

A DEBATE TOWARDS A SYNTHESIS OF RADICAL ECOLOGY AND SPATIAL
PLANNING THEORIES

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ABSTRACT

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Environmental challenges faced at every scale in our age calls for global and local policy making and planning to take necessary measures to sustain the habitat we live in. Ecology is a major interdisciplinary science covering social and political spheres of these challenges and the role of planning is crucial on the existence and the remedy of ecological challenge. However, the knowledge gap between planning, ecology and environmental ethics, creates a contradiction of attitudes towards nature. This study is an attempt to provide insights to overcome this literature gap by rethinking planning from a radical ecology perspective and vice versa. The necessity of a radical ecology approach in planning derives from the urge to address and to counteract on the ecological challenge with its political and social dimensions. This study attempts to connect radical ecology theories and planning theories as well as providing examples of some environmental movement practices. To this end, relevant planning theories

have been evaluated on their spatial approaches, and radical ecology theories have been introduced to lay a groundwork for further debate on how a radical ecology approach could be adopted as a tool to rethink the planning process. In order to give solidified examples of the theories, some environmental movements in Turkey are studied for further discussion to rethink planning with a radical ecology perspective. This study solidifies its efforts on evaluating and cross-referring radical ecology theories, planning theories and environmental movement experiences with their spatial significance. In this analysis, planning as a practice and institution, in theory, is focused on an alternative planning theory based on a radical ecology approach.

Keywords: Radical Ecology Theories, Planning Theories, Environmental Movements in Turkey, Radical Ecological Planning

ÖZ

RADİKAL EKOLOJİ VE MEKANSAL PLANLAMA KURAMLARI ARASINDA BİR SENTEZLEME ARAYIŞI

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Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Politika Planlaması ve Yerel Yönetimler Ana Bilim Dalı

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Günümüzde her ölçekte karşılaştığımız çevresel zorluklar küresel ve yerel siyasa yapımına ve planlama alanına, yaşadığımız habitata korumak adına gerekli önlemlerin alınması için bir çağrı niteliğindedir. Ekoloji, karşılaşılan bu zorlukların sosyal ve siyasi yönlerini içeren disiplinlerarası bir temel bilimdir. Planlamanın rolü bu zorlukların gerek sebebi gerek çaresi olmada etmemdir. Ancak, planlama ile ekoloji ve çevre etiği konuları arasındaki bilgi açığı, bu alanların doğaya karşı takındığı tavır açısından çelişki içindedir. Bu çalışma planlama ve radikal ekoloji yaklaşımlarını birbirinin perspektifinden yeniden düşünerek bu alanlar arasındaki bilgi açığının nasıl giderilebileceğine dair bir içgörü sağlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Planlamaya radikal ekoloji yaklaşımından bakma gereksinimi, ekolojik sorunların siyasi ve sosyal boyutlarına karşılık bulma arayışından ileri gelmektedir. Bu çalışma radikal ekoloji kuramları ile planlama kuramlarını bağlantılandırırken, bu çerçevede bazı çevre hareketi deneyimlerini örneklendirmeyi maksat edinmiştir. Bu doğrultuda, ilgili

planlama kuramları mekansal yaklaşımları açısından deęerlendirilmiş ve radikal ekoloji kuramları tartışma zemini oluşturmak üzere tanıtılarak, planlama sürecini yeniden ele alırken benimsenebilecek radikal ekoloji yaklaşımları tartışılmıştır. Kuramlara somut örnekler vermek adına, Türkiye özelinde bazı çevre hareketlerinden yola çıkarak planlamaya radikal ekoloji kuramları üzerinden bir bakış geliştirilmeye çalışılmıştır. Bu çalışma radikal ekoloji kuramları, planlama kuramları ve çevre hareketleri deneyimleri ile bunların mekansal önemini birbiriyle karşılaştırma çabasıdır. Bu analizde, bir uygulama ve kurum olarak planlama, kuramsal olarak radikal ekoloji yaklaşımına dayanan alternatif bir anlayış odağında irdelenmiştir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Radikal Ekoloji Kuramları, Planlama Kuramları, Türkiye’de Çevre Hareketleri, Radikal Ekolojik Planlama

To my family

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

DEKAP	Brotherhood of the Rivers Platform - Derelerin Kardeşliđi Platformu
EJA	Environmental Justice Atlas
EJO	Environmental Justice Organization
ENGO	Environmental Non-Governmental Organization
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
HANNP	Human appropriation of net primary production of biomass
HEPP	Hydroelectric Power Plant
KOS	Kuzey Ormanları Savunması
NFD	Northern Forests Defense
TEMA Foundation	Türkiye Erozyonla Mücadele, Ađaçlandırma ve Doğal Varlıkları Koruma Vakfı
TSM	Türkiye Su Meclisi
TWA	Turkish Water Assembly
WWF	World Wildlife Fund

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

The ecological challenges that we face today are widespread across the world. With expanding conflict areas, come further injustices for the environment and society. Action against this situation becomes a key issue in both ecology and political sciences. Therefore planning, as a major component of both areas of knowledge, has a pivotal role in both producing and solving such problematic. Planning should be considered as a common field of knowledge when it comes to challenging critical issues on the environment and nature.

The ecological crisis, mostly caused by the aggressive expansion of production and consumption, at all levels of activity from local to global, are tragically changing the circumstances of the habitat and urban areas. Resource planning and management becomes a major issue on thinking of nature. As the awareness of ecological question grows; governments are implementing plans to take measures in order to prevent disruptive changes in environmental conditions. But there is an important question to answer here: is implementing top-down plans by a centralized hierarchy of decision-making capable of solving the social and ecological problems?

Planning is surely a major area of action that affects and produces environmental risks. However, it is also an area and an instrument for a solution. Throughout its development as an academic and a professional field, planning theory has evolved with the account to contemporary problems of its functioning and implementation.

Ecological considerations have been developed as well as theories taking into account the social and political sphere. It is logical to attempt to connect these theories.

In this perspective thinking on an alternative synthesis of ecology and planning, which constitute the two major pillars of thinking and action of this study, becomes important for attending the critical issues on nature. The aim here is to link ecology and planning in a radical ecology context, and pave the way for further debate on such a synthesis of radical ecological planning. In doing so, the practice of environmental movements in Turkey will be analyzed to draw attention to relating theory and practice.

Before stepping into the research design, it is important to mention some debates on nature and the concept of the production of nature. These arguments will follow Reclus' and Smith's views. Theories that will be mentioned in the next sections of the introduction chapter, comprises the fundamental basis of the discussion of the thesis.

1.1. THE DEBATE ON NATURE

The human-nature debate in political theory has been considered through human history, yet the characteristic of the debate has not lost its significance. Core questions such as how to define nature, what is human nature and where humans stand as a species in nature; has shaped debates in political science. The human-nature debate can be also considered in a triadic conceptualization as; human, nature and human as part of nature.

The classical approaches over nature have been changed gradually since the beginning of industrialism to the rise of global capitalism. Nature has been shaped by capitalism as the consumption of nature grew (Smith, 1984).

French geographer Elisée Reclus is a major contributor to ecological thinking within the social geography and anarchist and libertarian social theories. Reclus expressed the dialectics between human and nature as “Humanity is nature becoming self-conscious.” In this definition, both the consciousness of humanity as a whole and the historical role of humanity are considered. This approach intends to create a

progressive social theory by aiming; the self-realization of the society, development and prosperity worldwide (Clarke & Martin, 2013).

Clark and Martin clarify that Reclus's social geography theory is total political geography and addresses the issue of politics of a self-aware nature. There are consistency and balance in this nature, however, the functioning of nature has a tendency towards imbalance (Clarke & Martin, 2013).

Furthermore, Clark and Martin point out that there is a difference between first nature and second nature in Reclus' work similarly within Bookchin's social ecology theories (which would be analyzed in this work in the following chapters). The first nature of Reclus' theory is defined as the non-conscious existence of nature from which the second nature is rooted (natural sphere). Second nature consists of human culture, society, the static environment and realization of nature (social sphere). The second nature of Reclus' work also includes the third nature described by Bookchin as the possibility of an ecological society and a dynamic environment (Clarke & Martin, 2013).

According to Reclus the unification of human and nature depends on removing social and economic inequalities, and hierarchical political structures created by both capitalism and the states (Clarke & Martin, 2013).

Nature is both described as external and universal, creating a dualism. Nature is external as the realm of non-human processes. In this sense, biotic and abiotic nature are the aspects ready to be internalized by social production. On the other hand, nature is recognized as universal. This means human action is as natural as non-human nature, referring to the concept of human nature. In this context, the ecological consideration of society sees human species within the wholeness of nature –unlike the external nature. The notions of external nature and universal nature are not wholly compatible with each other due to nature having both external and internal values when thought outside of human existence (Smith, 1984).

The dualism between external nature and universal nature comprises both a reciprocal relation and contradiction at the same time. The notion of external nature is an outcome of objectification –or reification- of nature; and without this notion, it can be debated

that there would be no need to conceptualize the universality of nature. The external nature concept only brings a narrow explanation of nature, leaving out the understanding of society within nature, which creates the problematic of this dualism (Smith, 1984).

Nature –as a social construct – involves functions of social and political aspects. The enmity against external nature has legitimized the oppression of nature and effected the morality of universal nature. Nature is equated for its use value, which results in reification and mystification (Smith, 1984).

Smith emphasizes that the social priority of nature exists in relation with nature, rather than being external as in the domination of nature argument. In this context, discussing the production of nature, over the domination of nature, becomes the major consideration of Smith. As the notion of the production of nature mentions a historical future; which does not imply technological necessity but rather a political process – instead of the contradiction-free future of the domination of nature concept (Smith, 1984).

1.2. THE PRODUCTION OF NATURE

The concept of the production of space dwells on the subject of geographic space and more specifically on uneven development, which is directly relatable to ecology and planning. Smith scrutinizes that the restructuring of geographic space (in the theories of traditional geography and Marxism) has led to the principle questions of: what is the capitalist geography? Which social patterns and processes describe this geography? And how does the capitalist geography change as capitalism expands? (Smith, 1984)

The emphasis on the creation of uneven development, as an outcome of capitalist geography, has created a web of domination and discrimination. The geographic development of capitalism fails to achieve an equable development, as it produces deviated development patterns that tend to increase unevenness between urban, rural, regional and global areas. The uneven development of capitalism is structural and characteristically shaped by the conflicts embodied by capitalism (Smith, 1984).

Theoretically, the synthesis of space and society is prone to conceptual problems. However, capital succeeds this integration practically every day, as it produces space within its own image. In this sense, capital does not only produce space but it also produces spatial scales which are the basis of uneven development. Smith asserts that the production of space is based upon on production of nature. The production of nature provides us a philosophical standpoint and outcome of, analysis of geographic difference (Smith, 1984).

The notion of production of nature opposes the separation of nature and society. The usual way of perceiving nature has generally been: as apart from society, as undisturbed wilderness, and as humans being conceived outside of nature. The perspective of the production of nature resists against these constant views (Smith, 1984).

Smith points out that in the very abstract sense the production of nature is the juncture where the use value and exchange value, and space and society meet. When put into historical context the direct view on nature applies as the process of production of nature. The tangible signs of uneven development are direct results of this process (Smith, 1984).

Smith mentions that the capitalist production process's goal is to make a profit, realized in the exchange-value, rather than the use-value. Hence, this makes the production of nature also based on the exchange value of nature. In doing so mastery and control of nature are distinguished. But instead of asking to what degree nature is controlled, which is mentioned with the domination of nature, the major question becomes: how nature is produced and who controls this process? Making the control of social necessities becomes a central issue. Therefore, the production of nature becomes a problem of political action (Smith, 1984).

The defenders of the production of nature approach argue, nature and society have been intertwined and therefore negating that they are two separate fields, as in improving nature, protecting nature and balancing nature and society arguments do. The production of nature argument also indicates that it is possible to achieve a balance between human and ecological needs. The assessment of nature is socially produced.

Furthermore, keeping in mind, that the assessment of nature is also socially produced (Castree, 2001).

The production of nature argument has been criticized mainly on two points. Firstly, it is considered of being anthropocentric, Smith pointed out some will criticize on this point based on his work. Secondly, this notion has been viewed as discussing only one side of the capital-nature dialectic, leaving out the importance of the agency of produced nature (Castree, 2001).

If we return to the question of how nature is produced, we cannot neglect the major role planning plays in the process. Nature is a product of capitalism through planning of institutions and the private sector. Therefore, planning could be viewed as a tool of both regulation and of practice. Another question arises at this point is: how will planning theories evolve for a more favorable less destructive field of action and produce a balance between our species and nature? As the production of nature is constant, the planning theories should evolve to address the destruction caused by the uneven distribution of environmental and social risks. For this purpose, planning practices needs to be considered within a bottom-to-up approach to limit the interaction of centralized forces that shape the environment blindfolded. Within this context of transforming theory, the approach toward nature and the production of it can be dealt with a more democratic formulation which is fundamental if we are attempting a more equitable approach.

1.3. AIMS AND METHODOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH

This thesis attempts to answer the following research question: At what basis radical ecology theories and planning theories are related? In order to answer this central research question, the study explores planning from the major principles of radical ecology theories and emphasizes on the fields of a possibility of a synthesis between the two literatures frameworks. The major debates and streams of thoughts considered in this study consists of two divisions of theoretical background. Environmentalism, environmental ethics, political ecology and radical ecology theories builds up the first theoretical basis. On the other hand, planning theories constructs the second basis of

theories considered. To attempt for furtherance of a radical ecology approach on planning, attention will be drawn to experiences of environmental movements to find common ground between theory and practice.

The research is also guided by some other complementary research questions such as;

- How does participatory planning practices and radical ecology theories blend?
- How and to what degree radical ecology theories and planning approaches could be intertwined?
- What significance does practices of environmental movements have for further debate between ecology and planning theories?

The aim of this study is mainly to contribute to the literature in linking of ecology and planning, from a radical ecology point of view. The radical ecology perspective is chosen due to its potential in relating both radical planning and ecological planning, as well as being subject of major arguments in the fields of environmental ethics and political ecology. When basic concepts of ecology and planning fields, has been put forth, it could be seen that although they have common grounds there is a visible literature gap, in harmonizing their basic concepts and discussion. The disposition of this aim leads us to a discussion where issues of a radical ecology approach in planning are employed to link to the primary fields of knowledge, with the major theme being participation in the decision-making process. This theme is used as a major binder between theory and practice, as it is mentioned in both fields. The environmental movement experiences will provide the basis for this theme as it is a prominent concern. Throughout this thesis the term planning is used interchangeably with urban planning. The term ecology is addressed as a movement and political thought, leaving out ecology as a science.

This research builds upon a desk-based analysis and evaluation of the related secondary sources including mainly academic books, journal papers and so on. The research study is designed in a recurrent frame. Concepts of concern for the study are human and nature dialectics, environmental ethics, radical approaches on ecology, planning theory and environmental movements. These concepts are evaluated through deep ecology, ecosocialism, ecofeminism, and social ecology theories which are

considered as radical ecology theories in general. These theories are taken into account due to their standpoints on reconstructing the relation with nature and its politics to a certain extent. From the general concerns of radical ecology theories; connecting planning theories and relating with environmental movement experiences in this context is intended.

The main core of the thesis is built on evaluation of theories and practices emphasized. By relating general evaluations together, a discussion in the conclusion chapter will be made, for further debate of a possible synthesis of radical ecological planning, which this thesis only intends to lay issues for furtherance of such a synthesis.

The methodology of this study follows a normative approach. The ecological challenge, mechanisms of policy making, and planning are taken as the theoretic dimensions of the thesis. The concrete part of thesis consists of environmental movement experiences. The human nature dialectics, environmental ethics and radical ecology are handled as the abstract notions for the theoretical debate. From the conceptual planning theories and principles for radical ecological planning wraps up further theoretic debate. The core of the debate rests upon critical evaluations made for both theory and practice. The evaluations, based on matrices, are made through inferences from theory and practice related to;

- Meaning of space
- Use of space
- Transformation of space
- Planning as a practice
- Planning as an institution
- Ecological emphasis (only of planning theories)

The research design builds upon two major academic disciplines; ecology and planning. Radical concepts of both ecology and planning is the pivotal node in relating these areas of knowledge together. These fields construct the underlying arguments for the parts of discussion and analysis of environmentalism in Turkey, which makes up the prominent aspects of this study.

Chapter 2 forms the first pillar of this work, resuming the debate on nature forward. Respectively to further the debate; environmentalism and environmental justice, environmental ethics, political ecology and radical ecology theories are taken into account.

Environmentalism is considered a wide spread movement consisting of focus on wilderness, eco-efficiency and environmentalism of the poor as will be handled in the next chapter. Struggle for the environment is important in various fields, it is more crucial that environmental matters be dealt with its political aspects. Ignoring the political aspects of environment and ecology also means ignoring the basis of the problematic, as capitalism is the driving force which produces the majority of environmental conflicts from the understanding of political ecology.

Going beyond political ecology arguments, with their ethical focus, radical concepts of ecology are discussed. Radical ecology theories have their roots in the field of environmental ethics. They contribute to arguments on how ecology should be handled in certain perspectives. The radical ecology theories analyzed in this thesis are deep ecology, ecofeminism, ecosocialism and social ecology. Each of these theories redefines human existence in relation to nature. Radical ecology theories, with exception of deep ecology, has strong arguments related to political ecology. In this respect, they can be read through the lens of debates regarding ethics and politics.

In chapter 3, planning theories are analyzed to constitute the second pillar of the thesis. The fundamental theories considered are utopian planning, comprehensive planning, advocacy planning, strategic spatial planning, justice planning, radical and ecological planning approaches.

Utopian planning involves a radical and ecological aspect within itself, as originating from the attempt to overcome urban environmental problems of the 19th century. Fourier and Owen's utopias are mentioned for their radical approach and the garden city of Howard is considered for its ecological perspectives.

Comprehensive planning and advocacy planning are taken into consideration for being the major theories and applications of planning. These theories are explained with their criticism. Comprehensive planning is the most widespread planning theory that finds

most practice. Comprehensiveness and rationality elements are the key components of this theory, whereas the centralization of the planning process is mainly criticized.

Advocacy planning on the other hand is focused on defending the interests of certain groups in the planning process. The advocacy of the poor and the disadvantaged is major theme in this theory. However, advocacy planning is criticized for not opposing the political economic system also defending the interests of capitalist classes.

Strategic spatial planning deals with developing a framework to apply policies spatially. Developing strategies for each sector of a spatial system, assigning actions for each strategy, defining stakeholders in the planning process are key features of this approach. In doing so, this approach handles planning as a process of systematic multi-actor action. However, this approach, although making claims on participation of different institutions and actors, does not take in to account direct citizen participation in the decision-making process.

Justice planning emphasize on the concepts of equality, equity, diversity, distributive justice, social justice and participation in decision-making. This approach confronts injustices of distribution of public services and sees planning as a way of coping with uneven development. Environmental justice could also be considered within this theory. Ethical considerations are major concern of this planning theory.

Radical planning theory handles planning as social transformation. Radical planning builds up on utopianism, social anarchism and historical materialism as its basis of theory. Unlike other planning theories radical planning addresses the planner as a radical for social change and develop its role in the community.

Ecological planning and radical planning compose the next tier in the thesis. Both theories consist of a synthesis on their defined concepts. Ecological planning deals with different approaches of landscape suitability, human ecology, landscape ecology and ecosystems ecology. Ecological planning also considers a participative approach toward planning. None the less a radical perspective -on both ecology and planning- is not developed in this theory.

Chapter 4 of the thesis consists of an analysis of environmental movements in Turkey. After depicting the general condition of environmental conflicts in Turkey, further analysis has been made in five significant movements; environmental movement in Cerattepe, Brotherhood of the Rivers Platform (DEKAP), Turkish Water Assembly (TWA), Northern Forests Defense (NFD) and the Gezi Park movement.

Each of these experiences are selected for their unique significance for the environmental struggle in Turkey. Cerattepe movement is a pivotal struggle for environmentalism in Turkey. Directly resulting from a reaction against an environmental conflict created by a proposed mining project, is important for continuance of the struggle for over twenty years. DEKAP has been studied on due to its importance of bringing local environmental movements against HEPP projects together under a regional platform. TWA has been taken into account for its effort to centralize the anti-HEPP movement and being a struggle based on ENGOs. The importance of the NFD and the reason why its studied is being actively defending the environment and continuing environmentalism of the Gezi struggle. Gezi Park movement, having the most impact within these experiences, has been considered on it realizing direct demands on resolving a conflict and being an urban movement. The discussion of the thesis takes the evaluation of these struggles to relate them with the theoretic framework.

The conclusion chapter attempts to relate evaluations of the previous chapters to discuss for a radical ecology approach to planning. This chapter aims to draw on attention for further debate, attempting to relate theory and practice. Some issues from the evaluation matrices forms the basis for the debate. Additionally, developing vision and strategies, and defining the planner's role in a radical ecology concept of planning is attempted.

CHAPTER 2

FROM ENVIRONMENTALISM TO RADICAL ECOLOGY THEORIES

Ecology is a general term which varies on how it is handled. Haila and Levins define four distinctive meanings of ecology, which are ecology as; nature, science, thought and movement (Haila & Levins, 1992). Ecology in this work is considered as nature itself, a philosophical and political thought and a political movement.

We, *the Homo sapiens*, have shaped the environment for our “needs”. The phenomenon of the negative impact of our actions towards nature is not new; the damage can be seen throughout the history. However, our ecological footprint has become larger and has caused dramatic effects on nature in the recent centuries – beginning with industrialism and rapid urbanization.

Ecological conflicts and challenges have spread rapidly on every scale of politics – from local to global scales. Pollution, environmental degradation, industrialization and urbanization are among the direct factors of environmental conflicts and decay. These negative effects tend to build up-on another. For example; water pollution is caused by industrial and urban waste, and causes concerns over wetland ecology and its protection, public health issues due to polluted water and soil contamination; effecting agricultural products and public well-being. Thus, ecology becomes a major area of required action.

Concerns over environmental degradation, pollution, rising risks of global warming, loss of biodiversity, unsustainable forms of energy and so on; has risen and so as the efforts of overcoming these issues. The causes of ecological problems are mainly the outcomes of exploitation of resources and nature, incautious economic development, industrialism and urbanization. This brings us to the political economy of ecology.

Most human action on nature could be generalized as environmental exploitation. Nature becomes a resource of profit for the market economy. Capitalism has a pivotal role in this exploitation. Bookchin underlines this issue as, capitalism has produced a new contradiction which is between a growing economy and exploitation of the natural environment (Bookchin, 2006).

The question of economic growth becomes a key issue for the ecological challenge. The attitude of development no matter the costs needs to be changed with an ecological way of thinking and taking action to a more justly produced nature. Thus, environmental ethics becomes a major topic for this change to happen. Before going into the details of environmental ethics, a brief look at environmentalism and environmental justice in general would be insightful.

2.1. ENVIRONMENTALISM AND ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

Roussopoulos (2015) considers environmentalism as a reactionary attitude rather than being a preventive approach. Preservationism and conservationism are parts of the environmentalist movement, which the latter is born within the first. Preservationists aim to preserve everything as it is and overlook the emphasis on dynamic balance between nature and human activity. Conservationists focus on developing plans that protect the biotic and abiotic natural resources and cultural heritage from harm. In this context conservationists act to secure wildlife and species, with also emphasizing the rational use of nature. Although these approaches are concerned with the ecological crisis, their views do not involve in changing the social and economic factors which cause the crisis (Roussopoulos, 2015).

Armiero and Sedrez analyze environmentalism from the conceptualization of Alier and Guha, who suggest that there are three major forms of environmentalism. These are named; the cult of wilderness, the gospel of eco-efficiency and the environmentalism of the poor (Alier & Guha, 1997). Although these varieties could be put in chronologic order Armiero and Sedrez points out that they are intertwined in cases of environmentalism (Armiero & Sedrez, 2014).

Firstly “the cult of wilderness” approach aims to preserve the untouched nature with legislation. The spaces of nature and human are dichotomous in this context. In this sense nature must be preserved from human. Protecting nature with parks and development of environmental laws are actions considered in this approach. The fundamental philosophical outcome of in this regard is the deep ecology theory, which will be examined later in the following sections. However, this form of environmentalism has ignored the social justice dimension of ecology and in some cases have an elitist attitude (Armiero & Sedrez, 2014).

The main knowledge areas that contribute to the wilderness approach are environmental philosophy and biology. The focus of this approach is mainly concentrated on the preservation of species and enhancing biodiversity. This approach also values the aesthetics and sacredness of nature, besides the scientific reasons. Population growth is a major concern of the “cult of wilderness”. Preservation through national parks are the main policy proposal of this approach as mentioned earlier. Alongside with this policy implementation focus on regulations on the HANNP (human appropriation of net primary production of biomass) is also an outcome of this form of environmentalism. This approach is criticized on not having a say on issues of industry and urbanization (Martinez-Alier, 2002).

Secondly, “the gospel of eco-efficiency” focuses on sustainable development. This approach considers the environment as a space for intervention and has included nature as an economic entity. Reproduction of economic growth is the major goal of this approach and intends to this without harming the natural capital. Sustainability refers to using nature in a rational way in this context. This approach has introduced the term of “carrying capacity” for both the world and ecosystems. Eco-efficiency has been

criticized on ignoring social inequalities when deciding on the use of environment and its utilitarian approach on the environment (Armiero & Sedrez, 2014).

Martinez-Alier mentions that there are three major concepts which are outcomes of the eco-efficiency debate. These are the Kuznets environmental curves, sustainable development and ecological modernization. The Kuznets environmental curves imply that a country's environmental impacts increase in correlation with its income up to a certain level and after that level environmental impacts start to decrease. Sustainable development focuses on economic growth and the search for beneficial solutions both harmonizing the environmental and the economic goals simultaneously. Ecological modernization has two pillars first being economic and the second technological. Eco-taxes and emission permits in markets are terms that build up the economic side of ecological modernization. The technological terms of ecological modernization consist of debates of support for resources and energy saving advancements (Martinez-Alier, 2002).

If we return to the distinction between preservationism and conservationism we can see that preservationism seems to be on the wilderness side, where on the other hand conservationism also could be included in the wilderness approach but with its focus on the rational use of nature it also sides on the eco-efficiency side of the debate. However, these concepts do not directly belong under only one category. They both have the two major concerns within themselves making wilderness environmentalism and eco-efficiency intertwine. One of the fields which we can observe this situation is on the production of environmental policy.

Thirdly, environmentalism of the poor, draws attention on the unequal distribution of ecological problems and hazards among different class, race, gender, and the poor, minorities and women. This approach suggests “democratic control for both technology and science” and questions the technocratic solutions to the ecological crisis. This approach does not separate between nature and livelihoods unlike the cult of wilderness. Connections between production and well-being on urban areas are the main concern of environmentalism of the poor (Armiero & Sedrez, 2014).

The environmentalism of the poor is also called as the environmental justice movement, popular environmentalism, livelihood ecology and liberation ecology. Ecological distribution conflicts - on the local, regional, national and global scales - are the basis which this approach is built on (Martinez-Alier, 2002). Before continuing with environmental ethics, clarifying the matter of environmental justice is important for the debate, as justice being a major concern for both ecology and planning

Environmental injustices are defined by the inordinate environmental risks, inequality of environmental goods and lack of participation in decision-making which people are affected by. Poor people and minorities are the most disadvantaged groups against environmental injustices (Shrader-Frenchette, 2002).

Shrader-Frenchette defines the environmental justice movement as “the attempt to equalize the burdens of pollution, noxious development and resource depletion”. This movement is set to demand the equitable distribution of environmental goods and risks; and defend a greater public participation in environmental decision-making (Shrader-Frenchette, 2002, p. 6), pointing toward the concept of distributive and participative justice.

Shrader-Frenchette emphasizes on the role of advocacy for environmental justice. This advocacy stands out for the groups victimized by unjust results of environmental action and their right to be part of the decision-making processes. In this context environmental justice advocacy develops alternatives, defending an ethical stance and amending with open exchange. Simply saying the assets and liabilities of alternatives and maintaining neutrality is not considered as advocacy (Shrader-Frenchette, 2002).

The description of environmental justice has a broad meaning as Walker analyzes. Environmental justice is related to justice to people, which makes the term separate from the concept of ecological justice. Environmental justice is defined to include justice for everyone, for different social groups –such as race, color, national origin, income- and for future generations. Gender and age should also be considered in this definition. As for why environment matters different points are highlighted. These include nature being safe, nurturing and productive; the distribution of environmental

benefits; fair share of resources and distributing resources without damaging people's health are a few mentioned (Walker, 2012).

Walker emphasizes that environmental justice deals with the intertwined inequality of environment and social difference. Some groups benefit, has power and access while others don't. The environmental benefits and risks are therefore distributed in unequal circumstances. Additionally, this inequality is also seen in the exclusion in decision-making (Walker, 2012).

When debating on environmental justice the distribution of environmental goods and risks becomes a major consideration. This distribution is inherently based on its spatial aspects at local, regional and global scales of politics. Materiality of nature and environmental diversity therefore depend on the locality and its impacts on other scales. Yet, taking environmental justice to better our life quality does not necessarily mean bettering of life of non-human species. The question of environmental justice therefore has a question of ecological justice within (Low & Gleeson, 1998).

Low and Gleeson emphasizes the urge that environmental and ecological justice movements to go beyond the politics of place and problematize the process of commodity production which underlies. Therefore, they highlight that the debate should be shifted from spatial allocation of risk to the production of risk (Low & Gleeson, 1998).

Low and Gleeson proposes two major principles for ecological justice, these are;

- 1- Every natural entity is entitled to enjoy the fullness of its own form of life
- 2- All life forms are mutually dependent and dependent on non-life forms

The first principle is important due to a given morality of non-human nature and defying any barrier between human and non-human nature. This principle is rooted on the assumption of the human self has its apical point of expression in its connection with nature. On the other hand, the second principle is relevant to conflicts between species. In the context of these principles some conclusions are made (Low & Gleeson, 1998, pp. 156-157):

- 1- Life has precedence over non-life

- 2- Individualized life forms have moral precedence over life forms which only exist as communities
- 3- Individualized life forms with human consciousness have moral precedence over other life forms.

Justice is taken into consideration as a dialectical process. This process involves us, society and nature in the context of environmental and ecological justice. To expand the application of this process, formation of institutions that have the capacity to bring environmental and ecological justice arguments in wide scale and impact. Such an institution is needed to implement ecological moral goals before an ecological crisis forces it (Low & Gleeson, 1998).

For Low and Gleeson, the challenge of the 21st century is environmental and ecological justice. They argue this challenge is on how to secure people, the environment and the globe. The critical conjuncture in this challenge is how the transformation of institutions of governance is to be realized for achieving environmental and ecological justice. How this transformation also means democracy on a new level including both production and regulation within the transformed institutions (Low & Gleeson, 1998).

Blaikie mentions that a justice-based approach on the environment has economic, cultural and social aspects. The social aspects include a policy making process, in a democratic manner, on nature. Environmental justice approach as a basis of environmental policy also has rational elements concerning with seeking evidence, foreseeing outcomes of actions and invigorate knowledge on the relation of humans and nature. Nature in this context cannot be left to a relativistic approach. Rather a rational approach could give its importance. The social aspects of rationally based environmental justice argument also concerns with the poor and politically marginalized groups in terms of injustice in resources (Blaikie P. , 2001).

Table 1: Distribution of Environmental Justice Conflicts by Type

Type of Conflicts	Number	Percentage
Land acquisition conflicts	790	12,06
Mineral ore exploration	456	6,96
Water access rights and entitlements	409	6,25
Dams and water distribution conflicts	386	5,89
Deforestation	379	5,79
Oil and gas exploration and extraction	251	3,83
Landfills, toxic waste treatment, uncontrolled dump sites	242	3,70
Transport infrastructure networks (roads, railways, hydroways, canals and pipelines)	241	3,68
Tailings from mines	223	3,41
Mineral processing	212	3,24
Plantation conflicts (incl. Pulp)	187	2,86
Establishment of reserves/national parks	168	2,57
Urban development conflicts	164	2,50
Pollution related to transport (spills, dust, emissions)	156	2,38
Intensive food production (monoculture and livestock)	150	2,29
Wetlands and coastal zone management	137	2,09
Coal extraction and processing	119	1,82
Chemical industries	118	1,80
Thermal power plants	118	1,80
Ports and airport projects	116	1,77
Aquaculture and fisheries	111	1,69
Tourism facilities (ski resorts, hotels, marinas)	107	1,63
Building materials extraction (quarries, sand, gravel)	100	1,53
Oil and gas refining	93	1,42
Water treatment and access to sanitation (access to sewage)	81	1,24
Manufacturing activities	79	1,21
Agro-toxics	75	1,15
REDD/CDM	72	1,10
Logging and non timber extraction	71	1,08
Interbasin water transfers/transboundary water conflicts	68	1,04
Nuclear power plants	64	0,98
Incinerators	62	0,95
Other industries	62	0,95

Table 1 Continued

Type of Conflicts	Number	Percentage
Agro-fuels and biomass energy	54	0,82
Shale gas fracking	53	0,81
Metal refineries	51	0,78
Military installations	42	0,64
Uranium extraction	38	0,58
Windmills	33	0,50
GMOs	30	0,46
Nuclear waste storage	30	0,46
Climate change related conflicts (glaciers and small islands)	28	0,43
Waste privatisation conflicts / waste-picker access to waste	26	0,40
Gas flaring	25	0,38
Biopiracy and bio-prospection	18	0,27
Invasive species	15	0,23
Desalination	11	0,17
E-waste and other waste import	10	0,15
Mega-project solar plants	9	0,14
Ship-breaking yards	6	0,09
Geothermal energy installations	3	0,05
Total	6549	100

Source: EJA, 2019

The table above indicates different kinds of environmental conflicts. As could be seen from the table, the activities which produce inequalities have a wide range. Land acquisition conflicts, mineral ore exploration, water access rights and entitlements, dams and water distribution conflicts and deforestation activities make up the majority of conflicts causing injustices. It could be assumed that many types of conflicts are direct results of inefficient practices of action of current plans or planning without the concern for the environment and the poor population. For instance, urban development conflicts that create environmental inequity reported 164 cases reported taking a share of 2.5 % from the total cases, which is a high volume if we consider the vastness of types of environmental conflicts. As for land acquisition conflicts, which have the largest share in causing inequity; expropriation of land and urban land development are major sources of this type of conflict (EJA, 2019).

2.2. ENVIRONMENTAL ETHICS

Concerns over environmental degradation, pollution of natural areas, rising risks of global warming, and so on are being thought on to overcome these issues. The causes of ecological problems are mainly due to exploitation of nature, high rates of industrial and urban development, acquisition of land, unsustainable energy policies and so on. Questioning developmentalism becomes a key issue for the ecological challenge, as this attitude could be blamed for a high volume of environmental conflicts. The attitude of development no matter the costs needs to be changed with an ecological way of thinking. Thus, environmental ethics becomes a major topic for this change to happen.

Jardins (2012) claims that a theory of environmental ethics; needs to define moral principles on the action of people regarding nature, defining responsibility of people on what and to whom these responsibilities are. Furthermore, Jardins points out that rights, equity, justice, and common good concepts are dealt within philosophical ethics. These notions are not universal, and they depend on the principles of different approaches. Those who are against environmental planning consider the following concepts as their ethical basis; property rights, equity, and social benefit. Whereas for environmentalists' concepts would be laws of nature, the value of natural areas, and negative effects of pollution, etc. (Jardins, 2012).

Aldo Leopold introduced -in his work of *A Sand County Almanac*- the term land ethics. Land ethics emphasizes on flora, fauna and the abiotic nature as a whole. The integrity, stability and aesthetic value of nature are viewed as musts in environmental issues and building an ecological consciousness. Furthermore, Leopold develops the following statements (Leopold, 1949):

- 1- Humans are members of the Earth's community of life in the same sense and on the same terms of in which other living things are members of that community.
- 2- The human species, along with all other species, are integral elements in a system of independence such that the survival of each living thing; is determined not only by the physical condition of its environment but also by relation to other living things.

- 3- All organisms are theological centers of life in the sense that each is a unique individual pursuing its own good in its own way
- 4- Humans are not inherently superior to other living things.

Warwick Fox emphasizes that the only thing that could change the ecological crisis is only possible by developing an ecological conscientiousness. Fox indicates that ecological consciousness is about identifying with non-human nature and developing ourselves as a precondition of this identification (Fox, 1986).

Ethical responses to the ecological crisis are choosing a new behavior code or a new way of existence. Dobson points out that those who see a new way of existence are driven by what they see as reality and are claiming conventional ethics are not enough for solving the environmental crisis. Therefore, this approach dwells on a new given of the world's existence. (Dobson, 1990).

Green value theory of Goodin; differs from other value theories by defining value by nature rather than human-made values. This value also has an intrinsic characteristic as the objects concerned have their own value (Goodin, 1992).

O'Neill points out three possibilities for intrinsic value. Firstly, an object has intrinsic value if having its own purpose rather than being another objects instrument. Secondly, the characteristic of objects grants it original value. Thirdly, intrinsic value also refers to an objective value (O'Neill, 1993).

Environmental ethics provides moral principles regarding nature. In an ecological planning perspective, these principles should be adapted. Beatley and Taylor works on linking environmental ethics and planning. Beatley argues that planning has an obligation on practicing key principles of environmental ethics, these obligations are (Beatley, 1989):

- 1- Developing theoretical and moral basis to support and guide activities
- 2- All facets of planning have direct impact on the natural environment and as such confront the issue of environmental ethics
- 3- Appropriate use of the physical world and as such deserves attention for what it can add to planning.

Taylor also works on environmental ethics to develop five applicable principles for planning (Taylor, 1986):

- 1- Principle of self defense
- 2- Principle of proportionality (applying only to conflicts between interests of other creatures and the non-biotic interests of human)
- 3- Principle of minimum wrong
- 4- Principle of distributive justice
- 5- Principle of restitutive justice (not providing solutions to every conflict, rather morally relevant consideration and guides to resolve conflict)

One of the major debates on environmental ethics relates to the positioning of human action. On whether taking human action at its core -anthropocentrism- or considering humans as part of not on top of every life form.

2.2.1. Anthropocentrism and Biocentrism-Ecocentrism

The debate between anthropocentrism and biocentrism is on where people stand related to non-human nature. The anthropocentric view considers humans as the major species of dominance over nature. As for the ecocentric view humans stand as equal to other non-human life.

Anthropocentrism by its meaning focuses on the instrumental use of the non-human world and tends to embrace injustices occurring by this use. Taking responsibility also means having an anthropocentric stand. The same rules apply to ecological policy making and the radical forms of philosophy (Dobson, 1990).

On the other hand, ecocentrism considers humans as a part of nature, not the controllers of nature. Therefore, this approach does not consider a hierarchy between species.

Rather than choosing between human and nature, Plumwood develops a hybrid solution between anthropocentrism and ecocentrism. This stance bypasses concepts on code of behavior and existence; by focusing connections between human and non-human, instead of differentiating them (Plumwood, 2001).

2.3. POLITICAL ECOLOGY

The term political ecology was first used in the early 1970s. It is a common term used foremost to emphasize environmental issues challenged by political, economic and social factors. Robbins emphasizes five dominant narratives in political ecology. These are namely (1) Degradation and marginalization, (2) Conservation and control, (3) Environmental conflict and exclusion, (4) Environmental subjects and identity, and (5) Political objects and actors. These are depicted in Table 2 below (Robbins, 2012).

In his degradation and marginalization thesis, Robbins discusses how production systems which are environmentally harmless could be overexploited through state intervention and/or production models forced by globalization and result in poverty. Where sustainable community management is in decay, the modernist efforts to restore the balance results in a decrease in equity of resource distribution in contradiction to the aim of these efforts (Robbins, 2012).

The conservation and control thesis discusses how livelihood, production and socio-political organization of local systems are interrupted as the control of resources and landscapes are taken from local producers in the name of preserving the environment by states or global interest groups. Robbins also puts forth historically speaking, when the local production practices were productive and relatively harmless, they have been characterized as unsustainable by the authorities or other players who wish to control resources (Robbins, 2012).

The environmental conflict thesis puts forth policies such as consolidating small landholdings to larger farms creates conflict between groups. When certain local groups hold control of collective resources at the expense of other groups through leverage of development agencies, state or private management interventions, the environmental problems become politicized. The “ecologised” conflicts among such groups are attempted to be resolved by conservation and resource development policies (Robbins, 2012).

Table 2: Five Theses of Political Ecology and Explanation

Thesis	What is explained?	Relevance
Degradation and marginalization	Environmental conditions (especially degradation) and the reasons for their change	Environmental degradation, long blamed on marginal people, is shown in its larger political and economic context.
Conservation and control	Conservation outcomes (especially failures)	Usually viewed as benign, efforts at environmental conservation are shown to have pernicious effect, and sometimes fail as a result.
Environmental conflict and exclusion	Access to the environment and conflicts over exclusion from it (especially natural resources)	Environmental conflicts are shown to be part of larger gendered, classed, and raced struggles and vice versa.
Environmental subjects and identity	Identities of people and social groups (especially new or emerging ones)	Political identities and social struggles are shown to be linked to basic issues of livelihood and environmental activity
Political objects and actors	Socio-political conditions (especially deeply structured ones)	Political and economic systems are shown to be underpinned and affected by the non-human with which they are intertwined.

Source: Robbins, 2012, p.22

Robbins argues in his environmental subjects and identities thesis that the conservation state can exercise their power to govern the subjectivities of its local stewards who are working people and citizens by setting terms of self-governance, ownership, and responsibility. Such power-laden environmental management regimes and exploitation of local resources and local producers unite the different communities for collective awareness and action. Which represents a new form of political action. In this regard, the environmental subjects and identity thesis is the reverse image of the degradation and marginalization thesis (Robbins, 2012).

The political objects and actor's argument is based on objects and non-humans forming the material nature basically all environmental surroundings, from biological to man-made. People, institutions, communities and nations participate in networks of influence just as non-human organisms and communities do. A body of authority could gain disproportionate influence by controlling and directing its relevant area of influence. The result of such efforts, traditional, alternative or progressive human or non-human alliances may be marginalized and in return, resist such efforts (Robbins, 2012).

Blaikie and Brookfield define political ecology as the action to affiliate society, natural resources, and social classes through theories of political economy (Blaikie & Brookfield, 1987). Additionally, Dobson notes that political ecologists would answer the question of what needs to be sustained, as the natural value (Dobson, 1990).

Martinez-Alier develops the following list on the agenda of political ecology within the context of ecological distribution conflicts and resistance movements (Martinez-Alier, 2002):

- 1- Environmental racism
- 2- Toxic struggles
- 3- Toxic imperialism
- 4- Ecologically unequal exchange
- 5- Internalization of international externalities
- 6- Ecological debt
- 7- Biopiracy
- 8- Land degradation

- 9- Plantations are not forests
- 10- Mangroves v. shrimp
- 11- Defense of the rivers
- 12- Mining conflicts
- 13- Transboundary pollution
- 14- National/local fishing rights
- 15- Equal rights to carbon sinks and reservoirs
- 16- Environmental space
- 17- Ecological trespassers
- 18- Workers' struggles for occupational health and safety
- 19- Urban struggles for clean air and water, green spaces, cyclist and pedestrian rights
- 20- Consumers' and citizens' safety
- 21- Indigenous environmentalism
- 22- Social feminism, environmental feminism
- 23- Environmentalism of the poor

From this list, especially urban struggles are related to the discussion as it is highly dependent on urban planning theory.

Besides an emphasis on political ecology, it is important to note some issues related to the politics of ecology.

2.3.1. Green Political Theory

Ecological movements and policy-making differ from country to country. In some countries, such as in the USA, ecological problems have been handled by state policy and public organizations. In Germany political parties have been active for protection and enhancement of the environment. As for countries such as France and Japan; pressure groups are playing an important role in ecological policy making (Keleş & Hamamcı, 1993).

Green parties were affected by the existing political ideas such as; anarchism, libertarian left ideas and feminism. The influences of these political thoughts could be seen in green parties of France and Germany (Dobson, 1990).

Dobson emphasizes on differentiating ecologism and environmentalism. Ecologism is a political ideology whereas environmentalism is not. Environmentalism adopts a procedural approach toward ecological problems and claims the solution does not have to make changes in the socio-political sphere. On the other hand, ecologism upholds a radical transformation for a satisfying way of living for human and non-human relations, and on socio-political life (Dobson, 1990).

Bunyard and Greenville explain that most people would see non-human world for its instrumental value. This situation can be seen as; nature being an agricultural and scientific stock, material for scientific exploration, for recreation and aesthetic reasons (Bunyard & Greenville , 1987).

Dobson separates public and private ecologism. A private ecologist would discuss with people who have the same opinions and will apt the intrinsic value over anthropocentric and instrumental values. On the other hand, a public ecologist will begin explaining intrinsic value after ecological concerns becoming well known publicly (Dobson, 1990).

Doherty acknowledges that the green movement promises ecological rationality, equity, and dependence on radical democracy. The green movement does not put one of the three promises over the others and aims to create a balance between them (Doherty, 2002).

Frankel raises the question in a green post-industrial society will social planning be minimized or maximized. Furthermore, adding to this question is if planning is minimized wouldn't it bring the negative effects of the financial market? Or in the situation in planning is maximized Frankel asks if it is possible to maximize planning without the institutions of a nation-state (Frankel, 1987)? In this thesis to develop an answer to the case where planning is maximized will be handled on the concepts for a synthesis ecological planning.

Roussopoulos mentions, even if capitalism is surpassed; all kinds of domination, hierarchy and exploitation must be abolished. To radically change the system, there is a need for social movement, based on neighborhoods and city communities that are

connected to the international scale of politics as a coordinated confederate organization (Roussopoulos, 2015).

The state generally claims that it is the protector of the people. Contrarily ecologists find this assumption destructive. And alternatively, they uphold that power should be held on the local scale –cities, neighborhoods and villages- in the hands of the citizens. Ecologists resist megaprojects and technocratic solutions led by states (Roussopoulos, 2015).

Porritt argues against big bureaucracies as causing constraints on handling the ecological challenge. In most of these bureaucracies as they get bigger, they become unchangeable and inflexible, also these bureaucracies don't embody any creative or marginal ideas within themselves. This situation leads to further alienation of people towards institutions. Furthermore, big bureaucracies' attitude towards people turns in to seeing them as pacified clientele, averting direct participation (Porritt, 1984)

Separating the ecological crisis from the social crisis would result in not understanding the roots of the ecological crisis. Roussopoulos points out that these roots are based on market capitalism itself. As the tendency of the political economic system – the attitude of development no matter what – continues, trying to find answers elsewhere – on technology, birth rates, etc. – would only mean seeing only the symptoms the ecological crisis (Roussopoulos, 2015).

2.3.2. Bioregionalism

Plant identifies bioregionalism as living according to the local existing restrictions and creating a life for the next generations. And the restrictions of certain ecological regions have been the main focus of approaching a sustainable world (Plant, 1991).

Sale has identified bioregions according to both ecosystems and –human- communities, which are both within the same ecological regions. Ecosystems are handled as the widest natural boundaries; including water basins, mountain chains, plateaus and so on. For the living environment, this approach considers self-dependent localities as the human scale of action (Sale, 1991).

Roussopoulos criticizes bioregionalism for handling democracy and autonomy together with sustainability and self-dependence in a centralized manner (Roussopoulos, 2015).

2.4. RADICAL ECOLOGY THEORIES

The major problematic issues of ecological degradation and the growing volumes of the commodification of ecological resources have triggered further alienation of human from nature. From this basis, radical approaches on ecology have been developed. Achieving an ecological society is possible on a radical approach, because a solution with existing power systems only commodifies the nature, pointing towards a radical concept. In this section, radical ecology theories will be analyzed for further relating them with planning theory.

Hayward emphasizes the relationship between ecology and enlightenment as; the ecological challenge being critical, means it becomes a renewal of the enlightenment project (Hayward, 1995).

Historically there are three theories of ecological movements as Vincent claims; the first view takes ecological stance from the Neolithic times (Oelschlaeger, 1991). Secondly the environmental opposition of 1960's and 1970's. Thirdly the roots of the ecological thought goes back to the 19th century (Vincent, 1993).

The major problematic issues of ecological degradation and the growing volumes of the commodification of ecological resources have triggered the further alienation of human from nature. From this basis, radical approaches on ecology are developed. Radical ecology theories will be mentioned briefly and discussed on their general views and tendencies they have regarding spatial practices and planning.

2.4.1. Deep Ecology

The principles of deep ecology focus mainly on the intrinsic value and the need for protecting biodiversity. The human activity is aimed to minimize the level of basic needs. Furthermore, these major goals are suggested to including in various policy

fields for the purpose of appreciation of ecology (Næss & Sessions, 1984). The philosophy of deep ecology has also affected political debates on how to re-establish the bond between human and nature.

Næss and Sessions distinguish deep ecology from shallow ecology. Shallow ecology only preserves nature if it has a benefit of humans (Næss & Sessions, 1984). Therefore in shallow ecology, humans are based on top of the hierarchy. Deep ecology does not only focus on ethics but also emerges as to how we experience the world. Therefore, this theory develops another form of existence on ecological principles (Fox, 1986).

These principles as Næss and Sessions lay are as follows (Næss & Sessions, 1984);

- 1- The well-being and flourishing of human and nonhuman Life on Earth have value in themselves (synonyms: intrinsic value, inherent value). These values are independent of the usefulness of the non-human world for human purposes.
- 2- Richness and diversity of life forms contribute to the realization of these values and are also values in themselves.
- 3- Humans have no right to reduce this richness and diversity except to satisfy vital needs.
- 4- The flourishing of human life and cultures is compatible with a substantial decrease of the human population. The flourishing of nonhuman life requires such a decrease.
- 5- Present human interference with the nonhuman world is excessive, and the situation is rapidly worsening.
- 6- Policies must therefore be changed. These policies affect basic economic, technological, and ideological structures. The resulting state of affairs will be deeply different from the present
- 7- The ideological change is mainly that of appreciating life quality (dwelling in situations of inherent value) rather than adhering to an increasingly higher standard of living. There will be a profound awareness of the difference between big and great.

- 8- Those who subscribe to the foregoing points have an obligation directly or indirectly to try to implement the necessary changes.

Dobson emphasizes from hybridity of ecocentrism and anthropocentrism view, deep ecology fails as it is deficient on making the connections of ecological problems regarding our species. Therefore, deep ecology could be seen as a lacking view of the liberation of human and non-human spheres (Dobson, 1990).

The roots of this movement find itself going beyond environmentalism and proposing a radical approach toward ecology. Deep ecologists focus on biocentrism rather than anthropocentrism on political and ethical issues of nature. In this context earth, itself becomes the priority for a new way of living, mostly described as Gaia (Roussopoulos, 2015).

Tobias describes deep ecology as the theory, which is not driven by rational purposes, but more like a philosophy of values, aesthetics and emotions. The perfectness, balance, beauty and authenticity are core values of nature of this view. In accordance with these values, human needs should attune with nature (Tobias, 1984).

2.4.2. Ecofeminism

Ecofeminist theory points out that ecological destruction and discrimination of women have ties with systems of oppression. Ecofeminism seeks radical democracy, free humanitarian institutions and actions, similarly with social ecology (Jardins, 2012). Ruether explains that the feminist movement must see that there is no solution for social emancipation and ecological degradation under oppression. The feminist movement and the ecology movement need to be unified so the socio-economic values would be radically changed (Ruether, 1975).

Warren explains that there are ten relations questionable in the ecofeminist literature. These are historical, conceptual, empirical, socio-economic, scientific language, symbolic, spiritual, epistemological and political relations (Warren, 2000). Warren examines ecofeminist philosophy as being at the intersection of three major areas. These are (1) Feminism, (2) Science, development and technology and (3) Native/indigenous/local perspectives (Warren, 1997).

Through empirical and linguistic data analysis – on forestry, water, food and farming, technologies, toxins, environmental racism, environmental ageism and sexist naturist language- on ecofeminist research Warren highlights significant remarks as following (Warren, 1997);

- The historical and casual significance of ways in which environmental destruction disproportionately affects women and children
- The epistemological significance of invisibility of women, especially of what women know for policies which affect both women’s livelihood and ecological sustainability
- The methodological significance of omitting, neglecting or overlooking issues about gender, race, class and age in framing environmental policies
- The conceptual significance of mainstream assumptions [...] which may inadvertently, unconsciously and unintentionally sanction or perpetuate environmental activities, with disproportionately adverse effects on women, children, people of color and the poor
- The political and practical significance of women-initiated protests and grassroots organizing activities for both women and the natural environment
- The ethical significance of empirical data for theories and theorizing about women, people of color, children and nature
- The theoretical significance of ecofeminist insights for any politics, policy and philosophy
- The linguistic and symbolic significance of language used to conceptualize and describe women and non-human nature

Roussopoulos cites the left green network’s views on ecofeminism and routes on the ecological crisis. In order to create a society based on freedom, peacefulness and ecological values; concentration on the freedom of women is a must to realize such a society. The routes of the social and ecological crisis are traced to the buildup of patriarchy- which way older than capitalisms effects on these crises. The culture shaped by patriarchy has caused primitive militarism, hierarchy, domination and suppression. Hence this culture has shaped issues of social and ecological crisis (Roussopoulos, 2015; Left Green Network, 1988).

Ecofeminism rejects biological deterministic views which degrade patriarchy to genetic differences. Women are considered to have strong connections with nature through historical and biotic experiences –as also pointed out by cultural feminists. Ecofeminism connects the analysis of patriarchy historically with the system of exploitation. Ecofeminist theory also rejects approaches that demote naturalism. These views tend to ignore our bonds with nature and comprehend non-human nature for instrumental values. In this context Ecofeminism is a synthesis of cultural and left feminism, that aims to develop an understanding of nature on a non-dualistic and integrative approach –including human nature (Left Green Network, 1988).

Plumwood outlines major biases and assumptions based on gender. Firstly, women are identified as nature and men are depicted as reason/human. Secondly, reason is assumed to be superior to nature. These assumptions are critical because they are the pillars of the dualism between male and female, and human and nature –which ecofeminism aim to overcome (Plumwood, 1993).

Ecofeminist philosophy considers solving the dualisms of male and female, and human and nature. Two major bases of the alteration on these dualisms are deconstruction and revaluation as Bile explains. Deconstruction comprises issues of determining where humans stand in ecological systems, the mutual interdependence of species, valuing the functions of integral parts of ecosystems and developing mindfulness on nature. As for revaluation, the inclusion of the intrinsic relationship between women and nature is to be considered (as cited in Seçkin, 2016).

Seçkin mentions that ecofeminism is mainly criticized for not being developed enough to be considered as environmental philosophy, but rather dealing only through sociological and political debate. Contrarily ecofeminism displays nurturing, non-violent, cooperative and sensual as the female characteristics of nature (Seçkin, 2016).

2.4.3. Ecosocialism

Eco-Marxists object to the decentralization idea of ecologists. O'Connor criticizes decentralization and addresses the local scale of politics being the cause of ecologic and economic problems, thus concluding the local scale could not be the scale for solutions. O'Connor also opposes centralization as well as decentralization, the

solution he proposes is a democratic state (Roussopoulos, 2015; O'Connor, 1990-1991).

(European) Libertarian ecosocialists defend an economically decentralized autonomous region –based on feminist principles and opposition to political power– instead of nation-states. From this perspective, the political and economic change will not be implemented through states but through citizens being assessors of the economy instead of existing political-economy (Kemp, 1992).

Wall claims that it is possible to think of an economic system avoiding capitalism and undemocratic forms of socialism, and at the same time ecological. Furthermore, Wall points out a different form of property rights based on commons would give planning an important role in the establishment of an ecosocialist society (Wall, 2010).

Michael Löwy points out that democratic socialist planning is not centralized for mainly two reasons. Firstly, this form of planning scope considers all levels of planning from municipal, regional, national, continental and planetary. Secondly, decision-making is not centralized but it derives from democratic votes of citizens (Löwy, 2006).

As Dobson mentions the left has seen the world as means of the reconfiguration of the human image. Furthermore, this reconfiguration takes forms mostly as plans (Dobson, 1990).

In the Belém Ecosocialist Declaration, radical action is proposed in main areas of action; a transformation to clean energy under community control, supporting public transportation, production of sustainable and recyclable goods and promoting green architecture and ensuring food sovereignty (The Belém Ecosocialist Declaration, 2009).

2.4.4. Social Ecology

Social ecology is mainly known through Murray Bookchin's works and challenges the ecological crisis with a radical approach to society. This theory is based on anarchist, libertarian socialist and communalist social theories. The standing point of social

ecology within the debate of anthropocentrism and biocentrism is the refusal of selecting one over the other (Jardins, 2012).

Bookchin categorizes nature into three groups. First nature is defined as the biological evolution of humans and the rest of the organic nature. The second nature consists of the social sphere and the ecology which we reside in. This situation of the second nature does not exclude the first nature, rather it contains it. Lastly, the third ecology is the capacity of humanity forming an ecological society in the future. The future of second nature consists of both the possibility of the destruction of the biosphere as a whole on one side and the possibility of the third nature (Bookchin, 1996)

We (as species) have shaped the earth of as far as our limits, just like other species. But with intellect, the ability to communicate and the ability to organize. In this context, social ecology aims to abolish a whole domination system of hierarchy and classed based values (Bookchin, 2006).

The philosophical ethics of social ecology is solidified as the politics of libertarian municipalism. This view is based on ecocommunity confederations originating from self-governing communes which are bonded by interdependence. The ecocommunities will dwell upon cities that are in a delicate balance with natural areas, which ecotechnologies, sustainable resources, and organic agriculture are promoted at the local scale (Bookchin, 2006).

Social ecology sets its ideology to be Communalism. Communalism is a political theory from the perspective of the libertarian socialist tradition. This theory includes the Marxist views on philosophy, history, and economics to formulize comprehensive socialism; and the Anarchist views of anti-statism, confederalism and to overthrow hierarchy with a libertarian society (Bookchin, 2006).

Communalism gives priority on cities and communes to have the potential of progressing canorously with their historical traditions. This aim is conceptualized as local governments as conceptually being the dynamo of transforming the social sphere. However, today's local governments as they are not conceptualized in this framework. The communalist program is a process as a whole. Firstly, through local elections entering the city councils and forcing to establish neighborhood or commune councils

is intended. Furthermore, each demand would be more and more radical and become a revolutionized action (Bookchin, 2006).

Social ecology is for decentralization in two major forms. Firstly institutional decentralization, from the community scale to urban scale, must be handled increasing the capacity for local government. The second form of decentralization is physical decentralization considering issues such as the balance between urban and rural areas, and between society and the biosphere. Whilst these two forms of decentralization are progressing, new and existing local governments need to transform into spaces of direct democracy (Biehl, 1997).

Communalism aims to put into action the criticism of the hierarchic society and capitalism. For this aim, the economic transformation is neither based on nationalizing the economy nor sustaining private ownership of production. Rather the municipalization of the economy is considered (Bookchin, 2006).

As Bookchin points out there is a major qualitative difference between the Green movement; having nominating candidates from a municipalist platform and going into elections for general power positions (even if they are organized by a forum pursuing libertarian local governance ideals). These positions cannot be abstracted from their political context in the current power systems. Therefore the struggle for libertarian local governments needs to produce strategies, policies – when institutionalized – and social movements; based on the spatial and political system of countries they reside in (Roussopoulos, 2015).

The primary strategies of social ecologists include; participating only in municipal elections, transferring centralized power to local governments via decentralization and institutionalizing neighborhood councils by converting municipal councils. These neighborhood councils or assemblies are a priority for social ecologists, as they are the driving forces of social change. Decentralization of local governments would reshape the municipal councils comprising of –can be recalled- delegates from neighborhoods. Thus, making the mayors only symbolic figures (Roussopoulos, 2015).

The concept of a community is based on space -as neighborhoods being the spatial scale for communities. For social ecologists, communities are the fundamental driving

force of democracy. Furthermore, the organization of widespread self-relying neighborhood communities should have a major impact citywide (Roussopoulos, 2015).

Social ecologies spatial approach is directed to – in combining the ecological, geographical and political-economy variables- how direct democracy should work. This approach aims to demolish all kinds of domination, hierarchy and exploitation; and reshape the society radically to be in harmony with nature. For this purpose, confederalism founded on ecocomunities that can reproduce ecotechnologies is proposed (Roussopoulos, 2015).

2.5. EVALUATION OF RADICAL ECOLOGY THEORIES

So far, we have provided a conceptual framework on what radical ecology theories problematize. For the furtherance of the debate, inferences on where these theories stand, in terms of space and planning could be made. This section attempts to lay a basis to correlate radical ecology theories with planning theories and environmental movement practices. Radical ecology theories are to be analyzed with their general stance and inclinations.

Before going into detail of radical ecology theories, it is crucial to note that these theories are often in a quarrel among each other and any attempt to unify these theories has its limitations, based mainly on the rupture of the views on the political sphere between theories.

The views of radical ecology theories in terms of the meaning of space and the space they aim in creating can be interpreted accordingly. Deep ecologies' mention of space includes habitat and bioregion. From an ecofeminist perspective, it is possible to argue the space of equality and harmony liberated by forms of domination. Space of a socialist society and the space of freedom are mentionable from ecosocialist and social ecologist points of view.

Ecologist arguments on how space should be used share similar views mostly focused on protecting the nature and preserving natural spaces. In doing so protection of the

nature is prioritized over the transformation of space. From a deep ecology perspective, it can be argued that the use of space should be compatible to ecocentric principles. The ecofeminism theory suggests the use of space should be gender equal, through the transformation of space with the abolishment of patriarchal structures. Ecosocialism and social ecology approaches, propose taking into account the interests of all affected groups, therefore concentrate on the collective use of space. To attain so, both theories defend the transformation of space through social and political change. From an ecosocialist perspective, the focus on sustainable and ecological change could be key to the transformation of space.

Table 3: *Evaluation Matrix of Radical Ecology Theories*

	Deep Ecology	Ecofeminism	Ecosocialism	Social Ecology
Meaning of space	Habitat and bioregion	Space of equality and harmony	Space of a socialist society	Space of freedom
Use of space	Compatible to ecocentric principles	Gender equal use of space	Collective use of space	Collective use of space
Transformation of space	Priority of environmental protection over transformation	Transformation through abolishment of patriarchal structures	Transformation through sustainable and ecological change; Transformation through social and political change	Transformation through social and political change
Spatial planning as a practice	Regulations to limit human involvement in nature	Inclusion of gender politics in practice	Ecological planning practice based on commons	The result of direct involvement in planning process
Spatial planning as an institution	Policy-oriented and regulatory institution	Inclusive and non-hierarchical institution	Democratic and decentralized institution enabling bottom-up decision-making	Libertarian municipalism, direct and bottom-up decision-making

The practice of ecological planning lays a common ground in utilizing planning practices of radical ecology theories. The ecological planning theory is further discussed in chapter three of this study. On the other hand, deep ecologists focus on regulations to limit human involvement in nature as the base of the practice of

planning. In this context, the planning institution of deep ecology is policy-oriented and regulatory. The main argument on planning as a practice of ecofeminism would be the inclusion of gender politics in planning practices. As for planning as an institution, ecofeminism suggests, an inclusive and non-hierarchical institution of planning. Considering the arguments of ecosocialism, the planning practice of this theory can be described as ecological planning based on commons. The planning institution of ecosocialism is democratic and decentralized enabling bottom-up decision-making. Social ecologists claim on planning practice could be generalized as being the direct result of citizens' decisions in shaping both the built and natural environment. For this purpose, social ecology puts the emphasis on a libertarian municipalism formulation in terms of the planning institution with direct and bottom-up decision-making takes place.

CHAPTER 3

PLANNING THEORIES

Among the disciplines that study ecology, planning has a vital role as a field that social, political and economic aspects of the ecological challenge become visible. Environmental protection plans, zoning plans, transportation plans, development plans, etc. all have an intrinsic ecological dimension. However, centralized planning may contradict with the goals set in the policy development of economic and social spheres. The economic contradiction of planning is that it does not challenge the capitalist system, therefore, giving nature only an instrumental value towards financial goals. Secondly, plans made within top-down hierarchies exclude citizens from direct participation in the decision-making process. This situation creates a blindfold for policy makers and planners not to see the social burdens of the ecological problems.

Developing a social political organization based on radical ecology needs not only an anthropocentric but also ecocentric principles. Rather than assessing action on both sides of the debate, trying to find a balance should be the attitude of democratized planning processes. Planning action is anthropocentric in character but needs to consider ecocentric approaches to its action regarding ecology.

Plans made and their practice, within the existing hierarchical structure, mainly has the following problems compared to radical and ecological planning;

- Not being rooted from the social sphere
- The disadvantages of hierarchical bureaucracies

- Low capacity on local scales to act
- The absence of direct participation mechanisms in policy-making processes
- Conflicts with overlapping different policy fields

There are various planning traditions to be considered to make assessments on how they handle the ecological aspects of planning. This section attempts for the purpose to evaluate planning theories for the debate in the conclusion chapter. The planning theories to be overviewed are utopian planning, comprehensive planning, advocacy planning, strategic spatial planning, justice planning, radical planning, and ecological planning.

3.1. UTOPIAN PLANNING

According to Palazzo; Utopian thought has two major challenges in urban planning. Firstly, urban planning has a role in achieving inseparability between physical and economic change, and social and ecological reform together. In other words, it aims to provide welfare for the urban population, who are worsening the environment and at the same time facing problems of worsened urban environments. Secondly, urban planning must be handled through principles of sustainability (Palazzo, 2016).

Friedmann examines utopianism for constituting an intellectual tradition of a radical approach towards planning. Unlike other traditions of knowledge, utopias stand on their own not being directly linked and build upon to each other. Therefore every utopia has the characteristic of being inventions. The most common feature of utopianism is its focus on the creation of the “good society” through voluntarism. In doing so moral ordering of everyday lives becomes a major issue revolving around the theme of harmony in life (Kanter, 1972; Friedmann, 1987).

Robert Owen and Charles Fourier’s utopias are considered as the basis of modern utopianism. In both Owen’s and Fourier’s utopias the final goal is to form the “good society” with intentional communities (Friedmann, 1987). Following these utopias, the garden city of Ebenezer Howard is taken in consideration of its spatial impacts on an experimental model of cities.

3.1.1. Owen's Utopia

Robert Owen's ideas –communitarian socialist ideas- are addressed as the pivotal work of utopianism. His works date back to the beginning of the 19th century. The idea of an organic community that aims to combine the interests of labor and capital in harmony, was intended in his utopia. The experiment of “New Harmony” was realized with a thousand inhabitants, between the years of 1825 to 1827. Social progression, social reconstruction, and science are key notions of Owen's utopia. Owen emphasizes that the change of environment would change behaviors, thus making this concept as a basis for happiness (Owen, 1972; Friedmann, 1987).

Owen's utopia was based on communal villages of the population between 800 to 1200 people, where agriculture is the primary activity. Communes in this model were to be self-governing on scientific principles. Education was handled as a central component as experimental learning was promoted for bettering communal life. Owen aims to overcome the dualities of mental and manual labor, and public and private interest, and; establish an anti-political life of self-government. Self-government is decided on how the commune was created by the middle and working class, in cases of landlords or capitalists being the creators they would exercise rules and regulations (Owen, 1972; Friedmann, 1987).

3.1.2. Fourier's Utopia

Fourier is considered to be the second inventor of modern utopias. His work is analyzed to have poetic elements; with a major focus on human nature, his view is that life is to be experienced passionately for happiness. Opposing the current political-economical system of the time Fourier suggests phalansteries to be the ideal communities up to 1800 people. These units' economy is based on agriculture and workshops. Life in the phalansteries was conceptualized that everybody acted as they pleased. Some small communities of such were established but short lived. Fourier's utopia is a critique of how work is distributed and patriarchy. Friedmann points out that Fourier's utopia addresses “the juxtaposition of an emancipated society with the complete regimentation of life” (Friedmann, 1987).

3.1.3. Garden City of Ebenezer Howard

One of the most significant utopian planning experiences is the garden city of Ebenezer Howard. Howard developed his ideas according to eliminate the problems of overcrowding and industrialisms negative effects on urban areas. Mumford points out that the most substantial contribution of Howard’s garden city is bringing an organic concept to the physical environment of urban areas, rather than only laying out the physical elements as a must. The concept mentioned is the dynamic and organic balance -a main criterion in biology. This balance is in a broad sense of the ecologic balance between urban and rural areas. In this context, a practice of positive control of urban areas with a process colonization –in the biological sense-; against the trend of urban growth, based on population, population density, and land barriers is introduced. If an urban area is to provide vital necessities for its inhabitants, it has to have the organic features of self-audit and self-sufficiency (Mumford, 1961).

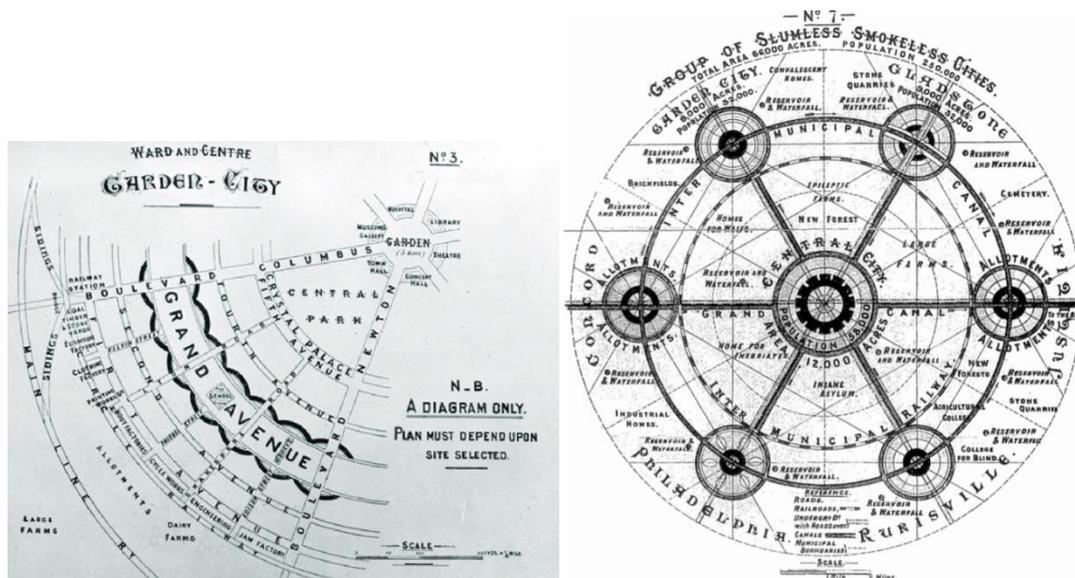


Figure 1: Garden City Diagrams

Source: Howard, 1902

Howard’s work suggests interconnected settlements of 32000 people and a central city of 58000 people, which hold both benefits of rural and urban areas. To avoid misinterpretations of the model, Howard highlights that this model is only a diagram and must depend on the site.

The diagram of a garden city depicts an urban area of 8000 acres, making the population density of 988 persons per km². The central city has an area of 12000 acres and a population density of 1194 persons per km². In this regard, the garden cities are compact in character.

The city is enclosed by agricultural and natural landscapes at the periphery, hence bounding the urban areas with a green belt. The core of the garden city is also depicted to constitute of parks, social and cultural uses. The diagram of the city has a circular form creating a sense of continuity and accessibility of utilities.

For the future cities of Howard's applicable model are based "[...] instead of agglomeration, planned dispersal; instead of monopolistic concentration, decentralization; instead of disorganization, a higher type of unity." Moreover, the garden city model stands for collective or municipal ownership of land, after the model has been realized (Mumford, 1961).

3.2. COMPREHENSIVE PLANNING

Comprehensive planning has positive effects on planning areas with the analyses of all types of information. However, there are some issues need to be considered such as situations of limited information and data which are not accurate. These situations can produce a lack of real needs, false population projections and as a result, may lead the sprawling plans.

Black describes the comprehensive plan as being a document of policy guides specific to a settlements physical development implemented by local governments. The main traits of this plan are; being comprehensive, generality and long-term planning (Black, 1975). Ersoy emphasizes that the descriptions of comprehensive planning, are based on the positivistic tradition, relying on the predictability of a settlement's spatial development and focusing on generally accepted values –of the society (Ersoy, 2007a).

The roots of comprehensive plans could be traced back to 19th century Europe. Designs of parks and boulevards in the 19th century across Europe, starting with the plan developed for Paris in the 1850s effected the development of comprehensive plans

(Gercenks, 2001). Being for the benefit of dominant classes –rather than considering public interest as the aim- the plan of Hausmann is considered to be the first comprehensive plan (Ersoy, 2007a).

Chapin points out planning is a rational model comprising of different phases. These phases include; data analysis, population projections, producing alternatives, comparing alternatives according to the benefits and costs and implementation of the chosen alternative (Chapin, 1965). These phases are considered as the fundamentals of comprehensive planning.

The functions of comprehensive planning mainly consist of (Ersoy, 2007a);

- Developing a master plan for guiding specific problematic urban areas and sectoral planning of these areas
- Consistency of sectoral plans to the master plan
- Coordinating and harmonizing sectoral proposals for bettering public interest

In this context eligibility of comprehensive plans includes; achieving aims and goals, choosing from alternatives, envisioning the future, practice and comprehensiveness. As for the phases of comprehensive planning, Ersoy accentuates six phases (Ersoy, 2007a);

- Problem definition
- Identification of aims and goals
- Producing alternatives, instruments and strategies for planning
- Choosing from different alternatives, instruments and strategies
- Practice of the plan
- Monitoring and feedback

In deciding on the alternatives, instruments and strategies Lichfield proposes qualifications to be considered (Lichfield, 1970, cited in Ersoy, 2007a);

- Internal consistency
- Site selection suitability
- Suitability of principles and standards
- Problem solution

- Feasibility
- Design
- Flexibility and open consequentialness

Ersoy cites Althusser's (1965) analysis of two main opposition views to comprehensive planning. The first group of objectors claims; conflict of interest exists in every society and the biggest contradiction is between groups who have power and others who don't. In this context, comprehensive planning and its goals are considered to improve the grasp of seats of power. As for the second group of objectors, they doubtfully criticize the comprehensiveness goal in decision-making. In this perspective, the political decision makers for comprehensive planning involve only the hierarchically top level actors. This situation causes no success chance for the implementation of comprehensive planning (as cited in Ersoy, 2007a).

Ersoy classifies three major approaches of supporters of comprehensive planning – who gives professional planners the most importance within other professionals- (Ersoy, 2007a);

- 1- Planning is considered to be the only profession that can mediate the conflict of interest between different social groups. Therefore, the role of planners in conflict resolution –not a complete solution but rather- is finding a common ground for a less problematic solution. In this context, planners have more capability of persuasion between different groups, than local politicians.
- 2- Planners are considered to be the only professionals within local governments that produce solutions to urban problems persistently.
- 3- In this mediation process, planners consider public interest as the main value of consideration. The solutions to urban problems are dealt with by planners for bettering public interest, therefore effecting and persuading local politicians.

The most accentuated critique of comprehensive planning is on the concept of public interest. This concept is considered as the major ethical value for comprehensive planning – as mentioned above. Although it is a harmless principle, critiques stress the

content of this principle is vague and therefore the utility of it for planning is not certain (William, 1988).

As Keleş mentions there is no unitary and constant definition of public interest. Furthermore, it is more challenging assessing the definition in market economies. Additionally, the difficulty of determining public interest gets more problematic from micro scale social systems to pluralist and integrated scales (Keleş, 2004)

The second criticism raised against comprehensive planning is related to its pretense to comprehensiveness and being long termed. Both characteristics are not realistic as there is no chance of obtaining vast knowledge required for comprehensive planning. Also, there rises the problem of reliability of inputs in the planning process (Keleş, 2004).

Ersoy also mentions the criticism of Meyerson in 1954. Meyerson criticizes comprehensive planning for two reasons. Firstly, comprehensive planning is identified to be centralistic in implementation, therefore, limiting the choice of individuals. Secondly, similarly to Keleş's critique, the knowledge required for comprehensive plans are too immense to be obtained and comprehend by an individual or group (as cited in Ersoy, 2007a; Meyerson, 1954).

Rosenau criticizes the rationality component of comprehensive planning. Rational action is examined to be a western concept and it could change from country to country, culture to culture and from time to time (Rosenau, 1998).

Ryan emphasizes that the problem solution in planning could not reduce only to scientific analysis. Furthermore, the non-ability of planning in terms of understanding reality is limited. Ryan proposes a decentralized and deconstructionist planning model. In his model planning should be participatory and inclusion of all heterogenic components of social collectivity (Ryan, 1984).

Ersoy highlights the revised components for planning in the 21st century, through the work of Rouse, Chandler and Arason. These components are (as cited in Ersoy, 2007a) (Rouse, Chandler, & Arason, 1999);

- 1- Guided by common values

- 2- Collaborative and participatory method
- 3- Thematic approach
- 4- Combining the process and findings
- 5- Consideration of locality within the region
- 6- New presentation forms

As one of the key components of comprehensive planning, public interest needs further clarification. From a rationality perspective, public interest represents realistic needs for the interest of the whole population. However, it is also prone to exclude environmental aspects. Environmental interest, therefore, should be considered in debating public interest as a must.

Ersoy points out the main problem of planning is how to develop a planning approach which defines public interest which includes the heterogenic structure of society and tackling economic, social, cultural and political difference. There is no clear answer to this problem, but it doesn't mean there is nothing to do or giving up on planning. In this context, Ersoy suggests there is a need to implement participatory planning without excluding communicative rationality. This approach aims to embody and build upon social collectivity and the real necessities of the society, rather than planning being possessive in character. This approach includes participation in every process of planning from problem definition to implementation. Such practice would create a shift in the content of plans being mandatory provision documents, to being action plans for collective needs (Ersoy, 2007a).

3.3. ADVOCACY PLANNING

Advocacy planning and advocate planner terms have been developed by Paul Davidoff. Advocacy planning stands for the advocacy of disadvantaged groups in the planning process (as cited in Ersoy, 2007). Davidoff defines advocacy planning as, the advocacy and participation of groups with no negotiation power, where planners are the representatives of these groups in the planning process (Davidoff, 1965).

The advocacy planning approach emphasizes particularly on defending the interests of the urban poor, powerless and vulnerable groups, with participation through advocate planners in a pluralist society (Ersoy, 2007b). Davidoff criticizes the comprehensive planning approach for the formal planning office being the only decision maker and it's lacking in the representation of different groups of interest in the planning process (Davidoff, 1965). The physical planning approach is also criticized for not being able to comprehend a city as a whole with its social, economic, cultural and political attributes. The traditional role of urban planners being seen as technical workers who decide public interest is also criticized (Ersoy, 2007b).

Davidoff proposes that there should be more than one plan made for the interest of different groups -in accordance with the pluralist society- and presented for public opinion, rather than having one comprehensive plan made by a single planning body. This goal implies that planning should be politicized. The politicization of the planning process demands planning being in both the legislative and executive organs. Planners are proposed to be advocates for different interest groups and individuals in this political process and are handed new responsibilities. Some of these responsibilities are; to explain the situation of the group being advocated to both decision makers and clients, to defend the developed plan and persuade the alternative –from other contesting plans-, and is also an educator toward the advocated groups and local governments (Davidoff, 1965).

Advocacy planning aims to implement a bottom to top approach to the planning process. In the process, there are problems that voluntaries will face in finding funds, the difficulty of planners being viewed as technicians rather than consultants and the ability of people with not enough knowledge and consciousness toward planning. In spite of these negations, pluralist and advocacy planning approach should be viewed as an important and positive effort to bettering the situation and defending the rights of disadvantaged groups (Ersoy, 2007b).

Davidoff notes that physical planning should not be completely abandoned, but rather become a part of a whole of city planning. In the entirety of urban planning, city planners need to research and coordinate fiscal issues of local governments in accordance with the social, political and economic resources on proposed programs.

In this context, the chance of realization of pluralistic physical planning, depends on issues of everyday social and economic problems of citizens, in contrast comprising only the physical aspect (Davidoff, 1965).

There are three major organizations considered to take part in pluralist advocacy planning:

- Political parties
- Representatives of interest groups
- Transitory organizations on specific urban issues

Firstly, political parties –in an ideal condition- should develop master plans and organize platforms to discuss the plan with their voters. This aim may be achieved in the long term, therefore public interest groups should take caution in this process (Ersoy, 2007b).

Secondly, representatives of interest groups should take place in planning with the guidance of public policies. In this regard some of the organizations of public interest groups could include; chambers of industry and commerce, real estate agencies, workers and trade unions, groups defending the rights of citizens, NGOs, councils on poverty, etc. (Ersoy, 2007b).

Thirdly, transitory organizations on specific urban issues need to be also included in the planning process. The provisional organizations oppose specific policies that put certain groups of people in a disadvantaged situation. These organizations include groups opposing urban renewal projects and so on (Ersoy, 2007b).

Pluralism defines the planning process based on a competitive environment, whereas the advocacy planning approach construes the role of the professional planner in the planning process. Rational comprehensive planning limits the importance competitiveness of the advocacy planning approach, as the plans are made by only a formal planning agency (Davidoff, 1965).

The advocate planner –being an urban planner- is responsible for informing its clients, all components, development of the plan, urban projects that will affect them and processes of planning. The advocate planner has to keep in mind developed plans’

decisions in order to nullify why the current plan is failing, when proposing a new plan. The advocate planner also must clarify the needs of the group represented and find support for its cause (Ersoy, 2007b).

The advocacy planning approach emerged in the USA when urban renewal projects negatively affected more and more people. Urban renewal projects mostly had adverse impacts on the poor and Afro-American communities. This situation caused major opposition to the authorities. Local governments also questioned their actions and got influenced by the advocacy planning approach later on (Ersoy, 2007b).

The public planning function should be conducted by the executive or legislative –or in both- organs of local governments, instead of antidemocratic and aristocratic forms of planning. Based on this difference it is possible to suggest, shaping the planning unit for both the minority and majority party groups. Moreover, there should be alternative plans developed for both for the political party and the opposition, favoring market economies or state control based on their opinions (Ersoy, 2007b).

The alternative urban plan reports made needs to be explained in a simple language for the public to understand fully. Most of the plan reports are written in professional jargon and are mainly producing technical alternatives of zoning, rather than alternatives based on social, economic and political variants (Ersoy, 2007b).

In this approach, urban planners are professional negotiators. And they also have a general understanding of modern philosophy, social work, law, social sciences and urban design; and have a deep understanding of these areas (Davidoff, 1965). The interest of the urban poor and black communities has stood out in this approach as being the major disadvantaged groups. However, there is the problem of funding alternative plans for these groups. Davidoff sees this fund problem obtainable from public institutions and foundations (Ersoy, 2007b). The only area where advocacy planning could be successful is in opposing urban renewal projects and defending the rights of displaced people caused by urban projects (Ersoy, 2007b).

Capitalist societies do not have a balance of power between different social groups as the pluralists assume. In this context pluralists overlook; the contradiction of capital and labor, and the inequality of power among the organized and unorganized groups

of the society (Ersoy, 2007b). Davidoff prioritizes the representation of the disadvantaged. However, the proposed planning system treats all social groups equally, causing the already powerful groups of society gaining legitimacy in their interests through planning (Ersoy, 2007b).

Advocacy planning approach -emerging for the advocacy of the powerless-, produces inequality and legitimizes unevenness, as the capitalist system and its components are protected in this pluralist approach. On the other hand, this approach brings an important critique of undemocratic forms of planning that planning only produces physical plans. And the most important part of this critique is on excluding planning practices from society, which is a problem still relevant today (Ersoy, 2007b).

3.4. STRATEGIC SPATIAL PLANNING

Strategic spatial planning handles planning as a process. The planning process is defined to be an active social process which includes; local institutional capacity building, coalition, broad participation of stakeholders and interaction. In this context key concepts for the plan are a realistic analysis, vision construction, general framework of spatial development, limited strategy fields, being for action, monitoring and evaluation (Gedikli, 2007).

Gedikli (2007) mentions that there are three major dimensions to strategic spatial planning. These are the contextual dimension, organizational dimension and the dimension of new aims and standards. The contextual dimension of strategic spatial planning consists of the decision-making process determined in accord with deliberative democracy and the new time-space understanding of the global system. The organizational dimension is related to planning being viewed as an area where horizontal relations formed, and interactive and communicative approaches are seen. The third dimension is on the new multidimensional aims that are influenced by the globalization processes. (Gedikli, 2007).

Strategic spatial plans are developed by public or private organizations working with a network-based institutional frame. They do not have to be legally binding documents

and could be a result of a voluntary effort. SWOT analysis, sectoral strategies, actions for strategies, describing the actions and determination of stakeholders for each action are some features of strategic spatial plans. Both physical and nonphysical development is intended in the plans. The plans could exceed administrative boundaries due to some spatial connections that might overlapping different administrative boundaries. These plans consist of physical, social, economic, cultural aspects relating them with each other.

The visions of strategic spatial plans are long hauled. However, the time limitation may differ as there could be projects recommended at any time. There two major aims of strategic spatial plans. Firstly, developing communicative and transportation infrastructure as well as promoting competitiveness for domestic and global capital. Secondly, improving urban and environmental life quality is aimed, with accord to sustainability principles and protection of local values (Gedikli, 2007).

This approach of planning is criticized mainly on changes in planning in the globalization process and the questioning on the applicability of communicative rationality in planning.

The first group of criticism is exemplified as the following (Gedikli, 2007):

- Administrations at the national and sub-national have the threat of deactivation due to global powers and asymmetric power system
- With new governance methods, citizens are seen as clients of public services, and the expectation from the government to create conditions where the private sector could provide service
- The adoption of strategies to attract investment from the market, of nation-state, regional and urban administrations within this system and their entrance to competitiveness
- Competitive processes mean sustaining unequal development
- Not every city has the capacity and claims to compete on a global scale
- The exclusion of cities especially of developing countries, from the processes of articulation to the global economy

The second group of criticism regarding communicative rationality could be summarized as (Gedikli, 2007):

- The inability of stakeholders to agree, due to self-interest reasons which is in the political nature of planning
- Lack of trust between different interest groups, which must be ensured in participatory processes
- Failure to ensure equal participation of the parties in the presence of certain ruling groups
- Social capital, which is one of the most important factors determining the effectiveness of the cooperation to be established, is not at the level of development desired everywhere
- Lack of strong/charismatic leaders and important actors/institutions that coordinate and encourage stakeholders
- Contradictions between stakeholders with different political and world views
- Change of key actors in management during decision-making/implementation processes

3.5. JUSTICE PLANNING

The justice planning approach comes out of criticizing the dominant planning modes. The major focus of this approach is on the relation of justice to equity, democracy and diversity. This theory is value based on its characteristics and questions possible principles to be considered in urban planning.

The philosophical basis of the justice argument is built on the emphasis on equality, democracy and difference. Fainstein considers; Rawls' first principle of liberty and the second principle of difference which deals with equality; the capability arguments of Nussbaum; Habermas' concept of deliberative democracy; and the right to the city argument of Lefebvre as constituting the relevant discussion on the philosophy for the just city. From Rawls' arguments, justification of equality as a rational approach and the principle of difference are considered in this theory. In the capabilities approach life, health, bodily integrity, access to education and control over one's environment

(political and material) are described to be the necessary capabilities. Through these approaches applying them to the betterment of the least well-off becomes an issue. Habermas's views on deliberative democracy and the notions of rationality, truth-telling and democracy are taken into account. Through the statement that participation in decision-making could be reached through discourse will produce the best decision, it can be viewed as a goal for planning from Habermas' theory. (Fainstein, 2009).

Fainstein's theory towards a just city is built on three headings: democracy, diversity and equity. The relevant policies are studied through three western cities. Fainstein's policies in furtherance of democracy aim for higher levels of participation and fair representation of all groups within the society. The policies of diversity mainly focus on less segregation, social and spatial inclusion and assistance of marginal groups by local planning decisions. Policies for equity are directly related to housing policies; which are the main determinant of her examination of Amsterdam, New York and London. As a matter of fact, she decides that Amsterdam is the justest city of the three; mainly because it has a higher share of social housing resulting in richer diversity and less segregation (Fainstein, 2010).

Fainstein lists common bad and good approaches on issues of planning, which is demonstrated in the table below. Heterogeneity in public spaces, citizen participation in planning, redistribution to the worst-off and diversity in the community are some of the good practices listed. Regulation and green development of the environment is seen as good practices opposing the *laissez-faire* attitude on the environment. Top-down planning with the rule of experts resulting in forms of domination is criticized as bad approaches (Fainstein, 2009).

Marcuse categorizes planning into the three groups; technicist planning, social reform planning, and social justice planning. And further adds under social justice planning; ethical principles planning, community-based planning, radical planning, and utopian planning. Fainstein's theories are considered under ethical principles planning (Marcuse, 2011).

Table 4: Good and Bad Practices for Urban Planning

Focus	Bads	Goods
Public space	Lack of access, homogeneity	Heterogeneity
Planning	Rule of experts	Citizen participation
Distribution of benefits	Favors the already well-to-do (ambiguous: assists the middle class)	Redistributes to the worst-off
Community	Homogeneity	Recognition of the other, diversity
Quality of the built environment	Inauthenticity, conformist architecture	Historical accuracy, cutting-edge architecture
Social control	Order/domination	Resistance/conflict
Housing	Luxury dwellings	Affordable units
Mega-projects	Large, top-down planned	Popular, incremental, preservation
Social services	Privatization, individualization	Collective consumption
Economic development	Entrepreneurial state	Small business, cooperatives
Environment	Laissez-faire	Regulation, green development

Source: Fainstein, 2009

Industrialization and the rapid growth of cities and slums create disadvantaged groups in society. The social justice approach focuses on equity issues of these groups who suffer the consequences of urbanization often manifested in impoverished populations. The rapid change and growth in urban areas call for alternatives to existing social and institutional relationships and entails physical change with broader social change. The subjects of the disadvantaged groups effected by this change broadly support the social justice concept at various levels. (Marcuse, 2011)

The more populated cities and slums are, the less we could talk of social justice in terms of fair distribution of wealth and equal opportunity. The gap between the haves and the have nots deepens as cities get overpopulated. To look at this from a domestic migration point of view, people are driven to bigger cities from smaller cities or rural

areas for obvious reasons such as finding employment. The disadvantages are concentric and linked to one another, but overall basics for social justice would be to have in place strong public benefits such as public schools, social insurance and public health providers. What is more important is to make sure institutions keep the respective regulations up-to-date.

Social Justice is an ever-evolving set of goals and values which puts human development, expanding capabilities and core values such as equity, equality and diversity to its focus. Therefore, the decision-making on planning issues relies on participation from all levels. Grass-roots groups are major actors for social justice planning. These groups could work within existing (political) structures and sometimes intentionally stay outside such structures and make a case of their social justice concerns in return of which they would obtain planning decisions. Should their concerns require a stronger action, their claims could evolve into social movements. Unlike the social reform planners, the grassroot groups' planners and supporters would put social justice interests ahead of power and efficiency of competing for their planning claims (Marcuse, 2011).

3.6. RADICAL PLANNING

Friedmann discusses planning under four major traditions, namely; planning as policy analysis, planning as social learning, planning as social reform and planning as social mobilization. These traditions are categorized in the table below as classified under conservative and radical traditions within societal guidance and social transformation. In this conceptual framework, radical planning is addressed as “planning as social mobilization”. The major thoughts under this category are planning theories of historical materialism, Neo-Marxism, Frankfurt School, Utopianism, Social anarchists and Radicals (Friedmann, 1987).

Radical planning differs from other planning traditions that defend the centralized role of the state in planning. Opposing the hierarchical methods of planning, this approach advocates “direct collective action from below”. Two types of politics make constitute radical planning. The first one is the politics of disengagement that aim to develop

alternative communities through utopian and social anarchist views. Secondly, the confrontational politics of Marxism is considered, which emphasizes the fact that the political struggle to transform current modes of power (Friedmann, 1987). Utopian views on transforming the society are handled in the previous chapter where Owen's and Fourier's utopias were considered.

The social anarchism tradition opposes the state and capitalism. Rather decentralization through small-scale self-managing units, with the characteristics of mutual cooperation and confederation in linking these units together, is accentuated. In their objectives, there is a distinction in this tradition between; Bakunin's revolutionary strategy of direct action, and the peaceful means of action advocated by Proudhon and Kropotkin. Bakunin emphasizes that the destruction of state is the task for the struggle and should involve the destruction of oppressive economic, political, religious and educational systems. Whereas, Proudhon's objective was to develop the alternative community at the margins, while the state still exists. Proudhon's main principle was mutualism for an anarchist society. Participatory and non-hierarchical organization of the struggle was a major issue in this tradition. The territorial base of social anarchism is based on communes (Proudhon, 1979; Friedmann, 1987). Bookchin's theory of social ecology –discussed earlier- stands in this tradition. Therefore, radical planning should also involve social ecology as a major theory of social transformation.

Historical materialism involves communism and socialism. Historical materialist traditions' goal is to form a classless, cosmopolitan society, where the wealth is cooperatively distributed, between people who work according to their abilities, through class struggle. This tradition opposes the bourgeoisie –just as social anarchists also oppose- and aims to take control of the means of production. Marx and Engels are the founders of this tradition. Unity of theory and practice is the major philosophical action, where theoretical practice, political economy, and political practice are related. There are four modes of analysis in this tradition: dialectics, material base, class struggle and modes of production. The proletariat has the role of social transformation, which they would seize the state and form a proletarian dictatorship, although most

communist parties have abjured the idea of a dictatorship. The strategy of historical materialism is to exploit the contradictions of the capitalist society (Friedmann, 1987).

Marcuse classifies radical planning under social justice planning. Opposing the social, economic and political system unlike most of the other planning theories, it is mentioned that the main focus of this theory is based on its views of power. This approach confronts power, rather than seeing it a tactical tool of implementation. Radical planning tackles the underlying power structure in the decision-making process (Marcuse, 2011).

Friedmann links social mobilization to planning with the social transformation type of action. Historically utopianism, social anarchism, and historical materialism have criticized bourgeois planning but also had major impacts on different fields of planning. Utopianism has affected city and regional planning widely. Kropotkin's ideas have influenced the garden city movement, besides Proudhon and Reclus' works had impacted regional planning (Weaver, 1984; Friedmann, 1987).

Grabow and Heskin are the pioneer thinkers of radical planning. They describe planning as "a synthesis of action and spontaneity: evolutionary social experimentation within the context of ecological ethic". Radical planning in this context is a critique of rational comprehensive planning. The elitist, centralizing and change resistant characteristics of comprehensive planning are criticized. The need for a radical shift in the paradigm is emphasized. For this shift decentralization of the society toward the communal society, facilitation of human development, an applied ecological ethic and evolutionary experimentation are the key aspects of forming radical planning theory (Grabow & Heskin, 1973).

The ecological ethics in Grabow and Heskin's work addresses the joining of the individual with the world. In this sense, people exist together and with the world –their environment-. The synthesis of radical planning deals with the dialectical coalescence of consciousness and action. Ecological ethic provides the consciousness part. Action, on the other hand, is taken into consideration as evolutionary experimentation referring to the evolution of the society in terms of action. The adaptation of evolution from biology in this manner is based on mutations –which are the driving source of

evolution- are likened to the facilitation of social experimentation. Evolutionary experimentation is classified to have three components: ecological ethic, social experimentation, and learning (Grabow & Heskin, 1973).

Planning is defined as the linkage, of knowledge to action by Friedmann. In this linkage there are two types of action defined: with societal guidance and social transformation (Friedmann, 1987). The table below illustrates the characteristics of planning types in their relation to societal knowledge. Policy analysis and social reform consider social guidance as to the major principle forming their tradition. Social learning and social mobilization, on the other hand, advocate social transformation. From the perspective of being conservative and radical in their approach; policy analysis and social learning theories tend to be conservative approaches; on the other hand, social reform and social mobilization approaches are considered radical in character.

Table 5: Major Traditions of Planning

Knowledge to Action	Conservative	Radical
In societal guidance	Planning as policy analysis	Planning as social reform
In social transformation	Planning as social learning	Planning as social mobilization

Source: Friedmann, 1987

Friedmann highlights that the major concern of radical planning “consists in mediating transformative theory with radical practice and that in so doing, planners must draw on the tradition of social learning”. In this context radical planning deals with the reciprocal relation between critical consciousness and radical action, using the understanding of the social learning paradigm. This reciprocal action takes into steps; firstly, from practice to consciousness, developing a vision through experiences; secondly, from consciousness to action, theorizing and putting strategy that will lead to radical action (Friedmann, 1987).

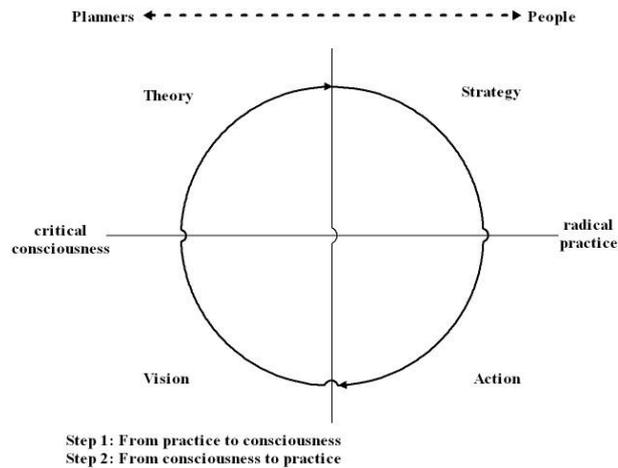


Figure 2: *The Social Learning Paradigm in Radical Practice*

Source: Friedmann, 1987

Radical planning's goal is to bring social transformation. This goal gives radical planning its uniqueness among other planning traditions. Therefore, the question of what radical planners do rises. Friedmann develops a normative model of radical planning to discuss this question. In this model 10 steps are identified. These steps are simplified as following (Friedmann, 1987):

- 1- The critique of the present situation is the first step of radical planning, involving planners as part of the mobilization of radical practice.
- 2- On how change can be made planners could contribute to providing problem solutions for communities and mobilized groups.
- 3- In contriving strategies for action planners should influence in developing strategies by their information on doing so.
- 4- Most solutions require technical capabilities, in which planners are equipped.
- 5- Planners could promote the usage of social learning methods to make the community learn from their own experience.
- 6- Enriching the experiential knowledge –with different forms- from practice is essential for collective learning.

- 7- Planners should see themselves as part of the struggle that they are in –radical practice is oppositional so there will be interventions from the state. Radical planners should mediate encounters with the state.
- 8- Radical planners are responsible to resist the oligarchical tendencies in information, knowledge and decision-making. Radical planners should advocate for the widest participation in four phases of the social learning process –vision, theory, strategy and action-.
- 9- Planners may have the necessary skills to discuss statements on structures of meaning or ideology.
- 10- Radical planners should not be distant to the action itself.

Through their synthesis of radical planning Grabow and Heskin define the radical planner as (Grabow & Heskin, 1973):

a nonprofessional professional: no longer with a property right entitled “planning” but rather an educator and at the same time a student of the ecological ethic as revealed in the consciousness of the people. Such an individual strives for self-actualization of oneself and of the others with whom one lives. Finally, he or she is not apart from the people: the planner is one of us or all of us.

Friedmann mentions the radical planners constitute of individuals in the social movements who have skills and professionals. And they should manifest these certain skills (Friedmann, 1987):

- Communicative skills
- Group process skills
- Familiarity with social learning paradigm, its requirements and its applications
- Familiarity with planning theory (history, problems, pitfalls)
- Analytical skills (particularly in analyzing complex and dynamic situations)
- Synthesizing skills in devising solutions
- Substantive knowledge (historical, theoretical, institutional)

- Experiential (tacit) knowledge

3.7. ECOLOGICAL PLANNING

The roots of ecological planning are based on the land suitability analysis techniques of the 19th century. This analysis aims to identify the best fitting function for an area, with careful examination of its natural values by using a layered technique for analysis (Özügül, 2012). The most fundamental work for ecological planning is McHarg's work of "Design with nature". Özügül highlights that there are two major natural processes, which need to be stressed for planning, in McHarg's theory. The first process is enabling biological creativeness and the second process is harmony. Firstly, enabling biological creativeness is a means not taking away the ability of nature to regenerate – when producing settlements. Secondly, harmony is indicated as the adaptation of organisms and systems with the environment they're in. Furthermore, McHarg identifies these two processes should be the basis for deciding on protecting nature or using. This decision suggested being handled by a comprehensive evaluation of biophysical, social and economic inputs (Özügül, 2012; McHarg, 1969).

Ndubisi identifies two groups of theories in ecological planning as substantive and procedural theories. Firstly, substantive theories provide a comprehensive approach between analyzing human and nature; being descriptive and predictive in character. These theories derive from both social and natural sciences, spanning across the knowledge areas of anthropology, biology, ecology, fine arts, geography, geology and history. Secondly, procedural theories of ecological planning concentrate on the ideology, purposes and principles. These theories clarify the operational connections of human and natural processes, in concluding disagreement in the landscape. Procedural theories lay the groundwork to implicate on ecological problems, - providing the knowledge from the substantive theories (Ndubisi, 2002).

Ndubisi synthesizes five approaches: these are landscape suitability analysis 1, landscape suitability analysis 2, applied human ecology, applied ecosystems ecology and applied landscape ecology—all of which are procedural theories- (Ndubisi, 2002).

Landscape suitability approaches intend to evaluate and decide the fitness of land. The first landscape suitability approach is based on different models the prominent being McHarg's method –which is based on promoting survival and evolutionary success in the biosphere. This method starts by defining goals, objectives and land use needs. Following this process is mapping the areas depending on certain factors, such as slope and soil, which is the next step to establish an overlaying map also considering different land uses. The suitable areas defined by the factor maps are overlapped to form composite maps (McHarg, 1969). Ndubisi notes that this group of approaches seldom suggests institutional actions on implementing outcomes of suitability considerations. The second landscape suitability approach –starting from the 1970s- is based on optimization and information management; considering the connectedness of biophysical, economic and socio-cultural inputs together. Landscape unit and classification, resource survey and assessment, allocation and evaluation and strategic suitability are acknowledged in this approach. Concepts described in this approach are the ecological concepts –including stability and productivity-, substantive concept – including landscape opportunities and constraints, impact assessment- and the procedural concept –including ordinal, linear, non-linear and factor combinations (Ndubisi, 2002).

Applied human ecology is related to culture in planning, as it deals with the accord of ecological suitability and cultural desirability in defining fitness of the location. Anthropology, ecology, ecological psychology, economics, human geography and sociology are some of the areas that make this approach interdisciplinary in character. The foci of the approach are how the usage, valuation and adaptation of human action shape the land use of locations (Ndubisi, 2002).

The applied ecosystems approach is based on ecosystem classification, ecosystem evaluation, and holistic ecology methods. The main emphasis is the structure, functions, and response of landscapes to human and nature interaction. This approach aims to develop management goals, actions, and criteria to protect the ecosystem's self-sufficiency in case of an intervention. The tools of landscape suitability approaches are used to specify ecological processes in a given landscape. As for the

roots of this approach ecosystem ecology, systems theory, economics, and political science are considered (Ndubisi, 2002).

Applied landscape ecology also carries out the functioning of landscape likewise the applied ecosystems approach. The evolving of landscape structures –with respect to nature and human intervention- are the main area of interest of this approach. Sustainable spatial considerations of land uses are intended. In this approach materials, energy and species are examined for an understanding of interacting ecosystems through different scales. Ecology, geography, soil science, geomorphology and vegetation science are the main contributor fields of provide knowledge for the landscape ecology approach. Identification of landscape elements, patterns and processes are the foci of these studies (Ndubisi, 2002).

Ecological planning involves wide-spread planning activities balancing between abiotic, biotic and cultural environments. Ahern specifies the fields of planning concerning ecological values as in the figure below. In this figure ecosystems management, conservation planning, landscape ecological planning and greenways planning are considered to have a more direct impact in ecological planning as a whole (Ahern, 2006).

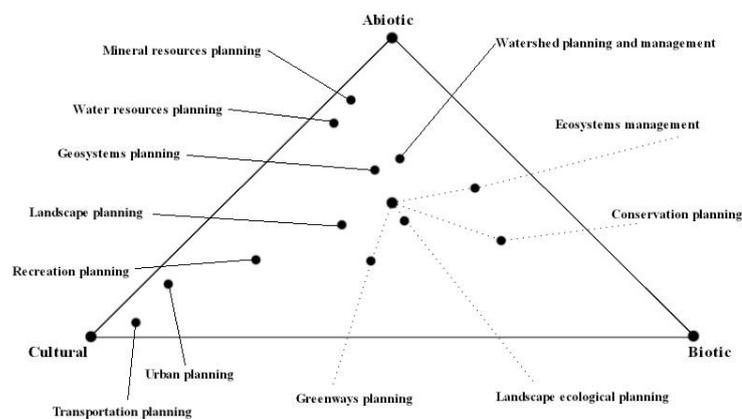


Figure 3: Impact of Planning Types on Abiotic, Biotic and Cultural Dimensions

Source: Ahern, 2006

Ahern develops how landscape planning operates starting with defining goals for abiotic, biotic and cultural aspects. Following these assessments, the progress of a plan includes; spatial patterns, strategies for planning, developing alternative scenarios,

establishing and implementing the landscape plan. These actions have dimensions on interdisciplinary knowledge and public participation in the planning process and its evaluation of goals and strategies (Ahern, 2006).

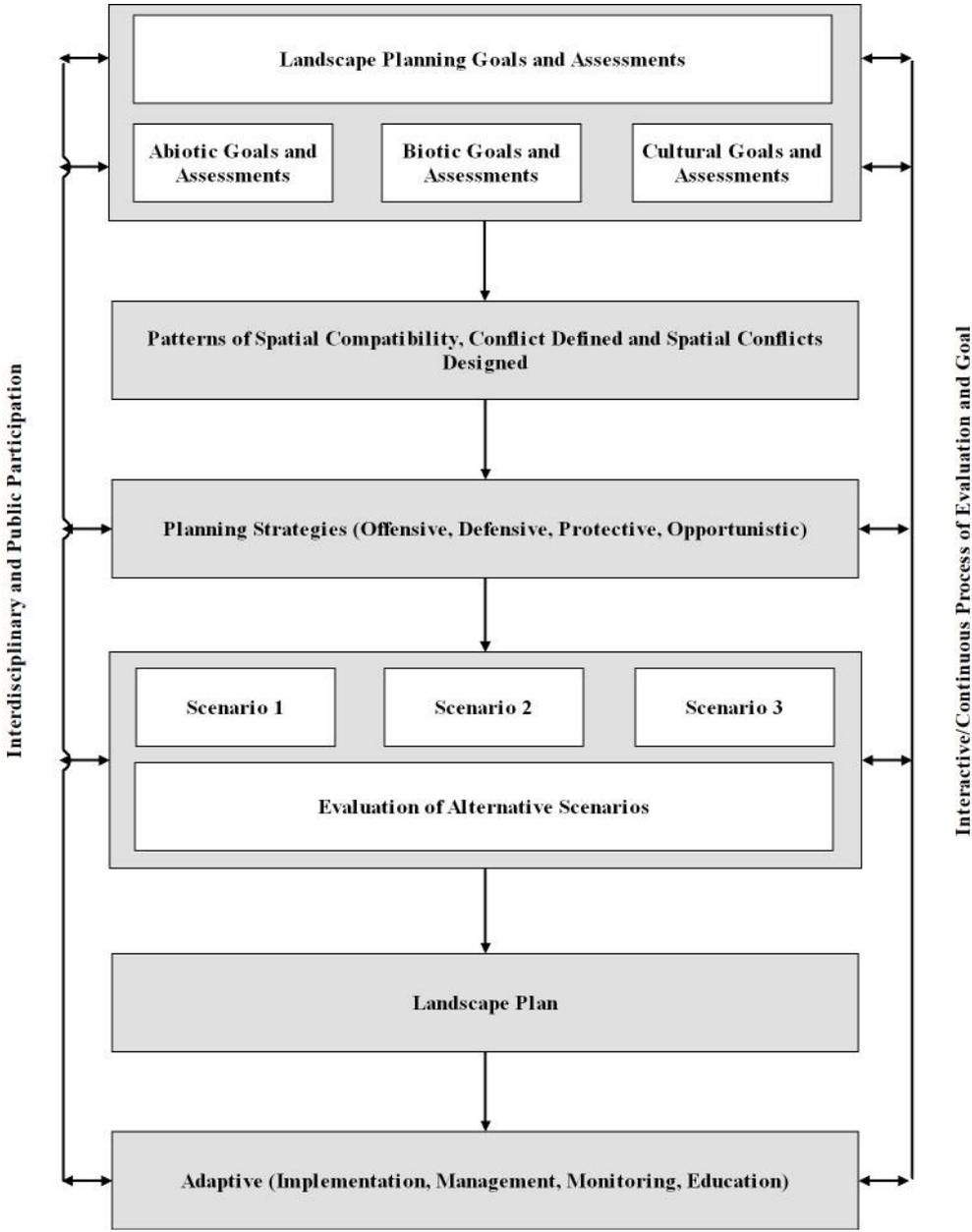


Figure 4: Ecological Planning Process of Ahern

Source: Ahern, 2006

Özügül remarks three major conclusions from Ahern’s research (Özügül, 2012);

- 1- There are multiple planning types which have the common ground for protecting nature based on biotic, abiotic and cultural components.
- 2- There is a need for new approaches, methods and instruments for planning to evaluate components of ecosystems
- 3- There is a need for a comprehensive ecological planning approach, with regard to the harmonization of concepts and practice of ecological planning

Steiner emphasizes that there is a need to consider a method comprising both social equity and ecology. Such a method is to be practicable to all levels of government and be interdisciplinary. Steiner’s ecological planning method could be characterized as applied human ecology. Ecological planning is defined as: “the use of biophysical and socio-cultural information to suggest opportunities and constraints for decision-making about the landscape” (Steiner, 2000).

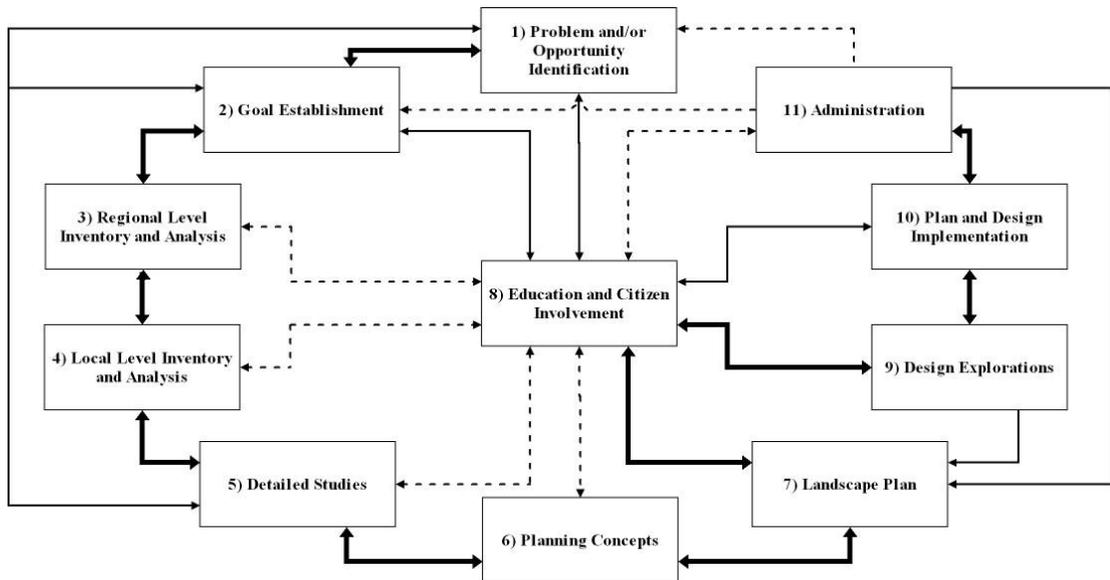


Figure 5: Planning Process of Steiner

Source: Steiner, 2000

Steiner’s ecological planning method frames the planning process in 11 major stages, which could be seen in the chart below. This model of the planning process has strong feedback options in a wider level. Moreover, the major focus is designed around

education and citizen involvement, making it a major initiative for planning (Steiner, 2000).

This method examines different scales of action as regional, locality and specific sites. Within these scales, drainage basins are defined as ideal levels for landscape planning. The problem of the consistency of data is pointed out in inventory and analysis – similarly to comprehensive planning. Following the analysis stage, detailed studies of Steiner’s method dwell on studies like landscape suitability analysis. From the alternatives of the suitability analysis and goals set alternative conceptualizations are developed, which lay the basis of the landscape plan. The landscape plans mentioned –being more than land-use plans- are distinctive comprehensive plans, which visualize the overlap and integration of land uses. Following this step is concerned with citizen involvement, it is suggested that citizen involvement also should deal with the problem identification, goal establishment and plan implementation phases –and could be modified. After decision-making involving citizens, design explorations are made – representing a synthesis of previous steps in the planning process. Plan implementation and administration are the last steps in this method (Steiner, 2000).

Although this model is comprehensive in steps, handling administration separately from direct citizen involvement could be criticized in a radical planning perspective. Rather this step could be defined as self-government for direct action in policy making and planning processes.

Özügül emphasizes on two distinctive features of ecological planning as follows (Özügül, 2012);

- 1- Acceptance of a comprehensive approach to planning (addressing planning units in the context of hinterland interactions and coordination of plan staggers and types, etc.)
- 2- Identifying multifaceted relations rather than following a reductionist approach to planning

3.8. EVALUATION OF PLANNING THEORIES

Planning theories, mentioned above, have similarities and contrasts when analyzed together. The multitude of background and contents of these theories creates theoretic gaps. To think of unifying all the theories together seems beyond reach. However, it is not meaningless to analyze each theory's progressive sides and learn from their misconceptions. Such an analysis may provide a healthy discussion for laying a groundwork for such arguments on rethinking planning theory as a whole.

The meaning of space in planning theories could be described according to the theories' affiliations on the consideration of what kind of space and society they attempt to shape. The space of the desired society of utopian planning is based on idealized schemes depicting the use of space and through a radical transformation of both the idealized society and its space. The rationality focus of comprehensive planning translates to shaping the space of the rational society and in addition the space of intervention. Rational use with a high level of technocratic intervention is the driving source of use of space in comprehensive planning arguments. In this regard, comprehensive planning attends the issue of transformation of space through rigid decisions based on a high level of instrumental and process-based transformation. Advocacy planning's aim is set to create the space of the pluralist society. Inclusiveness and representation of the disadvantaged stand as the major argument for this aim, in terms of both use and transformation of space. The meaning of space in the context of strategic spatial planning is the space of a neoliberal network society. Like the comprehensive approach, strategic spatial planning also focuses on the rational use of space, but with a lower level of technocratic intervention. The transformation of space in this theory is driven by the strategy-based instrumental and neoliberal transformation.

If we talk about the space of just and equal society, we can refer to the planning activity of this space being shaped by the justice planning theory. In this regard, we can underline fair and equal use of space through direct participation as a feature of justice planning. Justice planning also considers the transformation of space as equity-based just and fair transformation. Radical planning defines space being the ground for radical democracy and focuses on the collective use of space through grassroots

actions. The radical transformation of space through grassroots mobility corresponds to the ideas of radical planning in terms of the transformation of space. Ecological planning depicts a space of balance with nature. Therefore, suggests the use of space should be sensitive to its ecological features. The transformation of space in ecological planning theory could be analyzed as a low level of transformation through comprehensive methods with the priority of protection of nature.

Inferences on planning as a practice and as an institution could be made as follows. Utopian planning emphasizes on the experimental practice of the idealized society with a decentralized utopian institution. The practice of planning in comprehensive planning is based on the predictability of settlement development by elitist professionals. This form of planning institutionalizes its practice around centralized, hierarchical and technocratic institution. In advocacy planning practice the focus is on the representation of interests and democratic practice. Which suggests a representative and democratic planning institution. Strategic spatial planning practices project-based relational strategies. The planning institution of strategic spatial planning is multi-actor and network-based consisting of concessionary stakeholders. The planning practice of justice planning could be defined as distributive and fair actions through equity principles. This theories' planning institution is socially inclusive and enables bottom-up decision-making. The planning practice of radical planning is based on social experimentation and transformation. The decentralized planning institution of radical planning aims for direct decision-making of grassroots groups. Ecological planning institutionalization also could be described as being inclusive and focuses on a participative approach to current modes of planning.

Table 6: Evaluation Matrix of Planning Theories

	Utopian Planning	Comprehensive Planning	Advocacy Planning	Strategic Spatial Planning	Justice Planning	Radical Planning	Ecological Planning
Meaning of space	Space of a desired society	Space of a rational society, space of intervention	Space of a pluralist society	Space of a neoliberal network society	Space of just and equal society	Space of radical democracy	Space of balance with nature
Use of space	Idealized in concept schemes	Rational use of space, high level of technocratic intervention	Inclusive and pluralist use through representation of disadvantaged	Rational use of space, low level of technocratic intervention	Fair and equal use of space through direct participation	Collective use of space through grassroots actions	Use of space sensitive to ecological features
Transformation of space	Radical transformation to achieve the desired society and its space	High level of instrumental and process-based transformation	High level of inclusive and representation-based transformation	Strategy-based instrumental and neoliberal transformation	Equity-based just and fair transformation	Radical transformation through grassroots mobility	Low level of transformation through comprehensive methods with the priority of protection of nature

Table 6 Continued

	Utopian Planning	Comprehensive Planning	Advocacy Planning	Strategic Spatial Planning	Justice Planning	Radical Planning	Ecological Planning
Spatial planning as a practice	Experimental practice of the idealized society	Predictability of settlement development, an elitist practice	Representation of interests, democratic practice	Project-based practice of relational strategies	Distributive and fair actions through equity principles	Practice as social experimentation and transformation	Practice to achieve the goals of abiotic, biotic and cultural environment
Spatial planning as an institution	Decentralized and utopian institution	Centralized, hierarchical and technocratic institution	Representative and democratic institution	Multi-actor and network-based institution of concessionary stakeholders	Socially inclusive institution enabling bottom-up decision-making	Decentralized institution enabling direct decision-making of grassroots groups	Inclusive institutions developing participative mechanisms
Ecological emphasis	Limited to urban-rural interaction	Limited to ecological data and inputs	Limited to representation of environmental groups and interests	Limited to ecological data inputs and assessments	Considers environmental justice	Similar concerns with ecosocialism and social ecology	Mainstreaming of ecology theories into planning practice

The ecological emphasis from each planning theory, which all have a limited consideration, can be assumed according to their theoretical background. Utopian planning's emphasis is limited to urban-rural interaction. Comprehensive planning and strategic spatial planning both consider, only ecological data and inputs. Representation of environmental groups and interests is the connection of advocacy planning with ecology related planning. Justice planning has the most relatable issue of considering environmental justice related issues as they are also social justice related as discussed in chapter 2. Radical planning does not specify its views on ecology. However, from sharing the same traditions of thought in common, it can directly be related to ecosocialist and social ecologist ideas. Ecological planning, as its name suggests gives ecology the central importance it needs and aims to synthesize different ecology approaches in mainstreaming them into planning practice.

Each of these planning theories has significance for thinking on alternative planning theory. We have covered the idealized views of these prominent planning theories. Within these theories, comprehensive planning and strategic spatial planning find their practice more widespread compared to other theories. In a discursive manner, the general paradigm shift in planning is from comprehensive planning to strategic spatial planning, as it's the theory of a neoliberal approach. Although seeming to develop the theory on where comprehensive planning leaves out, this approach indirectly works for the commercialization of space and nature, as its neoliberal basis suggests.

Şengül analyzes planning theories in the context of modernism and postmodernism; through studying early modernity and planning, comprehensive planning, advocacy planning, Marxist critique of planning, neoliberal critique of planning, critique of modernity, and deliberative planning. In his analysis of planning theories Şengül further debates on issues and principles for an alternative planning approach summarized below (Şengül, 2007);

- Developing strategies from a counter-power perspective, including a struggle within and around the state, developing projects and mechanisms of monitoring.

- Develop a planning strategy that puts the emphasis on the concept of concrete space as use value and living space.
- Rethinking a planning approach, by adopting a power-oriented political strategy, capable of comprehending the dynamics at not only the local but also the macro scales. In other words, it is necessary to develop counter-strategies to address the planning challenges with a bottom-up approach, having a say on local and macro scales.
- As an integral means of participation, the deliberative process should be aimed at reconciling the differences among planners, project experts, local representatives, and the social base as well as within the social base itself.
- A project that demands the entirety of the city and constructs the urban space as a concrete living space should be based on a long term approach. Systematically recovering the urban space from colonization of capital over a certain period of time should be the long term goal.

CHAPTER 4

ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS IN TURKEY

The need for a change in planning and its approach to the environment is a necessity which has both theoretic and practical grounds as we stressed throughout this work. As planning serves not only the society but the environment as a whole, planning should put the environment in its focus, and in case of a shortfall, reactions on environmental injustices would urge the planner to improve the ways of considering nature. Additionally, to directly implement radical ecological principles, the root of change is also grounded at the reactions of opposition against environmental injustices. These grassroots reactions have the capacity to open debates on alternatives or taking precautions. In this section cases of environmental injustices in Turkey and the environmental movements against these certain injustices are demonstrated, in order to provide a concrete basis to the theories given.

So far, this study has framed a review of both ecology and planning theories and how these theories coincide or contradict one another. Before attempting to develop an argument on the possibility of a radical ecology based synthesis of planning theory; it is vital to emphasize the practices from which such a theory would learn. This section aims to find nodes where practice and theory could meet. In furtherance of the search for practices, experiences from the environmental movement in Turkey are taken into account. After drawing a general overview of environmental injustices and environmental movements in Turkey, five distinctive movements would be considered

in quest of how these practices could influence planning theory. The practices selected for this analysis comprises of the environmental movement in Cerattepe, Brotherhood of the Rivers Platform (DEKAP), Turkish Water Assembly (TWA), Northern Forests Defense (NFD) and the Gezi Park movement. These selected movements have significance to understand what kind of planning is demanded from the perspective of environmental movements. In this regard, the pursuit of a practice of radical ecological planning lies within environmental and social struggles themselves.

Concerns over environmental problems in Turkey continue to increase likewise in the world. The focus of arguments mainly revolves around development and energy. For the sake of profit-driven growth, ecological problems are getting deeper and gaining visibility throughout the country. It is apparent that the political discourse regards the environment as a commodity and ignores the nature for its resource value. At this point, environmental policies are overshadowed by commercial ambitions and the destruction in conflict areas cannot be prevented. The hegemony established over nature has expanded considerably in recent decades. The environmental conflicts have resulted in a sensitivity significantly reciprocated in the public base. Hence, environmental movements in Turkey have found a voice in response. Although being marginalized by the political power, the environmental movement in Turkey has established a solidarity basis to react on environmental conflicts.

The Bergama resistance of 1990 gained significance for being the premise of the environmental movement in Turkey, which brought the mining conflict to the national agenda. The main environmental threat in Bergama was cyanide dumping and the health risks associated with it. The mining project could not be stopped. However, the movement brought into question the environmental costs of economic development (Kadirbeyoğlu, 2014).

The most recent movement that found countrywide attention in 2019 is the mining conflict in Ida Mountains (Kaz Dağları). The last decades saw an increase of mining licenses given in the region. Canadian company Alamos Gold pushed forward for the operation of mines Kirazlı and Agi Mountain in 2013. The mining projects were suspended with a court decision. However, with the backing up of the government permission was given in 2019. For the construction of the project 195000 trees were

cut down and this situation caused an environmental movement to rise against the ongoing mining project (Avcı, Akyüz, Özkaynak, & Aydın, 2019).



Figure 6: Mining Site and Destruction of the Environment in Ida Mountains

Source: Ekoloji Birliđi, 2019

Acara draws attention to the role played by the politics of non-governance and its impact on ecology. In the case of Ergene River, located in the subregion of Thrace in Turkey, environmental destruction has been caused as a result of neoliberal policies and authoritarian control over the river basin. Being heavily polluted, the river basin has been used for its resource value in industrial and urban use. As Istanbul's hinterland grew towards the region, including industrial decentralization, its growing demands for water became further dependent on the Ergene river basin. The politics of non-governance related to water has become apparent from the 1990s onwards, with a view of handling water for its resource and investment value; which led to mismanagement in the case of Ergene river basin. (Acara, 2019). Although this case did not cause a widespread environmental movement, it is significant for its debate on political ecology in Turkey.



Figure 7: *Pollution of Ergene River*

Source: Habertürk, 2018

The following map illustrates the distribution of environmental conflicts in Turkey. There are 167 cases reported by the political ecology working group. Although the details of their study are unreachable through the web, the main concentrations of conflicts could be seen. It is visible that areas with high industrialization rates such as Istanbul, Izmir, Kocaeli, and Bursa are concentrated areas of environmental injustice. Another important observation from this map is the agglomeration of Hydroelectric Power Plants (HEPPs) and water management related conflicts in the Black Sea Region (Evrensel, 2014).

There are 58 cases of environmental conflicts in Turkey, listed by the Environmental Justice Atlas (EJA). Only 11 of these conflicts have been successfully stopped which corresponds to 19% in total (EJA, 2019).

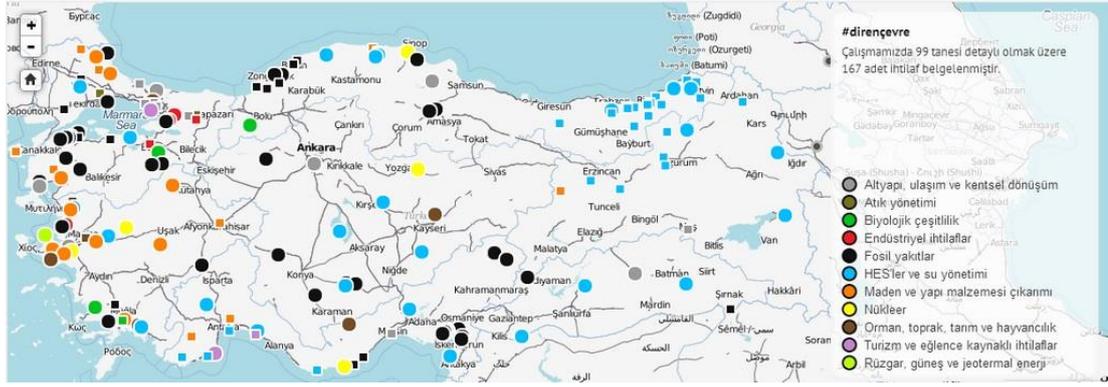


Figure 8: Environmental Conflict Areas in Turkey

Source: Evrensel, 2014

Table 7: Environmental Conflicts in Turkey

Conflict	Type of Conflict	Start of Conflict	Project Status
Abant Lake Nature Park	Biodiversity conservation conflict	2009	Stopped
Akkuyu Nuclear Power Plant	Nuclear	1976	Planned
Aliaga Industrial Conflicts	Industrial and Utilities conflict	1975	In operation
Aliaga Thermal Power Plants	Fossil Fuels and Climate Justice/Energy	1989	In operation
Allianoi Ancient City and Yortanlı Dam	Water Management	1999	In operation
Artvin Cerattepe and Genya Mine	Mineral Ores and Building Materials Extraction	1995	Planned
Artvin Kabaca Valley Hydro power plant	Water Management	2010	In operation
Bafa Lake Nature Park	Biodiversity conservation conflict	2007	In operation
Begendik Thermal Power Plant	Fossil Fuels and Climate Justice/Energy	2012	Stopped
Bergama Gold Mine	Mineral Ores and Building Materials Extraction	1990	In operation
Black Sea Coastal Highway Project	Infrastructure and Built Environment	1987	In operation

Table 7 Continued

Conflict	Type of Conflict	Start of Conflict	Project Status
Caldag Nickel Mine	Mineral Ores and Building Materials Extraction		Stopped
Çanakkale Çırpılar Coal Plant and Coal Mining Project	Fossil Fuels and Climate Justice/Energy	2016	Planned
Cancer-related deaths due to air pollution in Dilovasi Industrial Zone	Industrial and Utilities conflict	1970	In operation
Construction plans over the Büyükçekmece Albatros Park in Istanbul	Infrastructure and Built Environment	2013	Planned
Danger of extinction of endemic pearl mullets in Van Lake	Biomass and Land Conflict	2000	Stopped
Destruction of the sweetgum forests	Biomass and Land Conflict	1970	Unknown
DOSAB Lignite Fired Power Plant	Fossil Fuels and Climate Justice/Energy	2014	Planned
Drying out of Burdur Lake	Water Management	1975	In operation
Drying up of Tuz Lake Closed Water Basin	Water Management	1997	In operation
Efeçukuru Gold Mine	Mineral Ores and Building Materials Extraction	1993	In operation
Eti Silver Cyanide Mine	Mineral Ores and Building Materials Extraction	1986	In operation
Findikli Pasalar Regulator and Hydroelectric Power Plant	Water Management	2007	Stopped
Finike marble and stone quarries	Mineral Ores and Building Materials Extraction	2010	Stopped
Gaziemir Lead Factory and nuclear storage	Industrial and Utilities conflict	1940	In operation
Genetically Modified Organisms in Turkey	Biomass and Land Conflict	1996	In operation
Gerze coal-fired Thermal Power Plant	Fossil Fuels and Climate Justice/Energy	2008	Stopped

Table 7 Continued

Conflict	Type of Conflict	Start of Conflict	Project Status
Gungormez and Bahcekoy Quartzite Mine	Mineral Ores and Building Materials Extraction	2013	Unknown
Hotamis Marshes	Biodiversity conservation conflict	1990	Under construction
Ida Mountain (Kazdagi) Prospecting for Gold	Mineral Ores and Building Materials Extraction	2007	Under construction
Ilisu Dam Project	Water Management	1998	Planned
Istranca/Yildiz Mountains Mines and Quarries	Mineral Ores and Building Materials Extraction	2000	In operation
Kisladag Gold Mine	Mineral Ores and Building Materials Extraction	1999	In operation
Kocacay Delta	Water Management	1995	In operation
Kuzguncuk Vegetable Gardens	Biomass and Land Conflicts	1986	Planned
Leasing of the Ciralı Coast	Tourism Recreation		Planned
Loc Valley Cide hydroelectric power plant	Water Management	2009	Stopped
Marmara Lake endangered ecosystem	Biodiversity conservation conflict	1950	Unknown
Mersinli Wind Farm	Fossil Fuels and Climate Justice/Energy	2014	Under construction
Movement against the third bridge	Infrastructure and Built Environment	1993	In operation
Ozbek Village Stone Quarry Construction	Mineral Ores and Building Materials Extraction	2011	Planned
Pollution of Ergene River and Basin	Water Management	1990	In operation
Preservation of Livelihood of Sarıkeçili Nomads	Biomass and Land Conflict	2004	In operation
Radioactive contamination from an old uranium mine, Köprübaşı province	Nuclear	1970	Proposed
Seyfe Lake Drought	Water Management	1960	Unknown

Table 7 Continued

Conflict	Type of Conflict	Start of Conflict	Project Status
Sinop Nuclear Power Plant	Nuclear	1976	Proposed
Southeastern Anatolia Project (GAP)	Water Management		In operation
Sultan Marshes Wetland	Water Management	1998	In operation
Taksim Square and Gezi Park construction works	Infrastructure and Built Environment	2011	Stopped
Tortum Bagbasi Hydroelectric Power Plant	Water Management	2009	Proposed
Tuna Fattening Farms in Sigacik Bay, Seferihisar	Biomass and Land Conflict	2009	Stopped
Tuzluca Dam	Water Management	2011	Unknown
Uluabat Lake	Biodiversity conservation conflict	2007	In operation
Unlawful removal of olive trees and wind energy project in Karaburun	Fossil Fuels and Climate Justice/Energy	2009	Under construction
Yalova VOPAK Chemical Storage Terminal	Industrial and Utilities conflict		Stopped
Yozgat Uranium Mine Project	Mineral Ores and Building Materials Extraction	2008	Proposed
Yusufeli Dam	Water Management	1990	Planned
Yuvarlakcay water movement	Water Management	2009	Under construction

Source: EJA, 2019

These conflicts vary from each other in certain types. Each of the conflicts above has a first and secondary type of conflicts. The chart below indicates the percentage of the type of conflicts by their first level accordance in Turkey as listed. There are seven different types of conflicts listed. From these types two of them stand out; fossil fuel and climate justice and energy related conflicts make up 27% and mineral ores and building materials extraction related have a 21% share (EJA, 2019).

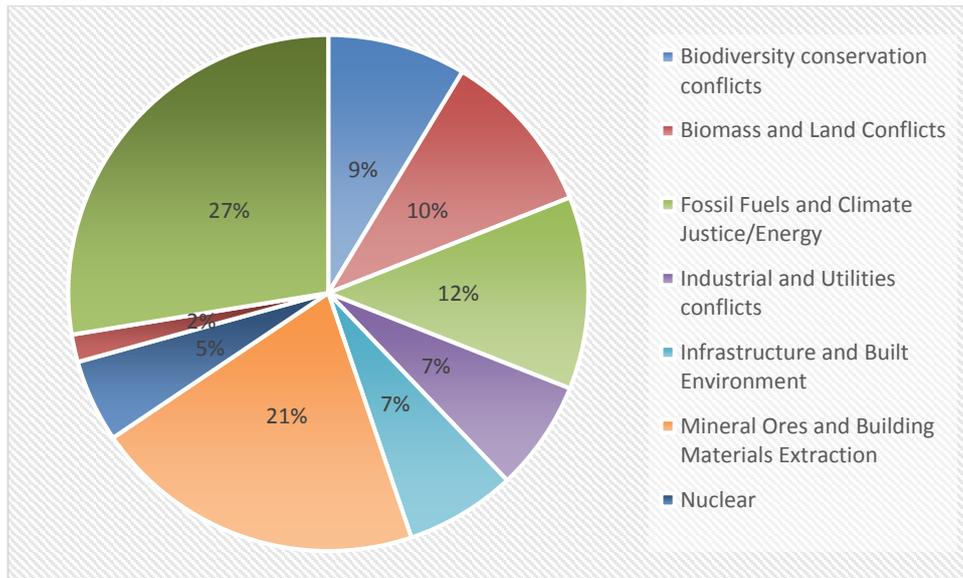


Figure 9: Type of Environmental Conflicts in Turkey

The most effected population through these conflicts appear to be residents of Istanbul. The movement against the “third bridge” and Taksim Square and Gezi Park construction works are within the list of the Environmental Justice Atlas. Additionally, the construction of the “third airport” of Istanbul and the plans for Canal Istanbul are the major projects creating environmental conflicts.

Although the construction of the third airport, the third bridge, and its access roads could not be stopped and are in operation, a wide range of environmentalist concerns spread around the NFD (which will be analyzed in the following sections). With only the access roads of these projects, it was mentioned that 8215 hectares of forest area, which nearly accounts for an area as big as 8000 football fields, would be demolished (NFD, 2015). Another project which causes environmental risks is the proposed Canal Istanbul project. This project threatens the water basins providing potable water for Istanbul, affecting 15 million people (Damalı, 2014). These projects will also have negative impacts on the habitat of the northern forests of Istanbul, which is considered as one of the “hotspots of European forests”. It is mentioned that the threat is not only deforestation but the loss of ecosystem functions, by interruption of habitats (Tolunay, 2014).



Figure 10: Environmental Destruction Caused by the Third Bridge and Connection Roads *Source: Gazete Yolculuk, 2018*

Opposition against the HEPP projects is probably the most influential and visible environmental struggle in Turkey. Concentrating mainly in the Black Sea Region, the anti-HEPP movement is spread through many localities. In 2011, there were 172 HEPPs in operation, 148 under construction and 1418 planned (TWA, 2011). As part of the anti-HEPP movement, DEKAP and TWA are further discussed in the following sections.



Figure 11: Environmental Destruction Caused by HEPP Construction, Before and After *Source: NTV, 2011*

Akbulut (2016) analyzes the three sites of local ecology movements in Yalova, Çanakkale, and Aliğa, where the movements took place against the construction of fossil fuel plants. The analysis is framed around the problematic of organization. Limited participation in the struggle, difficulty in reaching youth and participation being mainly through formal structures of environmental non-governmental organizations (ENGOS) and chambers are mentioned as the difficulties in these struggles. Another important finding is, the affected parties' knowledge of their civil rights is limited and is not fully realized (Akbulut, 2016).

Besides local environmental movements, ENGOS play an integral role in developing ecological consciousness in Turkey. There are 835 ENGOS which corresponds to 8.4% of the NGOs in Turkey. In addition to grassroots and local environmental movements, the activity of institutionalized ENGOS could be considered as being the most effective in shaping environmental policy in Turkey. TEMA Foundation, WWF-Turkey, Greenpeace-Akdeniz, Environment Foundation of Turkey and Wildlife Conservation Association are among these ENGOS. These institutionalized ENGOS act as a "solution partner" of the government and private sector. Their activities include technical specialization, lobbying, legal struggle, observation of compliance with international environmental treaties and media use. The obstacles of institutionalized ENGOS are mentioned to be a dependency on funding and incoordination among each other (Gönenç, 2019).

To get a broader view of environmentalism in Turkey five experiences would be further explained. Within the scope of local movements; the Cerattepe environmental movement could be further analyzed for its continuance over two decades. DEKAP would be mentioned as part of the anti-HEPP struggle, on its importance of being an attempt to regionalize the local struggles and build up a form of organization different than other practices in Turkey. As for the significance of TWA, it is a crucial experience in an effort to centralize the anti-HEPP movement. The NFD will be mentioned in their effort of opposition against megaprojects. Lastly, having the most impact among these experiences, and among any grassroots movement in contemporary Turkish history, the Gezi Park movement is analyzed on its prominent features as an urban-based movement.

The practice of environmental movements could be seen as practices of radical ecology theories indirectly. The practices of DEKAP show traces of the practice of social ecology. And TWA experience is mostly guided by deep ecology principles. Although this characterization could be made from the tendencies of practices, it would be misleading to present them as direct results of theory to action. As for the ecofeminist perspective; Seçkin stresses that although it is hard to talk about an ecofeminist struggle, women in Turkey have close ties with nature and have significant impacts on environmental movements in Turkey (Seçkin, 2016).

4.1. CERATTEPE ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENT

Starting in 1995, the gold and copper mining project in Cerattepe, located in the province of Artvin in the Northeastern Black Sea Region of Turkey, has created one of the most influential environmental movements as a preventive resistance in Turkey. The conflict is related to mineral ore exploration, deforestation, and water access rights and entitlements. From 35000 to 170000 people with a semi-urban profile have been affected by this conflict (Aydın, 2017).

Groups mobilizing in this struggle include farmers, local environmental justice organizations (EJOs), local governments, political parties, neighborhood/citizen communities, pastoralists, social movements, trade unions, local scientists and professionals. As for some of the environmental justice organizations involved are; TEMA Foundation, Green Artvin Society, Artvin Environment Platform, Artvin Bar Association, Karadeniz Isyandadır Platform and DEKAP (Aydın, 2017). It is stated that the Cerattepe environmental movement, has strong local relations involving different groups together, defending unity with nature. Their main argument is that the mining project will disrupt the habitat, air and water (Pehlevan, 2018).



Figure 12: *Activists in Cerattepe*

Source: Gazete Yolculuk, 2018

To get a more precise view of this environmental conflict, the Green Artvin Society should be mentioned as it plays a crucial part in the movement. From the findings of a qualitative analysis, the members of this association have an important profile on their views to consider. Nature is handled for its biodiversity value and lacks on relating the environment with domination. Accordingly, a non-critical attitude has been taken on the political economy structures. Members of this group, mostly from middle-class background, widely agree on an ENGO structure for the organization and question direct participation in decision-making. Additionally, it has been stated that political parties, centralized planning, state control, and regulation-based intervention gain support within this organization. On the other hand, some members remark the locality of the movement and criticize national level ENGOs and the influence of radical-left parties (Eryılmaz , 2012).

According to Pehlevan's findings, the participants of the Cerattepe environmental movement have a strong sense of place and belonging to Artvin, which makes the case unique to the community, thus for the locality of the opposition. Additionally, the opposition also developed alternative development proposals such as health tourism, ecological tourism and boardinghouses (Pehlevan, 2018).

Pehlevan's work emphasizes the concepts of environmentalism of the poor, of the rich and of the restless. The Cerattepe environmental movement, according to the conceptual distinction made, mainly bears the characteristics of the environmentalism of the poor. Despite this, the environmentalism of the rich and the restless also appears on the scale of certain criteria. The struggle encompasses not just the community or the environment, but the ability to defend and sustain both. The exact goal is to prevent mine extraction. Thus, the interaction of the community and the environment develops against state and company partnerships as both the subject and object of the environmental struggle (Pehlevan, 2018).

4.2. BROTHERHOOD OF THE RIVERS PLATFORM (DEKAP)

The grassroots of DEKAP goes back to 1998. DEKAP is a regional umbrella organization including 16 provinces, 26 valleys, and 98 organizations within the Black Sea Region in Turkey. DEKAP acts both locally and regionally making it a significant example of the environmental movement (Eryılmaz , 2012).

The work carried out under the roof of DEKAP has a large share in terms of the development of the anti-HEPP struggle. In the establishment of DEKAP, it can be said that the opposition, which is involved in the Black Sea coastal road, Çamlıhemşin processes and engaged in activities related to tea agriculture and Çay-Kur privatization problem in the region, helped to understand the dimensions of the HEPP problem and become the main agenda in the region. With DEKAP, the Black Sea region was the scene of such a widespread and united opposition for the first time (Aksu, 2016).

In parallel with the expansion of the anti-HEPP movement, the most important agenda topic was the question of representation, with the establishment of DEKAP and its tendency to institutionalize itself as the upper body of the local platforms. It can be said that problems such as how local platforms are formed and should be, and how to ensure the relationship between the local platform and the upper body create significant handicaps for the development of the movement (Aksu, 2016).

DEKAP's step towards representation, participation and becoming a more organic movement can be said to be a more democratic, more participatory model in thought. However, it should be noted that the local people have a say-authority-decision; contrarily the local people remain far from being the political subject. Without the problems being publicly asked and discussed, without the creation of such discussion instruments, the decision taken by the executive committee as a pioneer has tried to form a top-down movement (Aksu, 2016).

Eryilmaz analyzes DEKAP based on its welfare-liberal environmentalism and libertarian municipalism aspects, in which DEKAP shows indicators of both aspects. In the welfare-liberal environmentalism perspective, DEKAP draws attention to environmental problems, however, does not emphasize the problematic as an ecological crisis. Growth of the economy with conserving nature and technological solutions are also considered in this aspect. On the other hand, from a libertarian municipalism perspective, DEKAP could be seen as an experience of social ecology based environmental movement. From this perspective, DEKAP defines nature as living space and advocates a localized economy criticizing the current political economy structure. Bottom-to-up decision making is defended and practiced, in which self-management at both local and regional levels are key elements. In this regard, direct citizen participation in platform meetings is held (Eryilmaz , 2012).

The fact that the movement operates in the form of direct actions and the disfigurements in the formation of organizations and platforms create contradictions in most cases. It creates obstacles in the way of participation by hindering the ability to participate in the movement without being related to any given identity, which is the original nature of the movement. In light of the DEKAP experience, the most important feature for those who take politics in the style of assemblies as a principle is that assemblies should be established and implemented in the local's own authenticity and autonomy. As a reflection of top-down decision-making, attempting to establish a certain identity and affiliations does not correspond locally (Aksu, 2016).

4.3. TURKISH WATER ASSEMBLY (TWA)

The TWA established in 2009 as an outcome of two conferences; first in Istanbul and the second in Maçahel Artvin, on “Searching for Water Conference”. In 2010 the first general assembly took place. TEMA and Doğa Derneği, two major ENGOs in Turkey, led the efforts of establishing of the TWA. This assembly is part of the movement against HEPP projects, although criticized by major platforms. The assembly aimed at working for an ecological water law (Aksu, 2016).

The first general assembly’s most significant contribution resulted in declaring a Water Manifesto. According to the Water Manifesto the following principles have been resolved (TWA, 2011);

- Nature exists on its own, and man is only part of nature
- Nature is not an object. In accordance with its ancient rules, it has a valuable operation.
- Nature cannot be turned into a commercial commodity.
- Water belongs only to nature and is an integral part of it.
- The water belongs to the watershed in which it is located. It is a natural entity, not a resource.
- Water can only exist by flowing itself, and not a single drop of water in nature flows into waste.
- Privatization of water and the appointment of a master to water is unacceptable
- Principles such as sustainable development, the balance of use and conservation cannot be used as justification for the exploitation of nature.
- It is unacceptable that nature, which is the sole source of life, is excluded from life by being defined as “environment”

The TWA also stands out as an initiative with goals of centralizing the movement against HEPPs, with the involvement of local and national ENGOs and local environmental movements. In this aspect the assembly is the first to consider centralization in the ecology movement in Turkey (Aksu, 2016), The Water Manifesto

is clearly ecocentric and has significance due to its deep ecologist perspective with a political stance against the commercialization of water.

The TWA was mostly criticized for the involvement of TEMA and Doğa Derneği by other environmental movements. The critique was that this organization was a “Trojan horse” in the environmental movement. TEMA is criticized to be an organization of the capital class and having many HEPP companies among its supporters. And Doğa Derneği was criticized for having support from funds from the European Union and other countries, by other environmental movements (Aydın, 2017).

In 2011 the Great Anatolian March took place as the TWAs last action. With the slogan of “we will not give away Anatolia”, environmentalists marched from different regions to Ankara, with the purpose of “keeping alive their water, nature and roots” (NTV news, 2011). Although having a unitary aim, this march was criticized by DEKAP due to participants being mostly of the TWA as the two major ENGOS were criticized. DEKAP declared they had no ties with this movement (Politeknik, 2011). The TWA was dismantled after this march.

The effort of TWA to unify the ecology movement on water related issues, should not be undermined. The clear deep ecologist foci in the water manifesto could be handled as considering theoretical arguments for general guides. Although there is a disagreement among radical ecology theories, all would agree on the principles of the TWA’s water manifesto.

4.4. NORTHERN FORESTS DEFENSE (NFD)

The Northern Forests Defense has been established as an environmental movement in 2013, after the Gezi Park resistance. The movement is based on defending the northern forests of Istanbul from disruptive projects as the third bridge, third airport and canal Istanbul. Although the construction of the third bridge and the airport could not be stopped, the movement continues to advocate for urban and environmental issues.

The movement made its first action in Garipçe, followed by gatherings every week on Fridays. It is assembled as a sub-forum of the forum in Abbasğa Park after the Gezi

movement. The NFD became a network in time and spread all over the Marmara Region. One of the key characteristics of organization of NFD involves alternative and social media activity (Algül, 2014).

NFD criticizes current policies of urban transformation, distorted urbanization, and profit based development policies and acts to create awareness on the possible consequences of global warming. NFD engages the issue of ecology not only by environmental policy and environmental law but also through the sensitivity of establishing commons politically (Yıldırım, 2018).

Besides the protection of the Northern Forests of Istanbul, the NFD advocates the continuation of the existing of a holistic ecological area where different ecosystems consisting of watersheds, agricultural areas, numerous endemic plant, and animal species coexist (NFD, n.d.).

The NFD has stated their views on participation and decision-making as follows (NFD, n.d.):

The NFD is independent of all kinds of economic, political and ideological organizations. It takes its decisions in the open weekly forums, where everyone takes place in participation and where everyone is entitled to equal say in decisions.

The NFD advocates a self-government approach and tries to implement and develop it in all aspects of life, primarily within itself. In parallel, it rejects all hierarchies, adopts alternating task distribution and facilitation in forums.

4.5. GEZI PARK MOVEMENT

In 2011 opposition rose against the plans for reconstructing a pre-existing military barracks as a shopping mall in Gezi Park in Istanbul. Despite being rejected locally, the plans were backed up by the government. In May 2013 uprooting of trees in Gezi Park occurred and protests were held spontaneously. The police used disproportionate violence against protesters. The news of police brutality led to the protest gaining more support and the protest turned into a grassroots resistance. Soon after the protest became wide-spread across Turkey nearly in every city, continuing through June 2013. The Gezi movement should be analyzed for it directly being an urban movement unlike other experiences mentioned above.

The movement has significance in terms of defending the right to the city and defending representations of nature in urban areas. Starting with environmentalist concerns over uprooting of trees, the resistances concerns became wider involving opposition against AKP and its policies, neoliberal policies, foreign policy regarding Syria, lack of freedom of speech, precarity, oppression and police brutality, the intervention of government involving lifestyle and so on. The spontaneity of the movement was partly organized through social media. The activists of the movement came from various backgrounds such as; students, environmentalists, blue- and white-collar workers, Alawites, Kemalists, socialists, anarchists, football fans. Occupation of parks and actions of civil disobedience became the primary driving forces of the movement.

The primary requests were declared by the Taksim Solidarity in a press release, calling the government to take measures, as following (Taksim Dayanışması, 2013);

- Taksim Gezi Park will not be re-developed under the name of Artillery Barracks or any other project; an official statement on the cancellation of the current project is made; the attempts to demolish Ataturk Cultural Centre stop,
- Every responsible agent for the thousands of injured people and two deaths, starting with the Governors and the Police Chiefs of Istanbul, Ankara and Hatay and everyone who prevented the use of the most basic democratic rights of the people; who gave orders for violent repression, enforced or implemented these orders are dismissed from their posts,
- The use of tear gas bombs and other similar materials is prohibited,
- Detained citizens who attended the resistance across the country are immediately released and an official statement which declares that there will not be any investigation about them,
- Starting with Taksim and Kızılay squares, all the meeting and demonstration bans affecting all of our squares and public areas and all the

de facto blockings are abolished and stopped and barriers to freedom of expression are removed.



Figure 13: *Gezi Park Protests*

Source: Bianet, 2019

Şengül (2015) makes a critical observation on the importance of Gezi resistance; a new kind of politics has also emerged with the demand for bottom-up populist politics that occurred with this movement, which is not often encountered. This situation created the political strategy of populism of the government to be turned upside down used against it, from bottom-up instead of from top-down. The built bottom-up populism challenged AKP and put them in the positions of new elites. Another important feature of this movement is that it is an alliance based on demands rather than around identities (Şengül, 2015).

Koç mentions the peculiarity of the movement is that it created an oasis in Gezi Park, liberated from the state and violence. The space liberated turned into the space of realized radical democracy, making it an unexperienced public space before, with the practice of direct, participatory, grassroots democracy (Koç, 2015).

Additionally, this practice is also viewed as deliberative in the communication of ideologically polarized groups. These groups built up an alliance on the common objective of the movement, saving the park from destruction. It is mentioned that the local experience of radical democracy, was based on the conditions of interaction in a

heterogeneous group. The experience of “commune” of Gezi Park and its practices of radical democracy was spontaneously developed, rather than being organized by ideologic groups (Koç, 2015).

The liberated space also created its own spatial practices. Işıklılar discusses this practice in terms of heterotopia, which can be viewed similar to a realized utopia. The liberated space became the space of revisiting the meaning of citizenship from a multitude of different social backgrounds. In character, the liberated space showed a semi-public characteristic with many elements. This hybrid urban space contained an infirmary, a kitchen, warehouses, a library, a mosque, and an alternative broadcasting studio; creating a variety of uses within a single public space (Işıklılar, 2016).

The movement while in decline, led up to local citizen initiatives. As a grassroots movement, the development of such initiatives were direct calls for direct democracy at the local level. These initiatives were organized as forums similar to local citizen assemblies and were mostly based on urban parks in different localities. Such examples include the Gezi Park forum, Yoğurtçu Park forum, Abbasağa Park forum in Istanbul; Kızılay Solidarity Initiative, Seğmenler Park forum and 100. Yıl Initiative in Ankara.

Forums were attempts to institutionalize the movement for its continuation. The prominent problem discussed in the forums was how to develop permanency of participation. Establishing working groups, workshops and committees and linking ties among different forums were aims of the forums (Gürcan & Peker, 2015).

There was a confusion in the forums about how to make decisions. A consensus-based decision-making approach was often adopted; however, since there was no direct vote, there were difficulties in determining which vote consensus can be achieved. This often resulted in those reporting or those taking part in initiatives being more active in decision-making processes. Despite this, there was no structure that makes it possible for decisions to be imposed by initiatives without close majority support. In some forums, the agenda was not set in advance and the forum took the form of a completely free lectern. This allowed participants to highlight different agenda topics, while the forums lasted too long and did not deepen on a specific topic. As a solution to this, some park forums set an agenda for each week, while some forums had sub-forums

around special topics. The most functional model that has emerged appears to be working groups emerging from forums. These sub-forums had the potential to continue action even when the forums disintegrated (Özınanır, 2013).

A sub-forum of the Abbasaga forum continued their work and formed the NFD as discussed in the previous section. Another initiative that is still active from forums, is the 100. Yıl Initiative, a neighborhood-based initiative in Ankara. Collective urban agriculture practices in the form of a garden and a neighborhood atelier of common space of production are outcomes of this initiative. Koçak views these practices as part of the creation of counter landscapes in an urban context (Koçak, 2019).

4.6. EVALUATION OF ENVIRONMENTAL MOVEMENTS

It is crucial to understand how these practices could influence the theories by providing inputs directly from the ground. The analysis based on space and planning could give a view on what sort of spatial planning is the direct demands of environmental movements.

When the meaning of space in the Cerattepe movement, and the DEKAP and TWA experiences considered, it could be seen that these movements regard the space as a habitat and bioregion. These movements also emphasize the idea that the use of space should be compatible with ecocentric principles, which gives priority to environmental protection over transformation. Space finds meaning as the place of everyday life and bioregion, in the NFD experience. The approach to the use of space of this experience could be generalized that it should be in the interest of environmental and urban commons. The priority of environmental protection over nature is also applicable to the views of the NFD. Space of everyday life and public space could be defined as the meaning of space in the Gezi practice. The Gezi movement demanded a collective use of space and its transformation through creating collective counter spaces.

Table 8: *Evaluation Matrix of Selected Environmental Movements in Turkey*

	Cerattepe Movement	Brotherhood of the Rivers Platform (DEKAP)	Turkish Water Assembly (TWA)	Northern Forests Defense (NFD)	Gezi Park Movement
Meaning of space	Habitat and bioregion	Habitat and bioregion	Habitat and bioregion	Space of everyday life and bioregion	Space of everyday life and public space
Use of space	Compatible with ecocentric principles	Compatible with ecocentric principles	Compatible with ecocentric principles	Use of space in the interest of environmental and urban commons	Collective use of space based on urban commons
Transformation of space	Priority of environmental protection over transformation	Priority of environmental protection over transformation	Priority of environmental protection over transformation	Priority of environmental protection over transformation	Transformation through creating collective counter spaces
Spatial planning as a practice	Skeptical of centralized planning	Skeptical of centralized planning	Regulative planning practices to protect nature	Critical on current tendencies of planning and mega projects	Critical on neoliberal practices of planning
Spatial planning as an institution	Representative and inclusive institution, enabling direct participation for bottom-up decision-making	Horizontally organized local and regional institution, direct participation and bottom-up decision-making	Regulatory institution applying ecocentric principles and enabling representation of the local in decision-making	Self-governing and non-hierarchical institution, enabling direct participation for bottom-up decision-making	Institution enabling the alliance of all related interest groups based on direct participation and bottom-up decision-making

On planning as a practice, Cerattepe and DEKAP movements are skeptical of centralized planning. TWA focuses on regulative planning practices for the protection of nature. The NFD is critical on current tendencies of planning practice and against

megaprojects. Similarly, the Gezi movement was critical to neoliberal practices of planning.

General characterizations could be drawn, with similarities, on planning as an institution from environmental movement experiences. Demand on representative-inclusive structures as a planning institution could be inferred from the Cerattepe experience. DEKAP experience points toward a horizontally organized local and regional level planning institution. TWA's general support is on a regulatory planning institution which will apply ecocentric principles in policy and practice. In which, the representation of local in decision-making is enabled. The NFD suggests a self-governing non-hierarchical planning institution. From its formation type as a movement, an alliance of all related interest groups could also be viewed as the type of institution the Gezi movement demanded. The planning institution of Cerattepe, DEKAP, NFD, and Gezi supports enabling direct participation in bottom-up decision-making processes.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

So far, we have covered both theory and practice to debate on a radical ecology approach on planning. Starting with the second chapter, fundamental issues of environmental justice, environmental ethics, and political ecology has been framed for the furtherance of handling radical ecology theories. We have focused on deep ecology, ecofeminism, ecosocialism, and social ecology theories and their spatial implications. The third chapter presented an overview of planning theories and their evaluation. And lastly, the fourth chapter took into consideration environmental movement experiences and their assessments. Here in concluding these theories and practices inferences will be made.

The dualism between human and nature also relates to a dualism between planning and ecology. Within this conjuncture, the activity of planning has the potential of being both disruptive and instrumental at the same time. It is disruptive in threatening nature with current tendencies of planning practice. On the other hand, it is instrumental in dealing with the ecological crisis. In order to emphasize the role of planning, this work focused on a radical ecology approach. Developing a radical ecology perspective on planning involves both knowledges of theory and practice. In this framework, the practices are taken from experiences of environmental movements. Illustrating connections between radical ecology theories, planning theories and environmental

movements is important in concluding on some remarks of radical ecology approach on planning.

Planning practice has long been neglecting a focus on nature and its protection. This deduction could be ratified on the general skepticism and criticism toward planning in social environmental movements covered in this work. Environmental injustices tend to grow out of conflicts that current planning activities create. Hence, from a reactionary perspective, the skepticism and criticism on planning are understandable. The regulative role of planning could have impact on dissipating the skepticism on planning. If needed to be explained, ecocentric policies should be adapted to regulate natural areas for their protection and limit the involvement of human activity. Thus, the aims of planning should include; maintaining ecosystem continuity and preventing plundering of nature for its resources. In this context, planning should become a guarantor of nature.

The practicability of radical ecological planning has its own limitations. Firstly, it is likely that this view would be seen as a direct challenge and an opposition against existing frameworks of planning institutions and actors, as it is. This situation will create a hesitant institutional environment as radical ecological planning points toward a different institutional organization than the general existing ones. Hence, from the aspect of a radical ecological shift in planning approaches, institutions are prone to power struggles regarding decentralizing power within themselves. Secondly, a grassroots volition is indispensable for such a radical shift. Without any movement demanding change in this aspect, such a change would have limited excess of the public.

Matrices compiling and cross-referring radical ecology theories, planning theories and environmental movement practices depict a general understanding of how these theories and practices related to spatial discourse. Having roots from evaluations made on these matrices, some issues are to be further debated.

5.1. THOUGHTS ON PLANNING THEORY THROUGH A RADICAL ECOLOGY PERSPECTIVE

Relating the theory to action has significance for further debate on depicting relations with radical action and critical consciousness, recalling concepts from the radical planning theory of Friedmann (1987). In this context, inferences from environmental movements have prominence for visioning on theory and have the potential of the creation of strategies for further social experimentation. This section attempts for a discussion of radical ecology theories, planning theories and environmental movement experiences based on cross-referring evaluations.

We have seen that from the environmental movement practice's perspective, the meaning of space is based on habitat, bioregion and everyday life. The emphasis here can be described as advocacy for the right to life. The extent to which this demand corresponds in planning has significance for both the environmental and social demands having representation in the planning process. Moreover, the demand of right to life is a critic of the general comprehension of space coinciding within an urban context. Emphasizing the right to life, extends beyond the urban context and suggests thinking on space through the lens of nature, habitat, and bioregion. From an ecocentric perspective, it is meaningful to conceptualize space through nature, rather than nature through space for an understanding of the right to life. This right is ecocentric in its making and includes issues of our everyday life within. Therefore, references to human beings as a part of nature, not excluded by it. Besides, it is important to note that, theories emphasized in this work, suggests a meaning of space based on their views on what sort of society they deem to shape. In this sense, the space of equality is a common feature, if not for all theories.

From a radical ecology perspective, the transformation of space should not cause social and environmental injustices and conflicts. This transformation is proposed on aiming for social and political change from ecosocialists, social ecologist and radical planning perspectives. The emphasis on the collective use of space, which is a demand for both radical planning theory and as an outcome of the Gezi experience, can be set as a purpose for future planning practices. The spontaneously built liberated space practices of Gezi movement created an alternative use of space with collective

collaboration and solidarity. This social experience of space could also be seen as a demand for such uses of space being created by planning, which enables social interaction and collectivity at its core. In this context, the future of planning has the potential and should aim for creating liberated spaces of democratic practices.

From the practices mentioned, it can be said that the transformation of space should not involve transforming nature and give priority on the protection of nature. The main demand of environmental movements is to preserve nature as it is. Therefore, a radical ecology basis on planning should have a clear view of not disrupting nature and its harmony. Accordingly, policies and planning decisions need to attune with ecological features and integrity. This translates to developing an ecocentric approach to planning.

If we return to the focus on the collective use of space, it could be seen that in deciding these collectivities the organization of the decision-making process comes into context. Therefore, in organizing decision-making processes, the emphasis should be put on enabling structures for collective decision-making. So, the use of space would reflect collectivities opinions.

To recap some notes on planning practice we saw that there are various highlights to be made. From the experiences of the environmental movement it can be concluded that there are a major skepticism and criticism on current planning practices guided by neoliberal policies. However, ecological alternatives are supported in theory and practice. Through radical ecology perspectives; planning practice has been focused on its regulative role by deep ecologists. From an ecofeminist point of view, it is argued that the practices should reflect gender politics. Ecosocialists' view on planning practices is based on environmental and urban commons. For social ecologists, planning practice should be the direct outcome of direct participation in the planning process. Within the context of planning theories, there are various views on planning practice including; social experimentation as practice, predictability of settlement development through elitist practice, representation of interest as democratic practice, project-based practice, distributive and fair practice of equity principles and practice to achieve biotic, abiotic and cultural goals could be listed for planning theories views on practice. It can be suggested that a radical ecology approach on planning practice would defend; an inclusive and distributive practice in support of radical

transformation. Additionally, the demand for having a direct voice in the planning of environmental movements goes further than representation.

One could conclude that direct participation and bottom-up decision-making are prominent demands of both practice and theory. This demand points toward how planning institutions should be based on a radical ecology perspective. This demand is clearly made by radical ecology theories and environmental experiences mentioned in this study. The same could be said regarding justice planning and radical planning contexts. The demand for the democratization of participatory mechanisms in the decision-making process is also a reaction on the neglect of this issue from planning theory in general. Keeping in mind that the main criticism to comprehensive planning is that it being not democratic and inclusive. As an outcome of the critics made, demand for direct participation and bottom-up decision-making goes beyond the comprehensive planning and strategic spatial planning paradigms. The progress on planning theories' opinion on including participatory mechanisms finds its correspondence in practices of environmental movements.

One way to address the change in creating a structure for a bottom-up decision-making process is to struggle for establishing local assemblies as the basis of this structure. Such an effort also is relatable to libertarian municipalism ideas of social ecology and social experimentation ideas of radical planning perspectives. The local perspective in this regard could redistribute power to the neighborhood scale for direct participation at the local level. Having its decision basis at the neighborhood level; district level and city level assemblies could represent the local decisions made locally and include the local decisions in a macro scale planning process. This sort of structural decentralization of local government also brings with it the issue of how planning practice could also be decentralized. In this context, the acting power built locally should have the responsibility for practice of planning. In coordination of local scale and city scale, alternative committees could be developed for the integrity of planning decisions through scales of action. Such committees may ease the transfer of knowledge and concern from local to city scale, and from city to local scale. The regional scale structure should also be emphasized on. From the possibility of this urban decision-making the regional level also presents itself as the area of interaction

of decisions on a wider perspective of the hinterland. Outside of the urban context, in rural areas, the regional level structure of decision-making comes into consideration as a unitary body of institution enabled through village assemblies. The rural structure also is important for its connectivity with nature and would have more responsibilities on it.

Whilst striving for more participative solutions on planning, the issue of representation should be also dwelled upon. Without participative mechanisms, representation of environmental interest would be limited. In this context, the representation of environmental justice movements in the planning process is vital to resolve environmental conflicts. Especially in cases without strong participation, representation becomes the key to involving the local struggles in the planning process. Therefore, in the direction of radical ecology approach on planning, advocacy of social and environmental justice comes forth as a necessity for their representation in the absence of direct participation.

Even if the radical transformation of the society (as suggested by radical planning theory), its institution and its planning practice are realized; the problematic of the ecological crisis would still have to be thought on. In this sense, even the most democratic form of planning, involving direct participation and bottom-up decision-making, contains the risk of creating environmental injustices. Therefore, developing the ecological concepts in planning is vital to shaping the third nature, exceeding the crisis prone second nature. One way to include ecology into planning theory is as principles planning, discussed earlier regarding justice planning, through ethical considerations of issues related to nature. Hence, we can suggest that planners should have an understanding of environmental ethics and it should be also included in planning education.

As stressed out multiple times, the criticism toward comprehensive planning based on its hierarchical decision-making and its elitist approach on planning practice could also be applied from the environmental movements' perspective on planning. Although criticized, there are important features of comprehensive planning that needs further attention. These issues are the emphasis on rationality and public interest. Rationality on nature does not need to refer to "rational use of nature" rather it should be viewed

as, protecting nature is the rational action. In this respect, defining public interest should also not contrast environmental interest. Therefore, planning needs to have a more balanced approach to ecology with an ecocentric consideration not to create environmental conflicts.

The problematic of scale in planning also needs to be pondered upon. As the demand for bottom-up decision-making would suggest, planning as an institution would act in a decentralized non-hierarchical form. Planning as a practice, therefore, would get strength from the local level. Here the problematic of scale is mainly deciding on macro decisions. Issues like equal access to localities to public services come in mind at this point. In this context distributive planning, as suggested by the justice planning approach, comes forth in dealing with this problematic.

Libertarian municipalism resolution of social ecology theory needs further attention at the problematic of how on how the planning institution could be shaped. The focus of participative and bottom-up decision-making is also drawn from a libertarian municipalism perspective. In accordance, this approach has the potential in realizing the demands of social practice regarding the issue of the institutional framework of planning.

A way to develop a radical ecology approach is also possible through thinking on a synthesis of radical planning and ecological planning theories. The social transformation focus of radical planning and consideration of ecological processes of ecological planning would be brought together in this attempt. Such an attempt will parallel the perspective on the planning of radical ecology theories. Within this perspective, the involvement of the ideas of social experimentation of radical planning in planning processes also suggests connecting social practice with the knowledge of ecological planning. In other words, this effort would present itself as finding the search for participation is based on the radical and direct approach in ecological planning. Moreover, such a theory would also bring knowledge of environmental movements and ecological planning together to enable ecocentric solutions on current conflicts.

It should also be kept in mind that there is a major contradiction within the theory between radical ecology and planning. This contradiction is partly on the debate between anti-statism and statism. From a radical ecology perspective, an anti-statist argument could be generalized. In addressing the environmental movement struggles, the same argument could be mentioned. However, from the planning side of the debate, the issue of state is mostly concerned as a given. Only in a radical planning perspective can we talk about an ambiguous debate on the state. This situation hinders a possibility of unitary statements on the state and its connection with planning. A radical ecological planning theory, therefore, would bring a dilemma within itself. However, it could be said that the debate within theory would be between a democratic decentralized state and libertarian collectivities of localities with no state.

5.2. A FRAMEWORK FOR RADICAL ECOLOGICAL PRACTICE

The vision of a radical ecology approach on planning could be determined as; planning for the furtherance of an ecological society, through learning from social experimentation of spatial practices. For this vision strategies could be developed as;

- Learning from social movements and involving their practice for further theory
- Developing alternatives from theory for social practice
- Acting on environmental ethics principles
- Raising critical consciousness on nature
- Establishing and strengthening mechanisms of direct participation
- Enabling bottom-up decision-making within these mechanisms

For the practice of planning, direct ecologist policies can be drawn attention to. Some of these policies, also is practicable and in existing planning practices, could be stated as:

- Protection of biodiversity and also promoting biodiversity in urban areas
- Limiting human involvement, and prohibiting in environmentally stressed areas
- Developing ecological solutions in design and planning

- Implementing regulations for climate change mitigation especially in industrial and urban areas
- Policies to prevent urban sprawl
- Promoting compact urban areas

Planners' role in a radical ecology based planning practice should involve, but not be limited to, the following:

- Advocating for social and environmental justice in the planning process
- Informing the public about social and environmental problematics
- Developing alternative plans against opposed plans disrupting nature and the built- environment
- Developing eco-centric approaches on strategies, policy making and spatial actions
- Mediating for collective decisions in the participative planning process
- Developing plans accordingly with collective decisions and through ecocentric policies
- Assessing demands related to planning from social and environmental movement experiences and acting accordingly
- Confronting top-down decisions, and elitist approaches on planning practice
- Using ecological principles at the core of planning activity
- Acting on public interest attuned with environmental interest in the whole of the planning process

The planning process of a radical ecology approach will differentiate from existing planning mechanisms on the basis of direct participation. As discussed earlier, direct participation mechanisms could be established as citizen assemblies, making planning only one dimension of decision-making. Citizen initiatives and planners should advocate for such solutions. From this basis, one way that participation can be integrated in the planning process is depicted in the following diagram. Prioritization of demands as an outcome of the assemblies should directly be called to set goals for planning. Besides assemblies, organizing committees can be established for further involvement of the public in the planning process. Building upon the participatory mechanism, these assemblies should further integrate within the planning process and

specialize in thematic issues. The development of spatial strategies and policies takes root from the actions and decisions of these committees, within this framework. Also, in developing concept plans coinciding with alternative scenarios, the working group can also be built around these committees for further participation in decision-making.

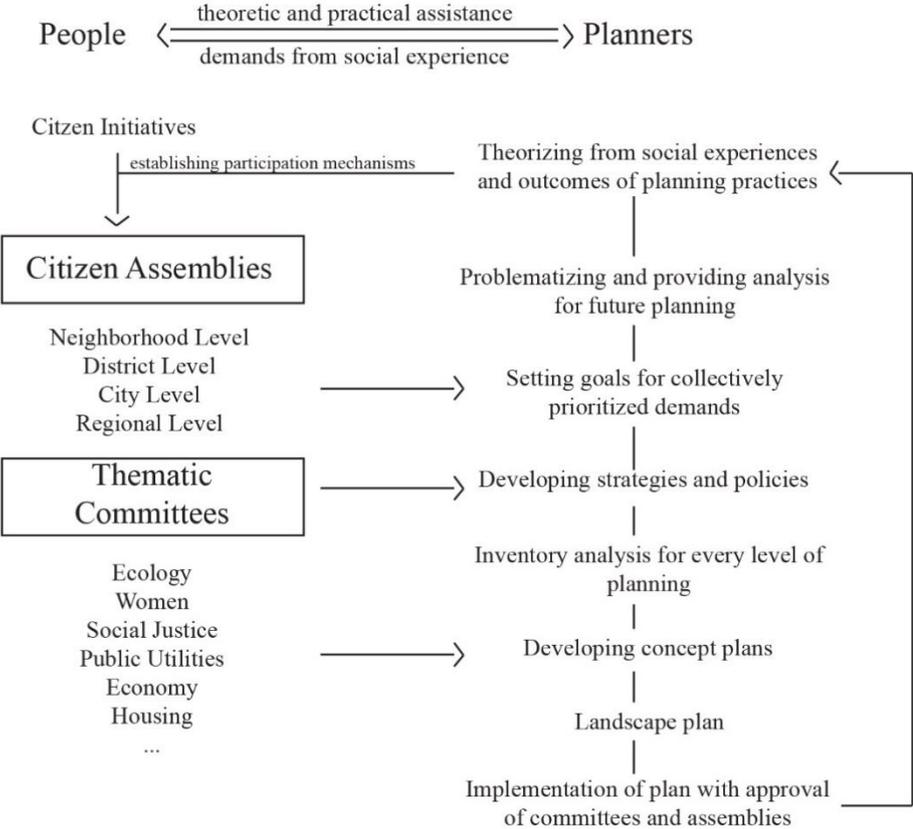


Figure 14: Participation in the Planning Process

5.3. LIMITATIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDIES

Lack of literature in relating radical ecology and planning theories is the main limitation of this study. As mentioned in the introduction chapter this study attempted to lay a framework to compensate this literature gap for the furtherance of future studies. In discussing a radical ecology approach on planning there are also limitations. Radical ecology theories cannot be generalized under a singular theory. Each radical

ecology theory puts emphasis on different aspects of the ecological problematic. Therefore, such an approach does not fall into a single category of theoretical discourse. On handling planning theories a wide range of theories has been covered. However, some theories have not been mentioned, like commons planning. Also, this work has not been able to address the views on planning as policy analysis, social learning, and social reform in a detailed analysis. The absence of first-hand data on environmental movement experiences is another limitation of this study.

In order to develop a unified theory of radical ecological planning, field studies on local experiences would provide more aspects of rethinking theoretic arguments. Further analysis could also be made directly on ecological planning practices. Synthesizing radical ecology and planning theories separately with each other is also meaningful for insight into a more specialized understanding of planning. Expanding the ecological planning literature to involve radical theories is another path that could be taken for debate. Focusing on what sort of alternatives that radical ecology planning through its utopian aspect would also be worthy to be considered and result in new approaches to think on. The literature related to environmental and urban commons also would provide further debate on how planning should involve nature and society.

5.4. RETURNING TO THE CORE AND THINKING ON THE FUTURE

The focus on ecology is related to the concept of home, at its core. This statement is based on the etymology of the word. The origin of the word derives from the Greek word *oikos* meaning house, and *logy*. Therefore, it can be further debated to think of ecology is to think about our concept of our house, as the entirety of the world. In this sense, the consideration of nature in environmental movements as viewing nature as a habitat also including as a space of their everyday life finds meaning in the practice of society.

In urban areas, our daily lives pass without the experience of nature. Parks as representations of nature are focal areas of everyday interaction and as places of breathing spaces, present themselves in an urge to find calmness. Parks as oasis in urban areas reflect that nature should be an integral part of daily life. Urban spaces

without breathing spaces would be as if they were written as dystopic fiction from the past, far from being home in general.

The possibilities of the future are infinite and cannot be comprehended. Yet, we can get glances through focusing on the current day situation of the world and imagining what can be. This brings us to dystopias and utopias.

It is easy to fall into pessimism, from looking at possibilities of catastrophic futures. The vast scale of destruction of nature, worldwide pollution and current tendencies of political power play into such a catastrophic future both environmentally and socially. In this sense, a dystopic future awaits us. It is also in our hands to plan to avoid such an outcome.

Thinking of the future brings with it the question of how society would be. In contrast with the dystopic future, the radical ecological approach presents its self as an alternative. This alternative aims for a future, free from the oppression of society and domination of nature, an organic society in which self-management is realized, an equal and just society, a progressive society in harmony with nature. To plan for such an alternative is a step toward realizing this aim.

Planning cannot be abandoned as an idea and practice. The unplanned future is what it brings without us having a saying and is prone to a dark future when current tendencies are kept in mind. However, a planned future is also prone to creating a dystopic future. Here the critical node that should be thought is on the issues of control and guidance. Planning as an activity has a current discourse on control. If control over every action is aimed, it brings us to an area where the line between control and domination gets blurry. After all, the general skepticism of environmentalists on planning is derived on actions of domination against nature resulted from reckless planning activity. In avoidance of such a result, the focus of planning should be on guidance rather than control. Planning is instrumental for guiding toward a better society, its space, and relation with nature. It should be handled as a means for acting towards solutions in balance with nature. In this sense, we should guide how our future home would be without creating structures of domination.

As a result of its planning activity the produced third nature and its spaces of liberation, from a radical ecological planning perspective, should be guided to preserve harmony with nature. Whilst preserving nature, this approach should search for alternatives for an organic and democratic society. Accordingly, planning practice which will define the desired nature will be based on collective decision-making and act to establish connections with the first nature, in a radical ecology approach.

It should be kept in mind that every geography with its numerous local experiences produces its own practices separately. From a realistic point of view, there cannot be a singular model that can be applied to every geography. The future experiences will, therefore, present themselves regarding their locality. The potential vastness of future experiences with their diversity, all will have something to say about the future and point toward where theories fail.

Developing a radical ecology approach to planning, should not be formulated as an ultimate solution. Rather it should be considered for its guidance on how we can act for a utopian future. This does not mean this approach is disconnected from current issues, on the contrary, it takes the reality of reckless domination of nature as its problematic and asks what can be done from a planning perspective.

We should strive for a future liberating not only for us but also for nature. In doing so, it is meaningful to study possible approaches like radical ecological planning that may further bring us closer to our desired future. A future in which we would be proud of our home (of nature), of our relation to it and ourselves.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

Ekolojik krizin boyutlarının gittikçe genişlediği ve derinleştiği bir durumda, çevre ihtilaflarının oluşmasında ve çözümünde planlama alanı büyük bir önem kazanmaktadır. Mevcut planlama anlayışı uygulamada çevre ihtilafları oluşturabilmekte ve ekolojik kriz içerisinde bir etmen olmaktadır. Aynı zamanda planlama, ekolojik krizin çözümünde etki edebilecek yapıcı bir potansiyele de sahiptir. Bu bağlamda, ekolojik problemlere neden değil çözüm olacak bir planlama kavrayışı geliştirmek elzemdir. Radikal ekoloji ve mekansal planlama kuramları arasında bir sentez arayışı, iki ana kuramsal çerçevenin bir arada ele alınmasıyla planlama anlayışında ekolojik bir tutumun geliştirilmesini amaçlamaktadır. Bu sentez arayışı, planlama literatüründe eksik olan, radikal ekoloji teorileri perspektifi üzerine kuramsal bir tartışmaya zemin hazırlayacak bir girizgah sağlama niteliğindedir. Türkiye’de çevre hareketlerinin pratiğinde, mekana ve planlamaya dair istemlerinin, kuramsal değerlendirmelerle birlikte ele alınarak bir sentez arayışına yönelik bir tartışma geliştirilmesi hedeflenmiştir.

BÖLÜM 1

Bu çalışmanın temel sorusu; radikal ekoloji ve planlama kuramlarının hangi temelde birbirleriyle ilişkilendirilebileceğidir. Bu bağlantının oluşturulmasında teorik değerlendirmelerin yanı sıra, çevre mücadelesi deneyimleri üzerinden pratikten teoriye

dair istemlerin belirlenmesi ile tartışmayı temellendirmek amaçlanmıştır. Bu doğrultuda bu çalışma üç ana bölümden oluşmaktadır; çevrecilikten radikal ekolojiye, planlama kuramları ve Türkiye’de çevre mücadeleleri.

Çalışmanın ikinci bölümünde çevrecilik, çevresel adalet, çevre etiği ve politik ekoloji üzerine genel tartışmalara yer verilmiştir. Bu tartışmalar radikal ekoloji kuramlarının kapsamının tartışması için bir giriş sağlamaktadır. Tez çerçevesinde ele alınan radikal ekoloji kuramları; derin ekoloji, ekofeminizm, ekososyalizm ve toplumsal ekoloji kuramları olarak belirlenmiştir. Bu kuramların tezin tartışmasına katkı sağlaması adına mekana ve planlamaya dair söylemlerine yönelik değerlendirme matrisi etrafında tartışılmıştır.

Çalışmanın üçüncü bölümü mekansal planlama kuramlarının analizinden oluşmaktadır. Çalışmanın devamına katkı sağlaması bakımından sırasıyla; ütopyacı planlama, kapsamlı planlama, savunmacı planlama, stratejik mekânsal planlama, adil planlama, radikal planlama ve ekolojik planlama kuramları üzerinde durulmuştur. Radikal ekoloji kuramları ve çevre mücadelesi pratikleri ile beraber irdelenmesini kolaylaştırma amacıyla planlama kuramları değerlendirme matrisi hazırlanmıştır.

Dördüncü bölüm ise kuramsal çerçeveyi pratikle ilişkilendirmeyi kolaylaştırması için çevre mücadeleleri deneyimlerine yer vermektedir. Özellikle radikal ekoloji kuramlarında yer alan ilkelerin çevre mücadelesi söylemlerinde ne ölçüde yer bulduğu üzerinde durulmuştur. Bu pratiklerin, kuramlarla ilişkilendirmesi değerlendirme matrisi ile sağlanmıştır. Bu bölümde Cerattepe çevre mücadelesi, Derelerin Kardeşliği Platformu (DEKAP), Türkiye Su Meclisi (TSM), Kuzey Ormanları Savunması (KOS) ve Gezi Parkı mücadelesi deneyimleri üzerinde durulmuştur. Bu çevre mücadeleleri deneyimlerinden mekana ve planlamaya dair istemlerin ele alındığı bir matris oluşturularak genel değerlendirmelerle teoriyle ilişkilendirmek amaçlanmıştır.

Tartışma niteliğinde olan sonuç bölümünde ise kuramlar ve pratikler, değerlendirme matrisleri üzerinden ilişkilendirilmiş ve radikal ekoloji bakış açısından planlamanın nasıl ele alınabileceği tartışılmıştır.

BÖLÜM 2

Radikal ekoloji kuramlarını incelemeden önce, bu kuramlara zemin hazırlayan konulara –çevrecilik, çevre etiği ve siyasal ekoloji- değinmek, tartışmalara bir temel oluşturması açısından irdelenmiştir.

İlk olarak çevrecilikle ilgili olarak, Alier ve Guha çevreciliği üç kategori altında incelemektedir. Bunlar; korumacılık odaklı, eko-verimlilik temelli ve yoksulların çevreciliği şeklindedir (Alier & Guha, 1997). İlk yaklaşım çevreciliği doğanın korunması üzerine ele alır ve vahşi alanların insan faaliyetinden arınmış olmasını savunur. Bu yaklaşım, doğanın korunmasını biyoçeşitliliğin güçlendirilmesine yönelik siyasalar oluşturulması gerekliliğine vurgu yapar. Bu yaklaşımı derin ekoloji ile doğrudan ilişkilendirmek mümkündür. İkinci yaklaşımın vurgusu ise sürdürülebilir gelişim kavramıdır. Bu bağlamda doğa bir müdahale mekanı olarak tanımlanmakta ve ekonomik bir varlık olarak görülmektedir. Üçüncü yaklaşım olan yoksulların çevreciliği ise ekolojik problemlerin eşitsiz dağılımı üzerine odaklanmaktadır. Bu yaklaşım çevresel adalet hareketi ile bağdaştırılmaktadır (Armiero ve Sedrez, 2014; Martinez-Alier 2002).

Ekolojik krize karşı etik yanıtlar, yeni bir davranış kodu veya yeni bir varoluş yolu seçmektedir. Çevre etiği doğanın bütünlüğünün istikrarını ve estetik değerini, çevresel konularda zorunluluk olarak görmekte ve ekolojik bir bilinç oluşturmayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu doğrultuda insanlar doğadan üstün değil onun bir parçası olarak görülmekte ve doğadaki her varlıkla eşdeğer önemdedir (Leopold, 1949). Bu kapsamda doğanın içsel değerine vurgu yapılmaktadır (O'Neill, 1993). Çevre etiği kuramlarında insan merkezci ve ekomerkezci yaklaşımlar arasında ayırım yapılmaktadır. Radikal ekoloji kuramları çevre etiği tartışmalarının devamı niteliğindedir.

Politik ekoloji tartışmaları genel olarak beş kategoride toplanmaktadır. Bu kategoriler; (1) bozulma ve marjinalleşme, (2) koruma ve kontrol, (3) çevresel ihtilaflar ve dışlanma, (4) çevresel konular ve kimlik ve (5) siyasi nesnelere ve aktörler olarak ele alınmaktadır (Robbins, 2012). Dördüncü bölümde ele alınan çevre mücadelelerini bu tartışmalar üzerinden değerlendirmek mümkündür. Aynı zamanda radikal ekoloji

kuramlarının özellikle koruma ve kontrol ile siyasi nesnelere ve aktörler tartışmaları geliştirdiği gözükmektedir.

Radikal ekoloji kuramlarına geçecek olursak; derin ekoloji kuramı insan ve doğa arasındaki ilişkiyi, insanı doğanın bir parçası olarak ele alır ve konum olarak insanın doğadaki varlıklardan üstün tutulmaması gerektiğini savunur. Doğanın içsel değerine vurgu yapan bu kuram, siyasaların bu değerlerin korunmasına yönelik olarak değiştirilmesini önerir (Næss ve Sessions, 1984).

Ekofeminizm doğa ve kadınlar üzerine kurulan hiyerarşi ve tahakküm sistemlerini birbirleriyle ilişkilendirir ve bu sistemlere karşı çıkar. Bu kapsamda ekofeminizm insan ve doğa ile cinsiyetler arası kurulan ikililikleri ve oluşturdukları önyargıları hedef alır. Bu kuramın geliştirilmesinin temelinde kadınlar ve çocukların çevresel ihtilaflardan daha fazla zarar gördüğü gerçeği bulunmaktadır (Ruether, 1975; Plumwood, 1993; Warren, 1997).

Ekosozyalizm, ekolojik krizin çözümünde bu krizlere yol açan iktisadi, toplumsal ve siyasal düzenin dönüşümünün gerekliliğini vurgulamaktadır. Ekosozyalistler ademi merkezîyetçi otonom bölgeler önermekle birlikte ekosozyalist toplumun müşterekler temelinde oluşmasında planlamaya önemli bir rol atfetmektedirler (Kemp, 1992; Wall 2010).

Toplumsal ekoloji kuramı birinci doğa, ikinci doğa ve üçüncü doğa kavramları arasında ayırım yapmaktadır. Bu kuramın amacı hiyerarşi ve tahakkümden özgürleşmiş bir üçüncü doğadır. Toplumsal ekoloji bu amaç doğrultusunda özyönetime dayanan özgürlükçü yerel yönetimler vurgusu yapmaktadır. Bu kapsamda toplumsal ekolojinin ideolojisi komünalizm olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Toplumsal ekoloji kurumsal ve fiziksel ademi merkezileşmeyi savunmaktadır (Bookchin, 1996, 2006; Biehl, 1997).

Radikal ekoloji kuramlarının mekan ve planlamaya dair tutumlarına ilişkin bazı çıkarımlarda bulunmak gerekirse;

- **Derin ekoloji** teorisinde mekan habitat ve biyobölge olarak anlam kazanmaktadır. Bu kapsamda mekanın kullanımı ve dönüşümü doğayı kapsamayacak şekilde ekomerkezci ilkeler üzerinden ele alınmaktadır. Bu

kullanımında doğanın korunması önceliklidir. Derin ekoloji kuramında doğanın korunmasına yönelik düzenleyici ve siyasa odaklı bir planlama kurumu ve pratiği talebi vardır. Doğanın içsel değeri ve çevre etiğine vurgu yapmakta olan bu kuram, insan-doğa ilişkisine ekomerkezci bir yaklaşım sunmaktadır.

- **Ekofeminizm** tahakkümden özgürleştirilmiş eşitlikçi ve doğa ile uyumlu bir mekan ve kullanımı olması gerektiği görüşündedir. Bu mekanın dönüşümüne ilişkin ise ataerkil düzenin kaldırılması ile gerçekleşecek bir dönüşümden bahsedilebilir. Bu yaklaşımın planlama kurumu hiyerarşik olmayan ve pratiğinde cinsiyet eşitlikçi ilkeleri uygulamayı hedefler. Aynı vurgu planlamada karar-alma sürecine eşitlikçi bir katılım üzerine de yapılabilir. Bu kuram insan-doğa ilişkisi tartışmasında ekomerkezci bir konuma sahiptir.
- **Ekosozyalizm** kapsamında mekan sosyalist toplumun mekanı olarak anlanmaktadır. Bu mekanın kullanımı kolektiflik vurgusuna dayanmaktadır. Mekanın dönüşümüne yönelik ise toplumsal ve siyasal dönüşümün yanı sıra sürdürülebilir ve ekolojik bir dönüşüme yer verilmektedir. Bu kapsamda planlama pratiği olarak bu görüşte, müşterekler temelli bir ekolojik planlama uygulamasının belirlenebileceğini söyleyebiliriz. Bununla birlikte ekosozyalizmde kurum olarak planlamaya dair, aşağıdan yukarı karar almaya imkan sağlayacak demokratik ve ademi merkeziyetçi bir kurumdan söz etmek mümkündür. Ekosozyalizm insan-doğa ilişkisi tartışmasında insan merkezci bir yaklaşım geliştirmektedir.
- **Toplumsal ekoloji** özgürlüğün mekanını oluşturmayı hedeflemektedir. Bu mekanın kullanımı ekosozyalizmde olduğu gibi kolektiflik vurgusu üzerinden açıklanabilir. Mekanın dönüşümü de benzerlik gösterecek şekilde, toplumsal ve siyasal dönüşüm ile beraber anlamlandırılabilir. Toplumsal ekoloji kuramının özgürlükçü yerel yönetim odağı doğrudan ve aşağıdan yukarıya karar almayı içeren bir planlama kurumunu tarif etmekte olup; planlama pratiği de doğrudan katılımın bir sonucudur. Bu kuram doğrudan katılımın sağlandığı aşağıdan yukarı kurumsallaşmış bir karar-alma mekanizmasını savunur.

BÖLÜM 3

Bu çalışmada ütopycacı planlama kapsamında Owen, Fourier ve Howard'ın ütopycalarına değinilmiştir. Ütopycacılık aynı zamanda radikal planlama yaklaşımının da kuramsal temelinde yer almaktadır. Owen'ın ütopycasında toplumsal ilerleme, toplumsal yeniden dönüşüm ve bilim önemli kavramlar olup organik bir toplum amaçlanmıştır. Bu ütopycada özyönetime dayalı komünler toplumsal yapılar olarak hedeflenmiştir. Fourier'in ütopycasında yaşamın temelden bir dönüşüm içerisinde ele alındığı görölmektedir. Bu ütopycada ekonomik faaliyeti tarım ve atölyeler odaklı "phalanstery" adı verilen komüniteler kurmak amaçlanmıştır. (Friedmann, 1987). Howard'ın bahçe şehir ütopycası, ütopycacı planlama kuramlarının gelişiminde önemli bir yere sahiptir. Konsept şemalar üzerinden tariflenen yaklaşık 32000 nüfuslu kompakt kentler önerilmiş ve bu kentlerin merkezi niteliğinde ise yaklaşık 58000 nüfuslu yerleşimler olması öngörölmüştür. Bu ütopycaya ademi merkeziyetçiliği ve kolektif-yerel bir ekonomiyi savunmaktadır (Mumford, 1961).

Kapsamlı planlama akılcılık ve kamu yararını esas almaktadır ve pratikte kendisine önemli bir yer edinmiştir. Yerleşim gelişiminin öngörülebilirliği ve sektörleri yönlendiren master planlar üzerinden pratiğini sağlayan bu kuramda, tutarlılık ön plandadır. Kapsamlı planlamanın aşamaları problem tanımı, amaç ve hedeflerin tanımı, alternatif araç ve stratejilerin üzerinden planın hazırlanması, planın uygulanması ve geri bildirim almaktan oluşmaktadır. Bu kuramda planlama seçkinci profesyoneller tarafından karar alınmış merkezi bir uygulamadır (Ersoy, 2007a).

Savunmacı planlama dezavantajlı grupların çıkarlarının planlama aşamalarında temsil edilmesini amaçlamaktadır. Bu kapsamda plancılar müzakere gücü olmayan grupların temsilcisi konumundadır. Kapsamlı planlama yaklaşımının eleştirisi niteliğinde olan bu kuram, toplumun değişik kesimlerinin çıkarlarını savunan alternatif planların geliştirilmesini önermektedir. Bu kuramda çoğulculuk vurgusu önemli bir yere sahiptir. Çoğulcu savunmacı planlamanın aktörleri olarak siyasi partiler, toplum kesimlerinin temsilcileri ve belirli sorunlar odaklı geçici kurumlar yer almaktadır. Karar alma süreçlerinde temsiliyetin sağlanması ile bu kuram kapsamlı planlamaya göre daha demokratik bir anlayışa sahiptir (Davidoff, 1965; Ersoy, 2007b)

Stratejik mekansal planlama üç temel boyuttan oluşmaktadır. Bunlar; küreselleşmenin getirdiği mekan anlayışından oluşan bağlamsal boyut, yatay olarak ilişkilendirilmiş iletişimsel faaliyetten oluşan örgütsel boyut ve yeni amaç ve standartların oluşturduğu boyut şeklindedir. Stratejik mekansal planlar fiziksel ve fiziksel olmayan gelişimi amaçlamakta ve uzun erimli vizyon, GZFT analizi, sektörel stratejiler ve stratejilere yönelik eylemler tarif etmektedir (Gedikli, 2007). Stratejik mekansal planlama neoliberal dönemin planlama anlayışı olup, uygulamasında çelişkiler içermektedir.

Adil planlama kuramı demokrasi, çeşitlilik ve hakçılık ilkesinin planlamada içerilmesini temel alır. Adil planlama düşünsel temelini Rawls'un hakçılıkla ilgili olarak özgürlük ve farklılık ilkelerinden, Habermas'ın müzakereci demokrasi kavramından ve Lefebvre'in kent hakkı tartışmasından alır. Yukarıdan aşağıya planlamayı ve bu tür planlamanın uzmanların kuralları olmasını eleştiren adil planlama kuramı, aşağıdan yukarı karar alma süreçlerinde katılımı amaçlamaktadır (Fainstein, 2009). Toplumsal adalet planlaması altında etik ilkesel planlama, komünite temelli planlama, radikal planlama ve ütopyacı planlama ele alınmaktadır. Adil planlama bu kategorilerden etik ilkesel planlamada değerlendirilmiştir (Marcuse, 2011).

Radikal planlama kuramı tarihsel materyalizm, neomarksizm, ütopyacılık, toplumsal anarşizm ve radikal kuramlar ile ilişkilendirilmektedir. Grabow ve Heskin bu kuramın planlamasını eylem ve kendiliğindenliğin sentezi olarak, ekolojik etik bağlamında sosyal deney olarak ele almıştır. Bu kapsamda ademi merkezîyetçilik, beşeri gelişim, ekolojik etik uygulamaları ve evrimci deneycilik vurgulanmaktadır (Grabow ve Heskin, 1973). Radikal planlama, toplumsal eylemliliğin planlamasıdır. Plancı ile toplum ilişkisi kritik bilinç ve radikal pratik arasında anlamlandırılmıştır. Bu kuramda plancının rolü de radikal bir şekilde değişmekte olup toplumsal pratiğin bir parçası olmaktadır (Friedmann, 1987).

Ekolojik planlama kuramı; uygunluk analizi, uygulamalı beşeri ekoloji, uygulamalı ekosistem ve uygulamalı peyzaj ekolojisi yaklaşımlarının bir sentez teorisidir. Bu planlama kuramı, abiyotik, biyotik ve kültürel çevreye ilişkin planlama alanlarının ekolojik duyarlılıklar üzerinden yeniden biçimlendirmektedir. Bu üç temel bileşen için hedeflerin belirlenmesi planlama uygulamasının temelinde yer almaktadır. Bu kuram kapsamlı bir metod izlemekte olup doğanın korunması önceliklendirir ve planlamada

katılım mekanizmalarının geliştirilmesini savunur (Ahern, 2006; Ndubisi, 2002; Steiner, 2000)

İrdelenen planlama kuramlarının mekana yönelik söylemleri ve kurum olarak planlama pratiğine yönelik görüşlerinin değerlendirmesi etrafında yeni bir planlama kavrayışına katkı sunmak hedeflenmiştir. Bu teorilerin mekan ve planlamaya yönelik yaklaşımları üzerine çıkarımlar aşağıda listelenmiştir;

- **Ütopyacı planlama** yaklaşımında mekan, arzu edilen toplumun mekanı olarak ele alınabilir. Bu yaklaşım, mekanın kullanımını idealize edilmiş konsept planlar doğrultusunda toplumun radikal dönüşümünü amaçlamaktadır. Ademi merkezietçi bir kurumsallık yaklaşımı öneren ütopyacı planlama, buna yönelik planlama pratiğinde deneysel uygulamalar geliştirilmesinden yanadır.
- **Kapsamlı planlama** yaklaşımında mekanın anlamı rasyonel toplumun mekanı ve müdahalenin mekanı olarak ele alınabilir. Bu yaklaşımdaki rasyonalite vurgusu mekanın kullanımını yüksek düzeyde teknokratik müdahale doğrultusunda kullanımını ve süreç temelli araçsal bir mekansal dönüşümü irdelemektedir. Bu kapsamda, planlama pratiği seçkin profesyoneller tarafından yerleşim gelişimlerinin öngörülebilirliği üzerinden tanımlanmaktadır. Bir kurum olarak planlama bu yaklaşımda, merkezi, hiyerarşik ve teknokratik bir yapı üzerinden ele alınmaktadır.
- **Savunmacı planlamanın** mekan anlayışı çoğulcu toplumun mekanı yansıtmaktadır. Bu yaklaşımda, mekanın kullanımı ve dönüşümü dezavantajlı grupların temsili aracılığıyla içermeci ve çoğulcu bir kullanım ile yüksek düzeyde dönüşümü yansıtmaktadır. Savunmacı planlamanın pratiği ve kurumu dezavantajlı grupların çıkarlarının temsiliyeti odaklı demokratik bir pratik ve kurumdan oluşmaktadır.
- **Stratejik mekansal planlamada** mekanın anlamı neoliberal bir ağ toplumunun alanı olarak anlaşılmaktadır. Mekanın kullanımı düşük seviyede teknokratik müdahale vurgusu etrafında ele alınabilir. Bu yaklaşımda mekansal dönüşüm strateji temellidir ve neoliberal vurgular tarafından şekillenir. Planlama pratiği, proje tabanlı belirli stratejilerle ilişkiler üzerinden

belirlenmektedir. Bu kuram, bir kurum olarak planlamayı ayrıcalıklı paydaşlar etrafında çok aktörlü bir ağ olarak ele almaktadır.

- **Adil planlama** kapsamında mekanı adil ve eşit bir toplumun mekanı olarak anlamlandırabiliriz. Mekanın kullanımının ise doğrudan katılımın sağlayacağı adil ve eşit bir kullanım olması gerektiği vurgulanabilir. Mekanın dönüşümünde ise bu yaklaşım, hakçılık temelli adil bir dönüşümü önerir. Adil planlamanın pratiği, adil bir kent mekanının oluşturulması için hakçılık ilkelerinin uygulandığı dağıtımçı eylemler üzerinden ele alınabilir. Bu doğrultuda, kurum olarak planlama aşağıdan yukarıya karar almayı sağlayacak kapsayıcı bir niteliktedir.
- **Radikal planlama** kuramı açısından, radikal demokrasi ile özdeşleşmiş bir mekandan söz edebiliriz. Bu yaklaşımda mekan kullanımı taban hareketleri üzerinden kolektif bir alan kullanımını belirtmektedir. Mekanın dönüşümü ise toplumsal eylemlilik üzerinden radikal bir dönüşüme işaret etmektedir. Radikal planlama pratiği toplumsal deneyimler etrafında şekillenmektedir. Toplumsal tabanın karar almaya doğrudan katıldığı ademi merkezîyetçi bir planlama kurumu bu kuramın görüşlerini yansıtmaktadır.
- **Ekolojik planlamada** mekan, doğa ile dengenin sağlandığı alana tekabül etmektedir. Bu doğrultuda ekolojik özelliklerin dikkate alındığı bir mekan kullanımı ve bu kullanıma yönelik doğanın korunmasını temel alan kapsamlı metodların uygulandığı düşük seviyede bir mekan dönüşümünden söz edilebilir. Ekolojik planlamanın pratiği ise abiyotik, biyotik ve kültürel çevreye yönelik hedeflerin temel alındığı bir uygulama alanı olarak öne çıkmaktadır. Kurumsal açıdan bu yaklaşımın katılıma açık kapsayıcı bir anlayış geliştirdiği görülmektedir.

Planlama kuramları insan-doğa ilişkisi tartışması içerisinde irdelendiğinde, genel itibarıyla insan merkezî bir yaklaşıma sahip oldukları görülmektedir. Kapsamlı planlama teorisi dahilinde doğanın rasyonel kullanımına yönelik bir tutum geliştirilmiştir. Doğaya ilişkin daha dengeli bir tutum ise ütopyacı (bahçe şehir yaklaşımında) ve ekolojik planlama yaklaşımlarında görülmektedir.

Planlama yaklaşımlarının (ekolojik planlama hariç) ekoloji konusunda doğrudan bir vurgusu olmamakla birlikte, ilişkilendirilebilir yönleri vardır. Ütopycı planlamanın kır-kent etkileşimi üzerine yaklaşımında ekolojik bir tutuma yer verdiği söylenebilir. Kapsamlı planlama ve stratejik mekansal planlamada ekolojiye yönelik söylemi çevre verilerinin kullanımı ile ilişkilidir. Savunmacı planlamada ise çevreci grupların planlama sürecinde temsiliyeti üzerinden ekolojik bir tutumdan söz etmek mümkündür. Adil planlama teorisinde yer alan sosyal adalet vurgusu, çevresel adalet kavramının toplumsal yönü üzerinden değerlendirilebilir. Radikal planlama yaklaşımında ekolojiye yönelik bir söylem olmamasına karşın, toplumsal dönüşümü savunan radikal ekoloji teorileri ile doğrudan ilişkilendirilebilir. Ekolojik planlama teorisi ise ekolojiye yönelik teorilerin planlama üzerine bir sentezini amaçlamaktadır.

BÖLÜM 4

Türkiye'de çevre sorunları ile ilgili endişeler dünyada genelinde olduğu gibi artmaya devam etmektedir. Argümanların odağı esas olarak gelişme ve enerji üzerinedir. Kar odaklı büyüme uğruna, ekolojik sorunlar daha da derinleşmekte ve ülke çapında görünürlük kazanmaktadır. Siyasi söylemin çevreyi bir meta olarak gördüğü ve kaynak değeri için doğayı görmezden geldiği açıktır. Çevre politikaları ticari emellerin gölgesinde kalmakta ve ihtilaf alanlarındaki yıkımın önüne geçilememektedir. Doğa üzerinde kurulan hegemonya son yıllarda önemli ölçüde genişlemiştir. Çevresel ihtilaflar, toplum tabanında önemli ölçüde tepki görmektedir. Siyasi iktidar tarafından dışlanmış olmasına rağmen, Türkiye'deki çevre hareketi çevresel ihtilaflara karşı bir dayanışma temeli oluşturmayı başarmıştır.

Çevre mücadelesi deneyimlerinin kuramsal tartışmaları nasıl etkileyebileceğini anlamak alternatif yaklaşımların geliştirilmesi açısından önem taşımaktadır. Bu çalışmada mekan ve planlamaya dayalı yapılan analiz, çevre mücadelelerinin doğrudan talepleri olarak ne tür bir planlama anlayışı olması gerektiğine dair toplumun istemini anlamayı amaçlamıştır.

Bu çalışmada Cerattepe çevre mücadelesi, DEKAP, TSM, KOS ve Gezi Parkı mücadelesi pratikleri ele alınmıştır. Cerattepe çevre mücadelesi yirmi yılı aşkın bir

süredir süreklilik göstermesi nedeniyle, DEKAP yerel çevre mücadelelerin bölgesel düzlemde ortaklaştığı bir platform olmasından dolayı, TSM su meselesi üzerine olan yerel çevre mücadelelerinin bir üst çatısı olma yönündeki girişimi nedeniyle, KOS son dönemde gündemde olan mega projelere karşı aktif mücadelesinden dolayı ve son olarak Gezi Parkı mücadelesi kent odaklı bir mücadele olmasından dolayı ele alınmıştır.

Cerattepe, DEKAP ve TSM deneyimlerinde mekanın anlamına yönelik söylemi habitat ve biyobölge olarak tanımlanabilir. Bu mücadeleler, ekomerkezci ilkeler üzerinden tanımlanan bir mekan kullanımının sağlanması tarafındadır. KOS deneyimi mekanın kullanımına ilişkin çevresel ve kentsel müştereklerin temel alınması görüşündedir. Kentsel odaklı olan Gezi hareketinde ise mekanın kullanımı kentsel müşterekler etrafında kolektif bir kullanımı tanımlamaktadır. Cerattepe, DEKAP, TSM ve KOS deneyimleri doğanın korunmasını mekanın dönüşümünde öncelik tanımaktadır. Gezi hareketinde ise mekanın dönüşümünün kolektif karşıt mekanlar yaratmak üzerinden sağlanması etrafında ele alınabileceğini görüyoruz. Mekansal dönüşümün, toplumsal ve çevresel ihtilaflar yaratmadan ve doğal alanları kapsamayacak şekilde ele alınması ise çevre mücadelelerinin genel bir talebi olarak değerlendirilmelidir.

Yerel çevre mücadelelerinin merkezi planlamaya yönelik şüpheli bir tutumda olduklarını genellemek mümkündür. TSM deneyimi planlama pratiğine ilişkin doğanın korunmasını düzenleyici bir uygulama olarak ele almıştır. KOS ve Gezi hareketi ise mevcut planlama pratikleri, mega projeler ve neoliberal planlamaya karşı eleştirel niteliktedir. Çevre mücadelelerinin planlama pratiğine yönelik olarak temel talebini ekolojik planlama anlayışının uygulanması olarak belirtebiliriz.

Çevre mücadeleleri bir kurum olarak planlamadan, toplumsal ve çevresel adaleti savunan, kapsayıcı ve katılıma açık bir yapıda olması beklentisindedir. Bu istemin yanı sıra, mücadelelerin kendi içinde kurumsallaşma eğilimleri planlama kurumlarının tartışılması için fayda sağlayacaktır. DEKAP deneyimi yatay olarak örgütlenmiş yerel ve bölgesel düzeyde bir yapı geliştirmiştir. TSM ise kendi içinde yerel temsiliyet üzerinden bir örgütlenme etrafında, ekomerkezci politikalar uygulayacak kurumları desteklemektedir. KOS özyönetime dayanan hiyerarşik olmayan bir planlama

kurumundan yanadır. Çok sayıda grubun bir ittifak halinde bir araya geldiği Gezi deneyimi için bir kurum olarak planlamadan beklenti doğrudan katılıma açık yapılar olması gerektiği yönünde olmuştur. Karar-alma süreçlerinde aşağıdan yukarıya katılımcı bir anlayışın, çevre mücadelelerinin en temel talebi olarak belirtilebilir.

BÖLÜM 5

Giriş bölümünde de belirtildiği üzere, planlama ekolojik krizin çözümünde araçsal bir öneme sahiptir. Bu doğrultuda planlama, insan ve doğa arasındaki ilişkiyi yeniden ele almalıdır. İnsan ve doğa arasındaki düalizmi planlama ve ekoloji ilişkisinde de görmek mümkündür. Bu bağlamda planlamada radikal ekolojik bir yaklaşım, bu ikililiği insanın da doğanın içerisinde ele alındığı bir düzlemde yeniden kurgulayarak bu zıtlığın üstesinden gelebilir. Dolayısıyla, planlamanın dili ile doğanın dili arasında bir uyum sağlandığı ve planlamanın doğanın garantörü olarak ele alındığı bir yaklaşım benimsemek mümkündür.

Planlamanın bu rolü üstlenen bir alan haline gelmesinde radikal ekoloji kuramları ile sentezlenmesi önerilmektedir. Bu çalışmada kuramsal ve pratik incelemeler arasında bir bağ kurmak amaçlanmıştır. Bu ilişkilendirmenin temelinde, mekanı anlamlandırma bulunmaktadır. Mekanın anlamını yeniden kurgularken, çevre mücadeleleri deneyimlerinin habitat, biyobölge ve günlük yaşama dair vurgusu üzerinden yaşam hakkı talebi çerçevesinde gözden geçirmek gereklidir. Bu doğrultuda mekanın anlamını kuramsal çerçevedeki karşılıklarıyla bir arada düşündüğümüzde, temelinde yaşam hakkına dayanan adil ve eşit bir toplumun mekanı olarak anlamlandırılabilir.

Mekanın kullanımına yönelik ise pratikteki talebin ekomerkezci bir anlayışla doğanın korunması temelinde kolektif bir kullanım olduğu görülmüştür. Bu talep, kuramsal çerçevede derin ekolojik bir temelde, ekososyalizm, toplumsal ekoloji ve radikal planlama kuramları kapsamında da yer bulmaktadır.

Çevre mücadeleleri kapsamında mekanın dönüşümüne dair vurgu doğal alanların dönüşmemesi üzerinedir. Ek olarak pratikler üzerinden mekansal dönüşümün

toplumsal ve çevresel adaletsizlikler yaratmayacak ve toplumsal talepler doğrultusunda olması yönünde de çıkarım yapılabilir.

Planlama pratiğinde radikal ekolojik bir yaklaşım; toplumun ve mekanının radikal dönüşümünü kapsayan dağıtımçı bir uygulama olarak belirlenebilir. Bu uygulamayı gerçekleştirecek olan planlama kurumu ise, karar alma mekanizmalarında aşağıdan yukarı doğrudan katılım temelli, özyönetime dayalı ve ademi merkezîyetçi olarak tanımlanabilir. Bu kapsamda doğrudan katılımın gerçekleşmediği durumlarda ise planlamada temsiliyet önem kazanmaktadır.

Planlamada rasyonalite üzerine; doğanın rasyonel kullanımına ilişkin düşünce rasyonel olanın doğayı korumak olduğu ile değiştirilmelidir. Bu bağlamda kamu yararı da doğanın yararı üzerinden yeniden ele alınmalıdır.

Radikal ekoloji ve planlama teorileri sentezine yönelik bir yaklaşımda, planlamanın vizyonu: toplumsal deneyimlerin mekansal pratiğinden yola çıkarak ekolojik toplumu geliştirmek; olarak tanımlanabilir. Bu vizyona yönelik olarak geliştirilecek stratejiler aşağıdaki gibi örneklendirilebilir;

- Toplumsal hareketlerden öğrenen ve içerisinde yer alan bir planlama teorisinin geliştirilmesi
- Teoride toplumsal pratiklere yönelik alternatiflerin oluşturulması
- Çevre etiği ilkeleri doğrultusunda hareket etmek
- Doğaya ilişkin eleştirel bilinci desteklemek
- Doğrudan katılım mekanizmalarının geliştirilmesi ve güçlendirilmesi
- Karar-alma mekanizmalarında aşağıdan yukarı bir yaklaşımı desteklemek

Planlamada radikal ekolojik bir yaklaşımda, plancının rolü de bu arayışa göre evrilmelidir. Plancının benimseyebileceği bazı yaklaşımlar şu şekildedir;

- Planlama süreçlerinde toplumsal ve çevresel adaletin savunuculuğunu üstlenmek
- Toplumsal ve çevresel sorunlar konusunda kamuyu bilgilendirmek
- Doğaya ve yapılı çevreye karşı yıkıcı nitelikte olan planlara karşı alternatif planlar geliştirmek
- Ekomerkezci stratejiler, siyasalar ve eylem planlarının geliştirilmesi

- Katılımcı planlama süreçlerinde kolektif karar alınmasına aracılık etmek
- Planların kolektif kararları ve ekomerkezci siyasalar çerçevesinde geliştirilmesi
- Toplumsal ve çevresel mücadelelerin planlamaya yönelik taleplerinin değerlendirmesinin yapılması
- Planlama pratiklerinde yukarıdan aşağı ve elitist yaklaşımlara karşı durmak
- Ekolojik ilkeleri planlamanın merkezi argümanı olarak ele almak
- Planlama sürecinin bütününde çevre yararı ile uyumlu bir kamu yararı için planlamak

APPENDIX B: TEZ İZİN FORMU / THESIS PERMISSION FORM

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Urban Policy Planning and Local Governments

TEZİN ADI / TITLE OF THE THESIS (İngilizce / English) :

Radikal Ekoloji ve Mekansal Planlama Kuramları Arasında Bir Sentezleme Arayışı /
A Debate Towards a Synthesis of Radical Ecology and Spatial Planning Theories

TEZİN TÜRÜ / DEGREE: **Yüksek Lisans / Master** **Doktora / PhD**

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Tarih / Date