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Kemal Reha Kavas
Associate Professor
Akdeniz University Faculty of Fine Arts
Turkey

Ibrahim Bakır
Assistant Professor
Akdeniz University Faculty of Fine Arts
Turkey

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Athens Institute for Education and Research

8 Valaoritou Street, Kolonaki, 10671 Athens, Greece

Tel: + 30 210 3634210 Fax: + 30 210 3634209 Email: info@atiner.gr

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Kemal Reha Kavas Associate Professor Akdeniz University Faculty of Fine Arts Turkey

Ibrahim Bakır Assistant Professor Akdeniz University Faculty of Fine Arts Turkey

Abstract

This study aims to define the concepts of "plateau" (yayla) and "seminomadic life" (yarı-göçer yaşam) in the context of the Taurus Mountains of Southern Turkey and to make a spatial analysis of the historical basis, development and contemporary state of these concepts. The local "seminomadic" tribes called Yörüks usually lived between the Taurus Mountains and their outskirts descending towards the Mediterranean coast. In this geography there are dramatic changes of altitude through the mountain range lying parallel to the coastline. Taking advantage of the topographical outlines and responding to the problems of vegetation and food, these tribes have changed their places of settlement according to different seasons of the year. During the hot and humid summer months the semi-nomads have moved to the "plateaus" on the higher and cooler altitudes where environmental conditions were suitable for successful animal-breeding.

In this framework this study unfolds the status, social meaning and environmental role of the semi-nomadic life as well as spatial qualities of the plateaus within different administrative phases of history. In this way it is intended to develop consciousness on this characteristic culture which is in the process of disappearance due to environmental, social and administrative reasons. By analyzing the architectural, cultural and environmental dimension of the plateaus this study uncovers their traditional strategies to sustain a habitat in harmony with the environment. Through the analysis of the current state of "semi-nomadic" societies and contemporary use of the plateaus, the study derives proposals for the future planning of settlements on the plateaus.

Keywords: plateau, semi-nomad, Yörük, Taurus, Mediterranean, settlement

Introduction

Nomadic societies have had profound effects on the cultural history of Anatolia, Mediterranean Basin and Eurasia (Chailand 2004: 2-8). In this geography, due to shortage of pastures and water, seasonal change of habitat has been an obligation. As a result nomadic life and its architectural configurations have developed over time (Braudel, 2002: 161-162). Through their long distanced and massive movements, nomadic tribes have become the reason for important political transformations. In contrast to the long distanced nomadic movements with a military nature, there has been another version of non-military nomadism developed in the Mediterranean basin. In Western resources this type of nomadism is called "transhumance". This is a type of seasonal oscillation within defined regional limits and between the coast and mountains (Totani, 2008). Transhumance movements follow exactly the same routes every year and it is kept within predefined borders (Tanyeli, 1996).

Transhumance does not signify tribes wandering around space with continuous movement all the year long. It has a semi-nomadic nature because in this pattern of life there are points of habitation where the tribes settle for certain time periods. Transhumant tribes move through defined routes and stop at locations with environmental resources. For example, some tribes in Southwestern Anatolia in Western Taurus Mountains have permanent dwellings for winter use but they leave their dwellings and start to change locations during the summer time. During the summer time they prefer higher altitudes with refreshing weather and sufficient pastures for their animal and continue living in temporary, flexible, demountable and lightweight shelters adapted to this lifestyle.

Nomadic forms of life can be classified according to the nature of topographical altitude changes through their movements. By this way "horizontal" and "vertical" nomadic forms sre obtained (Eröz, 1991: 71-72). Horizontal nomadism signifies uncontrolled wandering on an unchanging altitude and this form is generally observed in Arabia and North Africa. In contrast, transhumance is a "vertical" form of nomadism with a semi-nomadic character. Seasonal oscillations of the semi-nomads of the Western Taurus Mountains necessitate living in changing altitudes over the year. Plateau (yayla), which is the main subject of this paper, is the place for temporary habitation in summer. Plateaus are distinguished places between the Taurus Mountains, where pastures and water resources are abundant. They are usually places of higher altitude with cool and fresh air during the summer season.

Semi-Nomadic Life in the Western Taurus Mountains

Historical Origins

The semi-nomadic culture of Anatolia is strongly affected by Central Asian traditions. Semi-nomadic life forms appeared in Altay and Tanri Mountains around 1700 BC and these traditions were adapted and sustained by

the Hun (300 BC - 300 AD) and Gokturk (300 - 600 AD) administrations (Ögel, 1991). After the Gokturk State, as the human and animal population of Central Asia increased, shortage of food appeared as a serious problem. In the 11th century AD, Great Seljuk State ruling a great part of Central Asia and Near East encouraged the Turkish Oguz tribes into west (Anatolia and Azerbaijan) and south (Iran and Iraq) (Mercil, 2000). During the Anatolian Seljuk administration (12th century AD) search for pastures and movements of conquest were transformed into a systematic policy of settlement (Köprülü 1972). The Oguz tribes transferred their original Central Asian traditions of semi-nomadism into Anatolia, their new land. The Oguz tribes that arrive in Anatolia named new places by using Central Asian names of mountains, gorges and rivers and they continued a semi-nomadic life between plateaus and surrounding mountains with approximately 100-200 km vertical oscillations. (Bakır, 1995: 33). In the Western Taurus Mountains, they stayed around the warm coastal zones (kışlak) in fall and winter and they moved to higher plateaus (yayla) in spring and summer. Moreover for fall and spring the seminomads stayed in a transitional zone called *güzle* (the place for staying in fall).

In history nomadic movements in Central Asia spanned quite long distances, had military character and led to serious political changes. In contrast nomadic culture of Anatolia had been regional and non-military. The Anatolian semi-nomadic cultures are built upon seasonal life cycle and reached today (Tanyeli, 1996: 415-440). However nomadic lifestyle has always been in clash with central administrations (Yalman, 1993: 38-40). Ottoman and Republican administrations tried to convert the nomads into sedentary citizens in order to increase agricultural production in a systematic manner (Türkay, 1979). As a result the nomadic cultures are in the phase of extinction.

Traditional Spatial Organizations in the Plateaus

Yörüks, who move to the plateaus and stay on the paths of transhumance, do not select their habitats arbitrarily. The places where they stay are predetermined. These are special places with abundant water supply, pastures and appropriate space and climate. When the tribe arrives in these places of temporary settlement each family knows where to stay. No family stays in a place other than defined for it. When the transhumant movement starts the ultimate desire for everybody is to arrive in the plateau (yayla). If somebody dies on the road, the dead body is brought to the plateau or buried in the closest settlement. Time is not lost for funerals. For the Yörüks, the plateau (yayla) is butter, cheese, fertility and prosperity (Seyirci, 2000: 100).

In the Western Taurus region the tribes representing the semi-nomadic culture are generally called the "Yörüks". This name stands for the Oguz (Turcoman) tribes which have settled down in Anatolia. The Official Planning Report of the Ministry of Public orks and Settlement prepared in 1976 indicated that in 1965-67, semi-nomads living in Turkey constituted 5657 families with a population of 38.100 and amongst these people, 2716 families with a population of 16.550 lived in the Mediterranean Region of Turkey. This data demonstrates that the majority of the semi-nomad Yörük families of

Turkey lived in the Mediterranean Reigon. The main cause for the concentration of the Yörüks in the Mediterranean Region is the local topography. The topographical pattern of the province of Antalya in the Mediterranean Region of Turkey illustrates this situation clearly. In Antalya forests and green areas constitute 53,6% of total land, and other areas inappropriate for agriculture is 20,1%. When these areas are summed up, the total amount of land usable by the semi-nomads makes 73,7% of the total surface area of Antalya. This situation makes the region the center of semi-nomadic life in the country (Saraçoğlu, 1989).

The Yörük tribes are concentrated around the provinces of Antalya, Mersin and Konya (Figure 1), which constitute a triangular area through the Western Taurus Mountains. Due to commonalities with respect to ethnic origin, life style and topographic features, the Western Taurus region is a self-contained, coherent and characteristic land in terms of environmental and cultural properties. Western Taurus Mountains are in the form of two wings on the north of the Antalya Gulf. These wings depart from the Lakes Region and move away from eachother as they reach the Mediterranean. On the west the mountains reach the Teke peninsula while on the east they reach the İçel plateau. In this region between the peaks, there are many plateaus with high altitudes. The altitudes of the peaks are very high (in the Teke peninsula, Bey Mountains: 3069 m., in the Lakes region, Barla Mountain: 2734 m. and Dedegöl Mountain: 2992 m.) (Saraçoğlu, 1989).

Figure 1. The Kişlak (Winter) – Yaylak (Summer) Routes of the Yörük Tribes in the Western Taurus

Source: Bakır, 1995, p. 76.

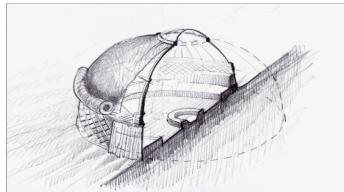
The region is under the effect of the Mediterranean climate. The effect of this climate departs from the coast and reaches the altitudes of 700-800 m. The Mediterranean climate zone becomes quite limited in some parts because the mountains are very close to the sea. However the Mediterranean climate

permeates into the mountains through gorges, canyon and plateaus. Western Taurus region is differentiated from Inland Anatolia due to high rain rates and abundance of forests. Wild goats are the indigenous animals grown in the Taurus Mountains while Inland Anatolia is suitable for the growth of sheep. With these topographical qualities the southern faces of Taurus Mountains provide "güzlek" and "yaylak" areas where Yörüks can stay during Fall and Summer, respectively. These lands are full of olive trees, pine, oak, beech, juniper, cedar trees (Yalman, 1993: 176).

The existence of goats is realted with the flora characterized by short brushes (thicket). Due to the carstic structure the surface of the earth is dry and arable soil is absent. Therefore there are no wide areas of grass. Because of this situation sheep cannot live in the region. During the warm winter season, grass which grows around the coast recede as the weather becomes hot and the amount of rain decreases. Then the presence of grass moves up to higher altitudes (Saraçoğlu, 1989). The semi-nomads of the Taurus (Yörüks) move through the topography following this seasonal change of flora (Figure 1). The Yörük tribes who have goats depart from the pastures around the coast (kışlak / winter habitat) and move to the higher bushes (yaylak / plateau / summer habitat).

The semi-nomadic Turkish tribes have produced characteristic spatial configurations compatible with different vultural and geographical contexts they experienced (Yalman, 1993: 53-57). Tents are indispensible components of this life style. When the Turkish tribes first arrived in Anatolia they faced Inland Anatolia which was similar to Central Asian climate and topography. Their sheep and traditional tents covered with felt were appropriate for these circumstances of the steppes (Figure 2). However as the Turks moved towards the coasts of Anatolia they discovered mountainous and rainy lands with new environmental problems. Therefore they started to breed goats instead of sheep because goats could be adapted to this environment. In addition they started to use "black tents" made up of goat's hair. This new material was resistant to rainwater (Figure 3) (Eröz, 1962: 92).

Figure 2. Topak Ev (Yurt): The Flexible Usage of Closed Surfaces and Spatial Configuration



Source: Kavas, 2013

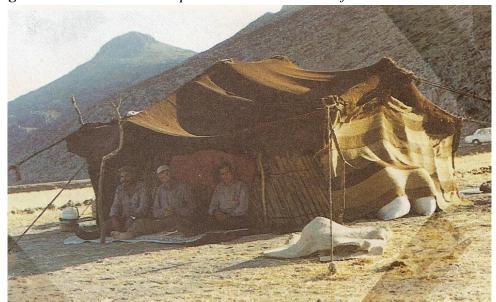


Figure 3. The Semi-Closed Space Provided in Front of the Black Tent

Source: Bakır, 1995

The life and production performance in the plateaus (yayla) makes it possible to be comfortable during the winter. If the animals are fed well in the plateaus then they will pass the winter comfortably. In addition milk, butter and cheese produced in the plateaus are sold in the neighboring markets by providing income for the winter (Seyirci, 2000: 5). Living in winter, fall and summer habitats are expressed with local terms like *kışlamak* (to live in places assigned for winter), *güzlemek* (to live in places assigned for fall) and *yaylamak* (to live in plateaus during the summer) (Yalman, 1993: 220). Every year the same places are used as *kışlak* and *yaylak*. The Yörüks move to the plateaus around April and May and go back to their winter settlements around October and November.

In general, Yörüks live on animal-breeding during the summer in the plateaus and during winter, they live on agriculture. This lifestyle is a pattern between sedentary and nomad forms (Seyirci, 2000: 111). Yörük tribes can be categorized according to the character of their summer and winter settlements. Some tribes construct permanent dwellings of stone masonry in their winter territories. Around April and May these tribes leave their dwellings and move to the plateaus where they live in tents. Some other tribes never construct permenant dwellings and they stay in temporary shelters all the year long (Bakır, 1995: 7).

In traditional life, when the temperature rises, Yörüks move to higher plateaus. This movement is planned precisely. The tribes discuss the exact time and physical structure of this movement (election of the leader, preparation of food and tents, assignment of duties) before the start (Yalman, 1993: 189). The gropu gives break every evening. And after two or three days of travel they reach the plateau. Water is found in the environmental resources such as cisterns and wells and it is stored in special containers made up of flexible

materials such as leather (animal skin used as casing). In fall, when the weather becomes cold, through the same way, the group turns back to their winter land close to the coast. The Yörük tribes called *Yeni Osmanlı*, *Sarıkeçili*, *Karatekeli*, *Karakoyunlu* and *Gebizli* used to practice this semi-nomadic life pattern (Atabeyli, 1940: 213-224).

The *Yeni Osmanlı* (New Ottoman) Yörüks have practiced the seminomadic life around Antalya until the mid 1940s. Thet lived on animal (sheep, goats, cows, horses) breeding. They stayed in the plateau between May and September and then they descended to the güzle (place for fall) and stayed here for 1 or 1,5 months. Then they descend to the region of *Döşemealtı*, to the places where the villages of *Kömürcüler*, *Çıplaklı* and *Odabaşı* are situated today. Seyirci (1991) states that the number of tents documented in the plateau used by the Yeni Osmanlı Yörüks were 500 in early 1940s, 350 in the 1960s, 107 in 1985 and 94 in 1989. Bakır (1995: 81-83) states that in summer 1987, there were 70 tents in the Söbüce Plateau used by the Yeni Osmanlı tribe (Figure 4). *Namazgah* (open air mosque) had been the only permenant structure of the plateau. The Söbüce Plateau (Figure 5) had been the special location where all food production was realized. Today Söbüce is used for weekend recreation since it has cool and fresh air. Also today, permenant dwellings are constructed in this plateau (Figure 6).

Figure 4. The Pattern of the Tents owned by the Yeni Osmanlı Tribe of the Yörüks during Summer in the Söbüce Plateau in Korkuteli, Antalya (Bakır, 1995:82)

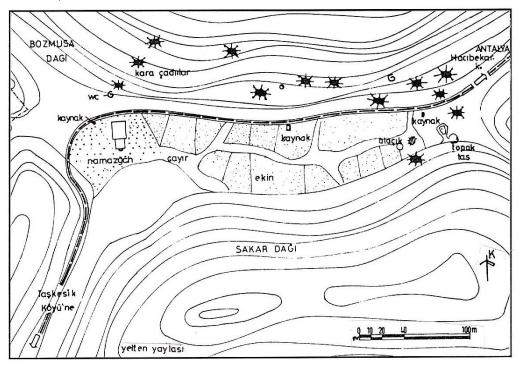


Figure 5. The Plateau of Söbüce in Korkuteli – Antalya



Source: Google Earth, 2013

Figure 6. The Plateau of Söbüce in Korkuteli – Antalya



Source: Google Earth, 2013

The tents of the semi-nomadic Yörüks were placed with certain intervals which would not let different groups mix their animals. This interval changed between 150 and 500 meters. Sometimes the interval may become 1 km. Besides the tents, which were used as demountable dwelling units, there was also a namazgah (open air mosque surrounded by low walls) (Figures 4 and 5). Gatherings were made during the evenings in the tents of the respected old people. Commercial activities and Friday prayers were realized in the town centers located close to the plateaus (Bakır, 1995: 82-83).

The modular units (wings) with dimensions of 65-70 cm. to 4-7 m. constitute the tensile structural system of the tents. These units are united by sewing and weaeved beams called *kolan* are formed. The shelter is carried by wooden posts with 230-250 cm. heights (Bakır, 1995: 195). The horizontal balance is maintained by connecting these posts to eachother and to the earth by tensile ropes. In order to protect the interior space from undesiable external effects straw mesh is placed on the exterior surface of the tent structure. This

mesh is supported by vertical wooden elements placed every 1-1.5 m. As a result of this construction process the dwelling space of the tent is defined by the haircloth covering the space from above, the posts and straw mesh on the façades and earth on the ground level. With this configuration the tent is an easily-demountable, functionally-flexible dwelling with simple details (Figure 4). In this minimalistic spatial configuration, the equipment used in the interior space, such as kettles, containers, bags, matrices, looms etc. are very functional and few (Yalman, 1993: 257). The flexible and demountable elements provide high level of spatial mobility. Only the equipment which is indispensible for life is carried to the plateau other heavy goods are left as custody in the winter place.

The interior space of the tent is approximately 3 m. x 5-7 m. This modestly dimensioned space is used with the principle of maximum efficiency. This space is used with a multi-functional understanding. The space satisfies all social and physical requirements such as storage, cooking, eating, sleeping, living and welcoming guests. The structural system not only solves physical problems but also satisfies social expectations.

Besides these tents, another form of semi-permanent structures called *alaçık*, *pür ev*, *manar* and *çivrik* can be found in the plateaus. In addition, permenant vineyard dwellings are other components of life in the plateaus (Karpuz ve Bakır, 1991: 306). The vineyard dwellings are seasonal centers of agricultural production and they are also cool places for providing environmental comfort during the summer. Vineyards are known as places for grape production. However, in these places, almost every kind of agricultural products are grown. The vineyard dwellings are used between April – May, when the product starts to grow, and September – October, when the products are collected from the fields.

The vineyard dwellings of the village of Ürünlü, situated in the Akseki-İbradı Basin on the Taurus Mountains illustrates the above mentioned dwelling type (Figures 7 and 8) (Kavas, 2009). The vineyard dwellings of Ürünlü are constructed on south-facing slopes and designed in order to use sunlight with maximum efficiency. There are abundant water resources (wells) around the vineyards so they can be used for systematic irrigation. As centers of agricultural production during the summer, these vineyard dwellings are basic elements supporting the sustainability of a consistent life cycle in this difficult rocky topography. The winter settlement of Ürünlü is in the shape of a crescent facing southeast. There are around 150 dwellings in this zone. The winter settlement has a dense pattern. The crescent shaped settlement embraces a fertile green valley descending towards the river of Manavgat (ancient Melas River). In this valley there used to be many vineyard dwellings with a loose and sipersed settlement pattern. Each of these vineyard dwellings were assigned to a family's dwelling in the winter zone. Each family had one winter and one summer dwelling. In general, the distance between these two dwellings was between 1 and 2 km. Therefore the kışlak (winter settlement) and yaylak (summer settlement) were embraced by the territory of the village (Figure 5). Ürünlü is a characteristic example where a semi-nomadic life

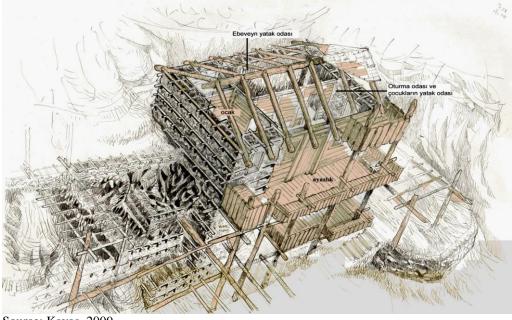
pattern is sustained by permanent dwellings in kışlak and yaylak (Kavas, 2011).

Figure 7. The Connection between the Winter and Summer Settlements in the Village of Ürünlü in İbradı, Antalya



Source: Interpreted Google-Earth Image, Kavas, 2009

Figure 8. The Spatial Configuration of the Traditional Vineyard Dwellings Enriched by the Semi-Closed Ayazlık Spaces in Ürünlü, İbradı – Antalya



Source: Kavas, 2009

The Karabağlar Plateau in Muğla (southwestern Turkey) is another

example where the plateau is situated in a level lower than the winter settlement. Therefore the cases of Ürünlü (Antalya) and Karabağlar (Muğla) indicate that the plateaus do not have to be on higher levels than the winter settlements. There can be microclimatic exceptions which provide environmental factors (fresh air, pastures, water resources, topographical isolation etc.) producing the plateau effect.

The Contemporary Situation of the Plateaus

The semi-nomadic culture, in its traditional form, is still practiced by a very limited number of people living in the Western Taurus region. The history of nomadism is highly affected by the relations with sedentary state mechanisms. This life form was not approved by the late Ottoman administration because the state was not able to control freely moving semi-nomads. Therefore a settlement policy was imposed on this region. This situation continued during the Modern Turkish Republic.

After the 1950s, increasing amount of agricultural land, developing motorways and legal regulations for life in the forests challenged the seminomadic life and many Yörük tribes settled down in their *kışlak* (winter) places. Since these people were accustomed to seasonal mobility, they started to move to the plateaus with a few number of animals. Through agricultural advance, the Yörüks became more dependent on land and gradually lost their mobile skills.

Today, plateau life has become a limited recreational time needed for refreshment in the hot and humid summer. However, the Yörüks cannot leave their traditional life completely. They stay in their permanent dwellings in *kışlak* (winter) villages and move to plateaus where they also condtruct permanent dwellings instead of traditional black tents. Transportation between the kışlak and yaylak is no longer done in traditional methods but instead, motor vehicles are used. Therefore the Yörük life has lost its traditional mobile, flexible and dynamic qualities and was transformed into oscillation between two static points used in winter and summer. Since the movement between the seasonal points is isolated from environmental factors, the Yörüks lost their traditional abilities to cope with natural difficulties and their profound engagement with the environment.

The tents are partially preserved but they no longer constitute the majority of the dwelling units in the plateaus. The advantages of tents are their flexibility. They can be demounted for being taken into the permanent dwellings for protecting them from winter effects. When the Yörüks started to construct permanent buildings in the plateaus, at first they built vineyard dwellings with stone masonry and totally closed the former namazgah spaces (open air mosques) with a roof. In the next step, they started to construct reinforced concrete buildings disturbing the ecological harmony of the plateaus.

Even, some plateaus such as *Sertavul* and *Gözne* plateaus in *Mersin* were totally converted into permenant settlements. In the Western Taurus new permenant settlements have appeared. The names of these new settlements

have the prefixes of aşağı (lower) and yukarı (upper). The settlements called "lower" (aşağı) are former winter settlements (kışlak), while the settlements called "upper" (yukarı) are the former plateaus (yayla). For example, in Antalya the settlements of Aşağı Karaman and Yukarı Karaman illustrate how the former winter settlement and plateau of the Karaman territory were transformed into permanent settlements. A similar situation may be observed in the Aşağı Tırtar and Yukarı Tırtar villages of Mersin. In addition villages with completely same names also exist near the town of Yalvaç in Isparta.

As transportational and technological capabilities developed, the vineyard dwellings of the plateaus acquired different functions. The wooden vineyard dwellings of Bucak in Burdur, were converted into spaces for drying tobacco. Some of these structures were totally abandoned and destroyed. Some of these vineyard dwellings were converted into primary dwellings of families when these dwellings were provided with electrical and mechanical networks (Karpuz ve Bakır, 1991: 307).

Today people of different socio-economic profiles are interested in the plateaus with vacational purposes. As a result new reinforced concrete buildings with the function of "secondary houses" are constructed in the plateaus. "Secondary house" is a contemporary building type which is observed in the Mediterranean countries and other holiday locations. Buildings of low architectural quality are produced in holiday locations for only summer use and in winter these buildings are unused. Moreover these buildings violate the harmony of the environment. Therefore urban problems are transferred into plateaus by transforming these places into something other than plateaus (Figures 6 and 9).





Source: Google Earth, 2013

Conclusion

As a result of this analysis the spatial principles given below can be regarded as the timeless values of plateau settlements and architecture:

In the traditional plateau settlements people did not settle down in the pasture locations and next to water resources like wells (Figure 4). This was a

settlement strategy for protecting the natural resources, providing animals with healthy food and providing clean water for all the living creatures.

In architectural production natural, organic and recycled materials were used (Figures 4 and 6). After buildings collapsed, materials with sufficient standards were reused in the construction of new buildings.

The design of space depended upon temporary and demountable spatial configurations and succession of closed, semi-closed and open spaces. These spatial principles could also be seen in the permanent traditional dwellings in the winter settlements and vineyards.

Semi-closed spaces are important components of daily life either in tents or in permenant dwellings. These spaces face south or southeast. In the permenant dwellings these semi-closed parts are the external extensions of the common interior space called sofa. In the Akseki-İbradı Basin (Taurus Mountains, Antalya) these semi-closed spaces are called "ayazlık," (Figure 6) signifying "cool and comfortable space" (Kavas, 2009).

Meanwhile, the contemporary spatial transformations taking place in the plateaus can be summarized as follows:

Today the plateaus are divided into small parcels on which dense building activity continues (Figure 9). This dense urban layout is at odds with the natural and traditional values of the plateaus. Contemporary building activity violates the traditional reverence towards nature and resources. Pastures and areas close to water resources are open to building activity.

Contemporary non-organic and non-recyclable building materials challenge ecological balance of the plateaus.

For security reasons closed, isolated and high rise buildings are constructed. This situation destroys the traditional close relation between man and earth. The traditional spatial patterns of semi-closed spaces are no longer active.

Recently there are studies for planning the settlement patterns in plateaus such as Sertavul (Mut, Mersin) and Feslikan (Antalya). These studies are due to the urgent need for planning the plateaus which are being converted into permanent settlements. In this way, it is expected that, in the near future many other plateaus will be planned and opened into construction activities.

Since the planning of the plateaus as settlements seem to be inevitable, planning strategies become very critical. In the planning process of the plateaus, the planners and architectural designers should pay great attention to the characteristic features of the land, cultural heritage values, and preservation of natural resources, ecological and cultural sustainability, traditional spatial patterns and settlement patterns. This planning process has to be reinforced by public consciousness regarding the historical, cultural and environmental value of the plateaus. The planners and new inhabitants should keep away from dense and high rise building production which seems to provide quick financial benefit but destroy environmental balance. Planning should be regarded as a tool for achieving these goals, which will provide benefits in the long run. To formulate the process and strategies of planning as such a tool, the history of the region should be analyzed in a sensible manner.

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