed in giving the Greater Municipality of Antalya extra rights about the administration of the Walled-Town, he would have given the priority to the Walled-Town and could have applied for the credits to use there, so that the area would have been rehabilitated much earlier together with its local people. Subaşı also claims that for an area like the Walled-Town, many institutions in the world would give credits even without any interest. But in order to apply and receive it, the task should have a defined owner, which the Walled-Town lacks. He states that:

“No institution could be perfect and take all the correct decisions; therefore the central government does not trust in any one ‘body’ and distributes the responsibilities among different bodies so that they can control each other. However, this distrust and fragmented authorization just creates more problems, including those of the Walled-Town.” The most suitable institution to be the owner of the Walled-Town is the Greater Municipality, advocates Subaşı, with convincing reasons such as municipalities being the bodies that are the easiest to audit, and the most suitable platform to apply a participation model in harmony with what democracy necessitates. The local public and the media can also control the municipality in case something goes wrong, and as the last alternative, the public can remove the local government through their votes if they are not satisfied with its actions. Subaşı advocates the participation of all the groups in the planning process, such as the NGOs, the democratic mass organizations, the segments of the community that have awareness and those that do not, etc. He further emphasizes that participation in the decisions of the Ministry is not possible, whereas the decisions of the municipality can be opened to negotiation.

Apart from the conflicts on the administrative level among the official stakeholders, other kinds of administrative or operational conflicts were also taking place, particularly between the commercial units as civilian stakeholders and the official stakeholders. The current Secretary of



Tourism in Civic Council Zafer Cengiz<sup>125</sup>, who worked in Tourism Bank and developed a business administration model for the yacht harbor, underlines that after the removal of Tourism Bank and TURBAN -the umbrella operator- a chaos regarding the operational and administrative dimension of the yacht harbor started, particularly after 1995. Moreover, later, Demirel assigned his former bodyguard as the new general director of TURBAN, and in 1992, the name of TURBAN was modified as the Turkish Republic Prime Ministry Turban Tourism Business Administration. With this change, the image of TURBAN changed, as reflected in the following comments that appeared in the newspapers (Özdemir 1998):

- “TURBAN’s new director Ömer Bilgin, saying ‘I am the director, and can do whatever I want’, assigned maker and seller of grilled meat patties (*köfteci*) as the chief of the spa in Yalova Thermal Spa.”
- “Sex scandal in TURBAN: according to the inspector’s report, the marketing of East European women took place in the state’s holiday village.”

Özdemir (2006, 237) touches on a major point, that when the tenants were renting the shops in the yacht harbor, they were accepting all the conditions. However, after they started to operate the shops, they tended to go beyond the instructions such as:

- What about putting five tables on the garden instead of three?
- What about selling also beer besides tea?
- Souvenir business doesn’t make revenue, what about opening a bar?
- Selling newspapers doesn’t make revenue, what about selling also dried fruits?

And so on...

Özdemir points out that when TURBAN was the operator of the area, all these problems and wills were dealt with, or combatted, in Özdemir’s words, by TURBAN. Price lists, clean-up, personnel (whether they escaped work or not) were carefully controlled, and every decision was taken by the board of directors; within such a position, the director the Walled-Town Business Administration was under all kinds of pressure, from bribery to threats. Compared to this, Tourism Bank and TURBAN were dealing with bigger pressures, including the politicians. (2006, 237) Özdemir particularly mentions one of these pressures:

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<sup>125</sup> Draft of ‘Antalya Central-Yacht Harbor Directions regarding the Services of the City Police’

The chairman of Prime Ministry Journalists Society (*Başbakanlık Muhabirleri Derneği*) and a group of its directors visited me in my office. [...] Then they came to the issue.

- “There is a kiosk in the Antalya Walled-Town, deliver that kiosk to our Society.”
- “The kiosk has a tenant!”
- “Take him out”.

In those days, these people became spoiled. The Özals had given themselves the headquarters building of the MHP (the Nationalist Action Party) which was closed to be a ‘club house’! It is a huge building in the Gardenhouses district! I explained to them the special condition of Antalya Walled-Town in details, about how the shops are rented, what the instructions should be after renting. I added that in case I didn’t do my job correctly, they should expose me. However, they didn’t care, and they continued from other channels to realize their will. These young journalists had already seen the benefit of the capital.

Özdemir (2006, 237) emphasizes that through the disappearance of TURBAN, the system collapsed and resulted in the conflicts of the operative dimension of the Walled-Town.

Tonguç also expresses that after the 1990s, the mafia started to enter the Walled-Town and the restored structures were rented to those who did not have any experience in tourism issues and who were also not from Antalya.

The conflict on the design of Kebab Shop Market (*Dönerciler Çarşısı*) should also be mentioned. As a result of the pressure on the side of the tradesmen (Aydın 2010, 14), the original project – a competition project – was distorted into one that received many negative critics from the general public (Report of Chamber of Architects 1997 in Aydın 2010, 106). The major approaches of the project were the pedestrianization of Şarampol Street and the demolition of the former *Dönerciler Çarşısı*. The location of *Dönerciler Çarşısı* was a node connecting the newly pedestrianized Şarampol Street and the Walled-Town; thus it was to be designed as a public square. When the pedestrianization works of the Şarampol Street were launched, it caused great reaction from the people, particularly from the tradesmen. Even the Antalya Chamber of Trade and Industry (ATSO) put a black wreath in front of the building of the Greater Municipality. But except this, consensus was provided among the stakeholders on the pedestrianization project. However, about the demolition of the former *Dönerciler Çarşısı*, the stakeholders, including the professional chambers, hesitated. Upon this, the Greater Municipality proposed the construction

of a new *Dönerciler Çarşısı* with complete infrastructure and possessing a design in harmony with the project; the tradesmen and the kebab shop owners were convinced by the proposal. To keep the harmony of the new design with the entire project, the Greater Municipality offered it to the author of the winner project, architect Baran İdil; İdil prepared a design for the new *Dönerciler Çarşısı*. The model of the new project was publicly exhibited by the Municipality. However, during the implementation phase, the pressure of the kebab shop owners increased and a disharmonious building was constructed. As a result, a new problem was created rather than solving the existing problems.

#### **V.5.5. The Sub-Period of 1999-2004: The Mayoralty of Bekir Kumbul under CHP (The Republican People's Party)**

The period of Bekir Kumbul started with the 1999 İzmit Earthquake putting the country in a deep economic crisis. Therefore, the crises of Turkey tourism continued in this period also triggered by 2001 terror in USA and the following Iraq War.

Table 5.11. Local and central government between 1999 and 2004

<b>Local Government</b>	<b>Period</b>	<b>Central Government</b>
Bekir Kumbul (CHP)	1999-2002	Ecevit Government (DSP)
	2003	Gül/Erdoğan Government (AKP)

##### ***V.5.5.1. Development of the Town in General***

The President of the Antalya Chamber of Architects Osman Aydın (Aydın 2010, 19) claims that the communication between the municipality and the civilian stakeholders in Subaşı period did not continue in Kumbul's period. He further claims that development plan preparation works were performed during the period, but were not approved by the Municipal Council.

Kumbul<sup>126</sup> indicates that due to the earthquake he could not handle big urban projects and continued with the projects that were started during Subaşı's mayoralty. On 20.09.2000 with the decree no 4761 of the Conservation Regional Council Wall Front Design Project ('*Sur Önü*

<sup>126</sup> Personal interview, 2013

*Düzenleme Projesi*’) was revised<sup>127</sup>. However, Öztekin (2010) states that the project could not achieve its goal due to high costs and problems related to the shared (*hisseli*) ownership pattern.

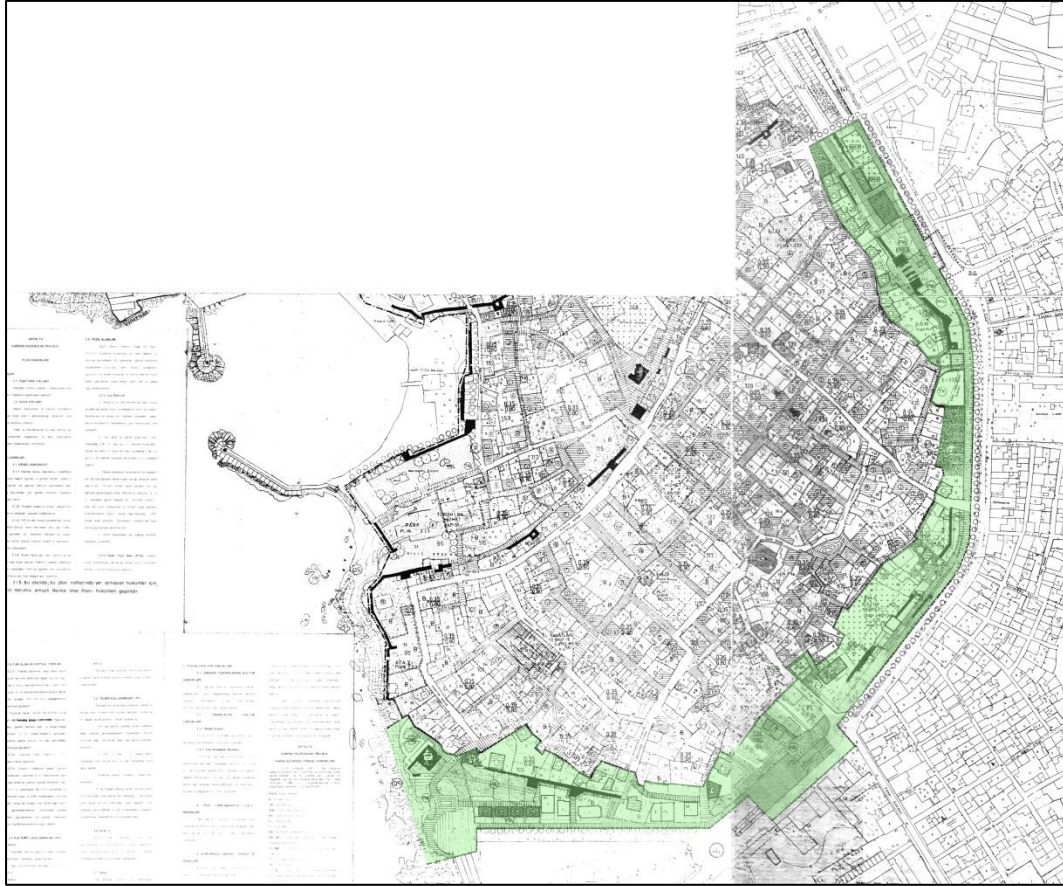


Figure 5.12. Surönü Project (Source: KUDEB)

#### ***V.5.5.2. Works under the Official Plans and Projects Produced for the Walled-Town***

In 2002, Muratpaşa District Municipality started for the works to get a credit by UNESCO and the World Bank in order to use in the restorations. The mayor of Muratpaşa District also states that several private companies also supported restoration works through sponsorship.<sup>128</sup>

<sup>127</sup> Antalya Chamber of Architects (2011) *Antalya Town Walls Workshop*, Antalya Greater Municipality, Antalya Chamber of Architects publication 13/14

<sup>128</sup> <http://www.bianet.org/bianet/cevre--3/12524-kaleicine-unesco-destegi>

### V.5.5.3. Stakeholder Profile

In 1999, a new civilian stakeholder came into the picture when lawyer Murat Erdoğan, a former resident of the Walled-Town founded Antalya Walled-Town Culture Association in order to contribute in the conservation of the cultural heritage of the Walled-Town. Later in 2001 it was transformed into Walled-Town Foundation.<sup>129</sup> The aim of the foundation was to contribute in the conservation of the cultural heritage on the Walled-Town, in the restoration and adaptive-use of the primary resources, in the development of cultural tourism, in the improvement of solidarity among the local citizens of the Walled-Town, in the appointment of the socio-economic problems, in the advertisement of the touristic values of the Walled-Town in national and international platforms.<sup>130</sup>

Corresponding to the establishment of the Association, an important civilian stakeholder, the Walled-Town Cooperative was closed by its founders.

Table 5.12. Stakeholders in the Walled-Town between 1999 and 2004

National level			Local level		
<i>Official stakeholders</i>		<i>Civilian stakeholders</i>	<i>Official stakeholders</i>		<i>Civilian stakeholders</i>
Ministry of Culture and Tourism	High Council	TURSAB	Antalya Greater Municipality		Residents (owners and tenants)
	Antalya Regional Conservation Council		Muratpaşa District Municipality	City Police	Tradesmen
General Directorate of					Owners or operators of Tourism-based

<sup>129</sup> Kazım Yalçınoğlu, Turan Karakaş, Murat Erdoğan, Yöntem Sunar Yılmaz, Sebati Sıtkı Aktuğ, Şükriye İnci Tokatlı, Abdülcemil Yenidoğan, Murat Garan, Ali Sanlı, Nazım Erdoğan, Sami Kaya, Aziz Tankut, Halit Mavisu, Yakup Arıkan, Hediye Rengin Tınmaz, Mehmet Sağgün, Mehmet Alp were among the people who made over. (<http://v3.arkitera.com/v1/haberler/2003/07/03/kaleici.htm>)

<sup>130</sup> <http://v3.arkitera.com/v1/haberler/2003/07/03/kaleici.htm>

National level			Local level		
Official stakeholders		Civilian stakeholders	Official stakeholders		Civilian stakeholders
Foundations					accommodation units
					Owners or operators of catering and entertainment units
					Antalya Chamber of Architects
					ATSO
					Antalya Walled-Town Culture Association (ANKAD)

#### *V.5.5.4. Conflicts and Compromises among Stakeholders and Their Use of Sanctions*

In 2000, the Walled-Town Cooperative was closed by its founders. Aydın<sup>131</sup> points out that the reason behind the decision was the lack of financial support, and the frustration caused by the inability to achieve results despite the efforts that lasted for years.

In 2003, due to the growing problems of the Walled-Town, local governmental institutions, NGOs, democratic mass organizations and local citizens of the Walled-Town gathered to search for solutions to overcome the problems. The decree no. 5983 dated 7.8.2003 of the Antalya Regional Conservation Council should also be underlined, which called on the local governments to take the necessary responsibility for the problems on conservation in the Walled-Town.

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<sup>131</sup> Personal interview, 2013

The Antalya Chamber of Architects claims that when interpreted from the viewpoints of the operators, the ignorance of local governments about the problems of the Walled-Town resulted either in high quality facilities abandoning the area or in the lack of investment in the area by high quality investors.<sup>132</sup> From the viewpoint of the local residents, the Chamber asserts that the local citizens of the Walled-Town continued to abandon the area due to prostitution, low-grade entertainment units and the existence of drug-sellers and drug-users.

#### **V.5.6. The Sub-Period of 2004-2009: The Mayoralty of Menderes Türel under AKP (Justice and Development Party)**

Menderes Türel’s mayoralty corresponds to the introduction of the new conservation law, of the Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Area and of the ‘site management’ concept. Besides, Tourism Strategy of Turkey for 2023 was prepared by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, which gave particular emphasis to the support of cultural tourism. Türel’s being from the same party with the central government facilitated the implementation of many of the works in this period.

Table 5.13. Local and central government between 2004 and 2009

<b>Local Government</b>	<b>Period</b>	<b>Central Government</b>
Menderes Türel (AKP)	2004-2008	Erdoğan Government (AKP)

##### ***V.5.6.1. Development of the Town in General***

The main urban development of the era can be considered as the change in the transportation system of the town. A light railway system was introduced by the municipality and in this context a tram was decided to be built, of which implementation could not be completed in this period. According to the claims of the president of the Chamber of Architects Osman Aydın (Aydın 2010, 27), the transportation system of the town was handled without a serious transportation master plan, and the town faced the construction of many junctions and

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<sup>132</sup> Report titled The Walled-Town and Problems

underpasses. He further claims that the location of these junctions also negatively affected the route of the tram, and as a result, a route was planned that is not very efficient.

In 2004, the Lara-Kundu region was declared as a Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Area by decree of the Council of Ministers. The Ministry transferred the planning authority to the Greater Municipality; however, the municipality could never make a plan on its own. During 2004-2009, many plans, plan revisions and plan modifications were made for the Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Area by the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. After their approval, many court cases (sixteen in total during this period) were opened either by the Antalya Chamber of Architects or by other professional chambers. In the court case related to the development plans in the scales of 1/1,000, 1/5,000, 1/25,000 and 1/50,000, the decision of the Council of State (*Danıştay*) ordained that implementation be stopped. Later, the Ministry launched a new planning process by also demanding the contributions of the Antalya Chamber of Architects. Upon this, two meetings took place in Antalya and in Ankara in succession by the participation of the Antalya Chamber of Architects, Antalya Chamber of City Planners, Antalya Greater Municipality, related municipalities, representatives of Belek Tourism Investors Union (BETUYAP) and Kundu Tourism Investors Association (KUTUYAP). Following these meetings, city planner Burhan Kızıloz from the Ministry was assigned for the plan and many meetings took place between the planner and the Antalya Chamber of Architects. During the works, consensus could be achieved on several issues, while conflicts continued particularly on the usage of the coastal area. The Chamber of Architects continued to advocate the public usage of the coastal area, which could serve the local people and Antalya and the visitors (Aydın 2010, 169).

In this period, two major changes took place in the national level regarding the conservation of historic towns. Firstly Conservation Law no 2863 was modified on 14.07.2004 through act no 5226. The new law introduced the concept of 'area management' into Turkish legislation. Despite Turkey is still in a process of preparation for practicing area management, the start was given as a significant step in conservation. Another major change took place in the status of the historic town center by a decree of Council Ministers. With the public announcement in the Official Gazette (no. 25687 on 31.12.2004) of the decree (no 2004/8311) dated 27.12.2004, the whole historic center including the Walled-Town, the Old harbor (yacht harbor), the historic neighborhoods of Balbey and Haşim İşcan, Kalekapısı Khans District (*Hanlar Bölgesi*) and Karaalioğlu Park was designated as the 'Antalya Town Center Culture and Tourism



Conservation and Development Area' (shortly called the 'Historic and Cultural Center' in Antalya). Based on this, in the 1/25,000 scale Master Development Plan of the town in 2005, the town center was handled as the 'Central Conservation and Regeneration Area' (*Merkez Koruma ve Dönüşüm Alanı*) (Gül 2006). The major aim was to integrate the area with the town center through re-planning, which would be holistic rather than incremental. In this context, a protocol between the Greater Municipality and the Chamber of Architects was signed on 05.07.2006. Upon the protocol, Chamber of Architects became responsible from getting the opinions of the democratic mass organizations and NGOs regarding the new conservation plan of the Walled-Town, preparing reports and submitting them to the Greater Municipality and related bodies. Following the protocol two consultation councils, one local and one national, were formed. The national council had 14 members comprising Dr. Metin Sözen, Architect Oktay Ekinci, Architect Turgut Cansever, Architect Mehmet Alper, Prof. Dr. Zekai Görgülü, Prof. Dr. Nevzat Çelik, Prof. Dr. Gönül Arun, Architect Serhat Akcan, City Planner Feral Eke, Erdoğan Yaşlıca, Ulvi Gürpınar, Architect Osman Aydın, Architect Feridun Uyar, and Architect Bülent Baykal. For the local council, the Deputy Governor of Antalya, a representative of the Province Directorate for Culture and Tourism, a representative of the Regional Directorate of Foundations, the Director of the Antalya Museum, a representative of the General Provincial Assembly (*İl Genel Meclisi*), group representatives of the parties in the Greater Municipal Council, the Director of Land Development in the related municipalities, representatives of Local Agenda 21, the Chamber of City Planners, the Coordination Board of Professional Chambers (*Meslek Odaları Eşgüdüm Kurulu*), Antalya Chamber of Trade and Industry (ATSO), representative of the Union of Tradesmen and Artisans (ESOB), the Chamber of Landscape Architects, the Walled-Town Foundation, muhtar/ headmen (*muhtar*) of related neighborhoods, related associations, ANTAV Foundation, City Planner Burhan Kızılöz, Archaeologist Orhan Atvur, local town historian Hüseyin Çimrin, former director of Antalya Museum Kayhan Dörtlük and Tuncay Neyişçi were invited. During the meetings, of which was held on 11-12.10.2006, the national council, by taking the proposals of the local council, decided on the merging of different conservation sites in the city center and determined which works were to be carried on regarding the historic town center as a whole (Aydın 2010, 21-22). Regarding the merging of the conservation sites in the historic town center, the demolition of several buildings was seen as necessary in order to connect the areas physically. To connect the Walled-Town and the Balbey Neighborhood, several related works were carried on. In this context, two schools and a health facility around Kalekapısı were pulled down, which started a debate in the public opinion. Claiming the historic value of the schools and the health facility, the issue was taken to

the court; however, by the Conservation Council it was declared that the physical connection of the historic districts of the city was such an important project in its own that the schools and the health facility, which had already lost their original architectural features, could be pulled down (Aydın 2010, 23). As a result of the court, the buildings were pulled down and cafes, green spaces, squares and an underground car park were decided to be erected replacing the former buildings. Along with these works, the Tin and Stove Market (*Tenekeciler and Sobacılar Çarşısı*), the project for which was already prepared through a competition, was decided to be merged with this area.

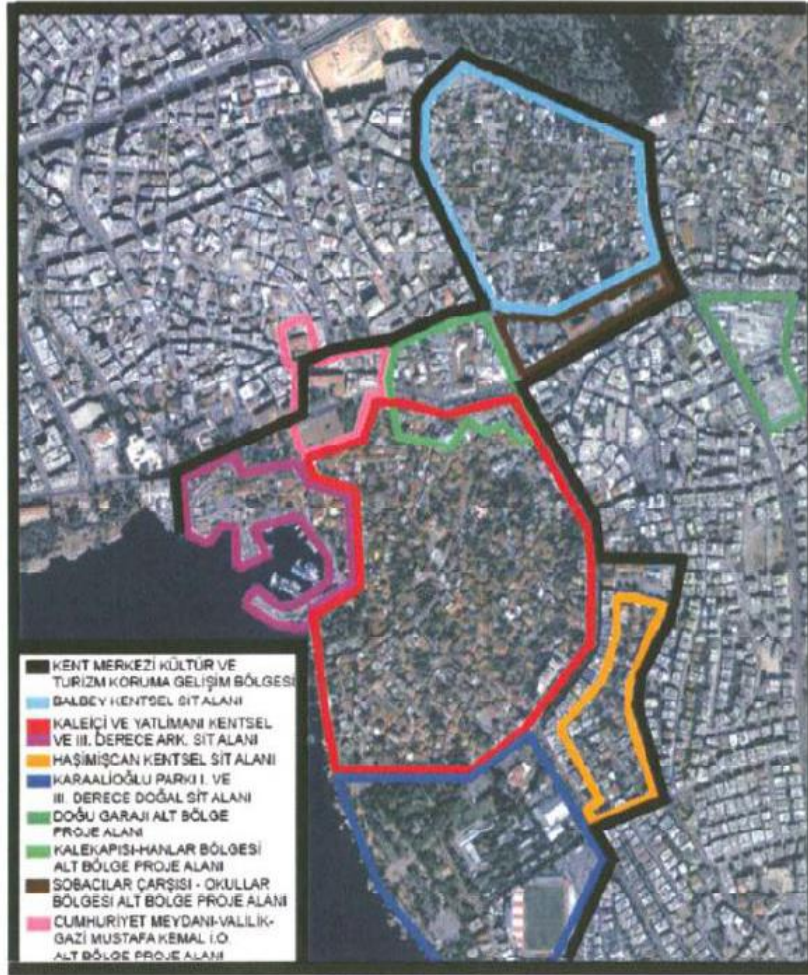


Figure 5.13. Conservation sites existing inside the borders of the KTKGB and Sub-project Areas determined within the scope of the Urban Transformation Project; black: the borders of the KTKGB, light blue: Balbey Neighborhood; red: Walled-Town; violet: yacht harbor; yellow: Haşim İşcan Neighborhood; blue: Karaalioğlu Park; dark green: East Terminal (*Doğu Garajı*); green: Kalekapısı- Khans District (*Hanlar Bölgesi*); brown: Stove Market (*Sobacılar Çarşısı*); pink: Republic (*Cumhuriyet*) Square (Source: Antalya Chamber of Architects)

Another demolition took place around the Republic Square. Proposed by Antalya governor Alaaddin Yüksel, the governorship was moved to the historic Gazi Mustafa Kemal Primary School behind the governorship building, and later the former governorship building was pulled down. The former building's space was merged with the Republic Square to enlarge it. Upon this development, works for façade improvement took place around the square; these works also involved the idea of returning some of the buildings' facades back to their historic origins at Kalekapısı. Within this framework, it was aimed to form a public square replacing the Vakıf Office Block (*Vakıf İşhanı*), and exhibiting One-Door Khan (Tek Kapılı Han), the Two-Door Khan (*İki Kapılı Han*), the Bazaar Hammam (*Pazar Hamamı*) and other civic architecture works located in the area. Through the destruction of *Vakıf İşhanı*, a public square was built as foreseen.

In 2008, the Antalya Historic and Cultural Center Project prepared for the KTKGB was listed among projects to be awarded for the Conservation Awards of 2008 given by the Turkish Union of Historic Towns (*Tarihi Kentler Birliği*).

In this period, many projects in the town, particularly the ones surrounding the Walled-Town, were realized through the comments of a newly established council: 'Antalya Greater Municipality Projects Coordination Council'. Its members consisted of the General Secretary of the Greater Municipality, the Chief Consultant (*Baş Danışman*), Director of the Regional Conservation Council, three representatives from the Antalya Chamber of Architects, Chamber of City Planners, Chamber of Civil Engineers, representatives of the Antalya Chamber of Trade and Industry (ATSO), tourism associations, and General Manager of the Municipality's Construction Firm.

#### ***V.5.6.2. Works under the Official Plans and Projects Produced for the Walled-Town***

In the framework of the Historic and Cultural Town Center, the protocol between the Chamber of Architects and the Greater Municipality and the report of the national council, the Conservation Plan for the Yacht Harbor (also called the Old Port or the Marina) was prepared as the first step and approved by the Conservation Council and Municipality Council. Corresponding to this, a new traffic arrangement was realized in the framework of a 1/500 scale project related to traffic circulation and pedestrian streets; street rehabilitation works started with

associated infrastructure works, the improvement of lighting and sitting elements and the renewal of street pavements were completed. It should be mentioned that this process has been very debatable. Even each interviewee made a different comment related to the pavement materials and style. Since it is outside the dissertation's focus, no further detail will be given here. Besides the infrastructure works, new green spaces were formed in conformity with the character of the Walled-Town by using the appropriate plants. The works were financed by the resource which Antalya Governor Alaaddin Yüksel delivered from the Portion of Real Estate Tax allocated to cultural projects (*Emlak Vergileri Katkı Payı*) (Aydın 2010, 24).

The conservation plan of the yacht harbor was revised in 2008. The Antalya Town Center Walled-Town Yacht Harbor Development Plan Revision (*Antalya Merkez Kaleiçi Yat Limanı Revizyon İmar Planı*) was prepared by the Municipality's Bureau for Conservation Works (KUDEB) and approved by the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement on 03.12.2008.

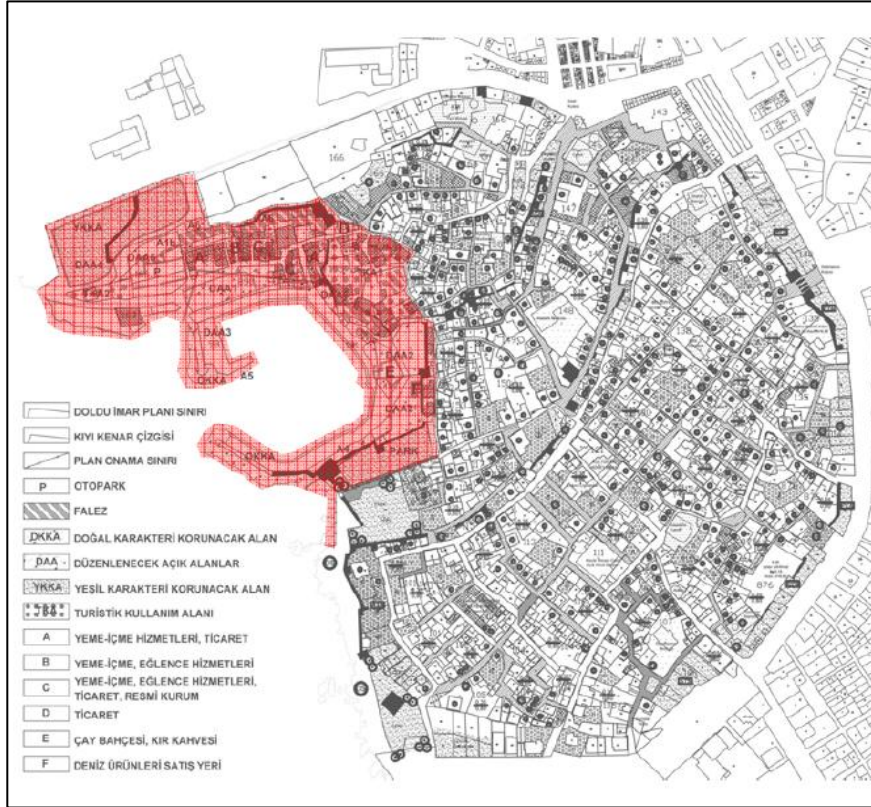


Figure 5.14. The Antalya Town Center Walled-Town Yacht Harbor Development Plan Revision (Öztekin 2010, 58)

### V.5.6.3. Stakeholder Profiles

In 2004 Walled-Town Association (KALYADER) was established as a civilian stakeholder by the tradesmen of the Walled-Town in order to inform the authorities about the problems of the tradesmen.

In this period, two significant official stakeholders were added to the administrative dimension of the Walled-Town. First of them is KUDEB (Conservation, Implementation Control Bureau: *Koruma, Uygulama Denetim Bürosu*), which was established under the Antalya Greater (Metropolitan) Municipality. The offices of KUDEB were introduced through Conservation Act no 5226 in order to carry out works related to cultural beings and to control the implementations as well. Through the establishment of KUDEB in 2004, the authority of the Conservation Regional Council was partly transferred to KUDEB. Accordingly, KUDEB became the responsible body from simple repair (*basit onarım*) inside the border of the conservation site area. As such, the citizens were first to apply to Muratpaşa District Municipality for any project, after the initial approval of the request by Muratpaşa Municipality the task is handed over to the Conservation Regional Council. The responsibility of realizing the decision of the Council belongs to the two municipalities. In this scope, Muratpaşa District Municipality is authorized with giving the permissions for new constructions; KUDEB is the body controlling the implementation process. Another official stakeholder that was introduced in this period is General Directorate of Investment and Enterprises under the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. The Directorate became an official stakeholder of the Walled-Town in 2004 with the designation of the Walled-Town as KTKGB.

Table 5.14. Stakeholders in the Walled-Town between 2004 and 2009

National level			Local level		
<i>Official stakeholders</i>		<i>Civilian stakeholders</i>	<i>Official stakeholders</i>		<i>Civilian stakeholders</i>
Ministry of Culture and Tourism	High Council	TURSAB	Antalya Greater Municipality	KUDEB	Residents (owners and tenants)
	Antalya Regional			Walled-Town Coordination	Tradesmen

National level			Local level		
<i>Official stakeholders</i>		<i>Civilian stakeholders</i>	<i>Official stakeholders</i>		<i>Civilian stakeholders</i>
	Conservation Council				
	General Directorate of Investment and Enterprises		Muratpaşa District Municipality	City Police	Owners or operators of Tourism-based accommodation units
General Directorate of Foundations					Owners or operators of catering and entertainment units
					Antalya Chamber of Architects
					ATSO
					Walled-Town Association (KALYADER)

#### ***V.5.6.4. Conflicts and Compromises among Stakeholders and Their Use of Sanctions***

The protocol between the Antalya Chamber of Architects and the Greater Municipality in the framework of the ‘Antalya Town Center Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Area’ was taken to court by the Antalya Chamber of City Planners with the reason that according to the Conservation Law no. 5226 (Conservation Law no. 2863 amended with Laws no. 3386 and no. 5226) the author of the conservation plans should have been the ‘city planner’. However, in the second article of the protocol, it was stated that Conservation Plan of the Area was to be prepared through the control, consultation and coordination of the Antalya Chamber of

Architects. In 2008, it was decided by the court that the protocol between the Antalya Chamber of Architects and Greater Municipality was valid and legal. Later, the decision was taken to the Council of the State by the Antalya Chamber of City Planners for appeal; with the decision of Council of the State in 2009, the court decision was approved (related court petitions and decision in Antalya Chamber of Architects 2011, 407-428).

Through the protocol, the Antalya Chamber of Architects started to organize meetings with other democratic mass organizations to discuss the problems of the Walled-Town prior to any new project or plan. From the report titled 'The Walled-Town and Problems', it is seen that ATSO, the Greater Municipality and the Antalya Chamber of Architects worked together to discuss the issues. According to the report, no local government after the 1980s, particularly Muratpaşa District Municipality, owned up to the Walled-Town, either intentionally or unintentionally, or provided the necessary personnel and vehicles to control the construction works in the Walled-Town; by doing this, they permitted illegal construction and restoration activities. It can be said that these illegal activities also include illegal functions such the car rental units that invade the vacant spaces and streets (see current land-use map of the Walled-Town, figure 5.1.). In the report, it is also indicated that the operators invaded the streets and the areas that were declared as open space in the 1992 Plan Revision.

In the Walled-Town, a historic building could take on any type of commercial activity under the will of the owner or the enterprise. As such, a building neighboring an accommodation unit could be used as a night club or a restaurant; however, the noisy activities created problems. The report emphasizes that tourism-based accommodation units located in the Walled-Town are small-scale units, the consumers of which are tourists who prefer cultural tourism to sun-sand-sea tourism and who prefer quality catering and shopping. Nevertheless, the report claims that due to low quality catering and commercial units, the demand of this tourist group declined, and all the units, particularly several boutique hotels preferred by high-income elite tourists, were negatively affected by it. Several interviewees, who are the owners or operators of these high class boutique hotels, even acknowledge that they regret having invested in the Walled-Town in such large amounts.

Actually, as expressed by several interviewees, the illegal occupation of the vacant lands and the streets, the opening of disturbing facilities and the disturbing high-volume music and noise were the result of a series of patronage relations between the official and civilian stakeholders. As

inferred from face to face conversations with several operators, the situation also created conflicts among the civilian stakeholders. The responsibility of preventing illegal occupation of the streets by the catering and entertainment units by putting extra tables and disturbing high-volume music belongs to municipal police force of Muratpaşa District Municipality. However, as claimed by several operators, due to rampant bribery, the city police permitted some catering and entertainment units while not permitting others. It was further claimed by several interviewees that Muratpaşa District Municipality permitted several units to operate without a legal permit.

Another point indicated in the report was the transformation of the Walled-Town into a movie set through its excessive use by tourism-based units and it was claimed that this caused the alienation of the Walled-Town from the local people. The claims of the report can be proved right by the comments of the interviewees declaring that few activities exist in the Walled-Town that would attract local citizens. Therefore, accompanied by the past negative image of the Walled-Town, which appeared in the 1990s, local citizens did not enter the area, and those who were still living in the area continued to abandon the Walled-Town (especially due to the noisy environment).

It should be underlined that an important emphasis was made by many of the interviewees and in many of the face-to face conversations with the operators on the decrease of the mentioned problems under the mayoralty of Menderes Türel. The reason behind this decrease was put forth as increased control in this period and frequent visits to the area by mayor Türel.

#### **V.5.7. The Sub-Period of 2009-2013: The Mayoralty of Mustafa Akaydın: under CHP (The Republican People's Party)**

Akaydın's mayoral period corresponds to the long-term power of the Erdoğan Government; Antalya Greater Municipality in this period is one of the few municipalities in the country which is governed by a different party other than AKP.

In this period, the national policy of supporting cultural tourism continued.



Table 5.15. Local and central government between 2009 and 2013

<b>Local Government</b>	<b>Period</b>	<b>Central Government</b>
Mustafa Akaydın (CHP)	2009-2013	Erdoğan Government (AKP)

#### ***V.5.7.1. Development of the Town in General***

In Akaydın's period, the Transportation Master Plan was prepared and a series of street rehabilitation projects were begun throughout the city. Regarding the historic center of the town, works started for the arrangement of Karaaliođlu Park as a City Museum Complex. As such, exhibitions are held in collaboration with the City Museum and several other social activities are performed. Beside Karaaliođlu Park, the urban design of the former schools district as the 'İsmet İnönü Urban Life Area' (*İsmet İnönü Kentsel Yaşam Alanı*) continues.

#### ***V.5.7.2. Works under the Official Plans and Projects Produced for the Walled-Town***

Several significant initiatives started in this period in order to revitalize the urban life of the area and make it attractive for local citizens as well as tourists. One is the start for a new plan 'Antalya Town Walls Master Plan' in order to integrate the town walls in the active life of the city. On 22-23.03.2010 'Antalya Town Walls Workshop' (*Antalya Kent Surları Çalıştayı*) was organized by Antalya Greater Municipality and Antalya Chamber of Architects to discuss the problems and the opportunities with the related institutions and the general public. In the workshop, Emre Madran pointed out that the master plan should be an integrative part of the new Walled-Town Plan Revision. In the workshop, regarding the stakeholders of the projects, the roles of the universities, professional chambers (democratic mass organizations) and NGOs were defined. Accordingly, the universities were to contribute in the project from scientific aspects and were going to be able to participate into the excavation works and to interpret the written and visual resources; the professional chambers were going to be able to make recommendations regarding their own fields of expertise; and the NGOs were going to be able to carry out works to increase the awareness of the general public on the issue as well as to help in finding related documents. Following the event, on 01.01.2011 the Walled-Town Directive (*Kaleiçi Kullanım Yönergesi*) was introduced in order to direct the development and transformation of the Walled-Town, to define the roles and responsibilities of the related bodies

and the directives that should be obeyed by the local citizens in order to conservation the area. Upon it, another workshop ‘Walled-Town Conservation Plan Revision Workshop’ (*Kaleiçi Koruma Amaçlı İmar Plan Revizyonu Çalıştayı*) was held on 14.12.2011 in order to discuss the issues on the problems of the Walled-Town with the general public.

Another initiative by the Greater Municipality was the opening of Toy Museum at Yacht Harbor on 23.04.2011 in order to attract the families with children into the area.

### V.5.7.3. Stakeholder Profile

In 2013, Yacht Harbor and Walled-Town Coordination Office (*Yat Limanı ve Kaleiçi Koordinasyon Şube Müdürlüğü*) was established under the Greater Municipality to provide the Walled-Town with a miniature municipality which could gather several services (city police from the Muratpaşa District Municipality, a representative from the Master Plan Office of the Greater Municipality, a representative from the Antalya Province Police Department for the security, a representative from the media) and solve the problems immediately. However, the director of the Office<sup>133</sup> claims that the body could not achieve its goal completely since the representatives from the media and from the Antalya Province Police Department Emniyet came, but no one participated from Muratpaşa Municipality. Currently the Office operates through the applications of the local citizens and local tradesmen about the problems and potential problems of the Walled Town such as the problems in pavements, about the illumination units, parking spaces, rubbish and etc.

Table 5.16. Stakeholders in the Walled-Town between 2009 and 2013

National level			Local level		
<i>Official stakeholders</i>		<i>Civilian stakeholders</i>	<i>Official stakeholders</i>		<i>Civilian stakeholders</i>
Ministry of Culture and Tourism	High Council	TURSAB	Antalya Greater Municipality	KUDEB	Residents (owners and tenants)
	Antalya			Walled-Town	

<sup>133</sup> Personal interview, 2013

National level			Local level		
<i>Official stakeholders</i>		<i>Civilian stakeholders</i>	<i>Official stakeholders</i>		<i>Civilian stakeholders</i>
	Regional Conservation Council			Coordination Office	
	General Directorate of Investment and Enterprises		Muratpaşa District Municipality	City Police	Owners or operators of Tourism-based accommodation units
General Directorate of Foundations					Owners or operators of catering and entertainment units
					Antalya Chamber of Architects
					ATSO

#### ***V.5.7.4. Conflicts and Compromises among Stakeholders and Their Use of Sanctions***

In this period, many problems regarding the invasion of the streets and disturbing high-volume music and noise resurfaced. In a newspaper article in 2012, Adil Gürkan claims that it has been a while since the Walled-Town disappeared from the social life of Antalya. He goes on to say that high-class tourists making reservations in the boutique hotels escape from the Walled-Town over the next days because they are unable to sleep. Gürkan thus concludes that the Greater Municipality would make the right decision if big entertainment units causing high-volume music were made to leave the Walled-Town.

In 2010, when the Greater Municipality put the Walled-Town Directive (*Kaleiçi Kullanım Yönergesi*) into force, the city police started to make sudden controls in the Walled-Town to check whether the tradesmen used the façade of the buildings or not. These sudden city police controls caused fights between the tradesmen and mayor Mustafa Akaydın.

In 2011, in order to support participatory governance and discuss the problems of the Walled-Town to guide the new Conservation Plan, the Greater Municipality and the Chamber of Architects held a meeting with the local citizens of the Walled-Town, entitled 'Problems and Principles of the Walled-Town Urban and Third Degree Archaeological Site Area Conservation Plan Revision' (*Kaleiçi Kentsel ve 3. Derece Arkeolojik Sit Alanı Koruma Amaçlı İmar Planı Revizyonu Sorunlar ve İlkeler*). Mayor Mustafa Akaydın moderated the meeting. In the meeting, the Greater Municipality announced that the new revision plan was to support the accommodation function of the Walled-Town rather than commerce, catering and entertainment and to relate the Walled-Town Directive and the Yacht Harbor Conservation Plan by handling the Walled-Town and Yacht Harbor as one unit.

ATSO, in order to help improve the economy and the social, cultural and commercial life of Antalya and to make Antalya a brand city, started a series of meetings in 2009, called 'the Walled-Town Meetings'. In doing so, ATSO called for the institutionalization of the cooperation between the local governments, the NGOs and democratic mass organizations. The chairman of ATSO Osman Budak's suggestion was the establishment of a Coordination Council consisting of local governments, Special Provincial Administration, professional chambers and similar bodies.<sup>134</sup> Meanwhile, the head of the Walled-Town Association Ömür Kuşçalar criticizes ATSO in 2011 by claiming that the association had never been invited to the so called Walled-Town Meetings.<sup>135</sup> Kuşçalar also asserts that the Association informed the authorities about their problems many times, but never achieved a result.

Another initiative of ATSO regarding the town center was to readdress the regional structure of tourism. In their monthly meeting of July 2010, Chairman Osman Budak reported that mass tourism in the Antalya region did not make a significant economic contribution to the town center. According to Budak, the loss of the town's image as a point of attraction and the transformation of the most of the accommodation units in the region into complexes offering

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<sup>134</sup> <http://kariyer.turizm gazetesi.com/news/news.aspx?id=49787>

<sup>135</sup> <http://www.haber3.com/kaleici-dernegi-baskani-omur-kuscular-mademki-basari-ve-basarisizlik-bel-haberi-667546h.htm#ixzz29x1Zt16G>

entertainment and shopping besides accommodation have particular roles in this phenomenon.<sup>136</sup> The regional structure of tourism and regional commercial network was also questioned by the Town Council. Former head of the Town Council Kayhan Öndemir, a tourism businessman himself, explains the structure of tourism in the region and its reflection to the Walled-Town as such:

Tourist accommodation units cooperate with agents. The agents leave the tourists in Republic Square and give only one hour to experience the Walled-Town. One hour is too short even for a local person just to walk in the Walled Town. By doing so, the agents make the tourist keep their money and spend them in the shopping centers that have a deal with the agents (agents take a commission). These shopping centers are on the way to the airport; there are many carpet, leather and jewelry shops there. The agents also organize daily shopping tours to Pamukkale. These tours revitalize winter seasons and shopping centers pay commission to the agents for each tourist that enters the center; this commission is called 'footfall fee' (*'ayakbastı parası'*). The agent uses this money to pay for the plane; in order to support the agent, the tourist accommodation unit decreases its price; shops pay for the group's lunch in certain restaurants; the sector supports itself through these kinds of horizontal networks among the stakeholders. The senior people are visiting the country (third-age tourists) mostly buy these kinds of package tours. Therefore, the agents behave reluctantly to take the tourists to the Walled Town for shopping, since the tradesmen of the Walled Town are not a part of this network.<sup>137</sup>

To overcome this situation, the Town Council arranged meetings to gather the agents by inviting TURSAB and a group of agencies under ATSO as representatives, to gather the tourist accommodation unit operators by inviting hotel operators group of ATSO as representatives and to gather the tradesmen by inviting the Antalya Union of Tradesman and Merchant Guilds (*Antalya Esnaf ve Sanatkarlar Odaları Birliği*, AESOB) as representatives. The Town Council suggested that the agents show the historic structures in the first place and then to take the tourists to the shops in the Walled Town; the Council requested 2,5 or 3 hours for that. Later, the tour operator could take the group to the restaurant working under agreement with the operator and then continue the tour with the shopping centers. Despite the Council's efforts to convince the agents and establish a consensus among the stakeholders, it could not manage to do it, due to the agents' reluctance. Öndemir interprets this as the agents not agreeing with the

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<sup>136</sup> <http://www.akdenizbulten.com/haber/1045-ekonomi-budak-turist-otelden-disari-cikmiyor.html>

<sup>137</sup> Personal interview 2013

tourists' spending their money in the Walled Town. TURSAB Antalya, on the other hand, responds that Antalya Walled-Town stand as the basic entity that is offered to the foreign tourists, since Antalya can offer no other urban attraction; however, %90 of these tourists visits Antalya for the sun-sand-sea trilogy. Therefore the Walled-Town is visited in a touch-and-go manner. TURSAB further points out the patronage relationships in the operation of the yacht harbor, stating that no control exists in the area. Kerim Çavuşoğlu<sup>138</sup>, the head of TURSAB Antalya, expresses his own idea, that luxury catering should exist in the Walled-Town with less disturbing noise. He further makes an emphasis on the mafias with roots from other parts of Anatolia and therefore believes the situation could only be mitigated by the State. Çavuşoğlu lists the negative image of the Walled-Town for the tourists as follows:

1. The shops are too similar to each other.
2. Bad quality imitation products are being sold.
3. The shops sell these low quality products for high prices.
4. The shops do not invite trust.
5. There is harassment.
6. The customers might encounter inappropriate behavior from the tradesmen when they do not buy the product.

Çavuşoğlu says the tour operators take the tourist groups to more elegant shopping areas. However, he also express that there are too many shopping malls in Antalya and this destroys the smaller merchants.

Both Alp and TURSAB underline the non-usage of the primary resources -Hıdırlık Tower, Kesik Minaret and Karatay Madrasah- saying that the Walled-Town could not be made an attraction center since some of the monumental buildings in the ownership of the Greater Municipality or the Directorate of Foundations are not restored and not in use. Alp claims that for instance, if the tourists could use Hıdırlık Tower, then they would be kept in the Walled-Town. TURSAB adds that the secondary resources dependent on the primary ones are also not sufficiently established.

Kesik Minaret is under the ownership of the Directorate of Foundations. In 1992, it was declared as an open-air museum. In 2005, the Antalya Regional Directorate of Foundations supported its restoration and adaptive re-use as an open-air museum with the decision no. 973 dated 18.02.2005. In 2009, the Antalya Regional Conservation Council approved the revision of the

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<sup>138</sup> Personal interview 2013

related repair projects<sup>139</sup> and in 2011 approved its projects related to illumination<sup>140</sup>. Respectively, the Regional Conservation Council decided on the continuity of its arrangement as a museum with the decree no. 867 dated 27.08.2012, stating that Kesik Minaret witnessed the Hellenistic, Roman, Byzantine, Seljuk, Principalities and Ottoman periods and was used as a temple, basilica, church and a mosque, and it is the only structure in the Walled-Town which still exhibits the traces of its historical continuity. However, the Directorate of Foundations objected to the decision of the Regional Conservation Council and applied to the Higher Conservation Council. Consequently, with the decree no 93 dated 26.09.2012, the Higher Conservation Council decided for the adaptive re-use of the Kesik Minaret as a mosque. In 2013, the Antalya Chamber of Architects and the Chamber of City Planners took the issue to court. The Chambers defended that Kesik Minaret exhibited its historical continuity, and that its transformation into a mosque would necessitate huge interventions that would harm its archaeological value<sup>141</sup>; moreover the area's dominant use was tourism rather than housing and there were currently four mosques<sup>142</sup> and three masjids<sup>143</sup> in the area which were in use by the public, therefore the adaptive re-use of Kesik Minaret as a museum would culturally and economically be more appropriate than its use as a mosque. After a legal investigation, the decision of the Higher Conservation Council upon the will of the Directorate of Foundations without giving a concrete reason was evaluated as unlawful by the Antalya Regional Administrative Court (*Antalya Bölge İdare Mahkemesi*) on 12.07.2013<sup>144</sup>.

Alp was also one of the founders of the Walled-Town Foundation (*Kaleiçi Vakfı*). Later, he left the Foundation and established the Merchants Association for the Beautification of the Walled-Town (*Kaleiçi Güzelleştirme Esnaf Derneği*). When conflicts arose between different groups coming from different geographical regions of Turkey, he closed the association. There is a kind of transformation into squatters in the Walled-Town, expressed for instance as “the man just threw a makeshift stall on top of the Walls and put a tent over it”<sup>145</sup>; the tradesmen have currently established an association to solve daily problems. However, the interviewee claims that it is not an association that is related to the problems of the Walled Town. On the other hand, bodies embraced by the local citizens and the NGOs carry out works directly related to the

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<sup>139</sup> Decree no. 3617 dated 19.11.2009

<sup>140</sup> Decree no. 5165 dated 18.05.2011

<sup>141</sup> In addition, the ruins of the Roman forum in the north of the Kesik Minaret and the ruins of Tholos Monument in the southwest of the area can be traced. (Court report)

<sup>142</sup> Tekeli Mehmet Paşa Mosque, Yivli Minaret Mosque, Alaaddin Mosque and İmaret Mosque

<sup>143</sup> Masjids of Karamolla, Ahi Kızı and Ahi Yusuf

<sup>144</sup> Related Court report

<sup>145</sup> “*tarihi surların üzerine adam tezgah atmış üstüne tente çekmiş*”

Walled Town, such as the Walled-Town Foundation or the Tourism Working Group of the Civic Council. The head of the Group is a tour operator himself.

## V.6. Chapter Evaluation

The current tourism structure of the Walled-Town reveals the concrete consequences of the reproduction process between 1972 and 2013. According to the personal 2013 survey of the area, it is seen that currently there are 88 tourism-based accommodation units in the area<sup>79</sup> of them participated in the survey. Several of them were closed due to repair works, while several operators were reluctant to participate in the survey. Therefore, the analysis is evaluated in the dissertation over these 79 units. It should be underlined that 22 of these units use more than one building; therefore the number of units is different from the number of buildings. 21 of these 79 units are house pensions, while there are 20 pensions, 6 boutique hotels with 0-20 bed capacity, 17 boutique hotels with 20-40 bed capacity, 6 boutique hotels with 40-80 bed capacity, 3 boutique hotels with 80-120 bed capacity, 1 boutique hotel with 120-200 bed capacity, 1 special plus accommodation facility<sup>146</sup>, 1 apart hotel, one 1-star hotel and one 2-star hotel. Their percentage in the Walled-Town is given in Figure 5. According to the analysis, approximately %40 of the total tourist accommodation units are boutique hotels in various bed capacities, with a majority of boutique hotels with 20-40 bed capacity correspond to 1-star hotels. Approximately %28 of the total tourist accommodation units are house-pensions, contributing to the residential use of the Walled-Town as well as tourism. Although luxury is usually attributed to accommodation units with high bed capacities, during the land-use analysis and undertaking of the survey, it was observed that in the case of the Walled-Town, bed-capacity might be misleading in evaluating the luxury of the facility. Many of the boutique hotels were elegantly designed and decorated, offering a clean and elegant atmosphere for their customers.

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<sup>146</sup> Tuana Hotel



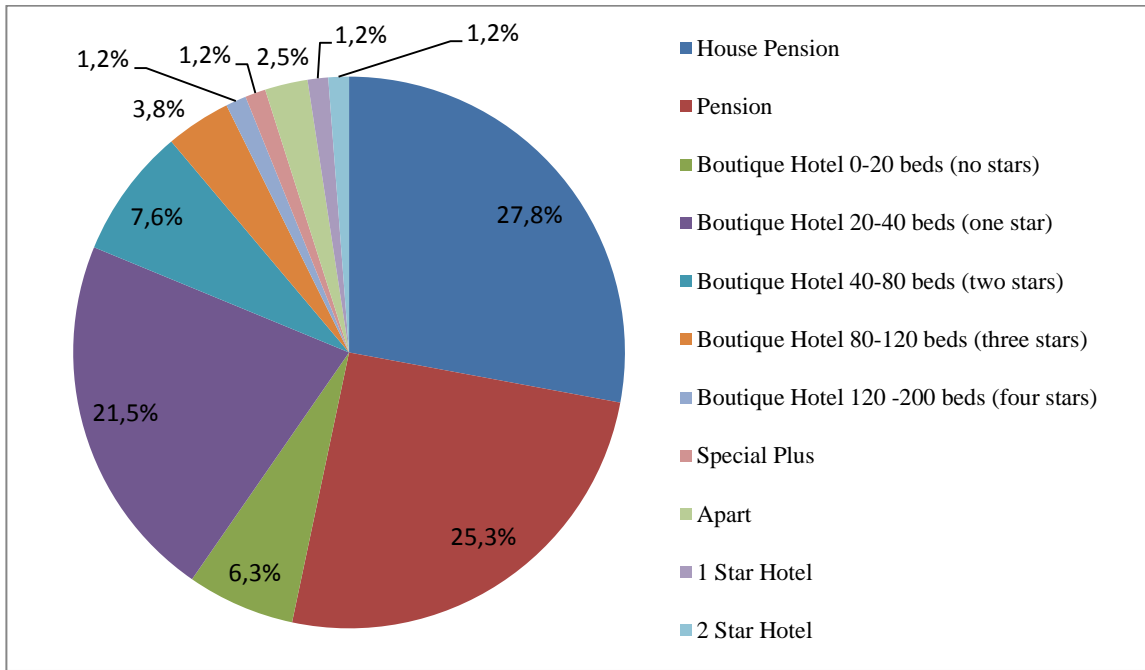


Figure 5.15. Percentage of tourism-based accommodation units in the Walled-Town in 2013

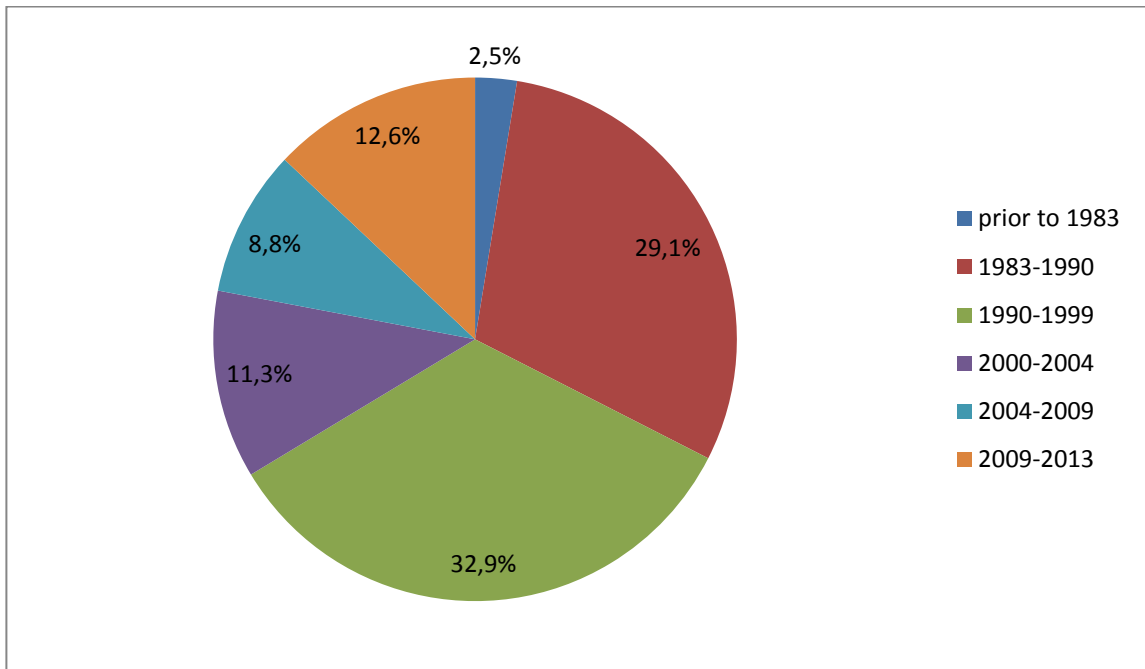


Figure 5.16. Distribution of the transformation dates of the buildings into tourism-based accommodation units (mayoral periods is taken as reference)

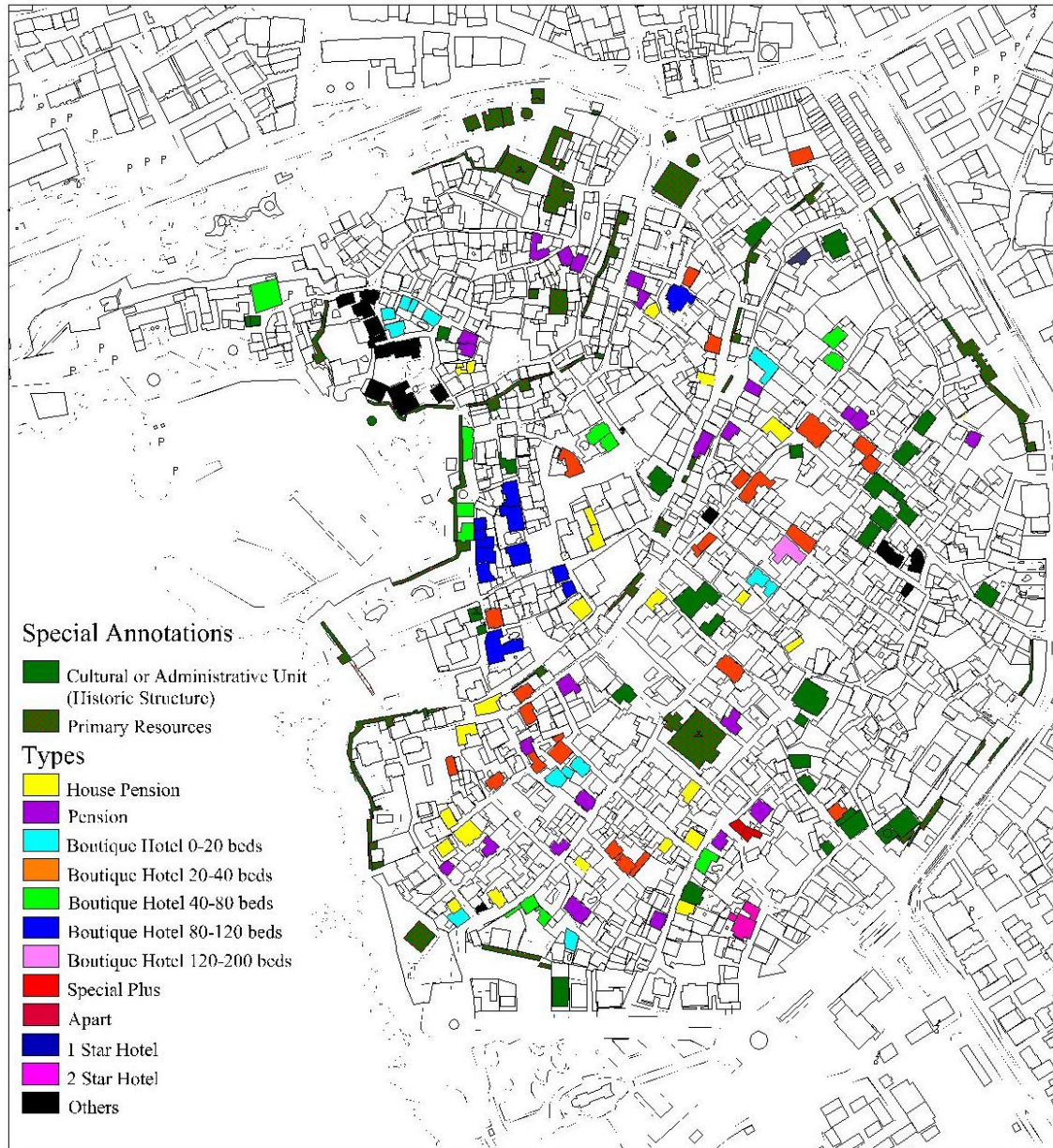


Figure 5.17. Spatial distribution of tourism-based accommodation units according to their types in the Walled-Town in 2013 (Personal rendering; Source for the base map: Antalya Chamber of Architects)

When the dates of the buildings (not the current tourist accommodation unit, but the building it uses) starting to have tourism-based uses is analyzed, it is seen that the majority of the transformation process took place between 1983 and 1999. %41 of the house-pensions was opened between 1990 and 1999, while % 37 of them started to operate between 1983 and 1990.

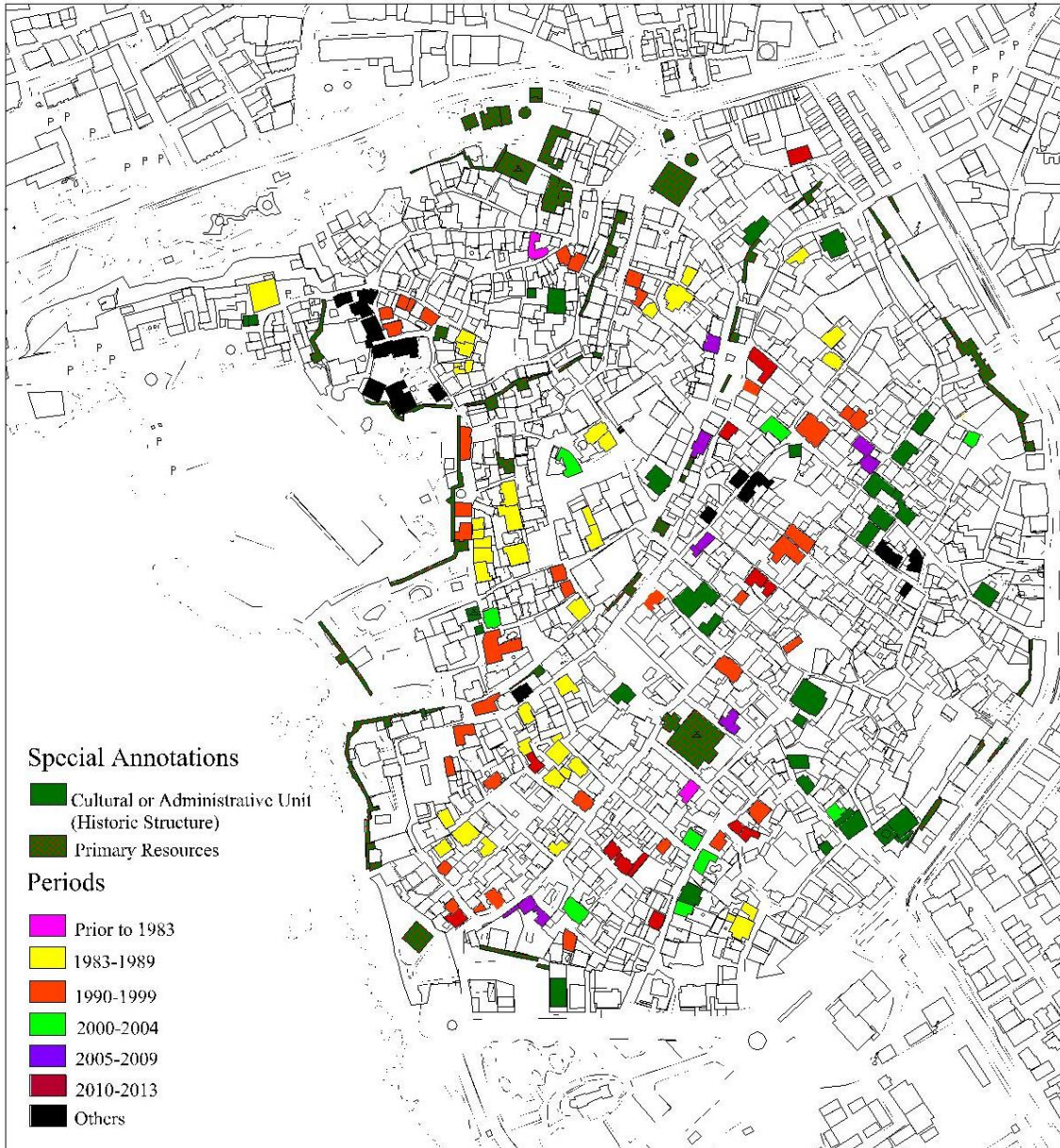


Figure 5.18. Spatial distribution of tourism-based accommodation units according to the date of the buildings' transformation into tourism-based use (Personal rendering; Source for the base map: Antalya Chamber of Architects)

Main reasons behind the stakeholder profile change in the Walled-Town can be summarized as follows:

- migration due to developing industry in Antalya,
- modern housing supply in the periphery and outside the Walled-Town,
- Yacht harbor/Marina project,
- designation of the Walled-Town as a conservation site and related prohibitions,
- increase in land prices,
- tourism policies of Turkey in mass tourism,
- fall of the Iron Curtain,
- foreign purchases of real estate,
- economic crises ,
- war,
- terror,
- prostitution market,
- mafia

The main tools of sanction on the side of the State and on the side of the society can be summarized in table. 5.17., as a result of which the Walled-Town is reproduced as hybrid product of these two main agents.

<b>Main tools of sanction by diverse stakeholders</b>	
<b>State side</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- plans, regulations, projects,</li> <li>- informing the public by panels and exhibitions,</li> <li>- expropriation and gentrification,</li> <li>- control on uses,</li> <li>- legislation,</li> <li>- patronage relationships,</li> <li>- providing or preventing funds,</li> <li>- formal meetings,</li> <li>- partial regeneration projects (museums),</li> <li>- site management (<i>alan yönetimi</i>),</li> <li>- protocols with civilian actors</li> </ul>
<b>Society side</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- complaints to responsible bodies,</li> <li>- murders,</li> <li>- threats,</li> <li>- patronage relationships,</li> <li>- bribery,</li> <li>- establishing societies and associations,</li> <li>- formal and informal meetings,</li> <li>- protests,</li> <li>- mass purchases of historic buildings,</li> <li>- protocols with official actors,</li> <li>- sponsorship</li> </ul>

## CHAPTER VI

### CONCLUSION

#### VI.1. Summary and Findings of the Study

With the boom of international tourism in the post-war era after the 1950s, the Mediterranean Sea became a major generator for the tourism-driven transformation of the lands surrounding it. What came out as the dominant type was ‘sand-sea-sun’ tourism, along with the concept of the ‘package tour’, which included the all-inclusive system. Turkey entered into the market mainly after the 1980s. However, the first initiatives for developing a tourism sector in the country started in the 1950s and intensified in the 1960s, when the county entered into the ‘planned era’. This process coincided with the establishment of the UN and the Mediterranean Development Project of its sub-organization FAO. Before Turkey’s application to this Project, FAO made a study on four Mediterranean countries and declared the Antalya region as a ‘spearhead zone’ among them. After the application of Turkey in the Project, FAO did further research and surveys in the country, these surveys revealed the tourism potential of the region and developing the tourism industry in the Antalya region became a policy.

Meanwhile, Turkey experienced its first *coup d’état* in 1960 and through the Constitution of 1961 and the establishment of the SPI that followed, the county entered to the ‘planned area’, as necessitated by the new Constitution. Under the new circumstances, the planning activities in the Antalya region became difficult to follow due to their ambiguities. As given in detail in Chapter IV, there were many planning activities regarding the Mediterranean coast of the country particularly, between 1960 and 1970. It is seen that the chaotic environment continued in the period of 1970-1980 due to the second *coup d’état* in 1971. The chaos in the administrative dimension might be assessed as reasonable when the county’s new entry into the planned period and the *coup d’états* are taken into consideration. The spatial dimension of the planning issues was also ambiguous, evidenced in the declaration of many different points to be developed as a priority. Among all the plans and projects, two projects evolved as the dominant ones in the Antalya region: the Side Project and the South Antalya Tourism Development Project.

In time, package tours caused the standardization of the tourism product; it created a new type of vacation by changing the manner of how shopping, sightseeing and entertainment opportunities are offered. Standardized vacation packages offer the same or very similar products to tourists. Package tours and all-inclusive systems started to be preferred by people who were to visit a foreign country, since these vacation packages offered the tourist a safe environment and pre-determined vacation program accompanied by a low price. Later, tour operators started to establish networks with the other operators in the sector, which made gathering the different services under one package easier and even further lowered the price offered to the potential tourist. Besides, under the all-inclusive system, the tourist facilities involved accommodation, catering, transportation, insurance, airport transfer and guidance services, making the vacation planning process easier. However, in Turkey, this kind of vacation type transformed in time into a tourism type with a low chance of sightseeing and learning about the culture of the country, region or the place, by keeping the tourist inside the borders of the tourism facility or by providing visits in the region with utter dependence on the tour operator. In Turkey, Antalya played the leading role in the spread of package tours and the all-inclusive system in the country. The South Antalya Tourism Development Project and the incentives brought by the Tourism Incentive Law of 1982 can be regarded as the main agents in this role.

All these developments formed a destination image of 'low-price' and 'sun-sand-sea' tourism for Turkey, especially for Antalya. Under this 'sun-sand-sea' destination of the region, the Walled-Town entered to the tourism sector as the coastal settlements in the Mediterranean were declared by the State to be planned through tourism. The conservation of the cultural heritage of the country also came on the agenda of the State in the 1970s; what thus came out to be was the conservation planning of the Walled-Town through tourism. With the introduction of yacht harbors into the tourism policy of Turkey, the first action in the Walled-Town became revitalizing the old harbor of Antalya as a yacht harbor and a culture and entertainment center. Model restorations were to be carried out and model facilities were to be operated in order to encourage the local citizens in the rest of the Walled-Town to restore their houses. Soon after the start for the works for the old harbor, the rest of the Walled-Town was also addressed. The Walled-Town was already declared as a 'protocol area' in 1967, in order to conserve it, in the development plan of the city. Later, in 1973, with the enactment of the Conservation Law no. 1710, it was designated as a 'conservation site'.

METU was founded in 1956 with the aim of Turkey's bringing up its own experts in urban planning. Through an official student group visit to Antalya in 1957, the ties of Antalya Walled-Town and METU were established. The task of planning the Walled-Town was assigned to METU by the Ministry of Tourism and Promotion with the initiative of Güler Yalım from the Ministry, a graduate of METU Faculty of Architecture herself. Upon the assignment, a team consisting of Gönül Tankut, Murat Balamir, Özcan Esmer and Ülker Çopur started to survey and completed the plan in 1979. During the period, Selahattin Tonguç, a former resident of the Walled-Town himself, became the mayor who wished to make Antalya a cultural city. Accordingly, a joint task by was carried out the university and the municipality. The major problem of the Walled-Town was its deprived atmosphere in those days. Concrete modern constructions had already begun to spring up inside and outside of the area after the introduction of 'flat ownership' legislation in 1954. Residents from high-income groups were leaving their old houses in favor of modern houses outside the Walled-Town. However, with the designation of the protocol area and the following conservation area, a bigger problem arose, i.e. the abandonment of the Walled-Town by its local citizens due to the new constructions outside the Walled-Town, the repair limitations and the huge amount of money that was needed for the restoration of the historic houses. Nevertheless, in an international meeting in Strasbourg on historic towns, mayor Selahattin Tonguç made a presentation of Antalya Walled-Town, which attracted great attention from the audience. This attraction opened the way for an international credit of the UN, which would provide for the completion of the project. However, the chance was lost by the last *coup d'état* in the country in 1980 and Tonguç was removed from office like all the other mayors in the country.

1982 became a milestone in the tourism history of Turkey, as the Tourism Incentive Law of 1982 was enacted. The law provided many incentives to the private sector and to foreign investors. Following the law, many coastal areas were designated as tourism centers to be developed through tourism. Accompanied by Özalism, namely liberalism, intensive and rapid development started in the coastal areas of the country. Meanwhile, the State decentralized the planning authorities in 1985 through Development Law no. 3194. Although it was enacted with well-meaning intentions, it resulted in the advent of incremental planning all over the country. Independent of the regional plans, the local governments were now free in making plans and this supported the incremental development in the coastal areas, mainly the Antalya region. Now, the Walled-Town was being surrounded by tourism centers with high levels of bed capacity.

In the military period, the credit offered by the UN was forgotten and the abandonment of the Walled-Town continued. In 1984, the Yacht Harbor Project was completed and the yacht harbor was opened. The umbrella operative of the yacht harbor was TURBAN (the operative name of the Tourism Bank). Until 1989, TURBAN continued its umbrella role and controlled every facility in the harbor. It was the start of a prestigious period for the yacht harbor and the Walled-Town, which did not last long.

At the end of the 1980s, the Tourism Bank was unified with the Bank of Development, and TURBAN was privatized, which caused a sudden decline in the quality of the tourist facilities previously operated and controlled by TURBAN.

Turkey never experienced a *coup d'état* after; however, several crises in the 1990s caused the ambiguous environment to continue. The first of them was the 1990 Gulf Crisis and the following the Gulf War in 1991. Later, the country was faced with PKK terrorism in the coastal areas in 1993-1994. Both crises caused ambiguity in the tourism sector; as a result, the all-inclusive system became a rescuing factor for the tourist accommodation facilities and more facilities started to operate through it. Consequently, a new regional commercial network consisting of civilian stakeholders was established in time. Tour operators were the main actors of this network. Tour operators are commercial entities that market the tourism product as a package. They work together with travel agencies in the destination countries. As such, tour operators, travel agencies, tourist accommodation units and several subsidiary agents became the primary members of this network. However, Antalya Walled-Town remained outside of the network.

Due to the Gulf War, Turkey was declared as dangerous and foreign yachts were called to leave the Mediterranean coast of the country, while the terror also undermined the tourist image of the country. Although beginning with the 1990s, the country's tourism policies started to change to support cultural tourism and alternative tourism types, the crises resulted in the fall of the demand and decrease in the quality of tourists. Accompanied by the abandonment of the yacht harbor by TURBAN, the quality of uses and the users in the Walled-Town started to decline, letting illegal functions enter the area, such as drug-usage and prostitution. Since few local citizens continued to live in the area, the natural surveillance also declined, supporting the growth of unwanted uses, which alienated the elite tourists from the area, as well the local citizens of Antalya. In such an atmosphere, under the mayoralty of Hasan Subaşı, the



conservation plan of 1979 was revised by a METU team consisting of Emre Madran and Nimet Özgönül.

The revised plan declared that the Walled-Town lost its residential function due to the extensive number of tourist facilities spilling out of the zones that the 1979 plan had indicated. Upon this, increasing the residential usage of the area was proposed and the listed buildings that could take a tourism-oriented function were determined. Despite the vision the 1992 Revised Plan, the Walled-Town continued to be developed in tourism-based activities, accompanied by night clubs and bars which resulted in the rise of new conflicts among the civilian stakeholders, such as the residential or tourism-based accommodation units and the operators of the noisy facilities. Lack of control by the city police, rampant bribery, disregard of several chiefs of police, and the opening and operation of unlicensed businesses triggered these conflicts, as well carrying the issue to a fight between the official and civilian stakeholders, a process still continuing today.

In 1999, Turkey was shocked by the İzmit earthquake. Due to the deep national economic crisis, few interventions could take place in the Walled-Town corresponding to the mayoralty of Bekir Kumbul. He kept continuing with the works of the previous mayor Hasan Subaşı and a revised plan for the yacht harbor was prepared. In the 2000s, during Saadettin Tantın's term as the Minister of the Interior, several problems of the Walled-Town regarding prostitution, high-volume music disturbing the accommodation units, and drug-selling started to disappear in the Walled-Town, due to the strict control throughout the country. The rehabilitation in the area continued under the mayoralty of Menderes Türel, who was also a former resident of the Walled-Town himself. During his mayoralty, due to strict controls and his visits of the area, prostitution, drug-selling, disturbing high-volume music continued to disappear, as well as the invasion of the public streets by catering units. In the same period, the State started to place more emphasis on tourism policies to develop cultural tourism. In 2003, the Ministry of Tourism and the Ministry of Culture were unified as the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Following this, with the revision of the 1982 Tourism Incentive Law, the concept of the 'Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Area' (KTKGB) was introduced. The Walled-Town had a major problem of administration ever since it was first planned. After the declaration of metropolitan (greater) municipalities in Turkey, the problem grew with the fragmentation of powers and the establishment of Muratpaşa District Municipality. Türel, in order to gain full authority on the Walled-Town, applied to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism for the designation of the Walled-Town as a 'Culture and Tourism Conservation and Development Area'. After the designation

was approved, the Greater Municipality took the planning authority and signed a protocol with the Antalya Chamber of Architects, an actor that has been active in all the planning issues in Antalya since it was founded, for the planning. However, with the designation, a new official stakeholder entered into the area: the General Directorate of Investment and Enterprises (*Yatırım ve İşletmeler Genel Müdürlüğü*) under the Ministry. It was originally designed to be a facilitating institution, but in time became another extension of the heavy bureaucracy. Currently, the Ministry of Culture and Tourism, related bodies of the Higher Conservation Council, Regional Conservation Council, General Directorate of Investment and Enterprises; the Greater Municipality, Muratpaşa District Municipality, General Directorate of Foundations (*Vakıflar Genel Müdürlüğü*) and the Antalya Province Police Department stand as the official stakeholders responsible for the administrative dimension of the Walled-Town. Under several conflicts among each other, they continue the planning of the Walled-Town to solve the problems. What is not seen is the regional commercial network of tourism established by the civilian stakeholders working in the tourism industry.

From the findings of the study, it is inferred that in Antalya Walled-Town a vicious cycle is formed among the regional stakeholders and local stakeholders of tourism, such as the operators of the accommodation units and the tradesmen. The tradesmen in the Walled-Town express that the tourist guides do not let the tourist groups shop freely in the Walled-Town, while TURSAB Antalya on behalf of the travel agencies and tour operators expresses that they prefer not to do it to provide the tourist group with a better shopping environment. The all-inclusive system is profitable for those tradesmen who work in collaboration with tour operators or travel agencies. However, in the Walled-Town, the tradesmen are independent and they are directly affected by these types of collaborations. In Antalya center, the tradesmen working in collaboration with these operators and agencies locate themselves outside the Walled-Town. Therefore, the profit does not return to the Walled-Town. Apart from these tradesmen, tourist groups are oriented towards or taken to shopping malls in the city by the tour operators. By this way, tourist groups visiting Turkey via package tours spend their time in these shopping malls rather than visiting the Walled-Town and shopping there. In this system, it is mostly the large firms working together with the agencies that make a profit rather than the local tradesmen. The system is advocated by TURSAB claiming that the tradesmen in the Walled-Town do not offer a quality product, they mistreat the tourists either by their bad manners or by overcharging them. Therefore, it is expressed that for the tourists' own good and the level of satisfaction, they are oriented towards quality shopping environments. Initiatives were made to gather the local

stakeholders of the Walled-Town and these regional stakeholders by the Town Council. However, no result was achieved due to the reluctance of the regional stakeholders. Within this perspective, the tourists accommodated in the all-inclusive tourist facilities can be grouped under three: those who do not leave the touristic facility during the vacation; those who visit the surrounding and do sightseeing and shopping under the directives of the tourist guide in collaboration with the tour operator or the travel agency, or those who go on a cultural daily sightseeing by their own resources. Therefore, it can be concluded that among the tourists visiting Antalya through package tours, it is this third category that is expected to contribute to the economy of the Walled-Town.

Within this regional development dependent upon mass ‘sand-sea-sun’ tourism and the limiting all-inclusive system, the Walled-Town stands as a main resource and attraction point for those who wish to combine cultural tourism with urban tourism. However, the scarcity of the residential uses, the segregation of the tourists from the locals, the non-usage or under-use of the primary tourist resources, vacant lands and vacant buildings some of which stand in a ruinous state, unharmonious high-rise concrete buildings dating from before the 1970s, conflicts among the accommodation units and the catering and entertainment units, the low-qualified secondary tourist resources they all affect the conditions for cultural tourism in the Walled-Town.

Recently, a revision of the 1992 Conservation Plan has been on the agenda. With the initiative of the Greater Municipality, under mayoralty of Mustafa Akaydin, works were started in 2010 under the consultancy of Emre Madran. With his team from KUDEB, Madran did extensive work to overcome the problems. Currently, problems are still expected to be solved. However, the continuing conflicts among the official stakeholders regarding the administration of the Walled-Town, and between the civilian local stakeholders and civilian regional stakeholders regarding the tourist use of the Walled-Town stand as the major ones of these problems.

As revealed throughout the study, it is the relationships among the stakeholders, both official and civilian, and their way of imposing their wills on the spatial and operative dimensions of the space that has actually reproduced the Walled-Town, as a hybrid product of the State and the society. As the findings of the study, it is seen that the transition into the planned period, the national and regional planning works carried out by governmental bodies, the interventions of the military into government through *coup d’etats*, the incentives for tourism development provided by legislation, the declaration of tourism-based development for coastal areas, the start

for conservation plans in order to conserve the historic and cultural values of the country, the limitations of development and repair in conservation areas brought by legislation, ignorance of control stand as the main roles of the official stakeholders in this reproduction and can be evaluated as the ‘State-led reproduction of the Walled-Town’; while the actions oriented by economic expectations and the desire for a better life quality stand as the main role of the civilian stakeholders. These actions are mainly establishing NGOs, complaints to responsible bodies, arranging formal or informal meetings as well as applying to illegal actions, which all together led to the ‘Society-led reproduction of the Walled-Town’. These illegal actions are mainly patronage relations between the official and civilian stakeholders. In the study, it is revealed that patronage relations have a particular role in this hybrid product such as rampant bribery, unlicensed businesses, and illegal personal petitions.

## **VI.2. Recommendations for Further Studies**

Antalya is a particular town not only for Turkey but also for the other countries, as inferred from statistics on the world’s most visited cities. Its intrinsic qualities such as its nature, the archaeological richness in its region and its historic jewel that is the Walled-Town have always added to the value of city. Up to today, many works, plans and projects were carried out in the region and in the Walled-Town, either in order to get the benefit of these intrinsic qualities, or to conserve the cultural richness of the city. However, as it is revealed in this study, the major agent in the reproduction process is the relationship between the stakeholders. In connection with this finding, two subjects can be recommended as a focus for further studies: The specific conflicts among the stakeholders which are revealed in this study, and new models of urban governance to overcome the conflicts. The problem is not merely the deficiencies of the administrative context. Stakeholders should develop ways to understand each other. It might be provided through new models of governance of the Walled-Town.

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## APPENDIX

### ANTALYA KALEİÇİ KONAKLAMA TESİSİ PROFİLİ

**Amaç:** Kaleiçi’ndeki konaklama tesislerinin bölgedeki diğer konaklama tesislerinden farklı olup olmadığını tespit etmek; Kaleiçi’ndeki turizm yapısını açıklamak.

1. Ankete katılan konaklama tesisinin adı nedir?

2. Tesis Kaleiçi’nde hangi adreste?

Mahalle:	
Sokak:	

3. Konaklama tesisinin türü nedir? (lütfen karşısına işaret koyunuz)

Yıldızlı Otel:	Tek yıldız İki yıldız Üç yıldız Dört yıldız Beş yıldız
Butik Otel:	
Pansiyon/Hostel:	
Ev Pansiyonu:	
Apart:	

4. Konaklama tesisinizdeki yatak sayısı nedir?

5. Konaklama tesisiniz yeni binada mı yoksa tarihi binada mı yer almakta?

6. Konaklama tesisiniz kaç adet binadan oluşuyor? (özellikle Kaleiçi’ndeki tarihi binaları kullananlar için)

7. Bina yaklaşık kaç yıldır konaklama tesisi olarak kullanılıyor?

8. Konaklama tesisinizin açılış yılı nedir?

9. Müşteri profiliniz kimlerdir? (lütfen karşısına işaret koyunuz)

Türk:	
Yabancı:	

10. Müşteri profiliniz yabancı ise genelde hangi ülkelerden?

11. Müşterilerinizin yaklaşık kalış süreleri ne kadar?

12. Müşterilerinizin eğitim seviyeleri nasıl? (görebildiğiniz kadarı ile) (lütfen karşısına işaret koyunuz)

İlkokul-ortaokul-lise mezunu:	
Üniversite mezunu:	
Yüksek lisans/doktora sahibi:	

13. Mevsime göre müşteri profiliniz değişiyor mu? Evet ise mevsime göre tesisinizde kalan müşterilerin profili ne şekildedir? (Lütfen sizin için geçerli olanların karşısına işaret koyunuz)

İLKBAHAR	YAZ	SONBAHAR	KIŞ
Türk ağırlıklı	Türk ağırlıklı	Türk ağırlıklı	Türk ağırlıklı
Yabancı ağırlıklı	Yabancı ağırlıklı	Yabancı ağırlıklı	Yabancı ağırlıklı
Türk/yabancı ağırlığı yok	Türk/yabancı ağırlığı yok	Türk/yabancı ağırlığı yok	Türk/yabancı ağırlığı yok
Öğrenci/genç	Öğrenci/genç	Öğrenci/genç	Öğrenci/genç
Emekli	Emekli	Emekli	Emekli
Diğer	Diğer	Diğer	Diğer

‘Diğer’i işaretlediyseniz lütfen kimler olduğunu yazınız:

14. Müşterilerinizin konaklama tesisinizi tercih sebebi nedir?

15. Rezervasyonlarınız ne şekilde sağlanıyor? (lütfen karşısına işaret koyunuz)

Acenta aracılığı ile	
İnternet üzerinden	
Bizzat tesise gelerek	
Diğer	

‘Diğer’i işaretlediyseniz lütfen rezervasyon şeklini yazınız:

16. Paket tur ya da herşey dahil sistem kullanıyor musunuz?

17. Kaleiçi bölgesinde müşterilerinize rehberli tur olanağı sağlıyor musunuz?

18. Müşterilerinizi alışveriş için Antalya bölgesi içinde belirli bölgelere yönlendiriyor musunuz?

19. Üyesi olduğunuz herhangi bir organizasyon/birlik var mı? (AKTOB, vs)

20. Kaleiçi’ndeki tesisiniz tek şube mi? Yoksa aynı işletmeye sahip başka konaklama tesisleri de var mı? Var ise adı nedir?

21. Kaleiçi’nde sizin tesisiniz ile **aynı işletmeye sahip olmayan** diğer konaklama tesisleri ile organize çalıştığınız konular var mı?

Ankete katıldığınız için teşekkür ederim ☺

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