

PARTICIPATION AFTER DISASTER: CENTRAL GOVERNMENT APPROACH TO PARTICIPATION PLANNING

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Abstract

The 21st century is an era of crises, driven by the increasing impact of climate change and successive crises ranging from environmental degradation to social and economic inequalities. This multi-crisis environment has necessitated the adoption of holistic, inclusive, and participatory approaches in managing disaster risks. The focus of this study is to examine the participation perspective in Türkiye's recovery process after the February 6, 2023, Kahramanmaraş earthquakes from the institutionalized participation understanding in the world. In this context, the stakeholder participation plan in the Rural Areas Earthquake Recovery and Reconstruction Project (KADİYAP) carried out by the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization, and Climate Change was examined, and the central government's approach to managing the participation process was evaluated in line with the determined criteria.

Keywords: Disaster Management; Participation; Stakeholders; Inclusivity; Central Administration

Introduction

The crisis period that emerged in the early 21st century, after the concept of the Anthropocene was defined the successive crises experienced in the world. The world continues to experience crises related to each other due to the irreversible impact of humanity on the environment. Şengül (2023) points out a complex structure and interaction, and groups global crises under the following six main headings: Economic/Financial, Social Welfare, Ecological, Border/Refugee, Urban, Governance/Democracy. Just as the governance systems of all countries have difficulty adapting, Turkey's governance system is also struggling with crises. The current governance system is expected to overcome the crisis by intervening with short-term policies in the face of crises. However, the crisis experienced by complex social, economic, spatial, and environmental relations networks causes other crises. According to Lister and Wilde (2020), governance systems that can adapt to the constantly changing needs, expectations, rights, and abilities of all actors and institutions that make up our societies need to be created. Such a system will require deliberative dialogue and engagement with many actors (business, civil society, politicians, communities, trade unions) and political coalitions at all levels.

Turkey, like the rest of the world, has had to deal with economic crises, epidemics, fires, floods, and earthquakes one after another. Especially after the February 6, 2023, earthquakes, it was observed that the central government's ability to respond to disasters from a single source was not possible due to related crises. Therefore, responsibility should be shared with local governments, communities, and the central government in response to disasters and the recovery process. All actors are expected to participate in the process to meet their needs.

Methods

Effective disaster management relies on the active involvement and collaboration of governmental bodies, civil society organizations, and the general populace. Engaging local communities in the recovery efforts following a disaster can mitigate the risk of future crises. However, the central government needs to adopt a deliberate political system that facilitates the participation of various actors. This study aims to evaluate the approaches included in the stakeholder participation plan prepared by the central government during the post-disaster recovery process and to develop a guiding framework with new strategies that will enhance social participation.

The research topic focuses on how the central government addresses social participation in post-disaster recovery processes. This necessitates asking the following questions:

How does the central government approach social participation in post-disaster recovery processes?
Does the strategy for community involvement in post-disaster recovery align with the established principles of participation as outlined in existing literature?

The first section explains the concepts of participation and disaster management and evaluates their relationship with each other. This paper examines societal-focused strategies in disaster management, providing both conceptual frameworks and methodological insights, while also identifying key principles essential for engaging

communities in post-disaster recovery, based on a thorough review of existing literature on these strategies. The second section examines how the central government involved local communities in the rebuilding after the February 6 earthquakes. The final section presents a conclusion and evaluation based on the assessments of all previous sections.

Within the scope of the study, concepts and approaches were examined to create a conceptual theoretical framework. As a result, the parameters affecting participation in contemporary Turkey and the issues that need to be considered were identified. As a result of these examinations, the stakeholder participation plan in the Earthquake Recovery and Reconstruction in Rural Areas Project (KADİYAP) carried out by the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization, and Climate Change with the financing of the World Bank was examined and the central government's approach to managing the participation process was evaluated. All information regarding the meetings to be attended by the public and the reports prepared after the meetings was announced on the General Directorate of Construction Works website. The data sources obtained from these reports are;

- Participation methods of the Stakeholder Groups determined within the Scope of the Project,
- Complaint Methods,
- Number of people attending official meetings held after the disaster,
- Question-and-answer sections of the meetings.

This data was evaluated using the participation principles determined from the literature.

Conceptual framework

The Concept of Participation and Participatory Processes

The term participation has been discussed and used in literature in various ways by different authors throughout history. Western authors have used it to understand the relationship between citizens and state institutions. Arnstein (1969) examined citizen participation and its relationship with the social imperatives of the time. In answering these questions, he created a participation ladder consisting of 8 levels of participation. Each step in these eight levels of participation corresponds to the degree of citizens' power to determine the final product (Figure :

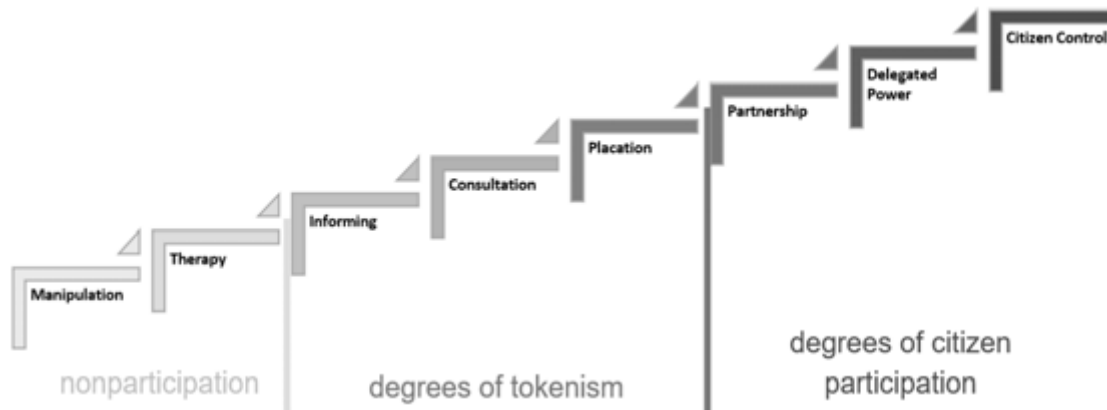


Figure 1: Arnstein's participation ladder

Many organizations, such as the International Association for Public Participation (IAP2), are inspired by Arnstein's participation ladder and propose a public participation spectrum. However, there are criticisms about these participation spectrums that do not cover all segments of the population in the world. For example, Cornwall and Goetz (2005) emphasize fairness to marginalized groups, especially women, in the radical redistribution of resources and power relations. According to authors such as Cornwall, Goetz, and Arnstein, one of the criteria to be considered in a participation process is to ensure a fair sharing of power.

From a planning theory perspective, efforts should be made to ensure that all interests are considered and met in a general plan during participation (Innes & Booher, 2002). This can only be achieved if the process includes all segments of society.

As Arnstein also mentioned in the participation ladder, participation is, in theory, the cornerstone of democracy. The OECD (2001) provided information on the elements that indicate the quality of democracy in its report on participation. Governments demonstrate the success of democracy through the transparency, accountability, and effectiveness of their policies and decision-making processes by increasing information, public consultation, and active participation. Governments must be responsible for using citizens' input received through feedback, public consultation, and active participation. In short, governments are expected to manage a transparent and accountable process by creating an area where citizens can actively participate.

Disaster Management and Post-Disaster Recovery Processes

To determine the criteria for post-disaster participation, scientists from various fields working on disasters were considered. Quarantelli, one of the pioneers of disaster sociology, considered disasters to represent fragility, reflecting "weaknesses in social structures or social systems" (Rodriguez, Quarantelli, & Dynes, 2006). In the same book, he mentioned that disasters are not just physical events. They affect individual coping patterns and the inputs and outputs of social systems. They are also rooted in the social structure and reflect the processes of social change. Due to the characteristics of the social system, it is fragile against disasters (Rodriguez et al., 2006). To better understand the vulnerabilities and responses of the social system during disasters, including local communities in the process, ensures a more effective and fair recovery. Geographer Cutter (1996) addresses the fragility of the social system by relating it to space. When addressing fragility spatially, he evaluates it according to its proximity to the disaster, the frequency of the event, its magnitude, and its duration. In the social system, factors such as infrastructures that meet basic needs, populations with special needs, poverty indicators, gender, and race are addressed (Cutter, 1996). It is of great importance to include all affected community groups, especially women, children, the elderly, the disabled, and ethnic minorities, in post-disaster processes.

Earthquakes have also been evaluated in terms of their impact on administrative processes and their effects on society. The United Nations Office for Disaster Risk Reduction (UNDRR) has prepared the Sendai Framework (2015) for disaster risk management at national and local levels, focusing on earthquakes. It emphasizes the shared responsibility between the central government and national authorities, sectors, and stakeholders, following national conditions as one of its basic principles. UNDRR has prepared a guide to support the implementation of the Sendai Framework, ensure the participation and ownership of all stakeholders in action, and strengthen accountability in disaster risk reduction. Another international organization, IFRC (2011), emphasizes transparent information sharing, meaningful beneficiary participation, effective and efficient use of resources, learning systems, and responding to concerns and complaints in line with accountability.

Oliver-Smith (2018) has studied the lack of such coordination in post-earthquake displacement processes. The basic approach of the post-disaster government is to maximize the number of houses built based on the idea of housing, leaving only a physical object to be transferred to the residents, who are given little opportunity to participate in the process. There was also harsh criticism of corruption and politically motivated aid distribution. In explaining the difficulties faced by both people and planners, he argues that a fully participatory approach is necessary because resettlement has inherent complexity, with "a range of factors from different orders such as cultural, social, environmental, economic, institutional, and political being interrelated." From Oliver-Smith's critiques of the post-disaster process, the importance of transparent information sharing in the participatory process emerges.

The conceptual framework (Figure 2) developed to evaluate the effectiveness of participation in post-disaster recovery processes is based on the principles of justice and power sharing, transparency and accountability, and inclusiveness. This framework aims to ensure equal access to decision-making processes for all stakeholders and to strengthen communities based on social equality. Transparency ensures that decision-makers are accountable to communities through the open and understandable flow of information, i.e., a responsible process. The principle of inclusiveness ensures the participation of all segments of communities in the processes. In addition, feedback mechanisms and continuity of processes enable more responsive and long-term solutions to be provided to the needs of communities. This framework is a one-to-one guide for effectively evaluating participation processes.

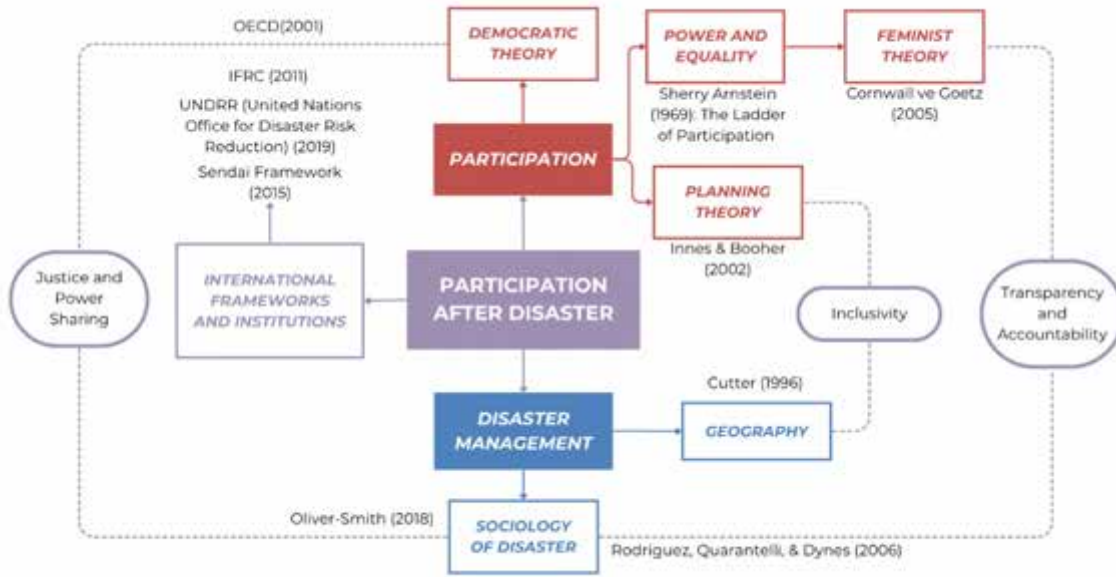


Figure 2 Conceptual Framework Created Based on Literature

Recovery process after the February 6 Kahramanmaraş earthquake

On February 6, 2023, two earthquakes centered in Kahramanmaraş with magnitudes of 7.7 and 7.6 Richter occurred, affecting 11 provinces and more than 14 million citizens. As 22 months have passed since the earthquakes, the government has begun to deliver the houses built after the disaster.

The Turkey Earthquake Recovery and Reconstruction Project (TDİYP) was developed for housing to be built in rural areas, managed by the Ministry of Environment, Urbanization and Climate Change (ÇŞİDB) and the Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD). Financed by the World Bank, this project has prepared a Stakeholder Engagement Plan (SEP) per the ESS10 standard titled "Stakeholder Engagement and Disclosure of Information". The project aims to ensure continuous participation and consultation of its stakeholders throughout the project period.

The project aimed to conduct meaningful consultations with the stakeholders on;

- designs,
- scope of agreements and financial obligations,
- identify other needs of stakeholders that can be considered/supported and match these with the existing support provided by the government.

After the damage assessment studies were completed, information meetings were held with the participation of the local people, mukhtars, NGOs, and district governors (Figure 3). The Q&A section of these meetings, where the concerns and suggestions of the people were received and housing designs were presented, was not reported because there was no ministry staff. As can be seen in the photograph in Figure 3, it was observed that there was little female participation in these meetings held in the first two months of the earthquake. In addition, the lack of reporting of Q&A shows a lack of transparency in participation.



Figure 3 Malatya-Akçadağ-17.03.2023

Project Stakeholder Participation

Project stakeholders and interested parties with a stake in the project are directly or indirectly affected. The implementation is aimed at being implemented with three basic principles;

- Openness and life cycle approach
- Informed participation and feedback
- Inclusiveness and sensitivity

It is planned that the participation activities of the determined stakeholders will continue throughout the project. All information regarding the meetings to be attended by the public has been announced on the YİGM website. Meetings are also held to receive the feedback of the muhtars for the houses whose construction process has been completed.

Inclusivity is A common theme in the participatory planning literature and project principles. Efforts have been made to provide participation support according to needs to include disadvantaged groups affected by the project, but cannot convey their concerns or understand the project outcomes (Table 1).

Table 1 Participation Methods of Stakeholder Groups Determined within the Scope of the Project (H: High; M: Medium; L: Low)

Stakeholder Group		Interest Level	Impact Level	Participation Method	Additional Resource Support
Direct Stakeholders	Rights holders whose houses were damaged	H	H	High Consultation meetings, Face-to-face meetings, CSIDB website, Digital communication tools, social media, Project information brochures/flyers, Online meeting, Grievance Mechanism (CM)	
	CSIDB, KTB, SB, UAB, ETKB, TOB, TB, Presidency of Religious Affairs	H	H	One-on-one meetings Official meetings, Consultation meetings	
Indirect Stakeholders	Landowners and land users adjacent to buildings, the Municipality, and neighborhood residents	M	H	Consultation meetings, CSIDB website, Digital communication tools, social media, Project information brochures/flyers, Online meetings, Grievance Mechanism (GMM)	
Other Relevant Parties	Governorships/District Governorships and municipalities	H	H	Communication (Letter, Phone, Emails) One-on-one meetings	
	Construction companies and workers, Consultants, controllers	H	M	Face-to-face meetings	
	NGOs – Associations at local and national level, Media, General public	L	M	Communication (Letter, Phone, Emails) One-on-one meetings Official meetings Consultative meetings CSIDB website Digital communication tools social media	

Vulnerable individuals or groups	Individuals with disabilities	H	M	Face-to-face meetings Audio devices Accessible platforms etc.	Special education needs Special education coordinators, Sign language interpreters/ Translators
	Elderly individuals	H	M	Face-to-face meetings Communication methods in inaccessible areas	Not required
	Immigrants, refugees, and non-native Turkish speakers	H	M	Face-to-face interviews Translated documents Special interpreters Communication in inaccessible areas	Translators
	Pregnant women and/or Women with young children Female-headed households	H	M	Face-to-face meetings Communication in inaccessible areas and methods	Not relevant
	Children	H	M	Face-to-face meetings Trained facilitators	Specially designed communication environments and approach
	People with post-traumatic Stress Disorder (PTSD) / mental health issues.	H	M	Face-to-face meetings Trained facilitators Psychologists	Psychological support

The fact that the disadvantaged group is treated differently in the project's stakeholder groups brings another question. While the beneficiaries whose houses were damaged are the ones who are directly affected and interested, the level of impact on the disadvantaged groups is at a medium level. No additional source has been provided regarding the inclusion of women whose houses were damaged, especially the women heads of the family. In addition, although it is stated in the report that regional organizations and NGOs representing the rights of the disabled will be discussed, these institutions and NGOs are not included in the report.

Stakeholder Engagement Activities

The report published in November 2024 includes information on the participation of stakeholders in the meetings. A table is provided where we can see the distribution of the participating stakeholders by gender. In this context, the information in Figure 4 from two different districts of the 4 cities where the meetings were held

is summarized. As seen in Table 1, although additional resource support is not deemed necessary for women's participation, women's participation varies from place to place. For example, in Malatya, women's participation is very low in the Pütürge district, while in the Ören district, women's participation is higher than men's. The same situation applies to Elazığ and Diyarbakır. In Adıyaman, it is seen that women's participation was very low in the first meetings that had just started. Table 2 also shows the number of houses to be built in the neighborhoods where these meetings were held. Here, there are neighborhoods where total participation is very low compared to the number of houses to be built.

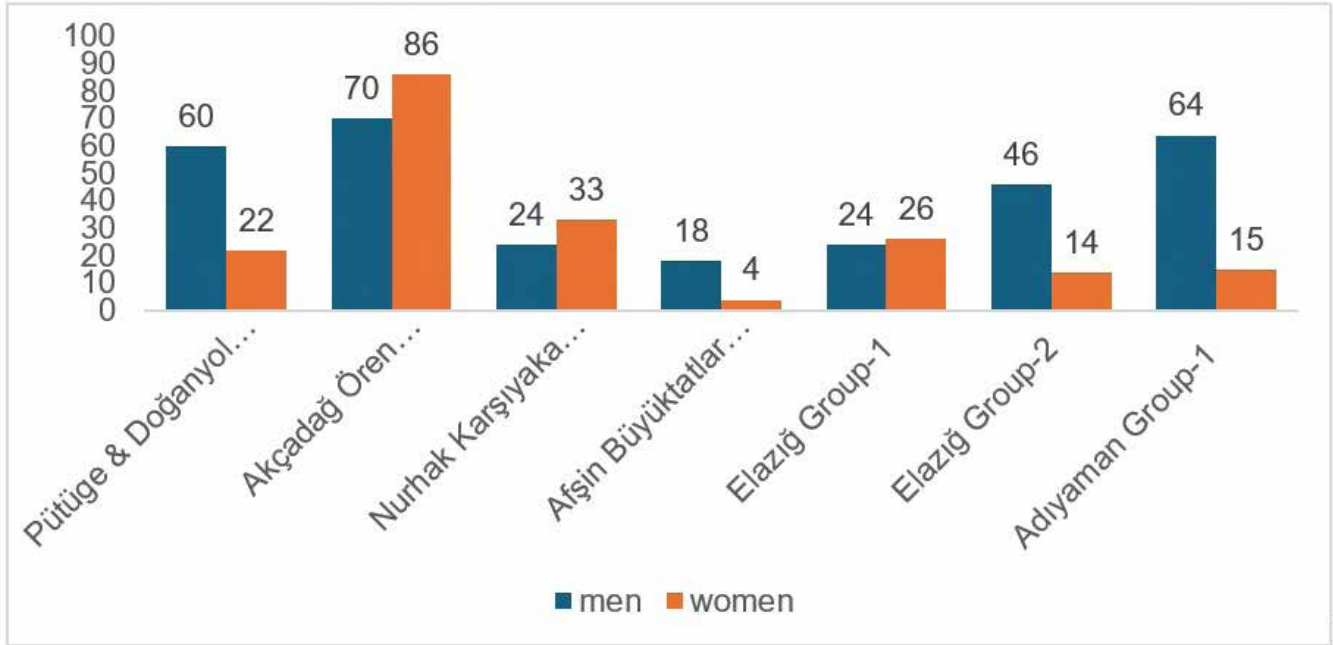


Figure 4: Number of male and female meeting attendance

Table 2: Participation in meetings and the number of houses to be built

	men	women	total	Number of houses to be built
Pütürge & Doğanyol /Malatya	60	22	82	105
Akçadağ Ören Mahallesi /Malatya	70	86	156	287
Nurhak Karşıyaka neighbourhood / Kahramanmaraş	24	33	57	243
Afşin Büyüktatlar neighbourhood / Kahramanmaraş	18	4	22	23
Elâzığ Group-1	24	26	50	79
Elâzığ Group-2	46	14	60	172
Adıyaman Group-1	64	15	79	80

Most of Dessup's reports are on the website under Environmental and Social Management Plans (ESMPs). These reports also include Q&A sessions from village-based meetings.

Dessup - 01 Malatya

The summary of the Q&A session at the meeting held in Malatya Ören Neighborhood on November 9, 2023, is given in Table 3. The ESMP prepared for the project was hung at the Neighborhood Headman's Office entrance in Container City for 1 week (Figure 5). In the face-to-face meeting,

- Social Expert from the Administration;
- Social Expert from the Audit Consultant (Koltek);
- Technical team;
- Construction Site Manager from the Contractor (Pekintaş);
- Neighborhood Headman participated.

Table 3: Public Participation Meeting – Questions and Answers

Questioner	Question	Answer
Neighborhood Resident	The application was rejected because the warehouse was not demolished and registered as a house.	The delivery process of the house is related to AFAD. It was suggested that he meet with AFAD.
Neighborhood Resident	Cost / Credit	to be determined by the President
Neighborhood Resident	Natural gas in new housing Infrastructure requested	It is not included in the current plan. However, the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources may direct a revision of the plan.
Neighborhood Resident	An increase in the number of housing units was requested	AFAD determines it
Neighborhood Resident	It was stated that the debris removal works were not completed, and there was a health risk due to asbestos among the rubble.	It was stated that the previous debris removal contractor left the job unfinished shortly after starting. A new contractor has been selected and is expected to arrive on-site soon.
Neighborhood Resident	Tenants	It was recommended that the tenants apply to TOKİ.
Neighborhood Resident	Suitability of houses for disabled individuals	It was mentioned that the interior arrangements can be made after the houses are allocated if an application is submitted to the Administration.

As mentioned above, questions were asked about the many mistakes that went wrong in the village areas. It was also stated that the number of houses was insufficient for the neighborhood. Guidance was given by saying that these two issues were under the responsibility of AFAD. Since the fees and installment method of the houses were not determined, questions were directed about this issue, but no clear information was given by the authorized persons on this issue. Natural gas infrastructure was requested for the houses, but it was conveyed that it was not included in the project and that the project could be revised if the Ministry of Energy and Natural Resources decided. It cannot be said that a healthy question-and-answer process was experienced due to the absence of state institutions that were the addressees of all these questions.



Figure 5 ESMP Suspension Photos (November 3, 2023) and Public Participation Meeting Photo
Dessup-02 Kahramanmaraş

Dessup-02 Kahramanmaraş

The Environmental and Social Management Kahramanmaraş reports dated May 2024 stated that the meetings had not been held yet, and there was no information about them. In the Stakeholder Participation Report published in November 2024, only photographs of the meetings were included (see Figure 6).



Figure 6 Dessup-02 Kahramanmaraş PKT photos

Dessup-03 Elazığ

In Elazığ, villages were divided into three groups based on proximity, and meetings were held accordingly. The ESMPs were hung in the mosques, Mokhtar's offices, and village construction sites (Figure 7). Who will have access to the hangar hung on the construction site is unknown.



Figure 7 Kambertepe and Altıncuşak ESMP Hanger Photos

In the face-to-face meetings, authorized names from the construction came as in Dessup 1. Therefore, the problem of not having people to whom the questions were addressed in Dessup 1 continued. The inquiries posed during the meeting exhibit a greater degree of reproach compared to those in Malatya, primarily due to the involvement of individuals who experienced a loss of rights following the 2020 earthquake. Individuals who were unable to acquire legitimate ownership of the earthquake-constructed residences from late 2020 to 2023 were once more referred to officials at AFAD. Another sensitive issue was that the barn for animal husbandry, a vital source of income for the villagers, was not included in the project. Due to the nature of the emergency, officials consistently emphasized that only shelter would be provided. Despite the presentation showcasing various homes, attendees were more focused on inquiries regarding payment options and costs rather than selecting a property. A further concern involved religious venues and community amenities. Just like the barn issue, they are not included in the scope of this project.

Table 4 Public Participation Meeting – Questions and Answers

Questioner	Answering the question	Question	Answer
Village Resident (Saman)	EMAY (Social Expert)	The barn is our main source of income; how will we survive without it if the project does not include one?	Since this is an “emergency” project, priority has been given to housing construction. Unfortunately, the barn is not included in the project.
Village Resident (Halkalı)	Administration (Environmental Expert)	We, as a family, are victims of the 2020 earthquake. Our houses were also destroyed along with the houses that were determined to be severely damaged in the 2023 earthquake, and we were not given the right of ownership; we were left homeless.	This situation is within the authority of AFAD. There is nothing we can do about it as the Ministry.
Village Resident (Çakmakkaya)	Administration (Social Expert)	Why is our village being built somewhere else, everything we have will remain here. We, as a people, are not happy with the new settlement.	You can also submit this to the complaint mechanism as a request. The parcel will probably not change, but let's talk to the Ministry
Village Resident (Kambertepe)*	Administration (Social Expert)	The Site Plan has changed, our houses are being built in a different place than the parcel we previously accepted. We want the previous site plan.	There are conditions for changing the Site Plan, it cannot be changed without reason. It cannot be changed without the knowledge of the Contractor and Consultant. Please put your complaints in the complaint boxes.
Village Resident (Kambertepe)	Administration (Social Expert)	Everything needs to be re-built in the new place. These (mosque, imam house) need to be built urgently. Will these be built?	Places of worship and other social facilities are not within the scope of this project. All needs are evaluated in the site plans, and planning is done accordingly.

*Participants in Kambertepe did not sign the participant list because if they had, the location of the parcel would have been considered accepted.



Figure 8: Stakeholder Participation Meeting Photos

Complaint Resolution Mechanism:

The World Bank has established a transparent and accountable process for stakeholders to voice their complaints, concerns, and suggestions regarding projects it finances. This mechanism aims to document complaints and systematically provide feedback and learning. Table 5 outlines the various methods for stakeholders to file complaints related to this project's framework.

Table 5 Grievance Redress Mechanisms by Level

Level/Area	Implementation Details
PIU Level CCM	Confidentiality and Anonymity: The right to file a complaint is guaranteed. Registration Process: Complaint information is recorded in a complaint log by trained personnel. a. Stakeholder name and contact information (personal information is not shared with third parties). b. Details how and when the complaint was submitted, accepted, responded to and resolved.
National Level SCM	Complaint Channels: a. Presidential Communication Center (CİMER) b. Foreigners Communication Center (YİMER)
World Bank Grievance System	All projects financed by the World Bank have a Grievance Service (GRS).
Worker Grievance Redress Mechanism	Workers may use a separate grievance mechanism to report: a. Working conditions b. Financial concerns c. Child labor/forced labor d. Legal issues e. Workplace gender-based discrimination and sexual harassment.
Sexual Exploitation and Harassment Management	Grievance Line: A grievance line has been established to address SSI/ST cases arising from project activities. Labor Management Procedures (LMP): The August 2023 report details behavioral guidelines for contractor personnel to prevent sexual assault.

Ongoing KADİYAP Feedback:

The KADİYAP project has received significant feedback from stakeholders through the PIU. The most common complaints, suggestions, and concerns include:

- Issues with property rights.
- Dust generated by construction machinery.
- Damage to village roads from heavy equipment.
- Lack of appreciation for project implementation.
- Requests for additional housing.

The complaints received from the feedback are also common in the meetings. However, the central administration has made no new decisions regarding these complaints during the process. The process continues as it started. This mechanism is limited to listening to citizens only. In addition, if the responses given to the complaints received are in the form of directing them to another institution, as in the meetings, this participation will be put in a vicious circle.

My request for information via Cimer for the writing process of this statement has been left unanswered for 2 months. All these are elements that disrupt the transparency of the process. Finally, the feedback system for harassment management, which is explained in detail in the labor procedure, raises new concerns about the participation of women in rural areas.

Evaluation and conclusion

The stakeholder participation plan prepared by the central administration for the accountability of the KADİYAP project, financed by the World Bank, has been examined. It is the first study conducted in Turkey to ensure participation in a disaster of this scale. In addition, the World Bank announced in its press release published in December 2024 that it approved new financing to support the Improvement of the Agricultural Sector in Earthquake-Affected Regions of Turkey. This participation plan, aligned with KADİYAP, seems to lead the way for other projects. To eliminate the errors and deficiencies made in line with the literature for plans, 3 main criteria for participation should be emphasized.

The main goal of international organizations such as UNDP is to ensure democratic participation where stakeholders can have power in recovery through the participation process. However, in this project, stakeholders are content with only receiving information about the process. Most of the statements cannot be eliminated from being one-sided, such as not doing anything other than referring AFAD officials to the housing ownership situation, which is the most common issue in the Q&A section of the meetings. Power sharing between the central administration and the local government is achieved through mutual dialogue. Otherwise, as Arnstein mentioned in the participation ladder, the participation process is only manipulation. The participation process has been seen as a procedural requirement only, and no extra work has been done to include all disaster victims in the process fairly. Regarding the fair distribution of power, it is striking that Adana, Diyarbakır, Gaziantep, Hatay, Kilis, Osmaniye, and Şanlıurfa, out of the 11 provinces that experienced the earthquake, were not included in the reports, and there was no reason for not including them.

This brings us to another problem: the process is not being inclusive. As Cornwall and Goetz mentioned, marginalized groups should be worked with to distribute resources and power equally. Given that women's participation differs from one village to another, it is essential to assess field-specific strategies, and collaborating with village associations or NGOs could prove beneficial. Furthermore, the established complaint mechanisms can serve as excellent models of inclusivity globally. Nonetheless, the effectiveness of these mechanisms relies on the central government, leading to citizens' apprehensions about their involvement. Thus, it is crucial to align the complaint mechanisms more closely with the efforts of NGOs and local governments.

Another issue is transparency and related accountability. The project prioritizes this objective, leading to the establishment of meetings and the implementation of complaint resolution systems. However, there is a power dynamic created by a complaint mechanism that is completely dependent on the central administration. Gathering complaints directly under the central administration transforms participation into a system where the government controls the citizens. Communicating grievances directly to the government is a symbolic means of involvement. Their goal is to calm the public reaction against the administration rather than real change. Finally, for this plan to be interactive and participatory, it needs to create areas where stakeholders can negotiate among themselves, and it is expected to be a flexible and transformative process for the upcoming process.

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