

# **Disaster Capitalism meets Authoritarian Urbanism**

Post-disaster urban redevelopment planning in Hatay, Turkey

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# How to redevelop a city that is 80% destroyed?

- Two major earthquakes on February 6, 2023 hit South of Turkey.
- Over 14 million people impacted in 11 provinces.
- 12,000 buildings demolished and over 717,000 buildings severely damaged. Official death toll 51,000.
- 80% of the buildings in Antakya, the central district of Hatay (to be) demolished in the aftermath of a third major earthquake on February 20th.

# Post-disaster redevelopment lessons

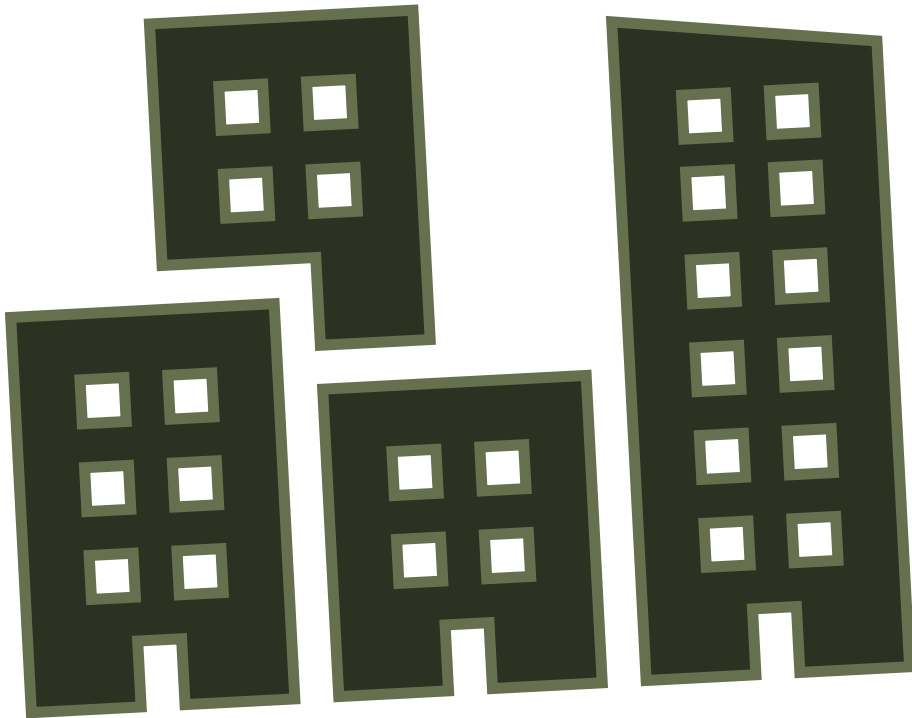
- Destructed cities reemerge at the same location, not fully relocated elsewhere.
- Recovery is not a final state, continues until the local organizations rebuild capacity to respond challenges freely
- External funding is essential but creates pressure and tension with the local flexibility.
- Recovery is uneven and tend to reflect underlying inequalities, even make them more visible.
- National politics matter for recovery/redevelopment at the local level and administrative capacity mimic politics beyond the local.

# Conceptual Framework

- Tension between **speed/urgency** and **deliberation/inclusion**
- A critical reading of the post-disaster redevelopment planning to unpack the institutional drivers and actors of this tension between speed and deliberation in planning in the aftermath of a disaster.
- A political economy of planning for post-disaster redevelopment
  - Disaster capitalism (Klein, 2007; Alvarez and Cardenas 2019; Akers 2012)
  - Authoritarian urbanism (Ay & Türker, 2023; Zupan et al., 2021; Ergenc & Yuksekkaya 2022)
- Actors, institutions, strategies?

# Research Questions

- How does post-disaster urban redevelopment planning unfold under (ostensibly) authoritarian regimes?
- How do actors negotiate speed and deliberation in the planning process for redevelopment?





## Case study: Antakya, Hatay

- Extreme case/ Qualitative data from documents & interviews/ Deductive coding.
- Official Gazette for new legislation passed centrally.
- Municipal council minutes, local offices of Ministry.
- News articles, reports, NGOs websites.

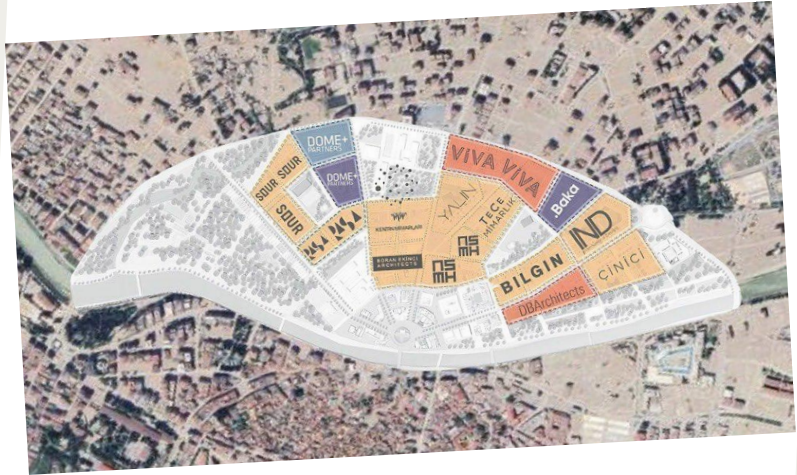


# Massive property transfer

- Urgent expropriation with presidential decree: state becomes the landowner without going through the regular expropriation process.
- Replacement unit on the spot or from mass social housing projects at the city outskirts.
- Land consolidation for comprehensive planning upon expropriation.







## Non-transparent, expert-driven, master plans

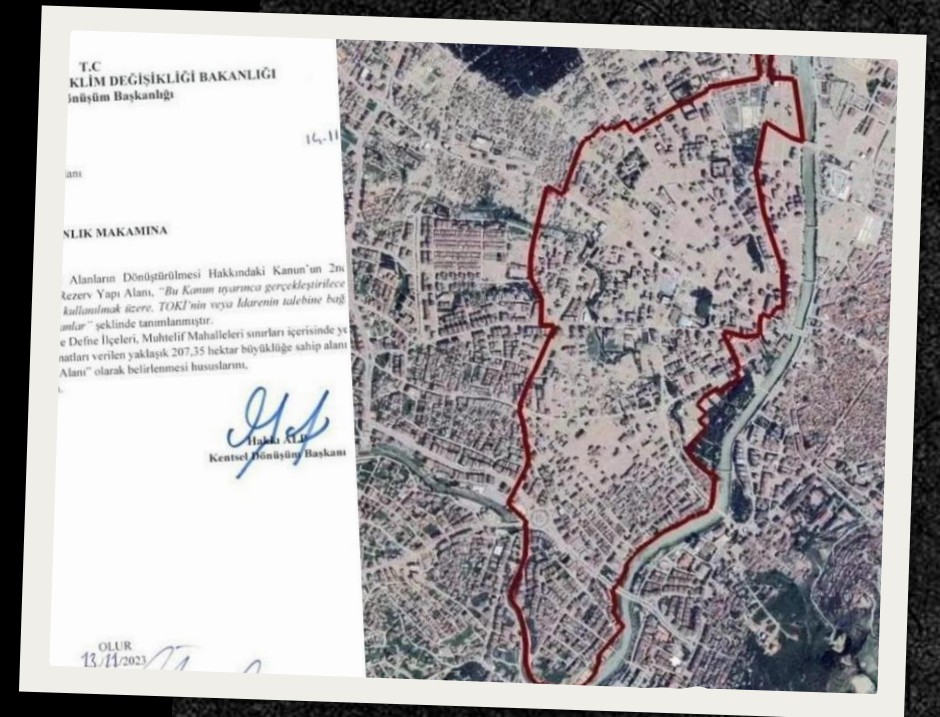
- Protocols between the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change, Ministry of Culture and Tourism and Türkiye Design Council in September 2023.
- Project “Revival of Hatay” with invited architects, urban planners nationally and internationally.
- Source of funding not disclosed.
- No local engagement, inclusion or participation.





# Centralization of planning authority further

- Changes in the national legislation on “Transformation of Areas Under Disaster Risk” in November 2023.
- Change in the definition of “reserve land” for new development.
- Ministry fully in charge of planning activities in designated areas.
- New directorate for urban transformation.
- Implications beyond the disaster-hit region.



# Push back from the locals?

- Resistance of the local, bottom-up efforts and NGOs?
- Efforts to RE-claim right to stay, invoke memory, economic revitalization
- Local solidarity networks, building institutional and organizational capacity.



# Disaster capitalism meets authoritarian urbanism...

- Exploitation of the “crisis” to push through privatization, commodification, marketization.
- Crisis as a pretext for bypassing democratic norms, imposing state control, implement top-down measures.
- Displacement and marginalization: broader strategy of order and control?
- Efficiency and urgency restricting democratic involvement.
- Fundamental reconfiguration of space

What next?