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**Changing Structure and Functions of Urban-
Rural Fringes in a Process of Urban Stability in
Turkey**

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Changing Structure and Functions of Urban-Rural Fringes in a Process of Urban Stability in Turkey

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Abstract

National level economic development efforts in Turkey in the period after the 1950s have mostly been characterized in relation to rapid national population increase rates. In this period, nationwide economic development policies were focused on industrialization and development of industrial abilities in the urban areas. Therefore rapid national population increase indispensably became an urban population booming mainly because of industry intensified economic policies. In this period, thanks to the high levels of Total Fertility Rate (TFR), urban population increase rates sometimes tripled and even quadrupled the total population increase. Urban growth and growth related urban problems, therefore, have always been on the focal point of national urbanization agenda of Turkey. The last two decades, however, began to show changing demographic trajectories. The growth rates of urban population nationwide have been declining. In many Anatolian cities, moreover, urban population began to be stabilized. During a period of rapid urban growth urban-rural fringes in many of the cities have either been planned to be reserve areas for further growth, or identified to be locations of certain land-uses which should not or could not be located in urban areas, or in many cases, become slum house areas. However, in a period of stability, urban-rural fringes seem to be left without proper planning decisions. This study aims at reimagining a theoretical framework for urban-rural fringes as new opportunities for urban economic development by reconstructing the relations between urban areas and fringes and new opportunities for rural development as well by suggesting new functions to urban-rural fringes as the places for spillover effects from “near-rural” areas to rural settlements.

Keywords: Near-rural areas, Urban-rural fringes, Urban stabilization, Turkey.

Introduction

In the industrialized world, low fertility related demographic structure problems have already begun to find their reflections in economic development policies. Especially in the European Region, the Total Fertility Rates (TFRs) have begun to decrease in the period after the baby boomer generation. Even though the global population still draws an upward tendency, stability and decline in total population have become one of the two preliminary demographic structure problems together with population ageing. Therefore, low fertility related problems intertwined with the problems related to the increase rates of older age groups in societies have attracted great attention to the economic outcomes of these demographic structure changes. Economic influences of these changes became much more apparent in a wide range from total efficiency to labor market shrinkage and even to social security policies.

In Turkey, these problems have begun to be much more influential in the new millennia. On the one hand, Turkish national economy gradually began to suffer from its traditional demographic trigger, namely the young and dynamic population. On the other hand, socio-economic consequences such as the increase in the legal retirement age and necessary revisions in the national social security policies intensely began to influence the national economic climate. However, one of the most important consequences of this national demographic structure change seems to be the changing urbanization experience of Turkey. The rapid urban population increase rates especially in the period between 1950s and 1990s indispensably necessitated an urban administration framework which mainly focused on the preliminary problems of managing rapid urban growth in Anatolian cities. In this new era, however, urban problems related to rapid urban growth have gradually begun to lose their importance since the urban growth rates have gradually begun to decrease. Many of the Anatolian cities in the present decade are experiencing urban stabilization problem that is a brand new problem area for them. Urban stabilization and even degrowth seem to be preliminary and central problems for Turkish cities not only because of urban administration and planning, but also in terms of local economies.

Many of the local economic development experiences especially in the economic restructuring period after the 1980s seem to enjoy the economic externalities of rapid urban growth. On the one hand, there were strong relations between rapid urban growth and the development of local industrial sectors. Agglomeration of local firms around food, textile and furniture sectors was a main consequence of national economic development policies but the profitability of these sectors was highly dependent on increasing number of urban consumers. The period between 1960 and 1980 is identified as the “planned economy years”. During this planned economy period, import substitution policies paved the way for increase in the number of private capital establishments particularly in textile and food industries. Even though the planned economy reflected the idea of “heavier industrialization” by increasing investments in intermediate and capital goods during the first years of the period between 1960 and 1980, a majority of private capital tended to establish firms in furniture, food and textile sectors owing mostly

to the lower risks and higher rates of profit in this sector thanks to import substitution and non-stop growing local markets of rapidly growing cities.

The relation between economic development and urban growth is a good indicator explaining why urban growth has had central importance in urban planning experience in Turkey both in practical and theoretical grounds. Urban spatial development has long been considered in relation to urban growth much more than urban quality of life in Turkey and this approach influenced not only the practice but planning education as well. This practical and theoretical area of expertise in Turkish planning agenda seems to be taken for granted since one of the most important urban problems in practice and the efforts that sought solutions in theory and education were completely relevant.

However, contemporary planning agenda has already begun to face the problems of urban stability, and even shrinkage in some cases. Similarly, the national economic development agenda has already started to deal with the problems of slowing national population increase rates. These changes are identified as new urban problems in relation to Turkey's new urbanization process in this study. In addition, this study aims to identify a new question which takes urban peripheral areas where in the 'urban' touches the 'rural', and near-rural areas wherein the accessibility to the amenities of urban life qualities and the proximity especially to the regional towns are minimally influenced by the friction of distance into consideration. On the other hand, this study also seeks new, local-specific uses for urban peripheral areas.

To anticipate the direction, the urban peripheral areas of the urban center of Cappadocia Region, the city of Nevşehir are studied. Cappadocia Region is one the well-known natural and historical sites of Turkey which is registered as a World Heritage by UNESCO in 1985 both in historical and natural terms. Total population changes and the changes of cohort population are investigated in order to identify the demographic structure change in the city. Besides, the changes in the urban macro forms, urban growth and land use decisions of the city are analyzed in order to understand the changing structure of urban peripheral areas of the city.

Demographic Change Trends on Global, National and Local Levels

The Demographic Change Trends on International Level and in Turkey

An ageing population is one of the most commonly pronounced demographic structure problems recently, in the developed countries. The second problem is the fertility decline. The most common indicator for fertility is the Total Fertility Rate (TFR). It gives the average number of children per woman.

Researchers show that TFR below 2.1 means a low fertility and decline in the total population (Thompson, 1929; McDonald, 2000; Muenz, 2007). However, it is important to underline that, little fluctuations in this rate result big influences. McDonald (2000), for instance, stresses that in a population with a fertility rate of 1.3, the population falls at the rate of 1.5 % per annum and such a population, in 100 years would fall to less than a

quarter of its original size. He also shows that with a fertility rate of 1.9, the rate of decline in this population is only 0.2 % per annum which at the end of 100 years would result a population that is 82 % of its original size (McDonald, 2000). Despite the continuing increase tendency of the total world population, the increase amount is – owing to a decline in the TFR – gradually dwindling.

Table 1 clearly indicates this downward trajectory. In the period after the 1980s, nearly all of the European Region countries begun to experience TFR levels below 2.1 that indicates decrease trends on national populations.

Table 1. Total (Period) Fertility Rates in the EU Region

	1960/64	1970/74	1980/84	1990/94	2000/03	2004/05	2050
Belgium	2.64	2.07	1.61	1.62	1.63	1.64	1.70
Denmark	2.58	1.97	1.44	1.73	1.75	1.78	1.80
Germany	2.46	1.77	1.48	1.32	1.35	1.37	1.45
France	2.83	2.36	1.88	1.72	1.89	1.90	1.85
Ireland	3.91	3.84	2.92	1.99	1.95	1.99	1.80
Italy	2.50	2.37	1.55	1.28	1.26	1.33	1.40
Hungary	1.88	2.01	1.82	1.77	1.31	1.28	1.60
Netherlands	3.17	2.15	1.52	1.59	1.72	1.73	1.75
Austria	2.78	2.08	1.61	1.49	1.37	1.42	1.45
Poland	2.76	2.24	2.33	1.93	1.28	1.23	1.60
Finland	2.68	1.64	1.68	1.82	1.74	1.80	1.80
Sweden	2.30	1.90	1.64	2.04	1.62	1.75	1.85
UK	2.86	2.20	1.81	1.78	1.66	1.74	1.75
Turkey	6.18	5.68	4.36	2.99	2.42	2.20	1.85

Source: Eurostat from Europe's Demographic Future: Facts and Figures, 2007, p.17.

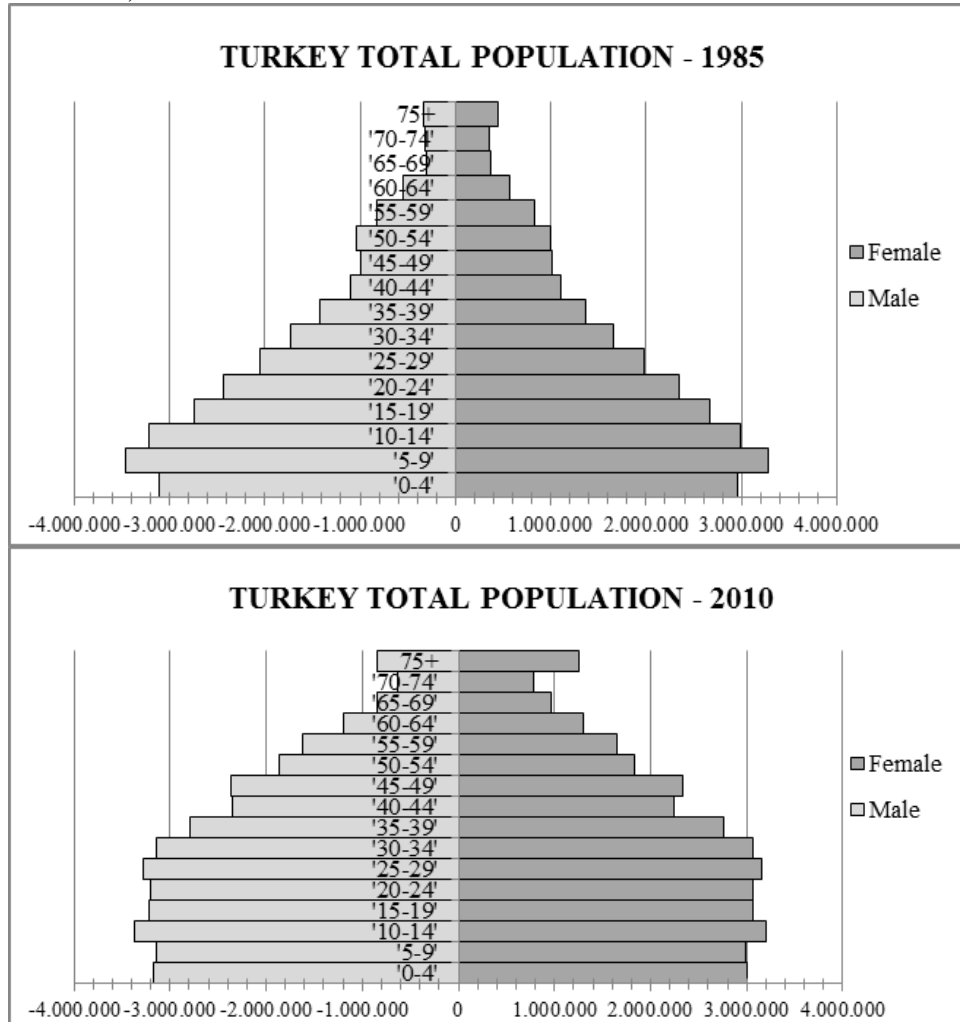
Migration seems to be one main reason preventing the European Region from untamable degrees of population losses. But in-migration trajectories towards the European countries seems to have necessitated policy measures to reorganize economic, public and social life seeking coherence between divergent communities of a much more sophisticated multi-national society (see for instance Europe's Demographic Future: Facts and Figures, 2007). TFR decline may, thus, represent population mobilities such as in-migration and increasing sophistication of national societies in the European Region. Besides, it also represents an accelerating population ageing owing mostly to high levels of total quality of life and decline in the mortality rates (Muenz, 2007; McDonald, 2000).

But things have totally been different in Turkey side of the picture. Even though Turkey has experienced the most dramatic TFR decline in the same period (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2006), the apparent outcomes of this trajectory have just begun to be visible. The in-migration period of the European Region mentioned earlier corresponds to opposite trends for Turkey such as out-migration and population increase.

The TFR in Turkey in 2005 was 2.20 while it was 6.18 in the period between 1960 and 1964. In a forty-five-year period, therefore, the TFR has

declined approximately 65%. Having regard to this decline in TFR, the total national population in Turkey seems to stabilize and seems to decline in near future if this latest trajectory remains the same.

Figure 1. *The Comparison of National Population Pyramids of Turkey (1985 and 2010)*



Source: Compiled by the Author from TURKSTAT Census Data.

In addition to the TFR decline trend in Turkey shown in Table 1, the latest national population pyramid indicates a downward trajectory in the population increase ratios and the shrinking proportion of the population of younger cohorts as shown in Figure 1. This trajectory, moreover, refers to a mid-term decline in the labor force cohorts and to an increase in the population of the elderly population which at the end results an increase in the elderly dependency ratios.

The Rural-Urban Fringe

Theoretical Attitude toward the Rural-Urban Fringes

The post-war period after 1945 represents a major restructuring process both in economic and urban terms for almost all of the countries. It is possible to distinguish between three significant paradigms in this period. Perhaps the most apparent one is the dominance of the Keynesian economics. In tune with the rise of welfare state and Keynesian economics, planned economy and planning profession itself had gained a central importance. The rapid population increase can be identified as the second clearly distinguishable realities of this period. The post-war period also represents a beginning for an extremely high increase in urbanization in relation both to the rapid population growth, and industrialization based development strategies in many countries. Everything about ‘urban’ had become a focal point since development has been thought to be depended merely on urbanization; and thus industrialization. Even the indicators of development had been organized to measure the industrialization levels. The policies and strategies of this period have, therefore, focused on urbanization and industrialization. The dominance of welfare state policies and thus planned economy has paved the way of planning profession for a central importance. And central issues in planning were all related to ‘growth’ one way or another.

Drawing a brief perspective about how planning theoretically conceptualized the rural-urban fringe in a period in which ‘growth’ played the leading role seems to have a vital importance. The fringe has not been discovered recently, it has always been there in theoretical foundations of planning. It is possible to identify the first theoretical footprints of the fringe in von Thünen’s influential work “The Isolated State in Relation to Agriculture and Political Economy” (von Thünen, 2009 [1863]) in a form of a dialectic between the core and periphery especially in ‘Thünen’s Rings’ (Fujita, 2012).

Another influential study sharing a similar approach to the fringe with von Thünen’s work is Walter Christaller’s “Central Places in Southern Germany” (Christaller, 1966). He identified the hierarchical relationship between the central places and ‘hinterlands’ wherein a dialectic between core and periphery results a hexagonal pattern of urban and regional services. In addition, McLoughlin (1969) draws attention to Charles Colby’s (1933) study on ‘centrifugal’ and ‘centripetal’ forces in urban geography and puts that centrifugal and centripetal forces in cities have “the effect of concentrating certain activities and dispersing others respectively” (p. 62).

Besides, both in Burgess’ (1925) studies on concentric rings and later, Harris and Ullman’s (1957) influential conception on multiple-nuclei, it is possible to identify the core-periphery type of relations between the urban and fringe. The common point of all these fundamental theoretical studies of planning is that they all focused on center and central; and explain the peripheral within a context of core-periphery relations.

Adding the concept “land-use” within all these conceptions will pave a seminal way for the attempts of this study to understand the theoretical

position of the fringe. According to those theoretical studies in which the land-uses occupy the focal point, the rural-urban fringe is a valuable part of urban wherein the land-uses which entails huge amounts of area usage and which should not be 'located' within the urban area are 'located'. Or it is the location for inter-urban and/or inter-regional heavy transportation. Especially in land-use based theories, as Gallent, Andersson and Bianconi (2006) put, "fringe is often seen as a degraded area, fit only for locating sewage works, essential service functions and other less than neighborly uses" (p. xv). Chapin, Jr. (1972) most remarkably puts the attitude of land-use based theories toward the fringe as in the following:

"General principles relating to the location of land uses customarily identify three major functional areas in the urban complex: the work areas, the living areas, and the leisure-time areas. (...) The leisure-time areas are generally considered to include the major educational, cultural, and recreational facilities of the urban center consisting of colleges, museums, concert halls, libraries, colosseums, golf courses, large public parks and wildlife reserves for hiking, picnics and outings of all kinds, and similar facilities" (Chapin, Jr., p. 371).

"(...)Intensive manufacturing: variety of site sizes for modern one-story or multiple-story buildings and accessory storage, loading and parking areas in close-in and fringe locations..." (Chapin, Jr., p. 372).

"(...) Wholesale and related use areas: #2: range of choice in close-in and fringe locations, site sizes..." (Chapin, Jr., p. 373).

"(...) Region-Serving recreation, education and cultural facilities: Major parks, public reservations and golf courses: acreage sites in fringe and outlying areas..." (Chapin, Jr., p. 374).

Finally, the attitude of growth-based approaches toward the fringe is tried to be shown. One of the basic methods of urban-growth based approaches is the threshold analysis. In their seminal work on threshold analysis, Kozlowski, Hughes and Brown (1972) define the thresholds as obstacles blocking minimum cost expansion opportunities of the urban areas.

"(...) from which the most suitable physical growth directions for a town can be deduced. By estimating the threshold costs, indispensable for opening up new land for urban development, and by calculating the capacity of threshold areas (...) important data for determining the most viable possibilities for urban expansion taking into account existing physical conditions can be obtained. From this sequence in which adjacent areas should be developed can also be indicate (...)" (Kozlowski, Hughes and Brown, 1972, p.25-26).

According to their statements above, rural-urban fringes are considered to be the thresholds for urban expansion. To put in a nutshell, even though the fringe has not been discovered lately and it has always been there with

the urban areas, many of the theoretical studies, owing mostly to somehow reasonable grounds, tend not to take care with the rural-urban fringes. The fringe has sometimes represented thresholds, sometimes been thought to be a 'rational' location for 'less than neighborly' land-uses and so on. In certain cases, the roles and usages of the fringe has not even been considered theoretically. The rural-urban fringe of the towns in Turkey stands for a remarkable example of these roles and usages.

The Rural-Urban Fringes in Turkey

To put it briefly, it is possible to observe similar notions of the rural-urban fringes of the towns in Turkey. But in addition to them, the urbanization process of Turkey entails identifying two important and, to a degree, peculiar characteristics of the rural-urban fringes which are, in turn, the slum house (gecekondu) areas and economically influential amounts of speculative investment on urban land. Every urban settlement, but especially the big towns, in Turkey has experienced rapid population increases and thus rapid urban growth for more than 50 years. During the 1970s, the increase rates of urban population reached a level way higher than the total population increase, and this 50-year-long period represents incredible amounts of population flows from rural areas to urban. Even the population projections of those plans which predicted the most reasonable increase and growth rates have become insufficient owing to population boom.

Slum house areas and urban land speculations have been two of the main agendas of both urbanization and planning profession in Turkey. And the basic spatial component of these two agendas was – and to a degree still is – the rural-urban fringes. Any attempt to consider the rural-urban fringe in Turkey in those times, therefore, seemed to be sentenced to become useless owing to the growth rates of towns. In some cases like Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir, and so also like Adana, Bursa, Gaziantep, Kayseri etc., urban expansion rates would have defied all attempts even to define a rural-urban fringe in a period when one year's rural has become the urban of another.

It seems totally reasonable for planning, both in practical and educational terms, to focus on dealing with urban growth and other related problems. But as underlined in the foregoing sections, the national demographic dynamics of Turkey has already begun to change and the influences of this demographic shift have started to be much more apparent. Urban transformation related issues and debates seem to capture the planning agenda in Turkey recently and urban growth and urban expansion seem to lose their central importance at least on popular grounds. Even though the urban transformation and renewal implications result an unnecessary density increase type urban growth (Hovardaoğlu, 2010a; 2010b), the growth itself now seems to fail in attracting direct attention (Hovardaoğlu, 2010a).

In tune with this shift, certain new usages seem to appear in the rural-urban fringes. Gated community type low density and high priced housing areas and big malls are the most popular ones located in the fringes. However, in many towns, the fringe has already occupied by slum house areas, industrial zones, certain public services and institutions which need big areas etc. In these towns, those popular uses need to jump over the

‘traditional’ land-uses of the fringe and they create new circles sprawling beyond the existing edges of the towns which of course results the existence of the speculative expectations. However, owing on the one hand to the jam within the urban area and on the other to the old habitual attitude toward the fringes, these areas have not been considered sufficiently enough to be components of neither the total quality of life nor the local development efforts especially in terms of professional and urban agriculture. Examining real examples from case studies can clear the ambiguity.

Demographic Change Trajectories and Urban Peripheral Areas of the Urban Center of Cappadocia Region

The urban center of Cappadocia Region, the city of Nevşehir is located in the Middle Anatolian Region, and it is the center of Nevşehir Province which is classified as NUTS II Level 3 Region as schematically shown in Figure 2. Göreme National Park and Rock sites of Cappadocia including the entire territory between the cities of Nevşehir, Ürgüp and Avanos was designated as a national park and registered into the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1985.

Figure 2. *The Location of the Nevşehir Province in Turkey*

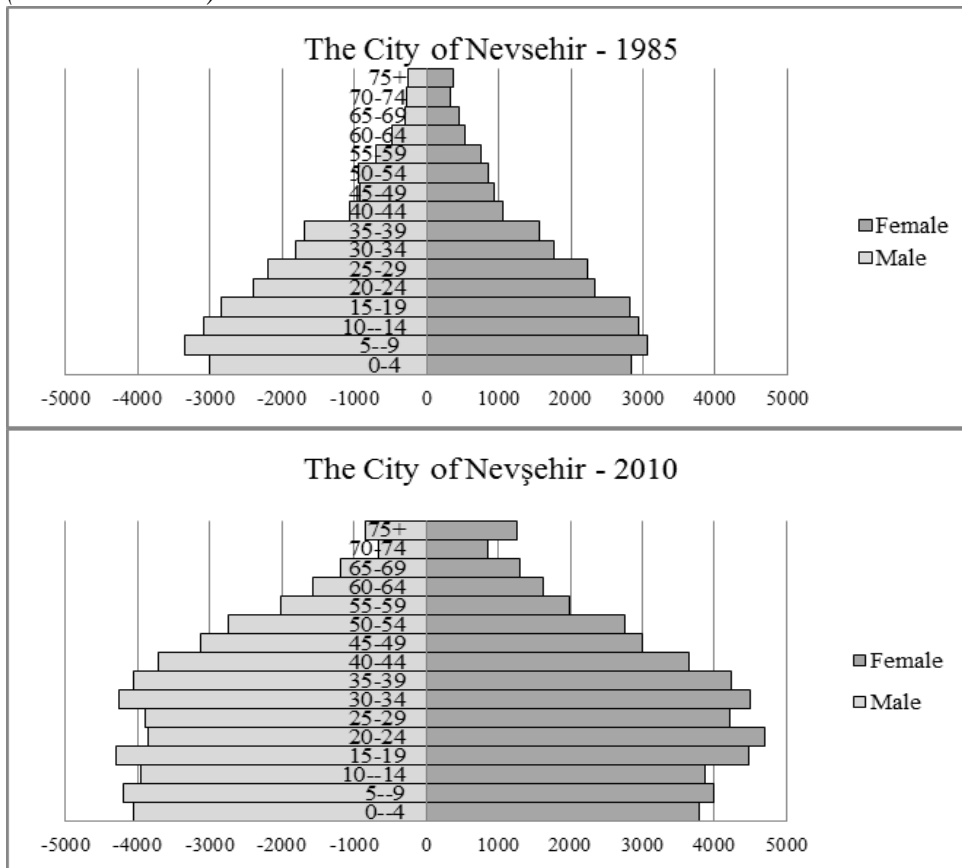


“Rocky Cappadocia” has long been a destination of especially cultural tourism, but the declaration of the area as a World Heritage in 1985 attracted international level attention toward the whole area and the number of visitors both national and international, sky rocketed during the decade and a half long period. Moreover, there have been national level tourism policies which identify the tourism activities as “smokeless industry” in tune with the ideological framework of 50-year-long national development policies based solely on industrialization and thus urbanization. These were probably clever policy tactics aimed at increasing the variety of economic activities in a country wherein industrialization had been identified as the mere way toward economic development; and they were successful.

However, tourism activities are intensified in the surrounding settlements of “Rocky Cappadocia” and the urban center, the city of Nevşehir does not seem to be the tourism center of the region. The influences of national

population change trajectories have begun to be apparent in the period after the 2000s. But in 1980 – 1990 and 1990 – 2000 periods, population increase rates seem to be reasonable indicators of the influence of increasing tourism activities in the economic structure. But there have been certain characteristics of these activities as well. In the first place, strict regulations in the National Park and surrounding settlements prohibited the development of large scale facilities which directed the entrepreneurs toward small scaled facilities also which have been – and still are – harmonious with the local architectural features. It is possible to argue that these restrictions in building types and sizes positively influenced the local entrepreneurs to establish small and medium sized tourism enterprises. Actually except some few numbers of national and international-level big tourism facilities, which are generally located in the outskirts of the conservation area, a considerable majority of the tourism facilities are locally owned small and medium sized enterprises. Figure 3 shows the population change rates of young population, workforce cohorts and elderly population indicate two main tendencies.

Figure 3. *The Comparison of Population Pyramids of the City of Nevşehir (1985 and 2010)*



Source: Compiled by the Author from TURKSTAT Census Data.

In the first place, the renewal rate of the population is slowing down, therefore within a mid-term perspective, possible labor force bottle-necks seem to become a visible problem. The second tendency is about population ageing. It is important to underline that the population amount of 0-14 age group has long been tended to decrease in Turkey. This trajectory remains

the same in the case study settlements. Moreover, population ageing has begun to be a much more apparent – and unusual – problem for Turkey (Hovardaoglu, 2014). Thus the period between 2000 and 2010 need to be considered in tune with the national level downward trajectory of population. Suffice it to say that the decrease of workforce cohorts in the period between 2000 and 2010 is highly related to the decline tendency of 0-14 age group of the former period. However, the period between 1990 and 2000 clearly indicates workforce cohorts do not seem to have migrated out. Table 2 shows temporal comparisons of population of age groups.

Table 2. *Population Change Rates of Age Groups (%)*

		1990-2000			2000-2010		
		0-14	15-64	65+	0-14	15-64	65+
Nevşehir	Total	-2.16	23.85	46.42	-8.70	12.03	36.77
	Male	-1.64	23.00	52.33	-8.95	15.18	29.10
	Female	-2.71	24.65	41.80	-8.43	9.07	43.20

Source: Compiled by the Author from TURKSTAT Census Data.

Demographic change tendencies in the city of Nevşehir in the last three decades clearly show that not only the population renewal rate of the city is dwindling but labor market of the city seems to face possible labor force bottlenecks in the near future. As underlined above, the city is the urban center of Cappadocia Region which is one of the most tourist attracting historical and natural sites of Turkey. Therefore, the main economic activities have always been related to tourism directly or indirectly. Since tourism activities mostly intensified around Göreme and Ürgüp settlements which are the proximate surrounding settlements of Rocky Cappadocia, certain indirectly related service facilities and activities seem to have located in the city of Nevşehir. Moreover, since the main expectations of the tourists who visit the region are mainly to experience the unique historical and natural atmosphere, most of the accommodation units are located around Göreme and Ürgüp settlements (Çalışır-Hovardaoglu and Hovardaoglu, 2015). Therefore, the urban areas of the city of Nevşehir have not been a favorable location for tourism activities.

Moreover, there are also demographic structure change related problems in Göreme and Ürgüp settlements as well. The rate of younger population in these settlements has already begun to draw a downward trajectory (Çalışır-Hovardaoglu and Hovardaoglu, 2015). Rural tourism as one of the main components of national rural development efforts began to suffer from these declines in the younger populations in many rural areas (Çalışır-Hovardaoglu, 2014; 2015). Therefore, both local and national policies seek for new strategies in rural tourism in order to decrease the influences of declining younger population and thus younger entrepreneurs in rural areas. Integrated, amenity based rural tourism (Çalışır-Hovardaoglu, 2014) is one of these strategies. In this study, we suggest that re-functioning the rural-urban peripheral areas as new tourism facility locations in cities where the natural and historical amenities of tourism are proximate. The city of Nevşehir is

one good example for such cities. In the following section, we attempt to construct a framework for this re-functioning.

Urban Peripheral Areas as the New Location of Rural Tourism Functions

Demographic change tendencies that were underlined in the foregoing sections indicate that population growth component of urban growth experiences seems to lose its significance. In this new period, many cities in Turkey face the problem of urban stability instead of growth. This stability seems to be challenging factor for many of the urban economic development efforts since one of the main triggers of urban economic growth depends on urban growth. Therefore this new period clearly necessitates seeking for alternative growth variables for local economics. In this study, we suggest rural tourism functions and auxiliary facilities of tourism to be located in the urban peripheral areas of the city of Nevşehir as a new strategy for local economic growth.

As pointed out above, the main expectations of the tourists who visit the region are mainly to experience the unique historical and natural atmosphere; most of the accommodation units are located around Göreme and Ürgüp settlements. As a result of this tendency in tourist mobility, tourism functions such as accommodation facilities and similar land uses do not tend to locate within the urban area of the City of Nevşehir. However, the eastern urban peripheral areas of the city have certain general advantages for locating tourism related land uses and functions. In the first place, this fringe of the city is proximate to the natural and historical sites of Cappadocia Region. This proximity does not only refer to just geographic distance. These parts of the urban fringe also penetrate into the main trekking routes which go through the inner parts of Rocky Cappadocia.

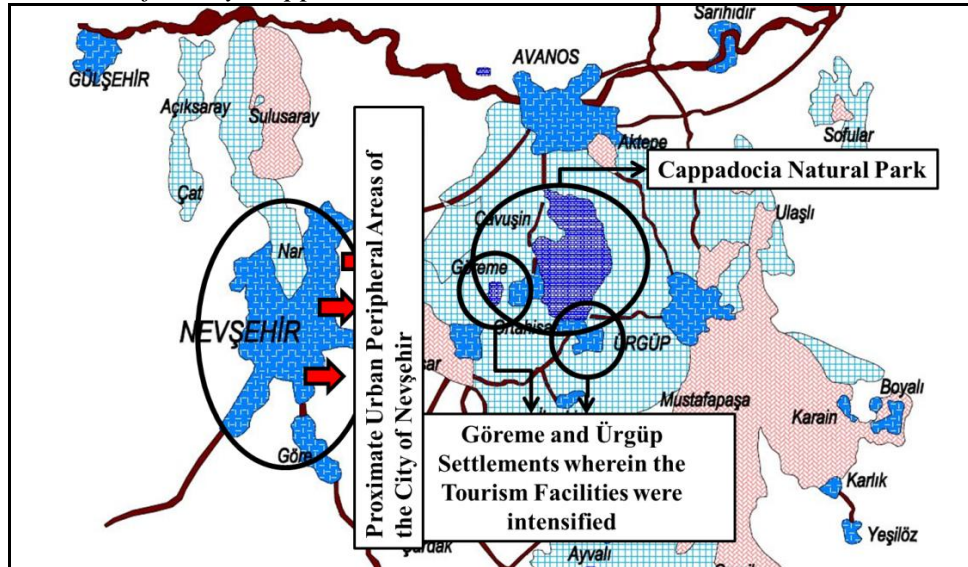
As a second important feature, these parts still maintain their natural aspects thanks to natural preservation policies. Therefore sustained natural features of these parts seem to fit the main expectations of the visitors of the region. In addition, the proximity of these parts to the urban services provides the area with an easy access to the urban services and the atmosphere of the rural at the same time.

During the rapid urban growth times in Turkey, most of the land property owners in the urban peripheral areas tend to negotiate with the local administrators for construction density increases. Urban growth in these times referred to the transformation of peripheral natural environment into built environment. The expectation of construction rights by the very hands of urban growth paved the way for the expectations of rapid increases in land values. Therefore most of the land property owners tried to utilize their own economic functions by the help of construction rights and rapid land value increases. On the local administration side of this picture, remains another kind of expectation which was also a negotiation with the land property owners. Urban growth refers to the transformation of property ownership. An urban construction lot is a kind of land property which was transformed from a rural property without any construction rights. The value of the urban construction lot depends not only to its location but also the

construction right given by the local administration. Legal arrangements give the local administrations the right to condemn certain rates of privately owned properties in order to provide the citizens with certain urban services. But many of the local administrations encourage the private land owners to give more amounts of their properties in exchange for increased construction rights.

Therefore urban growth as a transformation of property ownership and construction rights was a win-win game both for the local administrations and private property owners. Private property owners volunteered to give more of their properties in exchange for increased construction rights for their belonging urban construction lots. However, urban stability refers to an end to this economic externality of urban growth. But suggesting new functions to urban peripheral areas paves the way for new economic externalities. Figure below shows the geographic location of the urban peripheral areas of the city of Nevşehir and Rocky Cappadocia.

Figure 4. *The City of Nevşehir, Proximate Urban Peripheral Areas of the City, the Settlements wherein the Tourism Facilities were Intensified and the Location of Rocky Cappadocia*



These proximate urban peripheral areas seem to be new locations for decentralizing the intensified tourism facilities as well. Rocky Cappadocia is threatened by excess usage of not only tourists but also tourism facilities. Therefore these peripheral areas give the opportunity to a much more sustainable usage of tourism activities.

Findings and Conclusions: Changing Context of the Rural-Urban Fringes

This study suggests that the traditional attitude of the conceptions and theories of planning toward the rural-urban fringes has been changing especially in the period after the 2000s. In this period, urban growth does not seem to be the main challenge urban planning face as it was in the 1960s and 1970s. Demographic change trends also indicate decline trajectories in the national population for most of the industrialized countries. Moreover the permeability of the national and supranational level regional borders which still seems to be strong and preventing the regions from untamable amounts of population flows such as mass migration indicates decreasing pressures of urban growth in these countries. The urban reality of the contemporary times seems to be much more interested in total quality of life related problems than urban growth.

Traditional attitude of planning toward urban peripheral areas can be listed as in the following:

- Thresholds which block alternative growth directions
- Areas for specific land-uses which *cannot* be located within urban areas
- Areas for specific land-uses which *should not* be located within urban areas
- Low-priced peripheral areas
- A tangent for certain uses which need to touch but do not cut into urban areas like heavy transportation
- Reserve areas for future expansion
- Conservation areas like green belts
- A hinterland piece connected to urban with dependency bonds
- Areas for ‘other’ or ‘excluded’ less than neighborly uses
- Areas for locating leisure facilities (McLoughlin, 1969; Burgess, 1925; Harris and Ullman, 1957; Chadwick, 1971; Chapin, Jr. 1972; Kozlowski, Hughes and Brown, 1972)

The attitude of the traditional conceptions and theories of planning toward the rural-urban fringes is summarized above. These attitudes have mostly been related to the urban growth problems and preventing the inner “urban system” from the influences of big land-uses. But most importantly, fringe has been considered to be an interface which was neither urban nor rural. It has always been there but the mainstream interest preferred to focus either on urban or upon rural. This seems by itself to be a fair enough reason for why certain illegal uses have chosen to locate within the rural-urban fringes especially in Turkey. In the period between 1950s and 1990s, some parts of the fringe were desperately waiting for a transformation from very low priced waste-lands or farmlands toward relatively high priced urban areas, while some other parts have already been sacrificed to slum house areas with extremely low levels of life qualities.

Certain conventional practical uses of urban peripheral areas can be listed as in the following:

- Slum house areas
- Waste-lands waiting desperately to transform into urban areas
- Farmlands also waiting desperately to transform into urban areas

Until recently some new uses have become to be apparent in the rural-urban fringes. Prestigious housing areas and great malls are very common in this new era in Turkey. Besides, in some cities especially in the ones which are located in the intersection of different national transportation networks such as in the intersection of railroads and motorways, freight villages have located in the fringes.

Certain contemporary practical uses of urban peripheral areas can be listed as in the following:

- Freight villages
- Prestigious housing areas
- Great malls & out-of-town retails
- Areas for decentralized office space
- Green energy production
- Conservation areas like green belts (Gallent, Andersson and Bianconi, 2006)

This list shows the range of various uses located in the rural-urban fringes. But the findings of this study indicate seminal examples from the Turkey experience (Hovardaoglu, 2012). In this new era, if agricultural production – in professional and multifunctional terms – and urban life quality will be the two of the leading variables of development equation, then it is possible to put an obvious need of reconsidering rural-urban fringes and near-rural areas. Again, in this new era, if planning theoretically tends to reconsider or reimagine the urban in terms of mixed spatialities which are open and cross-cut by many different kinds of mobilities, from flows of people to commodities and information as, for instance, Massey, Allen and Pile (1999), Urry (2000), and Amin and Thrift (2002) put, then there will be an obvious need of reconsidering and reimaging the rural-urban fringes and near-rural areas as certain spatialities which convey much more than just being the opposite of urban.

The rural has long been considered recessive but after the 2000s, there have been considerable efforts to trigger development in the rural areas in Turkey. But the national level strategies have not considered the rural heterogeneity, proximity of the rural areas to regional cities and rural-urban fringes (Hovardaoglu, 2012). Since the city center has traditionally been strong, suburbanization has not been a prevalent tendency for most of the cities in Turkey. Moreover, the untamable degrees of urban growth of the period between 1950s and 1990s has already begun to slow down and especially in the period after the 2000s, most of the cities in the Anatolian Region do not experience excessive growth experiences. Owing mostly to

these facts and latest demographic trends, this study suggests that rural-urban fringes can be core of new development efforts combining the rural and urban development attempts together. To put in a nutshell, planning, especially in Turkey and especially due to the current demographic dynamics, has a great opportunity to reconsider the rural-urban fringes and near-rural areas as vital components of both the development efforts and urban quality of life. In fact, these places seem to become the most valuable areas of not only rural tourism but urban agriculture and rural development as well.

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