

Imperial Past, Neoliberal Present, Dependent Future: A Political-Economic Approach to Urban Development of Bursa

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Abstract

Urban spaces, as the material representatives of past capital accumulation strategies, survive or get replaced on the basis of actors' strategies and partnerships. Periodization allows conceptualising these decisions and subsequent spatial change with respect to evolving local and national settings. The study focuses on expanding such approaches to Türkiye's experience beyond the two primate cities Istanbul and Ankara by the example of a secondary city, Bursa. The study uses maps, plans, official documents and newspapers corresponding to the periods and literature to form the connections between the actors' decisions and the spatial changes. The results highlight that while the previous periods' urban fabric and heritage is being replaced during the neoliberal era in parallel with the national experience, the problems faced as a secondary centre in close proximity to a primate city reduces local agency much more severely, leaving the urban space more vulnerable to exogenous influences.

Keywords

secondary cities, urban development, urban politics, periodization, Türkiye

1 Introduction

Evolutionary and historical perspectives on the development of urban space in the last decades have been highlighted in the literature, with no small part played by path dependencies (Peck et al., 2009). Accumulation of dynamics from past events and decision-making processes bring about balanced or uneven economic and spatial development on multiple scales (Brenner, 2009; Martin, 2015). These processes born out of variety of conflicts and cooperations on the basis of economic, social and cultural dimensions expand, shrink or transform cities over a long period of time. In this respect, urban spaces of the neoliberal era are a product of not only the last four decades, but also of preceding periods, combinations of which shape a local variant with its own unique dependencies (Peck and Tickell, 2002; Peck et al., 2009). On its pathway, urban spaces of today can be formed in harmony with past economic, social and political settings' spaces, emphasizing their presence and celebrating their legacy. They can also emerge as a reaction to the past, aiming to hide those preceding spaces' presence from inhabitants or even seeking their ruination and replacement.

Under this perspective, the study aims to focus on the urbanisation of Bursa using Şengül's (2003) framework on Turkish urbanisation experience and questions whether the national experience he outlines can be applicable for a secondary city. The framework presents a contextually comprehensive outlook from a political economic standpoint over the Turkish case in three periods. The study makes use of maps and plans of Bursa for the corresponding periods to trace the spatial changes, while using the newspapers and official documents of these periods and literature to understand the changes in actors' influences. The periods Şengül identifies for the Republic is preceded by what he calls the foundational layer inherited from the Ottoman Empire. The transition process from an empire to a nation-state transformed the social and economic set of relations within the few urban settlements due to the departure of non-muslim communities in large numbers, who formed the majority of the entrepreneurial base in the Ottoman Empire period. This left the newly established Turkish Republic with no national bourgeoisie to lead the

industrialisation and subsequent urbanisation the government sought out for the ultimate aim of modernisation of the society. In this setting, the conflicts materialising on the urban space were not of class-based nature, but of radical breaks from the imperial past in all areas of life in order to build a national identity within the national borders. The next period, on the other hand, showed the increasing influence of class-based action in urban politics, as the increasing number of urban poor in large cities' sprawling squatters became influential as a group in local politics through clientelist relations with the political parties and the state (Batuman, 2008; Eraydın and Taşan-Kok, 2014).

The last period, called urbanisation of capital, still continues on with an increasing pace since the 1980s' transition to neoliberal economic policies. Towards its own neoliberalism, Türkiye was shifting into uncharted waters with almost no investment capital following the turbulent economy of the 1970s and the coup by the end of it. New export orientation favoured only small number of industries. On the other hand, construction sector was given greenlight with policies to sustain its activity to bolster both employment opportunities and, more importantly, land and real estate market. Towards these goals, entrepreneurial urban governance was advanced in parallel with global trends with a moderate delegation of authority over urban development towards local governments (Harvey, 1989). This process eased privatisation as well as private sector activity on land although the central government gradually took back what it gave up initially (Balaban, 2012; Kayasü and Yetişkul, 2014; Unsal and Turk, 2016). Restructuring of the finance sector following the 2002 economic crisis, the leadership of the central government on urban development through TOKI (Mass Housing Administration) and additional legislation were aimed to derive further gains from urban land around the country. But, more importantly, this state-led process (through direct and policy interventions) strengthened the relations between the central government and developers close to it (Eraydın and Taşan-Kok, 2014). Thereafter, continuous change in institutions to sustain this activity increasingly legitimized business by political relationships, ultimately leading to a 'flexible' spatial system (Özkan and Turk, 2016).

In this context, Bursa is one of the few secondary cities in Anatolia with a century-spanning urban presence, since urban population was historically low in the region and observed in few settlements during the first half of the 20th century, with urban population hovering around 25 percent in 1927 (TURKSTAT, 2015). Moreover, com-

pared to the other examples such as Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir all of which commanded primacy in their respective region, Bursa has long been under the influence of Istanbul economically, socially, as well as spatially. In light of these attributes, the case is scrutinized in which areas it diverges from or converges to the national experience (Fig. 1). Following a period-by-period analysis, discussions and conclusions focus on the conflicts between the layers with more emphasis on the final period and the future being built on top of it.

2 Foundations: Ottoman Period of Urbanisation in Bursa (pre-1923)

The urban layer formed during the Republican period is built on the layer and dynamics inherited from the Ottoman Empire, thus, understanding it is imperative for the foundations of urban dynamics of subsequent Republican layers. City of Bursa was the capital city of Ottoman Empire before Istanbul took over this role. As a result, the city possessed important amount of heritage building stock as well as attention of the authorities on its urban space during the Empire era. Unlike numerous other provinces, the urban development of the city was subjected to this attention up until the final years of the Ottoman Empire.

19th century was a period when the state introduced new social, economic, cultural regulations and made reforms in military and administration. The duality of traditional and modern was noticeable in urban dynamics of Bursa in this century. The transformation processes in administration, which at the time operated under Ottoman laws built on customs while undergoing Western-oriented reform processes, was also observable in changes in the urban life and on the urban space. Formulation of solutions towards public transportation, sewer system, water and health were the primary aims during the period. On the other hand, advancements in transportation technologies increased the needs for wider and expanded road systems

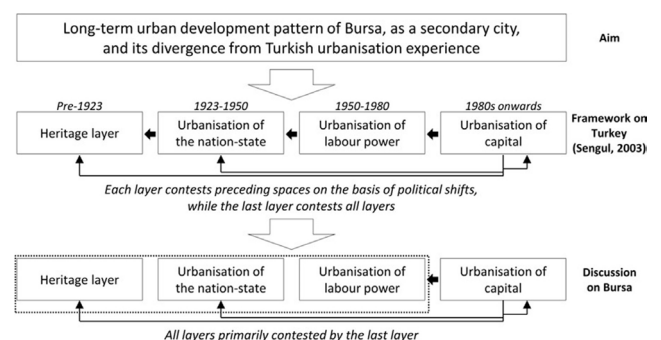


Fig. 1 Approach of the study (Source: Authors' elaboration)

in all Ottoman cities. Changes in commerce and shipment methods made railways and ports necessities. Lastly, migrations from territories lost after multiple wars called for new housing (Dostoğlu and Oral, 2000).

In order to answer these problems, -state efforts were made towards a written legislation on new urban fabric and building typologies, through certificates and regulations put into motion from the capital Istanbul. Included within these regulations were new standards on road widths, road hierarchy, ban on dead-end streets, implementing grid urban fabrics, limitations on timber structures, making the use of fire-resistant building materials compulsory (Çelik, 1986; Tekeli, 1980). As a product of these institutional changes, neighbourhoods with grid road-systems and fire-resistant materials, either newly established for new migrants or redeveloped after fires, were observable in the 19th century Bursa, a largely rural province back then. Another outcome was Bursa becoming one of the few provinces where administrative, cultural and education buildings were built by the financially troubled state. Municipality services were also started by 1867.

Adherence to the legislations from the capital and appointed governors in shaping the urban landscape (not commonly observed around the wide territories Empire possessed) had further critical results for the city and its centre, especially by the late 19th century. Ahmet Vefik Paşa, appointed from the Istanbul government to be Bursa's governor in 1879, was influenced by Georges-Eugène Haussmann and his military oriented spatial organisation during his stay in France. Adopting a similar stance towards Bursa, he championed construction of new wider roads and transportation corridors to meet the emerging needs in the city (Fig. 2) (Saint-Laurent, 1999).

In terms of the effects of industry and logistics on urban development, industry was organized around sericulture and textile during the period. There were almost 41 sericulture factories by the end of the 19th century, owned by mostly non-muslim Ottoman or foreign entrepreneurs (Tökin, 1949). The silk produced were transported through Bursa-Mudanya railway (a part of wider Istanbul-Bagdat line) to Mudanya, from where it was shipped to Marseille (Fig. 2). However, these factories stopped working in the aftermath of the World War I, as their non-muslim and foreign owners departed.

3 Reestablishment of industrial identity and introduction of new urban way of life (1923–1949)

The newly emerged nation state embraced industrial development and education of managers for investments

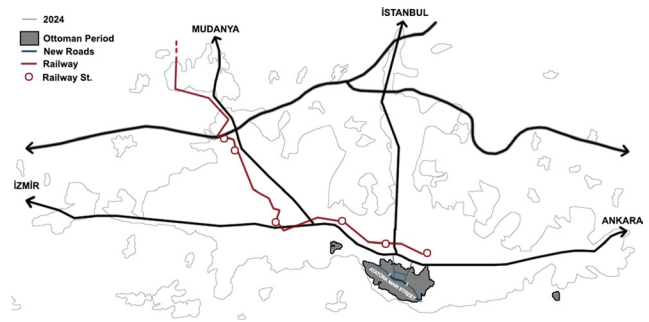


Fig. 2 Bursa urban fabric in the early 20th century and the newly constructed roads (Source: Authors' elaboration)

towards this goal. In this setting, Bursa was one of the primary recipients of the central government investments in industry. The newly established Republic aimed to revive the sericulture and textile heritage in the city through private sector, which was prevented by the Great Depression. As a result, subsequent etatist policies in the early 1930s realized these goals through state economic enterprise owned textile factories. The factories allowed the city to significantly improve on its industrial heritage and empowered its identity as an industrial centre while creating a spatial growth orientation towards the west of the city. At the same time, the new investment did not bring about conflict with the strong presence of Ottoman layer of urbanisation in the city. Similar to the wider national context, the agriculture was still the primary economic sector in the province at the time and thus strong urban growth was not triggered. However, foundations for such growth was laid by these industry investments, detailed below in parallel to the growth of the urban space.

Following multiple wars and World War I at the start of the 20th century, restructuring a nation-state from the ashes of the Empire was underway. Mixed economy model became the central economic policy as decided at Izmir Economics Congress in 1924. The Great Depression in 1929 cut short this process and led to the replacement of the mixed economy policies with etatist ones. During this process, the state and local actors foresaw the economic growth of Bursa to be driven by the embedded sericulture and textile experience inherited from the Empire period. Bursa Weaving Factory (İpek-İş) and Bursa Merinos Textile Factory, started to operate in 1927 and 1938 respectively, were milestones for the future of the urban and industry-oriented economic development of the city. The closer proximity to water sources and labour force had led industrial units to locate closer to foothills around Setbaşı and Muradiye neighbourhoods during the previous period (Kaprol, 2000). On the other hand, these new investments during this period expanded the city

towards plains to the northwest. This site selection was not by chance: Mudanya Road was perfect for transportation purposes as a vital corridor of the city. Subsequently, some of the housing growth in the following decades eventually located around these investments.

The nation-state established the modern municipality organisation as a step towards its modernisation goals. In the past, Ottoman administration had made fragmented attempts towards establishment of municipalities and their services, which required reformulation by the Republic. Enactment of Municipality Law (law num. 1580) in 1930 foresaw municipalities for all settlements with more than population of 2000, which included important duties and authorities. In addition, Law on Building and Roads (law num. 2290) in 1933 expanded these duties to include urban services and public development activities and gave municipalities a primary role. New institutions were established to provide funding to municipalities in financing all these services. As a result, municipalities around the country built several public buildings during the 1930s. The lack of technical staff crippled preparation of development plans for most of the settlements, needs of which were tried to be provided by the central government over the years. Beyond these shortcomings, lack of material and financial resources, epidemic diseases, lack of entrepreneurs and challenges of the newly established political system have all formed basis for the central government to assume many other duties of municipalities and have strong presence in localities for several decades. This presence was most observable in provincial governors' role as municipal mayors until 1961 (1948 for the capital, Ankara).

In the case of Bursa, masterplans were prepared by Carl Lörcher in 1924 and Henri Prost in 1940. Lörcher's plan, prepared in line with garden city approaches, was not implemented due to its conflicts with the historical fabric of the city. Prost, trying to implement axial planning on the city, proposed wider roads, new roads and landmarks at the ends of axial lines (Tosun, 2007). In parallel to these planning processes, the municipality built administrative, cultural, social, educational and health facilities and buildings in the early period of its institutionalization (Aladağ, 2004).

Several bank buildings (Türkiye İş Bankası, Yapı Kredi Bankası and Osmanlı Bankası) constituted other additions to the city centre. All these functions further cemented the role of Khans Area and its immediate surroundings as the administrative and cultural centre along its centuries-long commercial centre status (Fig. 3). In parallel to national approaches,

these functions were strategically located on Atatürk Road, the main commercial street of the city, together with public open spaces and landmarks to create a space representative of the Republic (Figs. 3 and 4). New style and land use suggestions, even if on an eclectic level, were present in most of the public buildings of the period which were planned to symbolically represent the nation state.

Bursa was one of the primary recipients of investment plans to shift development from Istanbul to Anatolian cities. These state interventions strategized around an industry-led development in economy, were followed by creation of public spaces on urban spaces by the state. As part of the modernisation approaches, the state aimed to introduce spaces for citizens to interact with one another as a member of the nation-state. Steps to introduce the urban life and urbanite identity to the citizens of Bursa included sports and theatre spaces among the social facilities of Merinos Factory and integration of new administrative uses representing the new state with long existing commercial uses embedded in the social life (Arıtan, 2008). As observed, the state had to take the initiative in all areas of life (spatial or not) in a period when citizens were only recently experiencing the urban life and its dynamics while emergence of national investors/bourgeoisie got continuously delayed, first, due to the 1929 Great Depression and, later, by the World War II. Thus, Bursa's urban development trends at the time were primarily shaped according to the visions of the central government.

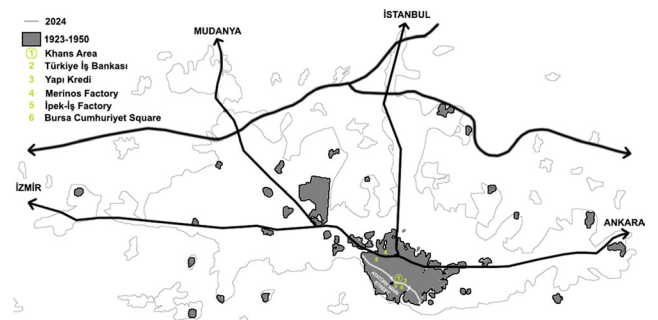


Fig. 3 Atatürk Road and some prominent buildings of 1923–1949
(Source: Authors' elaboration)



Fig. 4 Bursa Cumhuriyet Square (Source: Authors archive)

4 Emerging spaces of industry, labour force and ethnicity (1950–1980)

Political landscape changed during the 1950s as the country transitioned to a multiparty democracy. In the aftermath of the World War II, the change in government was followed by closer cooperation with the U.S. and adoption of its development policies. The mechanisation in agriculture fuelled the urban growth in larger cities through migration of rural poor in pursuit of employment. The employment opportunities were created with the 1960s' planned economy period as industrialisation was favoured through import substitution policies. However, the government allocated its already low resources towards industrial development while expending little on urban development up until 1980s. As a result, the migrants into the cities had to find their own solution to their residential needs which gave rise to *gecekondu* (squatters specific to Türkiye). These events are detailed below for Bursa with respect to changes taking place in its industrial and residential development respectively.

During the 1960s, a crucial element in directing the spatial development of Bursa was Piccinato Plan, despite its short-lived implementation period. The plan proposed industrial zones as focal employment units along with residential units around their immediate surroundings. These zones consisted of retail and craft stores on Yalova Road to the north and Ankara Road to the east while heavy industries were located on Mudanya Road towards northwest of the historic urban fabric (Piccinato, 1962). The aims of these plan decisions were to form a linear city, while preventing spatial growth towards agricultural areas as much as possible. Even if the applicability of the plan became questionable in the face of migration waves in search of employment, one of its influential proposals was heavy industries. In line with the goals of the 1st Five-Year Development Plan (FYDP) on balanced distribution of economic activity around the country, Istanbul's decentralisation was put into motion. This process coincided with the construction of the first organized industrial zone (OIZ) in the country. As the site selection of the OIZ investment was being evaluated during the early 1960s, existence of the development plan with an industrial zone proposal was noted to be a crucial edge of Bursa in the competition against other provinces (Kuter, 2017). More importantly, the local capital owners took the leap of faith to contribute the credit requested, amounts they have never given before, to capitalize on their advantageous position in this competition (Kuter, 2017). This settled the location of the investment in Bursa, which decisively strengthened the industry-centric identity of the city.

In parallel to these processes, the emphasis of 1st FYDP on the advancement in automotive industries manifested in the three corridors of the city: Karsan factory on Izmir Road to the west, Tofaş (with FIAT partnership) factory on Yalova Road to the north and Oyak-Renault factory on Mudanya Road to the northwest (Fig. 5). These investments, led by foreign and Istanbul capital, were to be located in Bursa for its industrial experience and labour force in machinery and metalwork as well as for the advancement of Istanbul's decentralisation process. Subsequently, support industries to automotive manufacturing thrived in the city, especially on Yalova Road.

The highlighted industries made Bursa one of the crucial employment centres for all migrants, whether they are from Balkan regions, from the province's rural areas or from other provinces. The resulting population boom caused the plan to miss its aims and targets in spatial development. As the city reached natural thresholds of agricultural lands to the north and mountain to the south, the expansion shifted towards northwestern agricultural lands and towards east, where unplanned development was more widespread. In parallel to all the changes in the local economy, the urban population reached to a million by 1980.

The development of the residential units is observed next in light of the industry's evolution detailed above. By 1950s, settlement of Bursa was composed of two sections:

1. The old city nucleus by the foothills of Mount Uludag and expansion on previously agricultural lands to the west, triggered by the industry there.
2. The latter, which started out by the 1940s, was initially composed of workers' quarters for workers at Merinos Weaving Factory.

By the 1950s and 1960s, migrants from Bulgaria were located north of these neighbourhoods as well. These developments were carried out in line with spatial plans and they presented an established migrants' neighbourhood as an entry location with close location to important employment centres

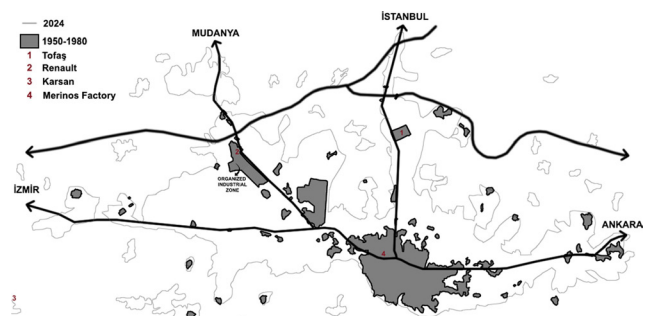


Fig. 5 Major industrial centres and macroform in 1980 (Source: Authors' elaboration)

of OIZ and Merinos Weaving Factory for the next waves of migrants from Bulgaria in the coming decades.

Rapid industrialisation drew additional migration to the city. The expansion of residential units in the wake of this population growth primarily took place in the form of illegal housing as it did in other metropolitan areas, as the state only had resources to advance industrialisation in the context of a planned economy period. Besides the widely observed Turkish squatters (tr. *gecekondu*), residential units with split deed ownerships were also widely seen in Bursa. Unlike the former, in split deed type of settlements, ownership of land belonged to those building on it with the violation/illegal activity being the construction activity on a land not designated for development. Thus, both building types are still unplanned units with no infrastructure and constitute an illegal practice, although the latter has a 'semi-secure' status (Enlil, 2011).

These squatters and split deed units could be observed by the 1950s on the plains and, later, on the foothills of Uludağ. As a result, 60% of the building stock by the 1960s was unlicensed and half of those designated for development were built in violation of the legislation on land development (Kaplanoğlu, 2015). The initial response from the local decision makers was destruction, as can be observed from the newspapers of the period (Yeni Ant, 1956). However, declaring squatters as rehabilitation and redevelopment areas increased as a method to appease to the vote potential of the migrants inhabiting them. As an example, licenses were provisioned for 4000 unlicensed housing units from these neighbourhoods regardless of their penalties in January 1963, before the local elections in November of the same year. These constituted the early examples of patron-client relationships shaping the urban space, as a result of the shortcomings of national institutions in politics.

As the construction of OIZ was completed in 1966 and automotive industry started to operate, construction of squatters with split deed also gained pace on the plains of Bursa after 1970. Neighbourhoods around OIZ and automotive-textile factories on Yalova Road as well as eastern parts of the city were designated for development (Çalışkan, 1994). Rapid urbanisation triggered squatters on the foothills due to cheaper land prices there, but also created transformation pressure and led to disintegration of traditional urban fabric inherited from the Ottoman period, on the basis of urban rent to be gained (Kırayoğlu, 2004). The enactment of Condominium Law back in 1965

accommodated this process as high-rise apartments started to rise in place of traditional housing units in and around the city centre as a solution to the housing demand.

All these spatial changes went hand in hand with social conflicts. Conflicts emerging among increasingly diverse groups and following spatial segregation took place on two levels: First one, born from the competition for employment, was between Bulgarian migrants and locals of Bursa; the second, between low-income newcomers to the city and middle-income locals. Resulting sociospatial pattern was the location of Bulgarian migrants around new industrial centres on Mudanya Road and that of locals on the foothills. The expansion of operations of industries in the post 1960s drew the low-income domestic migrants to Bursa. They located to the east and the north while middle- and high-income classes moved southwest. In these times of radical change, aspiration and adaptations of the newcomers were on full display in the building materials used by the end of this period: The briquette and loam were replaced with brick and concrete for purposes of blending in to the urban life and gaining permanence within it.

5 Reassembly of the past into the future through old dependences (post-1980)

As the adoption of 'big ideas' over development receded from national policies around the world and neoliberalism took over the economic policies, countries around the world tried to devise their own way into adaptation to the new global order (Lindauer et al., 2002). In contrast to developed world, where the prominent cities became nodes of consumption and service sector with the departure of manufacturing, developing countries' cities started to thrive from multiple reasons such as becoming new destinations for firms in search of cheap labour and/or integration of their local manufacturing with the global trade and value chains. In this transition process, Türkiye had undergone radical changes with the 1980's coup. The coup, with its economic and political motives, brought the adoption of neoliberal policies and rapidly implemented policies to integrate Türkiye to the global economy. The national capital, previously protected from the global competition by import substitution policies, couldn't compete under the new market dynamics and, eventually, moved towards finance sector and urban environment.

As the circuits of capital turned towards the built environment, the role of urban environment as the space for public life lost priority in the face of its exchange value.

As replicated around the world, gated communities, residences, shopping malls, office spaces and hotels started to fill Turkish urban landscape and get replaced on the basis of this exchange value (Harvey, 1985). In terms of interaction between different layers, the neoliberal era has sought to replace or repurpose the previous layers according to its accumulation processes. Inability to do so would prompt various methods of driving them to ruin, such as leaving previous layers' components to dilapidation to form legitimate grounds for transformations. Bursa, as the case, has been a hotbed of these processes as observed from the capital's aggressive stance towards not only previous layers but also the present one. In parallel to Turkish experience, spatial layers shaped by the nation-state and labour were primary targets. However, even the foundational layers from Ottoman period and before was subjected to ruin and appropriation. The developments of the period are evaluated in categories of 'infrastructure and transportation' and 'built environment' due to the wide range of events they entail.

5.1 Infrastructure and transportation

Following the 1980s coup, the capital activity on large Turkish cities were focused on infrastructure first and foremost. Bursa, being one of these cities, saw thriving construction activity enabled by the liberal Motherland Party municipality. This was an extension of the central government strategy (also governed by Motherland Party) of revitalizing the economy and alleviating unemployment by using the construction sector around the country. World Bank credits were instrumental for this activity as they funded construction of rainwater collection and sewage systems, waste management surveys, access to water, electricity and natural gas (Bursa Defteri, 2002; Turkish Grand National Assembly, 1997).

At the same time, investments on transportation gained pace as well. As industry and housing areas grew, highways, light rail transit and, to some extent, airway investments were carried out. The road system, which had been built during the planned economy period and connecting the city to other metropolitan cities Ankara, Izmir and Istanbul, ended up inside the urban fabric by the 2000s and formed justification for a freeway. For the continuation of the construction sector activity, large-scale projects built with public-private partnerships (PPP) such as Istanbul-Izmir motorway and Osmangazi Bridge, further clenched dependence trend of Bursa to Istanbul. Aside from the costs of these projects, those born out of uncoordinated airport investments in Bursa and its neighbouring provinces has been even more appalling: Bursa Yenisehir Airport, built in

another district close to the central districts, lost functionality in a few years as a result of Sabiha Gökçen Airport constructed in Istanbul in 6 minutes of flight distance (approx. 75 km). As a result, Yenisehir Airport continues to operate as an inefficient investment due to inability or non-preference to coordinate the spatial development and economic feasibility of such projects on the regional scale.

Light rail transit (LRT) Bursaray has been another vital investment in Bursa's transportation. International funding during 1990s enabled the construction of the project, which was planned since the late 1980s. The LRT connected industrial centres in the west to the city centre by 2002. Multiple extensions were made to the same line: One towards residential areas in the east by 2008; another to the university and other industrial zones in the west by 2011 and, lastly, to the industrial zones in the east by 2014. Further extensions are still being planned with aims to providing service to the city hospital (massive scale health facilities championed by the central government in several provinces) and the high-speed rail station in construction. Whether the very same LRT line can provide sufficient service in quality and quantity to all these various uses remains highly questionable.

Concerning the future of Bursa, plans for controversial strategic motorway projects are underway in the form of a third motorway and the Southern Motorway investments. The third motorway is projected to primarily cross over the plains of Bursa, lands continually lost to industrial and residential growth despite protection efforts since the establishment of the Republic. The Southern Motorway, on the other hand, is envisioned on the foothills of the Mount Uludag, which are within the boundaries of Uludag Natural Park. A national scale railway investment constitutes the last of these major investments: High-speed rail connection of Bursa to the Istanbul-Ankara line will cut travel time to two hours to both cities, connecting almost 30 million people. The station's location to the northwest end of the city makes LRT connection to the station possible, construction of which started by April 2021. In the event of completion, these projects will become major components of the future spatial growth.

5.2 Built environment

Export-orientation and integration to the international division of labour in the post-1980s favoured Bursa's industrial identity. Factories by Coats, Pirelli, Oyak-Renault and TOFAŞ provided growth opportunities for the local development in this economic environment. The city, being in Istanbul's hinterland, added variety of public and private

investments to its economic base during and beyond the 2000s as well. However, as financialisation and real estate sector grew rapidly and the national capital shifted their investments to these fields, so did the local capital. Özdilek Holding, from textile sector; Erol Saçmacı, from footwear manufacturing, Uludağ Kuyumculuk from jewelry sector, are some of the major local enterprises that has shifted their operations and capital from their respective fields into the real estate activity.

In Bursa, these shifts in national and local economic activity paved the path for high-rise residential estates on Izmir Road in Nilüfer district; low-rise, gated off residential zones with gardens on Mudanya Road (Fig. 7) (Türkoğlu, 2013). These western and northwestern sections of the city increasingly became home to segregated, luxurious estates and residences. As comfort was prioritized for these units, shopping, education and health facilities became components of various projects. Aside from them, Zafer Plaza, CarrefourSA, As Merkez, Kent Meydanı, Korupark, Endülüs Park, Sur Yapı Marka Park, Özdilek Park specialized further, acting as both shopping malls and residences as an outcome of the changing economy and patterns of consumption and lifestyles (Fig. 6).

Capital's appropriation of the nation-state layer of the city is visible with experiences on Merinos Factory, Atatürk Stadium as well as Kızılay and Central Bank buildings. Merinos Factory had increasingly been targeted by urban rentiers owing to its location at the heart of the city (Uras, 2006). As the factory burnt down in 2006, redevelopment of its area into a cultural centre and recreation area became the silver lining. However, decades long indifference to the factory's worn-down state had been the real culprit leading to this redevelopment, instead of a chance at renewal of the building that embodied the values of the Republic and the city's industrial characteristic. Kızılay, İŞKUR and Central Bank buildings, major components of the nation-state layer located at Atatürk Street, were demolished in 2020. In line with the accumulation strategies, transformation and redevelopment became primary methods instead of renewal or rehabilitation.

Similarly, dispossession has been underway in the cases of squatter and split deed settlements of the preceding layer. By means of urban transformation projects, urbanisation layer of labour has been in process of appropriation by the capital. In the city centre, transformation of stores on Atatürk Street into Zafer Plaza shopping mall, Doğanbey Urban Transformation Project, Kızıyakup (Kamberler) Urban Transformation and Historical Park Project, Bursa

Santral Garaj and Its Surroundings Urban Transformation and Development Project; in the east, Sinandede Urban Transformation Project, 152 Evler-Beyazıt Urban Transformation Project constitute examples of appropriation from the components of the preceding layer.

Aggression of this last layer, urbanisation of capital, not only targeted the previous nation state or labour fabrics but also itself in order to consume and reproduce uses such as gated communities and shopping malls in new forms and concepts. In Nilüfer district, where middle-high- and high-income groups reside and higher exchange values are present, large portion of houses were demolished and rebuilt with focus on maximizing rent of the private developers in disregard of amenities as the building densities progressively increased (Güler, 2019). This reconstruction activity in the most recently developed part of the city demonstrates the dominant role the capital possesses in shaping the spatial organisation. The conflicts it creates on urban space along with its operations are also on full display in case of consumption spaces: CarrefourSA Bursa AVM, one of the first shopping malls in Bursa, lost its vibrancy as Sur Yapı Marka AVM was built with a new concept in 200 meters distance. Similarly, As Merkez Outlet was rendered almost non-functional against Anatolium/IKEA AVM.

Planning institutions were instrumental to these processes in Bursa. From preparation to implementation, Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation (MoEU), Bursa Greater Municipality, Mass Housing Administration (tr. TOKI) and private developers have worked in cooperation. The authority of TOKI to develop on public land, to prepare plans independently of local government and be exempt from audit left irreparable consequences on the urban fabric, such as Doğanbey Houses. In addition, MoEU delegated its authority on transformation of risk prone areas to Bursa Greater Municipality and the greater municipality increased floor area ratio (FAR) by 0.50 for projects at the lot scale in 2015. These actions produced high density

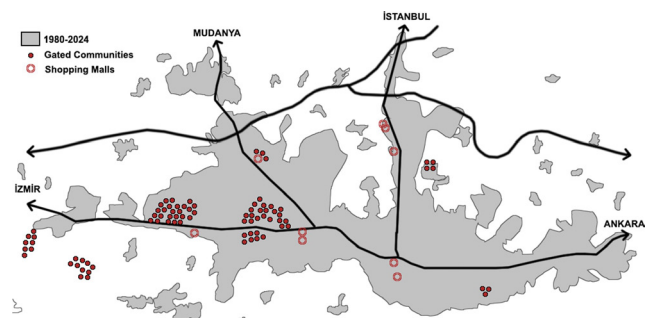


Fig. 6 Location of shopping malls and gated communities in current macroform of Bursa (Source: Authors' elaboration)

development that has appealed to economic and disaster concerns while abandoning quality of life standards.

6 Discussions and conclusion

The urbanisation experience of Bursa for the last century are strongly connected to wider trends emanating from Istanbul and national-scale projects in the region. The political and development implications from these bonds shaped the local relations and their spatial representations. Bursa's secondary metropolitan status right behind primate cities Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir as well as close proximity to Istanbul differentiates the roots and evolution of these socio-spatial processes. For the heritage period, the weaker politico-spatial system of a highly centralized government had exceptions to it in the extent of the Empire's varying degree of control over its wide territories and central – local actor conflicts they posed (Boone, 2012; Şengül, 2003). As one of these exceptions, the Ottoman period of Bursa's urbanisation can be described by being a 'blue area' in terms of political context: The province has strictly followed the laws and regulations set from Istanbul, compared to other urban centres which were few and (relative to Bursa) far from the capital by the early 20th century (O'Donnell, 1993).

This state presence transformed Bursa's urban space according to the state's economic and administrative goals, as evidenced by surveys and maps produced at the time (Erder, 1975). In other words, the Empire made initial efforts on spatially coding its citizens, before the Republic later started its own process in an organized and spatially uniform method inside the new national borders. As a result, conciliatory interventions became favorable for Bursa in the transition towards urbanisation of the nation-state, unlike the conflicts between the Ottoman heritage layer and the new Republican urban layer as in the examples of Ankara and Istanbul. The interventions on integrating new public spaces and buildings with the existing heritage layer shows a vision of gradual transformation and modernisation of society in the instance of Bursa. Similarly, even the state investments in industry were promoting the new urban way of life to its citizens with amenities to serve the whole city designed inside their premises, as exemplified by Merinos Factory (Arıtan, 2008).

In the transition towards the urbanisation of labour, the formation of new spaces took place on agricultural lands in both leapfrog and continuous development patterns. First, the existence of spatial plans was an important element for global actors and national state to give Bursa priority in OIZ investment (Kuter, 2017). Local business

chamber was not in consensus to provide the unprecedented amount of credits as part of the project, but ultimately agreed (Kuter, 2017). Thus, local economic development goals outlined by the local state and actors came to align with those of global investors and central government to form the growth trend and identity of the city. This investment decisively cemented the city's growth towards the west on Mudanya Road. However, subsequently expanding labour force sought to integrate to the existing residential zones in the east, as the residential areas were yet to intrude extensively on the agricultural lands to the west. High- and middle-income citizens couldn't relocate far from the increasingly congested city centre for that very reason as well, although new development encroached towards the west.

Under these changes in the spatial organisation, city centre started its initial loss of focality as residential areas for low and middle to high income classes expanded towards the opposite sides of it as new urban nuclei. The expansion of squatters was, uniquely to Bursa, took place on squatters' owners' land where the only contention was the land's status not being coded for development. This softened the challenge presented to the state's guarantor role of private property and, thus, presented lesser friction between both parties. On the other hand, conflict between classes possessed more dimensions. Segregation became more underlined on the basis of residential areas with an additional aspect beyond socio-economic basis: The uneasy relations were not limited to between different income classes, but also included cultural conflict (mostly) within the low-income classes on the basis of competition for highly sought-after employment opportunities (Nichols et al., 2003). This aspect and the state-citizen relations from the squatters' land ownership status can be argued to have delayed the maturation of class-based politics in shaping Bursa's urban space, unlike the trends in other larger cities. As a result, low income classes' demands from their urban spaces were less politically expressed and, thus, got materialized in smaller number of cases before the 1980s' coup.

The 1980s onwards saw the rise of neoliberal urbanisation in Türkiye, with Bursa being no exception to its forces. The new urban spaces grew over agricultural lands or by transformation of units of previous urban layers. As everywhere else around the country, urban rent was actively used to mend the economic damage done to lower income classes through wage-cuts, which was welcomed by the economically weakened society and accommodated

by the autocratic political environment for the first half of the decade. As the economic landscape of the province transformed and flourished with the industrial foundations established in the past periods (which were well positioned to take advantage of the new export-oriented policies of the decade), the province expanded spatially towards industries in the west. The restructuring of the state at the local level by the establishment of the greater municipality as well as the three district municipalities under it by the late 1980s, coupled with their increased authority over the land development, hastened the formation of a new city centre in the west, closer to the burgeoning industry. The increased authorities of localities allowed them to reach out to credits from international sources, which enabled city's infrastructure to adapt to the emerging globally-linked production and consumption. The high-income classes, already desiring to move away from the congested city centre, flocked towards new development areas where segregated housing units were introduced. In a decade, the resulting urban landscape turned into one of distinct inequality and separation before the millennium.

During the 1990s, urban growth of Bursa also expanded from additional national and local events: High inflation made real estate a safe haven for households' budget and there was good industrial performance by the local textile industry under new economic policies, which was a rarity among the generally non-competitive national industry during the period. As a rare success story from Turkish manufacturing at the period, the textile sector in Bursa was a prime ground for conflicts. In the transformation process of the national economy, even the capital owners were at odds with each other for individual gains, among which conservative ones were the exception whose organized movement around the country would eventually translate into strong political standing and influence (Pınarcıoğlu, 2000). However, as capital owners became increasingly less restrained and labour increasingly vulnerable, even the capital association and labour unions established around Islamic values have found themselves at odds as well (Pınarcıoğlu, 2000).

2000s onwards, delegation of authorities related to urban development to increasing number of institutions over the years contributed to fragmentation in urban planning. This fragmentation provided the 'flexible' institutional environment, facilitating the activities of the state and associated capital owners (Özkan and Turk, 2016). As flexible / project-led approach operates independent from urbanism principles, previous layers' social, cultural

and environmental values deemed to be easily replaced in Bursa as well, which paved the way for these layers' deterioration and demolition. As another driving force behind this dynamic, increased connection to other major industrial powerhouses in the region, such as Istanbul and Kocaeli, have made Bursa a crucial part of a city-region formation around Marmara Sea which triggers further unhinged spatial development for the city. The national role of this region as the industrial hotbed of the country leads to direct intervention from the central government over critical spatial decision making, as the local government in Bursa and surrounding provinces lack political authority and coordination mechanisms to formulate spatial strategies and land-use decisions to shape their urban space. As a result, management of their urban development according to local strategies are significantly undermined. The local plans, instead of being documents to shape future spatial development, have rather turned into records of projects of the central government and capital owners which act as a legitimation mechanism.

These problems are not unique to the case of Bursa, Marmara region it's in, or even the Turkish context. The disconnection between the city-regions and governance mechanisms are also underlined around the world, along with arguments that this disconnection is what makes them perform better in the first place (Etherington and Jones, 2016; Osborne and Rose, 1999). The regional governance structures, Regional Development Agencies, only act as advisory and funding bodies for projects in their respective regions, not unlike their counterparts in Asia and Latin America (Aguilar and Lopez, 2018; Sit, 2005). Bursa's corresponding RDA does not even include any of its Marmara region neighbours and, thus, becomes functionally questionable in the first place. In this spatial structure, Bursa is caught within the wider spatial development trends emanating from the central government's projects to bolster Istanbul's status as the global city, while decentralising its industry. Realisation of this strategy is formulated around what is unofficially called 'Golden Ring'. The strategy of this ring is composed of PPP-funded large infrastructure projects connecting provinces around Marmara Sea over various natural thresholds such as Strait of Çanakkale and Gulf of Izmit. Local capital of Bursa also has its own aspirations as well within these wider schemes, as they invest in the country's first Industry 4.0 focused OIZ in connection with the highway investments mentioned.

In light of these events, economic productivity goals shape the ultimate conditions affecting the macroform of

Bursa and its neighbours. In the existing flexible planning system, local spatial plans, which have not accounted for the increasing number of central government projects, implement these projects ex-post. The subsequent spatial development falls short in terms of its response to cumulatively increasing social and environmental costs. In this respect, the local policy makers during the 1990s were highlighting the case for overdevelopment in Bursa even back then, with pollution from its myriad industrial units (Pınarcıoğlu, 2000). In the nexus of high population numbers and pollution of natural resources through industries, agglomeration diseconomies can cut the whole city region formation process short for all Marmara Sea neighbouring provinces. This is best observed in the example of the mucilage outbreak in Marmara Sea in 2021, which is likely the first of many challenges to come (Zhang, 2021).

Cities' evolution under neoliberal policies does not necessarily entail consistency within itself and, in line with that, contradictions in the example of Bursa are easily observable (Harvey, 2007; Peck et al., 2009). From the infeasible airport investments to locating a shopping mall next to another and rendering the formerly built dysfunctional, variety of questionable interventions come to materialize under the guise of competition. Bursa has increasingly lost the small agency it had in its local economic

and spatial development in the post-1980s unlike other examples around the country which were able to advance their local agenda (Bayirbağ, 2010). Under these conditions, there is a need for a re-balance in the relations between the local government, central government and private actors. Devoid of mechanisms to clarify their relations and roles, the local economy and following spatial growth will remain dependent and uncoordinated under combination of forces such as Istanbul's decentralisation, central government's large-scale projects or FDI's. In this regard, more experiences from Türkiye remains open for further exploration to discover whether room for manoeuvre exists for localities. Secondary cities with similar profile to Bursa in terms of industrial prominence and century-long urban history can shed light into the differences evolved throughout the last century. Especially, the role of Istanbul in driving the growth of its neighbouring provinces along with dependences it creates requires further inspection. Marmara provinces such as Kocaeli, Edirne and distant ones, such as Adana, present fairly unexplored cases and dynamics, comparisons of which would test the role of exogenous (Istanbul-led) and endogenous driving forces in the development path of secondary metropolitan Turkish cities.

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