

**AN URBAN RENEWAL STORY IN ANKARA METROPOLITAN
AREA:
CASE STUDY CEVİZLİDERE**

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AREA: CASE STUDY
CEVİZLİDERE**

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ABSTRACT

AN URBAN RENEWAL STORY IN ANKARA METROPOLITAN AREA: CASE STUDY CEVİZLİDERE

Doyduk, Uğraş

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Globalization has created a theoretically supra-national, borderless world which encompasses a combination of urban economies and societies, displacing them from localities through mobilization of labor and capital based on strong telecommunicational network relations. The dimensions of global-local relationship is defined in diversification at each level of globalization, creating heterogeneous global-local relations expressed through the new concept of governance which involves concepts of rule of law, transparency, responsiveness, equity, effectiveness and efficiency, accountability, strategic vision. The concepts of urban legibility and imageability are based on these new concepts for creation of sustainable and livable places by reorganization and renewal of urban physical structure.

Urban renewal, which aims to change urban environment according to planning in order to conform with present and future requirements for urban living and working is a political process in essence, the physical urban structure that rises on a renewal site is the result of political decisions about allocation of resources. Urban renewal is not only re-building of physical urban tissue but involves change in used of land and buildings through re-planning, comprehensive re-development of land, preservation, conservation, rehabilitation, sustainable development, liveability and gentrification.

This thesis aims at exploring the laws of urban renewal and clarification and recognition of dynamics of it which will be integrated with the spatial and social evolution of a typical gecekondu district subject to transformation. Following the review of theory of urban renewal, its current implementations and approaches, unauthorized housing in Turkey and relevant legal aspects and renewal implementations are discussed along with examples from other countries. The study then concentrates on a specific implementation in a gecekondu area renewed in a legal framework through Improvement and Development Plans, keeping in mind comparisons with renewal through special transformation projects. The study shows that renewal through Improvement and Development Plans in Cevizlidere, did not approach the renewal process through a feasible transformation policy, integrating it with the city plans and left implementation to developers motivated by maximization of personal rent gain. The aim of legalization of squatter houses was realized but renewal failed to reach the target groups urging most of them to relocate elsewhere in the city, replaced them by a very different socio-economic group in the area, creating an unwholesome, unaesthetic physical tissue with a congested building stock and physical environment in Balgat in general and Cevizlidere in particular.

Key Words: Globalization, Urban Renewal, Spatial Transformation, Gecekondu Settlements, Improvement and Development Plans

ÖZ

ANKARA METROPOLİTEN ALANINDA BİR KENTSEL YENİLEME OLGUSU: ÖRNEK ALAN CEVİZLİDERE

Doyduk, Uğraş

Yüksek Lisans, Şehir ve Bölge Planlama-Şehir Planlama

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Globalleşme kuramsal açıdan uluslarüstü, sınırsız bir dünya yaratmıştır. Bu dünya, güçlü telekomünikasyon ağları üzerinde hareketli emek ve kapital aracılığı ile kentsel ekonomileri ve toplumları yerelden kopartarak global ölçekte bütünleştirmiştir. Global-yerel ilişkisinin boyutları globalleşmenin her düzeyinde, yeni bir kavram olan yönetim bağlamında, bu kavramın kavramının kapsadığı yasallık, şeffaflık, sorumluluk, hakçalık, etkinlik ve kolaylık, hesap verebilme, stratejik vizyon oluşturma bağlamında yeniden tanımlanır. Kentsel okunabilirlik ve kentsel imaj kavramları da anılan bu çağdaş kavramlardan kaynaklanarak yenilenen, yeniden örgütlenen kentsel mekansal alanlarda yaratılacak sürdürülebilir ve yaşanabilir ortamlarda gelişecektir.

Kentsel çevreyi, günün ve geleceğin kentsel yaşam ve çalışma alanlarının istek ve gerekleri uyarınca değiştirmeyi amaçlayan kentsel yenileme kavramı gerçekte politik bir süreçtir ve bu kentsel yenileme alanlarında ortaya çıkan fiziksel kentsel yapılanmalar kaynakların dağılımlarını içeren politik kararların sonuçlarıdır. Kentsel yenileme yalnızca fiziksel kentsel dokunun değişimini içermez, arazinin ve yapıların kullanımının da yeniden planlamasını, çok boyutlu yaklaşımla yeniden geliştirilmesini, korunmasını, ıslahını, sürdürülebilirliğin, yaşanabilirliğin sağlanmasını ve seçkinleştirilmesini içerir.

Bu tez çalışması kentsel yenilemenin temel kurallarının açıklanmasını, dinamiklerinin saptanmasını ve yenileme sürecine girmiş bir tipik bir gecekondulu yerleşmesinin mekansal ve sosyal gelişmesi bağlamında değerlendirilmesini amaçlamaktadır. Kentsel yenileme kavramının kuramsal boyutunun tartışılması, güncel uygulamaların ve yaklaşımların tanıtılmasından sonra Türkiye’de yasa dışı konut stoku, ilgili yasal boyutlar ve yenileme örnekleri yurt dışı örnekler ile karşılaştırılarak incelenmektedir. Çalışma daha sonra İslah İmar Planları ile yenileme sürecinden geçmiş bir gecekondulu yerleşmesi üzerinde odaklanmakta ve proje kapsamında yenilenmiş örneklerin özelliklerini de değerlendirme ölçütü olarak kullanarak tartışmaktadır. Çalışma, Cevizlidere örneğinde mekansal dönüşüm ve yenileme sorununa sağlam bir kentsel yenileme politikası olmadan ve kentin ve alanın diğer ölçekli planları ile gerekli ilişkileri kurmadan yaklaşan, dönüşüm sürecini kişisel rant maksimizasyonu hedefi ile gerçekleştiren girişimcilerin eline bırakan İslah İmar Planları ile yönlendirilen yenileme sürecini incelemekte ve çalışma sonucunda gecekonduları yasallaştırma hedefine varıldığını ancak yenileme sürecinin hedef gruba ulaşmadığını, bu grupların genelde alanı terkederek kentin başka alanlarına yerleştiğini, yerlerine çok farklı sosyo-ekonomik grupların geldiğini ve sürecin sağlıklı, estetikten uzak, sıkışık, yoğun, boşluksuz bir yapı stoku ile sonuçlandığını göstermektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Globalleşme, Kentsel Yenileme, Mekansal Dönüşüm, Gecekondulu Yerleşmeleri, İslah İmar Planları

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

In recent decades, cities have faced many problems resulting from over-migration and inadequate services of cities. These have caused excess demand of public services and basic needs of life. In this respect, HABITAT II Conference (1996) was held in Turkey, İstanbul in order to provide equilibrium between citizens and the built-up environment in the framework of four principles: Sustainability, Equity, Liveability and Citizen Loyalty. The most important topic was 'housing' being stated as 'adequate shelter for every citizen'. Furthermore, Agenda 21 (1992) proposed criteria for improving the social, economic and environmental quality of human settlements and the living and working environments of all people, in particular, the urban and rural poor, focus on planning and management methods in several programme areas. These are listed above:

- Providing adequate shelter
- Improving management of urban settlements.
- Promoting sustainable land-use planning and management.
- Providing environmentally sound infrastructure facilities
- Promoting energy-efficient technology, alternative and renewable energy sources and sustainable transport systems
- Enabling disaster-prone countries to plan for and recover from natural disasters
- Promoting sustainable construction industry activities (Agenda 21, 1992) (adopted by report).

It is obvious that, providing adequate urban settlements and creating sanitary environment and as a result, establishing a sustainable life are the major tasks of all governments over the world.

Squatter housing development is a widespread problematic issue in all Third World Countries and in Turkey as well. This issue came on agenda especially after the Second World War, meaningly after 1945. Moreover, in Turkey, the legalization of squatter settlements and transformation of these settlements has begun in 1980s. However, the solutions created towards illegal settlements are mainly depending upon the result of this issue, not on the causes of that task. Therefore, the more effective policy has been tried to find so as to provide sustainable and livable cities. In addition, the urban renewal programs and projects have gained an important role.

As mentioned above, the concept of squatter housing development or unauthorized housing that known as ‘gecekondu’ in Turkey is considered as consequences of rural migration and urbanization process in both underdeveloped and developing countries. In Turkey, specifically, gecekondu process has developed after the invasion of urban lands, especially at the periphery, by the rural migrants and has very sharp effect on the shape of the city macro-form.

The emergence of unauthorized housing in Turkey was mainly based on the increase in migration rate as parallel to the increase in the employment opportunities in big cities. Meaningly, it is the result of conversion from agricultural work force to industrial and service sector work force. Additionally, insufficiency to meet the low-income group’s demand with the existing housing stock, and the government’s lack of housing the urban poor policies, were the other reasons why big cities of Turkey faced unauthorized housing problem. The population that could not locate inside the planned boundary of the cities chose the unplanned areas and the lands that were topographically unsuitable, for building up their shelters. In addition, this feature showed the dominance of unauthorized housing to authorized housing in terms of its flexibility and adoptability in choosing location.

Housing is one of the major sectors of state economy, that is, economy and housing development processes are influenced by each other. Moreover, different cities have different characteristics and means in housing provision. Because provision of

housing is a multi-dimensional process and society's demographic, economic and social features have effects on housing need, demand and supply. Furthermore, spatial structure of the city is also important since one of the most considerable inputs of housing provision is 'land', so 'space'.

The governments' and local authorities' one of the main missions is to provide housing provision for their citizens. Housing provision can be shaped by two ways. First is the authorized housing provision and this is the legal process. Second, one is unauthorized housing provision, which is illegal. In addition to this, there are three types of unauthorized housing provision in Turkey: Built-up invaded public land built-on illegally sub-divided private land and built on the plot by its owner without occupancy permit. The most important reason for building unauthorized housing or gecekondü is that big migrations. Migrated people who cannot acquire housing from authorized stock, and then they create their own stock or their unauthorized housing market because of unmet demand.

In Turkey, like other developing and under-developed countries, gecekondü or squatter housing is one of the major problems that state always faces with. From 1984, state has been trying to develop authorized housing stock, especially by using TOKİ credits. On the other hand, 'Building Amnesty Acts' came on agenda in order to legitimate gecekondü areas. Moreover, new sub-division plans had been prepared with reference to the 'İslah İmar Planları' and by the help of this, ownership rights had been obtained by the owner of gecekondüs (TÜREL, 1994).

1.1. The Scope and Aim of the Study

There was great deal of physical dimension about urban renewal in early times. However, it is perceived that handling the urban renewal within a multi-dimensional model, which consists of physical, social, economic and cultural contexts, would be necessary for reaching an essential solution. In a sense, the scope of this study is to express the dynamics of gecekondü process and

transformation of this process within the all variable dimensions. Therefore, the aim of this study is to clarify and recognize occurrence and dynamics of urban renewal in a large metropolitan area in Ankara. Under the umbrella of this major aim, study is integrated with the spatial and social evolution of a typical gecekondu district emphasizing the transformation process.

This study is outlined within seven steps. The first step is to summarize the Theory of Urban Renewal that consists of the evolution of urban renewal, current meanings of urban renewal, characteristics of urban renewal, positive and negative aspects of this phenomenon, and lastly criteria for a successful renewal effort will be set up (Chapter 2). The next step is the evaluation of unauthorized housing and renewal solutions that implemented in both developing and developed countries so as to use as a source for designing our case study (Chapter 3). The third step is to cross out the picture of the unauthorized housing in Turkey and its legal aspects and some implementation programs will be described (Chapter 4). From the fourth step case study begin with the area's general characteristics (Chapter 5) and then the transformation process will be explained with reference to the field survey (Chapter 6). The final step is to make a n evaluation in a theoretical framework (Chapter 7).

1.2. Research Question and Research Methodology

With respect to the aim of the study the main research question can be formulated as: In one of which urban renewal's socio-economic effects / contributions would be more; in urban renewal areas that renew by public-private partnership or areas that renew by only the efforts of private institutions? According to this main research question, other sub-questions can be expressed, such as: Is it feasible to use renewal as a method of transformation of such area large-scale squatter housing area? Do area-based projects have a force on the life chances of its inhabitants? Do area-based policies just relocate problems between different neighborhoods and undertake the causes of exclusion and poverty? What have been the aimed and the definite effects of the urban renewal in post-war neighborhoods and what role has

the renewal played in the total neighborhood change? These questions has been tried to answered in order to test if such implementation can be an model for the renewal of such areas of a developing country preparing itself for the 21st century within the globalization process.

This study is mainly depending upon ‘urban renewal’ concept. The methodology is designed in the context of ‘case study’ since it covers nearly 20 years period. We have decided to test our research question within Cevizlidere district located at the south of Ankara in the boundry of Balgat neighborhood. Research methodology is mainly based on interviews and household questionares in an adequate sample, which we can simply called ‘Field Study’. Moreover, literature survey has been carried out at all steps of the thesis. Questionares will be applied to the households who owned their houses and at the same time who make an aggreement with a constructor. The aim of the questionares is to find out general information about the renewal of that district. Related maps will be obtained from Çankaya Municipality and Department of City and Regional Plannning Archive. As a conclusion, methodology covers 4 steps;

1. Field Survey

- 1a. Interviews with key informants such as muhtar, households, constructors,etc.,*

- 1b. Questionares with household that aggreed with constructors,*

2. Direct Observations

- 2.a. Interview and data collection from the municipality,*

3. Literature survey- data collection and analyzing written and visual materials related to the context.

We take into account two main criteria for selecting our case study, which are accessibility to data and how typical the case is. There are plentiful sources in literature about urban renewal context. The case is typical, because there has been a rapid transformation due to speculation and its location. In addition, transformation

has been occurred by private initiators, that is, public agencies has taken limited roles.

1.3. Globalization and its Impacts on Cities

Globalization is the growing combination of economies and societies around the borderless world and has been one of the most hotly debated topics in international economics for past few years. Rapid growth and poverty reduction in some countries that were poor for years ago has been a positive aspect of globalization. Nevertheless, globalization has also generated important international resistance over concerns that it has increased inequality and environmental degradation.

Globalization, with its widespread and common meaning, is to produce, distribute, commerce, finance and invest without regard to national boundaries. In a more comprehensive view, it is the internationalization of trade, disembedding of social and economic activities from localities, the mobilization of goods, information and labour, the flow of capital, polarization of labour force and strong network relations based on the codified and non-codified knowledge. On the other hand, Ohmae, K. (1990) describes globalization in terms of internationalization of four concepts which are the Information, Individual, Investment and Industry.

Harvey, D. (1985) , as parallel to the basic idea of Ohmae, describes seven results of globalization. According to him, with the internationalization of the four concepts mentioned above, there occurred a change in the production and organizational forms (multinational capital), and a big increase in the world wage labour force. Additionally, he emphasizes the mobility of global population, transition from urbanization to hyper-urbanization and the changing role of the state and the traditional powers to control the mobility of capital, which he thinks that the globalization is a reorganization of capitalism. And finally, he points out the increase in the set of global environmental and political problems, and the threat on the preservation and the production of the cultural diversity.

The term "globalization" has acquired considerable sensitive force. Some people view it as a process that is beneficial and a key to future world economic development, and also inevitable and irreversible. Others regard it with hostility believing that it increases inequality within and between nations, threatens employment and living standards and prevents social progress. This brief offers an overview of some aspects of globalization and aims to identify ways in which countries can tap the gains of this process, while remaining realistic about its potential and its risks.

Economic globalization is a historical process as the result of human innovation and technological progress where it refers to the increasing integration of economies around the world, particularly through trade and financial flows and the movement of people /labor and knowledge/technology across international borders. There are also broader cultural, political and environmental dimensions of globalization that affect the nation's ways of life.

Furthermore, globalization is not just a recent phenomenon where some researchers have argued that the world economy was just as globalized 100 years ago as it is today. However, today commerce and financial services are more developed and deeply integrated than they were at that time. Besides, four main elements of globalization can be defined as trade, capital flow, flow of people and spread of knowledge and technology. As globalization has progressed, living conditions particularly when measured by broader indicators of well being have improved significantly in virtually all countries. However, the advanced countries and only some of the developing countries have made the strongest gains.

1.3.1. Four Concepts of Globalization: Economic, Institutional, Spatial, and Socio-Cultural

Globalization is not a development of the level of trade and investment in the existing framework of economic relations, but it has been created **a new economic structure**. From this point of view, Hirst & Thompson (1997) built up two

divergent economies. First one is 'Global Economy', which is a different version from the international model. The global system consists of both the national economies and the networks of these economies. As a result of globalizing the market and the production, international system is transferred from the level of nation and it becomes specialized. Second one is 'International Economy' where national economies are the dominant inputs. Moreover, trade and investment creates a relation between national economies and this process caused new economic actors' participation in the world market.

There occurred a transition from international economy to global economy. Amin, A. and Thrift, N. (1994) gives some reasons of this transition;

- The increasing centrality of the financial structure and the power of finance over production,
- The increasing importance of the 'knowledge structure' and the 'expert systems',
- Trans-nationalization of technology,
- Rise of global oligopolies,
- Rise of trans-national economic diplomacy and the globalization of state power,
- Rise of global-cultural flows and deterritorialized signs, meanings and identities,
- Rise of new global geographies (borderless geographies),

Furthermore, Scott, A. J. (2001) has focused on the global economy under four dimensions;

1. Real Economy: the economy created by industrialization,
2. Borderless Economy: the entire world is becoming the market place as well as a networked production place,
3. Cybereconomy: it tends to be characterized by countries or regions with IQ intensive industries,

4. Equation-based or Multiples Economy

The second concept about globalization is ‘**Institutional Concept**’. The two main institutions are the focal actors; multinational companies and transnational companies. The period after 1960s viewed the emergence of multi-national company activities and the development of organized networked international based trade. A multi-national company means the one that has various sub-companies and offices throughout the world and do not have a unique strategic route. In addition to this, as geographical extensiveness of transnational companies activity progressively increased after Second World War, transnational companies were unavoidably became ‘placeless’ institutions owing to community, region or country. They seemed ‘snatchers’ rather than ‘stickers’, whereby areas were utilized for their resources and Amin, A. and Thrift, N. (1994) describes the development of a simple company to transnational company;

- Production for domestic market,
- Selling products into export markets from its domestic base,
- Taking the geographical advantages by the technological changes especially in transport and communication,
- The firm is ultimately transformed into a fully integrated global corporation.

Despite the diminishing role of nation in the macroeconomic level, the nation-state did not completely lost or weaken. Actually, they protected the characteristics of being major institution. In this respect, nation-states have played a crucial role in both national and international economy. Nevertheless, governments are less likely to be sovereign and more active in inter economic governance. According to Ohmae, K. (1990), nation-states are regarded as *the local authorities of global system*. The national-policy-exempt global economy enables the companies to use the nation state’s factors of production in a more advantageous way.

The third concept, **Spatial Concept**, can be described in the framework of global city and global city regions. Sassen, S. (1991) describes the term 'Global City' as *the space whose role as a node of transactional connections begin to overshadow its cultural placement within containing nation-state*. Moreover, global city is a new form of urban space to which individual cities in the new world order may more or less conform and global cities are the centers of transnational business activities where the global elite, normal citizens and immigrants share the space. Today, New York, London and Tokyo are regarded as global cities. According to Sassen, S. (1991), 'global cities' represent a limited set of phenomena and they are bound by a narrower boundary.

Also, the important features of the global city; are its functions as a center of power and inequality. In contrast, Sassen, S. (1991) prefers to define the 'global city regions' as global cities plus additional tracts of surrounding territory giving them a more complex but also less sharply focused social identity. In other words, if global cities are defined in terms of 'external' information changes, the global city regions should be defined in terms of corresponding 'internal linkages'.

The last concept is '**Socio-Cultural Concept**' that is mainly depends on the migration and the decline of cultural homogeneity. An essential topic in globalization of trade is based on the mobility of labor. 1815-1914 is the period that the number of registered immigrants reached to its highest value, where the increase in the global migration including especially Europe and America, is after 1945. After that period, there is an increase in number of migrants from developing and under-developed countries to the developed ones as 'guest labors'. Parallel to the transformation in the production process, the factors of production, including labor, differentiated. On the one hand, there was a high-skilled flexible professionals, on the other hand, part-time temporarily labor force who can be dismissed easily. What's more, 'cultural homogeneity' is going to disappear with the modern communication technologies and the global economic activities that take place in different countries and cultures. 'Mc donaldization' term defined by Hirst, P. and

Thompson, G. (1997) is a very good example of influence of cultures over another one.

1.3.2. Sustainable Development

The growth of world population and production combined with unsustainable consumption patterns has put increasingly severe stress on the life-supporting capacity of the planet, and has affected the use of land, water, air, energy and other resources (Agenda 21 Report, 1992: 4). *Sustainable development is described as an economic activity, which increases social welfare with minimum environmental degradation within the framework of economic, technical and social limitations* (Adams, 1990:2). Moreover, according to Güvenç and Işık (1995) this concept based on justice and considers equity in generations. They criticized there is no stress on the equity between different locations, regions, cities, urban systems, countries and social groups, which are the main elements of spatial justice.

In recent years, the notion of ‘sustainability’ has become an important methodical and policy concept. Among the key elements of more sustainable urban/built environment policies can be listed as;

- a more integrated approach to the physical, economic, social and environmental regeneration of urban areas,
- improved accessibility to areas in need of regeneration, environmental up-grading,
- flexibility in the application of planning policies to encourage a better mix of activities,
- encouraging the use of upper storey for residential purposes,
- the conversion of outmoded buildings to new uses,
- new emphasis on the environmental and ecological value of open space provision,
- mechanisms to overcome barriers to regeneration and a partnership approach,

- involving cross-sectoral consultation and participation.

Resting on a general concept of sustainable development with the idea of a triple bonus – economic efficiency, social solidarity and environmental concern – in its core, the following guiding principles of sustainable development were identified by Blum, A. (2002):

- Thinking global: Territorial approaches can only be sustainable when they are accompanied by an analysis of the territory in terms of its local (neighborhood, city) and global (agglomeration, region, country, planet) environment.

- Taking long-term-developments into consideration as well as its relation with the present (conceiving future changes and possible reversibility / adaptability).

- Participation of the population in the decision making process.

- Principles of precaution and prevention, integration and solidarity

(Blum, A., 2002).

1.3.3. The Dimensions of the Global-Local Relationship

Global-local relationship can be defined in diversification in every level of globalization. It is obvious that localization is very crucial but without global relations, it could not reach the expected solution. Institutions provide the basis for localized social and economic networks and contacts, and it is argued that strong local institutional relations may act as a starting point to regional economic success. Therefore, instead of mono-centered forms of relations, creating heterogeneous global-local relationship is the focal point and this relation can be figured out like below. Moreover, localization means locality's capacity that helps to integrate to the global networks.

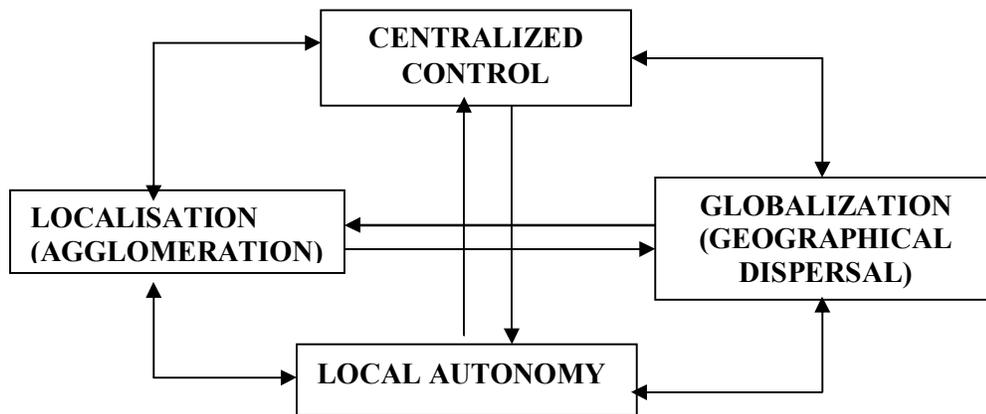


Figure 1: The Global-Local Relationship

1.3.4. Changing Meanings of Planning

In 1960s, Keynesian perspective is dominant in scope of urban planning and politics with full government intervention. When came to the 1970s and 1980s, the planning became an obstacle to individual freedom and to the execution of the free market economy especially in Europe. The birth of need to strengthen local governments and creation regional authorities causes the need for governance. Governance means to get things done does not rest on the power of government in order to create synergy. In other words, on an institutional level, in the name of new competitive rationalization governments are advised to develop a closer relationship to all social participators to create good business climate. In this system, government takes the new roles, such as ‘mediator’, ‘enabler’ or ‘catalytic agent’, without singular control functions. In this respect, public-private partnerships are essential in the *transition from government to governance*. Furthermore, elements of good governance can be as follows: Commonly shared goals, accountability, transparency, participation, rule of law and predictability. In addition, its ideological base covers the concepts of locality, place and community as central elements.

Governance emerges because of a new deal between working population and entrepreneurial groups, thus, another terminology that urban entrepreneurialism

came on agenda with the help of urban governance, which means some levels of inter-urban competition. This notion gives a birth to the creating public-private partnership and citizen participation as well. In addition, accelerating public participation in planning process means a transition from representative to participatory democracy. In such an atmosphere, planners become negotiators rather than decision-makers. *The new world order depends firstly on an international system with the concepts of pluralism, market economy, human rights and the superiority of law, and secondly on the power of international organizations and negotiation rather than cold war* (Dündar, 1997:10).

CHAPTER 2

THE THEORY OF URBAN RENEWAL

There are always changing dynamics in cities. There is a need for renewal at the healthy or old parts of the cities in both developing and under-developed countries, even in developed countries. The renewal process could be occurred by itself automatically with high costs or by in a planned manner, which provide more economic benefits.

Urban renewal is a political process; the physical structures that rise on a renewal site are the result of political decisions about the allocation of resources and a long trip through many agencies at all levels of government. All urban development is political in double sense; it redistributes wealth by public action, and it is legitimate only when it is politically supported. *Urban renewal entails the acquisition of large tracts by the public authority, re-planning the area and then re-selling or leasing the land not required for public uses to private developers for re-building or rehabilitation* (Abrams, 1964: 130). Likewise, according to Grebler (1964) urban renewal means an effort to alter the urban environment through planned, large-scale regulation of existing city areas, includes both residential and non-residential land-uses, to present and future necessities for urban living and working. Moreover, Grebler (1964) stressed that urban renewal process includes re-planning and re-development, or, conservation and rehabilitation.

We can examine urban renewal as an ‘enterprise’ which means ‘an effort or project especially one that involves activity, courage, energy, or the like, an important

undertaking'. Not only is a more decision-making organization likely to desirable for renewal in the long run, but the renewal organization must accommodate, at least in the largest cities to coordinating arrangements for urban development as a whole.

The need for renewal is the effect of two situations: Deterioration / deprivation of buildings in the meaning of both physical and social costs, and losing its entire value in an obvious district. When time passing, buildings that are not finished their economic life has been demolished and substituted with apartment blocks. Unplanned urban renewal has some negative effects. These are;

- This could not help to close housing shortage,
- This could create some obstacles for individuals, and urban and national economics,
- Local governments face with unexpected and extra investments out of their development program,
- Broadened of roads, making narrower pavements, cutting of trees, rehabilitation of infrastructure units are disturbed and hampered the planned development (KELEŞ, 1990a).

In developed countries, urban renewal focuses mainly on three aims;

1. In order to provide the clearance of the slums of the poverty groups (Slum Clearance)
2. In order to eliminate liveliness differentiations between the center of the city and other parts of the city.
3. In order to increase local governments' monetary opportunities in city centers (KELEŞ, 1990a).

In nineteenth century, market conditions forced the implementation of the urban renewal projects. Because of growing the size of urban areas and the price of land increased, these caused an increase of need of intensive use of city centers.

Furthermore, as trade and industry developed, increasing range of economic infrastructure was required. Therefore, the desire for extension of central area locations increased.

The most important characteristics of urban renewal is that it brings about in the use of urban land and buildings, so results in changes in where, how and under which conditions people live. Because of this reason, some scholars started to use such terms as 'human renewal' or 'social renewal' by the late 1960s. Moreover, the formal initiative of renewal projects rests with the local government, which is municipality. The preparation of urban renewal proposals is also important.

As seen from above, urban renewal is not only a clearance of slums. Additionally, rehabilitation, conservation and re-development are the types of urban renewal. The problems of rigidity and flexibility are directly relevant to urban renewal, because renewal needs public planning and intervention into free market processes. Urban renewal has been of growing importance for two decades. By the growing cities re-development of existing urban fabric occurred and this cause re-distribution of resources in urban life.

Urban renewal means an effort to change the urban environment according to planning in order to adjust existing city areas to present and future requirements for urban living and working. It takes the non-residential as well as residential land-uses as a context. The urban renewal involves the re-planning, comprehensive re-development of land, preservation, conservation, rehabilitation, sustainable development in urban life, and gentrification. We can say that urban renewal means not only demolishing the buildings and making new buildings, but it is an inter-disciplined practice including some other contexts such as rehabilitation, gentrification, etc. Moreover, urban renewal is a physical change in the use of land and buildings that are inevitable result of the action of economic and social forces in urban areas.

The speedy growth of urbanization and industrialization resulted in more housing need and suitable life as well. In addition, this need has been met by housing provision through suburbanization and renewal of the old parts of the cities. In line with this urban renewal has been the focal point in the urbanization literature. Besides, there are many forces that triggered urban renewal process. Firstly, urban fabric has become inevitable in time when cities become larger due to immigration and older due to complement of their economic lives. Secondly, because of decentralization of cities, large amount of inner city land and buildings have become abandoned. Since occupants could acquire more comfortable lives at the city periphery with the absence of many problems of cities, such as pollution, congestion or social ills like crime. Therefore, urban renewal requires not only physical arrangements, but also economic, cultural, political and social arrangements due to the fact that it includes all changing dynamics in a city.

Deprivation or deterioration can be defined as: shortages in the physical space to provide for oneself and for one's household. In the social sciences, the term deprivation is often used for all kinds of shortages (education, housing, etc.). Data on location, and the relation between location and origin, are often not available in social research, though these are indispensable to find those groups and households. The spatial level on which the deprivation is defined must be clear (Drewe, Fernandez and Hulsbergen, 2001). The causes of deterioration are often a combination of;

- Physical conditions (age of the building, technical standards);
- Institutional conditions (division of responsibilities, lack of financial resources for individual or municipal renewal and modernization projects);
- Regulatory conditions (inadequate legislation for newly established forms of mixed ownership, over-protection of tenants and/or owners in the new economic situation, exclusion of certain social groups from subsidized housing, etc. and

- Social and economic processes (unemployment and its impact on the growth of lower-income households; more affluent households moving out of run-down neighborhoods, thus increasing segregation)

Urban deprivation problem has been tried to solve by using urban renewal schemes from the earliest times till to present. Dündar (1997) explained the evolution of urban renewal in Ph.D. Thesis and separated this evolution into four periods. Chronologically, in the first period, starts from the earliest efforts for renewal to 1960, urban renewal is accepted parallel to the **redevelopment** that regarded as **slum clearance**. *Redevelopment is the wholesale clearance of the area to be followed by development again, displacing the previous inhabitants* (Couch, 1990: 2). From 1960s to 1970s regarded as the second period, **rehabilitation** and **renovation** in the developed country and **upgrading** and **self-help** in the developing country came on agenda. *Rehabilitation and renovation are the improvement of the living standards of the inhabitants in the ageing residential areas without clearance* (Davids and Whinston, 1966: 16). Likewise, upgrading is performing of improvement on the existing formation in the framework of self-help. The third period, 1980s and 1990s, urban renewal context is regarded in globalization process with a new dimension that is **regeneration** and **gentrification** respectively. *Regeneration is an effort to change the modern capitalist city both physically and socially, by developing large areas within the declined inner city. Gentrification is one process of regeneration whereby the social and physical character of a neighborhood is changed with the aim of raising both the economic activity and the social structure of inner city areas, displacing the previous inhabitants* (Fainstein, 1995: 24). After 1990s the era of interactive approach has begun. Since in today's globalized world there are active and changing dynamics, only one approach is not sufficient to explain the whole process. We can face with the signs of regeneration, rehabilitation and gentrification in the some parts of the city neighborhoods, because they are interacted in the new system.

The focus of this chapter is to examine the evolution of urban renewal concept and assess the new viewpoints about urban renewal under the triggered forces of globalization.

2.1. From the First Renewal Efforts to 1960s: Clearance and Redevelopment

2.1.1. Before the Second World War

As Couch (1990) mentioned in his book, urbanization increased with the help of industrial and commercial growth in the 19th century. In addition, this situation caused a turn in scale economies and agglomeration economies. Because of this fact, authorities began to implement urban renewal projects at all parts of the cities so as to response market forces. Second important factor that triggered urban renewal is that explosion in cities both in physical and demographic concerns and erection of slums and squatter areas accompanied with sanitation problems escorting new infrastructure investment. A third focal force was the development in service sector and a fourth triggered force was increase in middle class' spending power that results in suburbanization. Moreover, fifth factor was introduction of the railway, which causes destructions in city centers forced people to find a new accommodation.

However, although these developments had come on agenda, the governments gave a little concern to urban renewal until 1860s. Therefore, beginning with the 19th century until the end of 1950s, renewal was regarded as slum clearance in the context of redevelopment. The redevelopment process consists of the removal of existing buildings and the use of; the land thus cleared and any open land that was interspersed among the removed buildings, and the possibly adjacent land. *Squatters have tended to be viewed as problem populations marginal to the urban system by both Western and Third World planners. The response of many governments to picture of slums and squatter settlements was to attempt to eliminate them through programs of removal and redevelopment with a general acceptance that clearance would remove the social ills. However, the effect of*

clearance, without subsidized rebuilding, led to worsening of working class conditions and local rents to double in the 19th century (Dündar, 1997: 15). Besides, the 19th century urban renewal processes are shown diagrammatically in Figure 2.

According to Pomeroy, Van der Hoff and Duggar (1958), redevelopment consists of the followings;

1. The removal of existing buildings;
2. The re-use of;
 - (a) The land thus cleared;
 - (b) Any open land that was interspersed among the removed buildings, and possibly adjacent land;
 - (c) Possibly adjacent open land.

As for the 20th century, it was realized that the slum and squatter settlement problem had not progressed and thus with the beginning of this century, debates were held to produce alternative solutions. Providing relatively expensive housing for previous slum occupants and **filtering process approach** had been tried to implement as Couch (1990) stated. Because filtering process, construction of new houses cause decline of existing housing prices, are held through removal of better-offs to suburbs, so the next lowest class filled the locations that they left behind. *Especially in the circumstances of inter-war years, with household formation rates exceeding housing stock increases and with barriers to working class mobility, filtering could not have been an effective mechanism for mass housing improvement (Cough, 1990: 18).*

In the same period, a third idea-the concept of ‘minimum standard’ dwelling developed. It was argued that by reducing the size of housing and increasing densities, more and cheaper accomodation could be built, thus better worker class needs both in terms of quantity and price. This had become a powerful argument and in thia period it has been used to replace slums with tenement flats on the

cleared sites and some overspill areas (Bellush and Hausknect, 1967: 16). As Dündar (1997) stated that public housing is the beginning of government intervention in the renewal concept in this period so as to solve housing problems of low-income groups and eliminate the social ills.

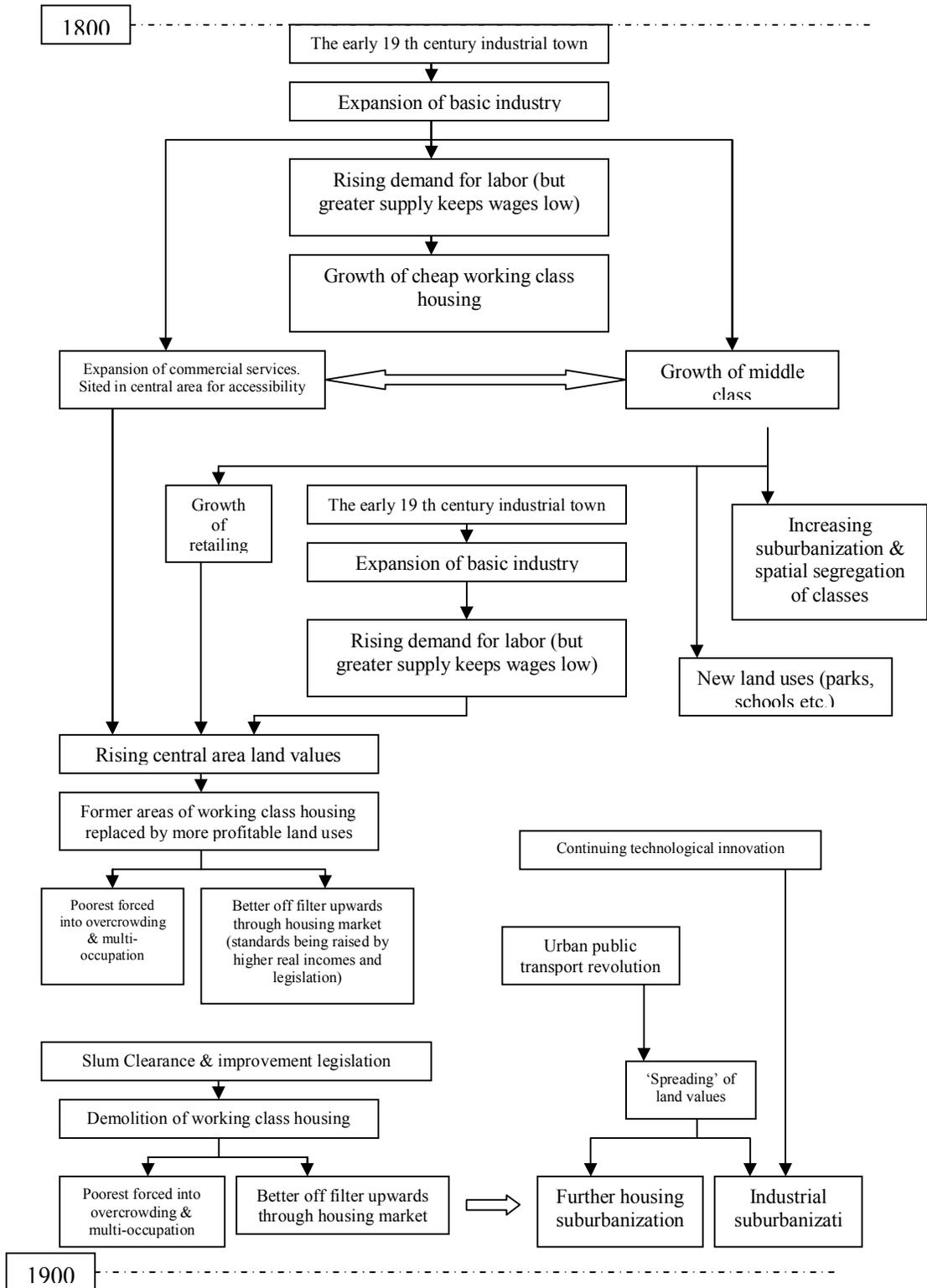


Figure 2: Urban Renewal Process in The Nineteenth Century

Source: Urban Renewal, Theory and Practice, Chris Couch, Macmillan Education Limited, London, 1990.

2.1.2. After the Second World War

The need to house large numbers of industrial workers employed in the military defense during the Second World War and the acute housing shortage that developed during Depression, as production was directed mostly to the war effort, increased the prospects of large-scale federal intervention into the housing market in the States. The housing situation was more or less the same in Britain immediately after the Second World War bringing with itself comprehensive social provision of housing for the working class population by the Welfare State (Dündar, 1997: 19).

Urban renewal was developed as a tool of the bourgeoisie class to reconstruct urban space with an aim of speculation in Western and United States. Besides, renewal occurred not for the benefits of community groups but for private investor's interests as Dündar (1997) stated. In addition to this, urban renewal concept was not regarded as a policy concern in Turkish cities whereby urban renewal was held as slum clearance and redevelopment after Second World War with rising quantity of squatter housing stock in metropolitan cities.

2.2. The Period of 1960s and 1970s: Rehabilitation / Renovation and Upgrading

Dündar (1997) as 'progress without clearance' names this period. Parallel to this, the beginning of the 1960s spotted an important turning point in urban renewal concept shifting the policy attention from clearance to rehabilitation and upgrading programs. Rehabilitation consists of administrative measures controlling the use of land of the building to restore the area to its original function, correction of the conditions that have an adverse affect on the appropriate uses of land and buildings, and the removal of individual buildings and the uses that tend to cause deterioration of buildings.

There had been six basic steps in the redevelopment scheme once the planning was complete: land acquisition; displacement and relocation; site clearance; site improvements and supporting facilities; disposition of improved land; and new construction. The image was that in place of dirty, dark, ugly, unsanitary slums there were to be clean, bright, beautiful, sanitary buildings. But this image showed only the hopes of urban renewal. The realities of its costs and consequences were just the reverse (Dündar, 1997: 27).

Besides, Dündar (1997) stressed that redevelopment include extra expenses- an expensive process- and a redevelopment project destroyed a great many buildings with an aim of profit making and it was not practical for any displaced person to move back. Furthermore, redevelopment either created new slums or increased the rate of overcrowdedness in such areas. *Public use concept was used by the government to seize private property for public use. As many clearance sites were chosen not because they had the worst slums, but because they offered the best sites for luxury housing and commercial facilities* (Dündar, 1997: 28). In short, these urban renewal efforts were held for the sake of making land available to private builders at minimal costs, not for subsidizing the urban poor.

2.2.1. Urban Rehabilitation

When time passed, it was realized that large-scale redevelopment programs became inefficient to meet the socio-economic aims and it destroys community's original characteristics through the aim of speculation. Therefore, a new turn came on agenda with an emphasis on rehabilitation.

Different elements of renewal- conservation, rehabilitation and renovation- in 1960s were been drawn to recreate an area with its own identity and special qualities. In a sense, rehabilitation is more difficult and complex than clearance and redevelopment because the critical issues in planning for inner-city rehabilitation relate to competing sets of interests and the ways in which interests are presented and defended. Application of rehabilitation depends so much upon the decisions and voluntary actions of many individual owners of a great variety of separate properties and separate interests. So the process requires a high degree of

participation by the local citizens; guidance with respect to design, finance, construction and other factors; and extensive coordination with many city departments (Dündar, 1997: 30: 31). This means that participation of all stakeholders to renewal process due to fact that rehabilitation and neighborhood preservation were depended upon active participation in 1960s and 1970s. Besides, according to Pomeroy, Van der Hoff and Duggar (1958) urban rehabilitation consists of;

1. Administrative measures controlling the use of land of the building there on in order either to restore the area to its original function, or to bring about a new appropriate function for it, in accord with the general city plan;
2. Removal of individual buildings and uses that tend to cause deterioration of buildings by discouraging proper maintenance;
3. Correction of conditions that have an adverse effect on the appropriate uses of land and buildings in the area.

2.2.2. Renovation

Thomsen, A. and Flier K. (2002) assessed in their paper submitted to Vienna Conference, there are some prejudices and biased attitudes, which are misunderstandings, towards renovation processes. These can be listed as;

- renovation does not add sufficient quality,
- a dwelling has a limited lifecycle and should be replaced within 50 years,
- renovation is more expensive than new construction,
- renovation is more risky than new construction.

In addition, these prejudices are often linked to hidden agenda;

1. the municipality: the costs of the infrastructure,
2. the (social) landlord: hesitating about the cash cow,

3. the architect: new is beautiful,
4. the building industry: new is better,
5. the tenants: new chances and new neighbors.

In case of demolition, the costs of a new infrastructure will be included in the area redevelopment fund and/or land prices, in case of renovation the municipality has likely to pay most of the bill itself. Most architects prefer new instead of renewal. Most building contractors are still new construction oriented regarding their management, material and workforce. Social problems can sometimes be solved by demolition of the existing neighborhood (Thomsen, A. and Flier K., 2002)

Thomsen, A. and Flier K. (2002) proposed ten arguments for renovation-based strategies in contrast to these obstacles, and these could be listed as;

1. differentiation of supply
2. freedom of choice
3. enabling housing careers
4. respecting cultural history
5. reinforcing social cohesion and support
6. reducing re-housing and social-economic consequences
7. minimizing waste
8. enabling reinvestments in urban space
9. combating climate change
10. the only option

Differentiation of the dwelling supply is necessary to improve the demand accommodating ability of the existing stock. In case moving to a better and affordable alternative is not an option, many households either owner-occupier or tenant will start to adapt their home to their needs. The attraction of a neighborhood depends to some extent on the possibility to make a housing career, i.e. the availability of shelter in the neighborhood appropriate for changes in income, family size and life cycle, thus avoiding drastic consequences for social contacts etc. Cultural and historical considerations are often underexposed or missing aspects when discussing the future of post-war neighborhoods. The availability of a

sufficient re-housing supply would determine the feasibility of large-scale interventions. The resulting spatial and social-economic segregation is a cumulating threat for both the existing stock and the scarce open green space that will be on the political agenda for the next decades. Although demolition will be unavoidable to some extent and much effort is needed to recycle demolition waste, useful life cycle extension of buildings and infrastructure will be a future must. Though renovation-based strategies are no guarantee against potential urban doomsday scenarios, they anyhow imply better, more cautious and more differentiated solutions than rude demolition (Thomsen, A. and Flier K., 2002)

2.2.3. Upgrading

Upgrading schemes are usually designed for areas of the city, which are already built-up, such as the edges of central or commercial areas. The objective here is to transform areas which through are frequently developed outside the legal system, continue to provide residences, which are convenient for employment opportunities and are popular with their occupiers (Choguill, 1995: 409). Moreover, as Choguill (1995) assessed that upgrading stressed the installation of infrastructure, provision of social services, the legislation of tenure, and the provision of financial and building assistance; rather than resort to total clearance.

There are four advantages of upgrading. First, it preserves existing economic system and opportunities for the urban poor. Second, it preserves the low cost of housing stock already in existence at its present location. Third, it preserves the community structure and the safeguards that already exist for the family and the community group. Finally, the alternative, resettlement, is socially disruptive, usually occurs at a less favorable location, involves high community costs, and reduces access to informal employment (Martin, 1983: 52; cited in Choguill, 1995: 409).

Upgrading is more of a process for achieving a higher degree of community development rather than simply a singular strategy or approach. Before the value of

upgrading was realized, it was often the desire to start afresh and create a new township to which the whole community could be moved. These attempts brought about inefficiencies and ineffectiveness as follows;

- Loss of investment in the existing structures;
- The invisible community "fabric" is often irreparably damaged;
- Access to community facilities, jobs and public amenities enjoyed by the original settlement is most often not available at the new site (Minimum Cost Housing Group's Report, <http://www.mcgill.ca/mchg/projects/urban/approach>).

The advantages of upgrading are as follows;

- It preserves existing economic systems and opportunities for those most in need, the urban poor.
- It preserves a low-cost housing system usually at advantageous locations, thus enabling the inhabitants to retain the maximum disposable income.
- It preserves a community, which has many internal linkages and safeguards the interests of individual families.
- The alternative to upgrading is relocation, in one form or another, which is socially disruptive since residents are usually moved to less favorable locations, resulting in higher transport costs and less access to informal employment opportunities (Minimum Cost Housing Group's Report, <http://www.mcgill.ca/mchg/projects/urban/approach>).

Projects emerging from upgrading policies have had a wide range of impacts from the physical to the social economic, and the organizational. The slum and squatter upgrading schemes, though they have been successful in meeting their design objectives, have not had substantial effects in terms of reducing the magnitude of urban problems at large are many instances of existing settlements that were difficult and costly to improve because of their location on hillsides, tidal flats, or in ravines. Improvement after settlement, though often inevitable, is a second-best

solution. To start an incremental process, upgrading has to rely on two elements: government support and participation, and community involvement. Because the process of upgrading can take a number of years, various aspects of upgrading have to be considered fully. The physical aspect, which relies upon the participation of all involved, cannot be separated from the non-physical issues, such as those of a socio-political and socio-economic nature (Minimum Cost Housing Group's Report, <http://www.mcgill.ca/mchg/projects/urban/approach>).

There are **ten typical indicators** for monitoring the progress of upgrading programs (Angel, 1999):

1. Program coverage structure
2. Program coverage potential
3. Tenure registration structure
4. Program cost-to-income ratio
5. Program cost structure
6. Program time horizon
7. Housing subsidy structure
8. Cost recovery rate
9. Program decentralization structure
10. Program privatization structure (Angel, 1999).

2.2.4. The Self-Help Debate

Several studies from 1960s, in line with liberal approach, suggested there was a need for a change from clearance to provide standard housing for the urban poor, and enable them to build their house. Therefore, liberalists advocated the usefulness of the self-help and they offered the officially provided minimum standard housing project, because of self-help system's flexibility. Dündar (1997) reminded that, from the mid-1970s onwards, Marxists have resisted these liberal arguments and debate on self-help began in 1970s. *Self-help or autonomous housing means the practice of users to take decisions on planning, building and maintaining their houses, irrespective whether they construct houses by themselves or not* (Nientied and Van Der Linden, 1985: 311).

The official self-help programs simply tried to incorporate as policy what already existed, but the aim was to adapt the formula to urban environments. In the cities, however, a money economy exists; a specialized laborer can be hired for the work and can do it better. The factory worker lacks the time and energy to build, and there is no seasonal interim when he can accelerate his efforts. Nor is the cooperation of neighbors and family, of clan or tribe, available for mutual aid. In short, while self-help and mutual aid still function in most parts of the world, carrying it over into an industrialized environment and speeding its processes by organization is a different and more difficult task (Abrams, 1964: 169).

In organized mutual aid projects, the workers are taught certain jobs, and they move from house to house. The workers are usually not told which house they will own so they will not skimp or loaf on other houses and take special care with their own (Abrams, 1964: 170). Furthermore, Abrams (1964) assessed the potentials and limitations of self-help and mutual projects. According to his definitions, the success or failure of self-help and mutual aid projects differs parallel to the each area's conditions. In favorable areas, it should be likely to trigger people for building roads or some community facilities if the government helps with technical and financial support. Moreover, self-help works best in small communities. Despite their limitations in industrialized areas, partial self-help and mutual-aid, projects are not devoid of values. In addition, dependence on self-help is misplaced when it is offered as the solution for the housing problem of cities.

In addition, Turner proposed that governments should respect and support the self-built squatter dwellings instead of threat them. In addition, Community Upgrading that makes improvements on the existing structures is a settlement improvement method with using self-help techniques as mentioned by Dündar (1997). Community upgrading programs help low-income groups to meet their housing needs and it could be preferred since it involves a minimal relocation. Moreover, mutual support is another preliminary component of upgrading programs that

means the cooperation of families in teamwork. In other words, self-help building is mainly based on participation and mutual aid.

2.3. Current Meanings of Urban Renewal

Current practices in urban renewal take place within the larger framework of the hypermobility of capital and intensified national and international economic competition. From now on localities are embedded within a global economic system whose overall relations do not respond to local initiatives but shaped by the market forces defined within the framework of circulation of capital in a global scale. The attempts of governments to attract business also challenge these market forces to allocate economic functions to their optimum locations (Dündar, 1997: 47: 48).

2.3.1. Global Restructuring

In the new information society, local governments take place for arranging economic situation at the global scene; however, they are not able to improve the urban poor's welfare. Therefore, globalization and its sub-systems undertake an important role in the development processes. *Urban renewal efforts of 1980s and 1990s, characterized by urban regeneration in the form of redevelopment and inner-city gentrification and social and economic stratification, thus performs all the necessary arrangements in core areas for the capitalization of global interests* (Dündar, 1997: 48).

Economic restructuring is no longer limited to the nation-state, but is now seen on a global level. The distinguished contributors to this volume examine global economic dynamics and place these dynamics in their historical context.

Global industrial restructuring intensified during the 1990s, driven by a series of economic and technological developments that encouraged firms to enhance their competitiveness through global tie-ups. Cross-border mergers and acquisitions

(M&As) and international strategic alliances are now dominating the internationalization of industry, supported by dynamic growth in electronic commerce. The global restructuring has generally tended to boost firm efficiency and has helped to spur innovation by facilitating the diffusion of technology and production, and managerial and marketing expertise.

The global economic slowdown in 2001, combined with the events of 11 September, intensified modification pressures and had a significant effect on the character and scope of global industrial restructuring. Falling profits and quick declines in equity markets limited the extent to which businesses could engineer and finance major restructuring initiatives. At the same time, the force and need for such restructuring increased because of weakened demand and decreased market predictions. The condition differed considerably across industrial sectors, with some experiencing acute difficulties that gave rise to government intervention; other sectors, however, were not significantly deterred in their restructuring strategies.

2.3.1.1. Urban Regeneration

The current trend of regeneration in the city centers is an effort to change modern capitalist city both physically and socially, by redeveloping large areas within the declined inner city. Regeneration takes on appearances directly linked to the mode of production and economic environment shaped by it (Dündar, 1997: 49). Therefore, cities places in the urban and global network has gained more and more importance in defining the significance of urban regeneration. Moreover, household structure, education level, use of cultural facilities, etc. are the factors that determine inner-city revival.

The rationale for urban regeneration policies, i.e. maintenance of social stability, ensuring full use of infrastructural public assets and using central government's capacities to remove bottlenecks to development is internationally recognized and applies to both renewal of central areas and urban development more generally.

Urban regeneration is the attempt to reverse that decline by both improving the physical structure, and, more importantly and elusively, the economy of those areas. In all regeneration programmes, public money is used as an attempt to pump prime private investment into an area.

- Urban regeneration refers to the various attempts to reverse the decline in cities that have been worst hit by the demise of Britain's industrial and manufacturing economy.
- Numerous funds have been launched over the past 20 years.
- The main funds now available for regeneration are the new deal for communities and the neighborhood renewal fund, plus several other funding streams that can be used to support regeneration objectives.
- The regional development agencies have taken over much of the responsibility and funding for regeneration.
- The effectiveness of regeneration schemes has yet to be proved, as there are doubts over how much impact it has, particularly on the difficult area of economic and social renewal.

2.3.1.2. Gentrification

Gentrification is seen as the movement of middle and upper- middle class residents into previously working class neighborhoods of the inner city (Uzun, 2001: 12). Gentrification is a form of segregation and is thus a multi-dimensional process, subject to both economic and socio-cultural forces. It is an outcome of the reconstruction of the inner city. Specific social groups invade certain sections of the city center. Their presence establishes a node of social attraction. This process is shaped by governmental intervention at both the national and the local level, diverting it from the patterns it would assume under market forces (Uzun, 2001: 18).

There are three sets of actors in gentrification: the gentrifiers, the property industry, and various levels of government. These actors play a role at two stages of the

process. In the first stage, pioneers choose inner-city locations because of their cultural values, lifestyle and the historical value of the area. People moving in at this stage are also called the risk-oblivious group. In the second stage, there is a risk-averse group choosing to live in the inner-city because of the investment opportunities. As a result of their invasion, they may even displace the pioneers (Ley, 1996; cited in Uzun, 2001: 49).

Dündar (1997) assessed the socio-economic features of the gentrifiers as a distinct class. Gentrifiers are relatively young, generally employed in white-collar occupations, very well educated, also their preference for central areas results from an earlier residential experience of inner city districts once converted to fringe locations in the line with suburbanization. In short, gentrification comes out as the phase of both culture and lifestyle. *Gentrification is one very visible process of urban regeneration in Western cities whereby the social and physical character of a neighborhood is changed. Gentrification and displacement of inhabitants are interlinked with each other and gentrification requires migration of capital and population* (Dündar, 1997: 50).

Gentrification has been attracting growing interest in the last three decades. It is the spatial reflection of new residential choices that people make in response to new economic, socio-cultural and political conditions. Moreover, different types of gentrification may occur simultaneously in one metropolitan area. In addition, gentrification has many dimensions, for instance gender issues, rent theories, or the quality of housing and the residential environment but in the specific context of inner city (Uzun, 2001: 58).

Gentrification is process made up of the activities of certain kinds of social agents or institutions. Property owners, developers, and banks all play key roles. To understand how both decay and gentrification of urban neighborhoods happen, we need to look at the dynamics of capital flows into and out of the built environment.

Buildings represent a major investment. For this reason, they are not replaced for many years after they are built. An older area in an American city may have been converted from open agricultural land to urban uses in the 19th century or early 20th century. As the lots in a newly subdivided area are built upon, builders and sub-dividers move outward into more outlying areas in search of new building sites.

A building is like a piece of machinery or a motor vehicle- it depreciates over time. Parts wear out; the roof may need to be replaced after years of beating back the rain. The building style may go out of fashion. Technological changes such as new standards in electrical or plumbing systems may erode the value of a building.

To make certain that the residents not be displaced it is necessary to change the ownership structure of the land and buildings. Community land trusts offer one promising approach. On the community-land trust concept the residents own the buildings they live in, and a community land trust - a non-profit neighborhood membership organization - owns the land under the buildings. Under this model, restrictions are placed on the price or rental of dwellings. For example, if a resident owns a house or apartment sitting on community-owned land and wants to sell it, she must offer it back to the community land trust at a restricted price. Permanent price restrictions thus ensure that the housing will always be reasonable.

Specifying the gentrification process, Tim Butler identifies it as the coming together of four processes. First, a resettlement is the social concentration of higher social groups and the displacement of lower ones. Second, it is a change in the built environment, aesthetically, but also concerning local services. Those people now concentrated here, third, share cultural values, even life-styles. Fourth, there is an ownership change as private ownership is extended, which also implies profit opportunities for the construction industry. Thus, gentrification is not just a status upgrading in the composition of the population and of dwellings. Therefore, gentrification is not only about housing a resident population but also about the daytime population plus all customers who does not necessarily live there (Franzen, 2002).

Because of the fact that gentrification generally occurs in the inner part of the cities, this criteria is not valid for Cevizlidere (Ankara) case, where it is located out of the city center.

2.3.2. The Period of 1990s: Integrative Approach

After 1990, the integrative approach came on agenda in the urban renewal process, which includes an interrelationship between physical, social, political and economic aspects of urban deprivation.

2.3.2.1. Social and Economic Stratification / Inequality

Comparative economic sociology seeks to reunite the fields of social **stratification**, organizational theory, and the sociology of development so as to better understand patterns of economic organization. This approach seems especially appropriate to tackle the problem of economic development because it cannot be analyzed without taking social structure and organizational actors into account (Guillén, 2000).

All societies treat people with definite characteristics differently from others; males/females, old/young, etc. The ways by which socially defined categories of persons, ignoring differences in individuals' talents and abilities, are unevenly rewarded for their social contributions. These are the criteria by which the social worthiness of individuals is judged and discriminations made, such as the classifications of gender, ethnicity, race, religion, age and generation. This disparity treatment leads to social inequality by means of imbalanced sharing of societal resources; wealth, power, status, education, health, etc. as a factor of scarcity. In small societies, there are minor differences among individuals whereas complex societies have inequalities across categories. Furthermore, in modern, capitalistic societies income and wealth as major factors assigning one to a precise place in the hierarchy. According to such differences, then, social Stratification means socially structured inequality of entire categories of people who have different access to social rewards because of their status.

In social terms, regeneration efforts for the restructuring of housing provision and consumption are resulting in two interconnected trends. There is, first, a concentration of housing crisis among the poor and a growing segment of the working class. Second, there is a polarization and re-stratification of the urban population in terms of access to housing, both financially and in terms of location. Regeneration has different effects on the very rich, the new professionals (the gentrifiers), the middle and working class, and the very poor (Dündar, 1997: 51). As a result of these efforts, low and middle income groups have faced with difficulties in finding affordable housing; therefore, regeneration has not been beneficial for most of the housing consumers, but for landlords, developers, etc. Thus, these are the signs of social stratification, since government housing programs focus on the key groups.

The geography of this stratification is evident in the landscape. There are two spatial dimensions: one is the division between the core and the periphery; the second division is the between the affluent and the poor within the city. Also, existing neighborhoods defend themselves against conversion by regeneration. The cultural, social and political defense of communities also enhances spatial fragmentation insofar as struggles remain local and are not effectively linked (Dündar, 1997: 52).

2.3.2.2. The Agency Mechanisms Role and Citizen Participation

A classification of trends according to their effectiveness in the global economy is a structural perspective, which takes material conditions central to human existence, and economic forces are the dominant material conditions. An analysis which solely focus on structure; however, will yield a distorted perspective presenting a de-historicized and de-socialized world according to the **agency criticism** (Dündar, 1997: 52).

A key issue in this task is the relationship between the strategies, interests and actions of the various involved in the development process- landowners, investors, developers, consultants, public planning officers, politician and community groups- and the organization of their economic and political activities (Dündar, 1997: 53). This means that participation, with a guidance of agency mechanism, to create their actions is the basic element of urban redevelopment in a networked-based platform.

Without citizen participation the public interest cannot be defined and planning efforts must fumble about to work out an acceptable proposal; and citizen organization is especially important in circumstances where the impetus for renewal comes from private institutions. The dialogue between citizen association and private institution gives an essential *legitimacy* to planning (Rossi and Dentler, 1961: 283).

As Dündar (1997) stated, the formation of sub-national development coalitions by interest groups has become the major focusing point of redevelopment in United States. Some writers called this as ‘The Growth-Machine Theory’, which means the coalitions of local interests and more detailly;

The most significant policy undertaken by a wide range of cities since World War II was that of urban renewal. Since 1954, urban renewal programs have changed the face of many downtown areas and displaced millions of low-income citizens. The programs have led to lawsuits, demonstrations, and sit-ins by liberals, university students, blacks and senior citizens. If there is anything to the "growth machine" hypothesis, (that municipalities are basically "growth machines" that produce wealth through real estate development.), the origins of this program at the national level, and the implementation of it in different cities, should reveal the guiding influence of the growth machine, for what these programs do is to clear downtown land of low-income housing and small buildings so that central business districts and such major institutions as universities and hospitals can be expanded and enhanced (Domhoff, 1983).

Consequently, urban growth coalitions are shaped by two interacting forces as Dündar (1997) mentioned. These are the profit-seeking activities of the business class and business-supportive activities of the local officials. In this respect, it is the task of business leaders to distinguish the position of business class in urban growth machines. Approximately all economic activities in advanced nations takes place in cities, and governments around the world are gradually more taking action to

restructure their cities to take benefits of the double pressures of globalization and knowledge-based economic growth. *Urban economic development can be defined by using an approach based on **entrepreneurialism**: where government agencies, industry and communities in urban regions worked together to coordinate the economic development of their region, and increase investment, innovation and competition. As well as delivering practical benefits to firms, this approach initiated networks of economic governance to support the economic growth of the region's advanced manufacturing, information technology, biotechnology, environmental technology and cultural industries* (Munro, 2003).

Furthermore, growth machine theory is also valid for European countries. Besides, entrepreneurialism with the land advantage is also less pointed in European countries for example, in United Kingdom, a big renewal program called GEAR (Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal Program). The GEAR Project helped Glasgow get better its large amount of old tenement buildings that were built when the shipping industry in the town was at its highest point. The project involved five housing associations in total, and focused on improving the quality of environment by creating more areas of open space.

‘Over its 10-years life span, from 1976 to 1987, GEAR was responsible for one of the biggest regeneration programs of its kind in Europe. The area covered was nearly 1,600 hectares or 8 per cent of the City of Glasgow. The population at the outset was 45, 000, having fallen from 150, 000 in 1952. One fifth of the area lay vacant and largely derelict, 12 per cent of its buildings were empty and unused’ (Middleton, 1991: 109; cited in Dündar, 1997: 57).

This project was more successful than other government schemes to improve such areas in the past, as there was heavy participation of the local community. GEAR was the first of numerous urban regeneration projects launched in the 1970s, and started five years before The Docklands Project in London. It formally ended in 1987, but regeneration is still ongoing in Glasgow today. Smaller partnerships such as the Glasgow Development Agency also promote business in the city, to continually build upon the cities economic status. Moreover, the regeneration and success at attracting large corporate business has earned Glasgow impressive

awards. Development in the city looks set to continue in a Postmodernist style and it has brought a lot of success to the city, compared to the rejected modernist planning of the 1950s and 1960s. However, it remains to be seen if the Postmodernist era is outmoded by a new approach that is better still, leading to a regular rotation of development.

2.3.3. City Location as an Important Factor of the City Renewal

The horizontal (geographical) location of the city influences among other:

- The shape and the form of the city,
- The spatial structure of the city,
- The social and economic structure of the city and of city's population
- The ecological situations,
- The potential development and development risks of the city (Rysavy, 1994: 250; cited in Vienna Seminar Report, 1994).

The vertical location (the hierarchical position) of the city influences among others:

- The city's population size,
- The functional importance of the city,
- The shape of the network of spatial connections of the city,
- The strength of those interactions,
- The size of the region under city's useful power,
- The city's economics (Rysavy, 1994: 250; cited in Vienna Seminar Report, 1994).

Moreover, in the Vienna Seminar (1994) they differentiate four main spatial scopes of the location:

1. Micro Regional Location: The location within the closest neighborhood, or within the lowest administrative district, or within the city agglomeration (or out of it);

2. Meso Regional Location: The location within the middle-size administrative district;

3. Macro Regional Location: The location within the state or nation;

4. Global: The location within the Earth's globe.

2.3.4. The Management Theory and Actors of Urban Renewal

Urban renewal involves a number of agencies each with its own, often conflicting activities; operating in different fields. Urban renewal is one of the most complex urban development processes. It requires very well established relations between the different levels of the public sector (central government, local government, regulatory bodies, public or semi-public development companies, etc.). Not only must the legal regulations be in place and coordinated between the actors, but there must be a system of institutions responsible for renewal at different levels as well.

Urban renewal needs many "side regulations", such as clear legal regulations on the level of fees (rent, condominium fee), on eviction and foreclosure in the event of non-payment, on a compulsory reserve fund for future renovation in the owner-occupied sector, etc. Urban renewal also needs special organizational elements, whose concrete form depends on the tenure forms and legislative structure in the given locality.

In the policy implementation, Couch (1990) asserts organizational context has four elements that give evidences for the evaluation step. These are;

1. Does the organization have the legal power to carry out task?
2. Does it have the necessary resources (whether measured as money or real economic resources of land, labor, and capital)?
3. Is there sufficient political and community support?
4. Is there an appropriate organizational structure and capacity to undertake the task?

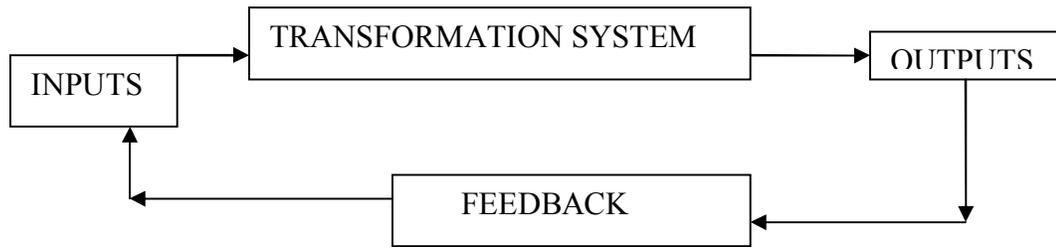
Error can occur in any of these stages: inadequate problem identification, misconceived objectives, erroneous evaluation, wrong choices or inadequate selection procedures, poor implementation or control procedures (Gökbulut, 1995: 73)

In decision-making, there are evidences of strategic planning approach rather than comprehensive planning approach in urban renewal projects as Gökbulut (1995) asserted. There are two basic levels in these processes. First level is strategic decisions that have high-level policy, un-programmed and more concerned with relationships between the organization and external environment. Second level is tactical decisions, that is, immediate, routine and concerned with the implementation of decisions taken at the strategic level.

Gökbulut (1995) stated that one of the characteristics of urban renewal is that it takes place in a relatively unstable and uncertain environment and goals are changing. Each investment decision occur slightly different economic and social conditions and different relations between the participating groups and organizations. In such an environment, a large number of agencies take place:

1. Central government departments and agencies
2. Local governments
3. Construction firms
4. Public and private development agencies
5. Professional advisors
6. Variety of end user

a) The organization as an Open System:



b) The Organization System:

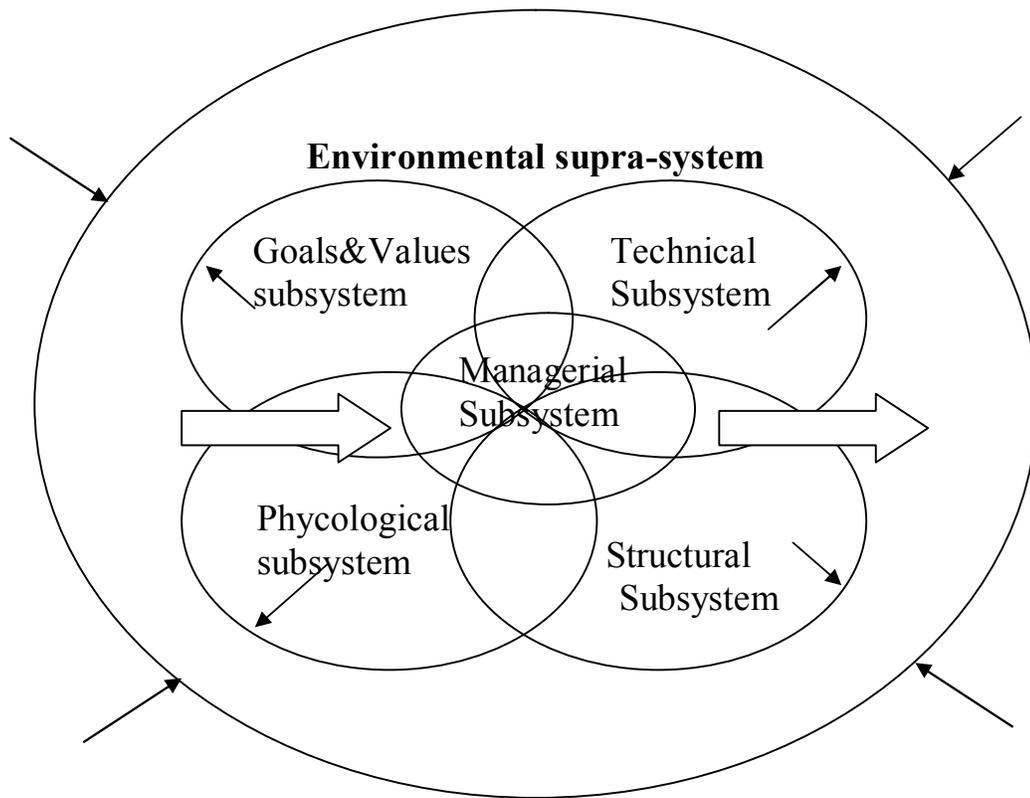


Figure 3: The Organization as a System

Source: Kast, F.E. and Rosenzweig, J.E., 1981, pp.109, cited in Couch, 1990, pp.103

Any urban renewal agency is a system, which can be represented in its environment as shown in Figure 3. This figure explained by Couch (1990) as; the ‘goals and values’ is a key element because the organization has to perform certain functions relates to society’s needs and the knowledge and technology available within the organization are represented by ‘technical’ sub-system. Moreover, the ‘psychological’ sub-system means individuals within the organization where the

‘structure sub-system’ refers to the way in which these sub-divided and these sub-divisions are integrated. Finally, the ‘managerial’ sub-system involves the whole organization carrying out all the managerial functions. Because of these characteristics, the urban renewal project must have adaptive-organic organizational form with heuristic decision-making process (Gökbulut, 1995).

* Actors at the urban renewal scene of residential renewal and modernization:

	PRIVATE	NON-PROFIT	PUBLIC
1. Landownership	*	*	*
2. Manufacturing Industries	*	*	*
3. Builder And Constructors	*	*	*
4. Housing Producers And Managers	*	*	*
5. Urban Renewal Societies		*	*
6. Financers	*		*
7. Tenants And Owners Their Org.	*		
8. Citizens In General	*		
9. Public Authorities At Different Levels			

- infrastructure
- building housing
- energy
- finance
- planning and environment
- social policy

**SOURCE:
VIENNA SEMINAR,
1994**

It is obvious that participation of all stakeholders (professionals, government, authorities, community groups, etc.) in the process is the vital issue. In line with this Baric (1968) defines two types of participation in the urban renewal programs. First one is ‘induced participation’, which covers situations in which public are being encouraged to accept a plan already drawn up. Second type is ‘indicative participation’ covers up situations in which public are needed on to provide

indicators and directives by means of establishing the major aims and assumptions of a planned procedure.

2.3.5. Economics of Urban Renewal

Until the late 1960s the economics of urban renewal explained mostly by using social welfare function. Today one of the most important features of the urban renewal programs is the participation of private entrepreneurs. However, until the 1970s clearance and re-development is mostly initiated by local government action (Gökbulut, 1995: 77). Today most of the urban renewal programs give priority to locality and participation in order to provide adequate funds and financial mechanisms.

2.4. The Problems of Urban Renewal

Vernon (1966) asserted that there are many problems about urban renewal process. The most important problem is the dilemma of the low-income family living in substandard accommodations and inadequate housing occupied by families who can afford something better. Another problem concerns structures, which are not substandard, but must be demolished because they either are surrounded by substandard buildings or are in areas to be renewed for non-residential use. Moreover, has to perform with improvements to neighborhood environments. The final problem involves the improvement of areas in which neither the individual structure nor the surrounding yards and common spaces are in violation of local ordinances, but where the overall quality is still substandard by other criteria. *Most critics of urban renewal have emphasized its failure to recognize the achievements of the program and to recognize the human ingredients in the activity. In an urban renewal program, the housing of the lower quality would be replaced by better structures, the total stock after reconstruction would be improved and along with it, the housing conditions of the low-income families* (Gökbulut, 1995: 79). Urban renewal project's objectives have to be get as much as economic impact as possible while causing the least degree of social costs.

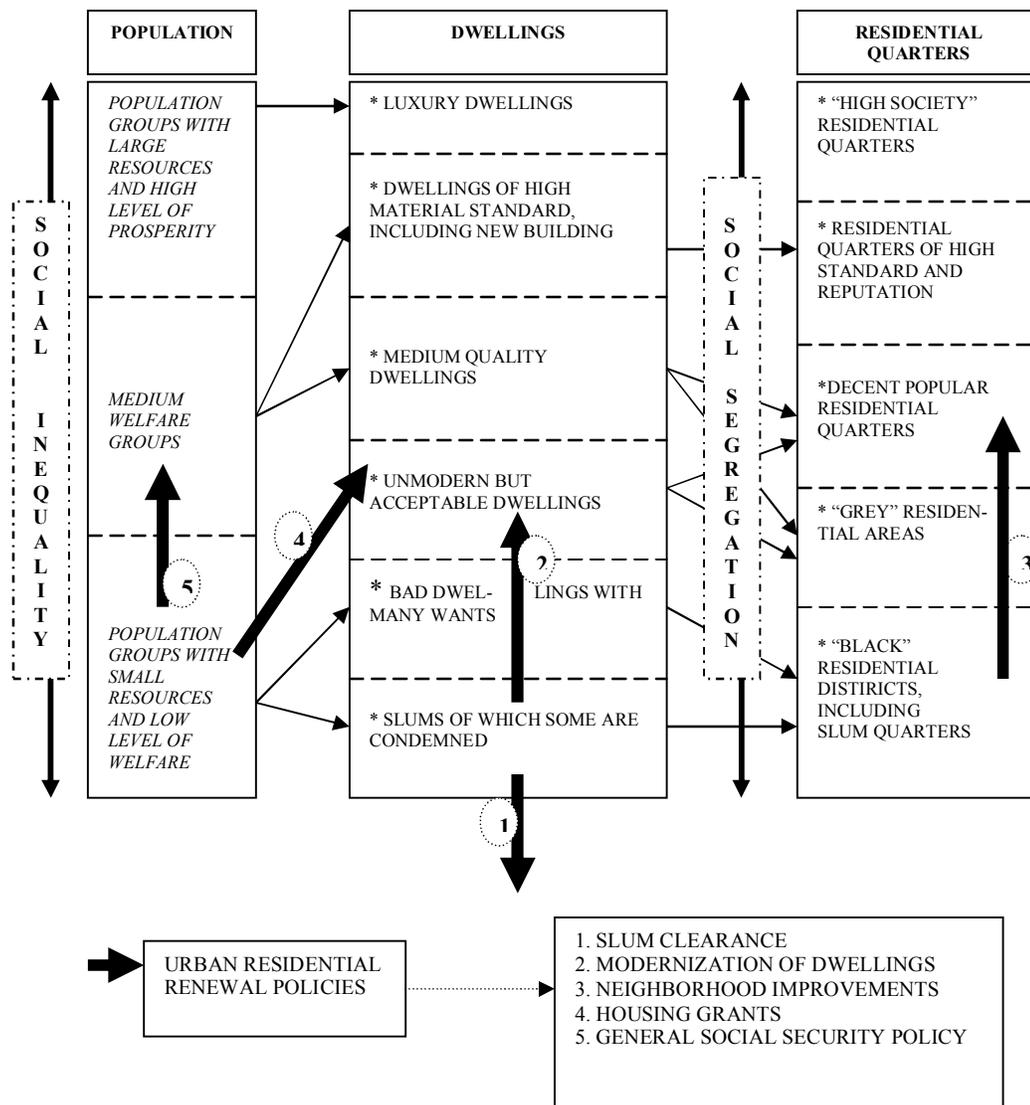
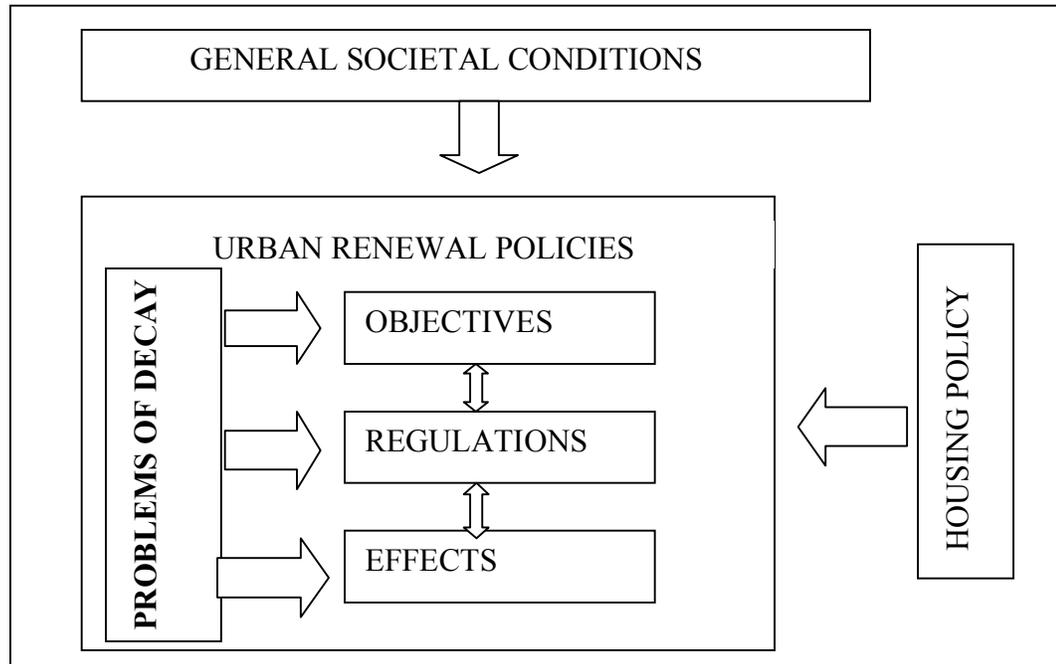


Figure 4: Residential Urban Renewal Problems and Policies

Source: VIENNA SEMINAR REPORT, Vienna, 1994

It has been argued that the urban renewal, which particularly tends to affect inner city working areas, has damaging social effects on these communities and psychological effects upon individuals. These effects are complicated in inner city areas. Nevertheless, others argued that there is a trade-off between various costs and benefits. They assert that a rise in the costs of housing and journeys to work can be

compensated by low density living, good housing quality etc. (Couch, 1990; cited in Gökbulut, 1995: 80).



Source :Vienna Seminar, 1994

2.5. Criteria for a Successful Urban Renewal Program: Strategies and Measures for Implementing Renewal Projects

Issues of human settlements renewal and modernization figure is the most important task of National Governments. This follows the changes in the economic and political systems of Europe and the increasing awareness that sustainable development is made through policies at the urban level. Therefore, The Economic Commission for Europe organized a seminar on ‘Renewal’ and ‘Modernization’ of Human Settlements in Vienna in 1994. The aim is to improve the quality of life and to satisfy the still existing high quantitative demand for housing. The strategies and measures for implementing renewal projects that assessed in Vienna Seminar (1994) could be enriched with some other criteria and could be listed as;

- Societal Structure
- Change of Pattern and Rent Control
- Financing
- Planning Process
- Ecology
- Speculation
- Organization Scheme
- Training of Professionals And Research
- Consistence between Aims and Results of the Project

There are two types of renewal model in terms of participation; **public-private partnership model** and **private sector oriented model**. In relation with these measures, we set up our criteria of case study design. Under the headings listed above, firstly we will explain these criteria in order to describe our foundations. Secondly, we have evaluated the examples of case studies in Ankara that are performed in a public-private partnership model. Lastly, we would compare these case studies with our specific case study, which is a good example for the implementation carried out in a private sector oriented model with little participation of public agencies in terms of these criteria.

2.5.1. Societal Structure

There are different actors who play a role in renewal efforts but their role have not been sufficiently defined, therefore a new structure for actors have to be developed. *In a society, different interests within the public, the private rental and the condominium sector clash, and legal and administrative tools should be available to provide platforms for conflict management* (Vienna Seminar Report, 1994: 26).

There are three types of regulations that affect relationships between the authorities and private owners as stated in Vienna Seminar Report (1994):

1. **General regulations**, on the form of tenure and ownership established by public authorities, that is, rent acts, loans for housing and rules relating to owner-occupied flats.

2. **Indirect regulation**, that is, authorities encourages owners to renew their properties by the way of subsidies.
3. **Direct regulation**, that is, the authorities may order the renovation of a property that is called compulsory action.

Moreover, the forms of regulation vary with respect to;

- The authorities' powers of control;
- The administrative input required;
- The number of dwellings and areas covered and the possibility of targeted action by the authorities;
- The extent of social considerations and residents' influence;
- The nature of renovation (Vienna Seminar Report, 1994: 27).

Public authorities should provide possibilities for an appropriate conflict management, for example; neighborhood meetings. As the success of urban renewal activities is in a large part due to the active participation of the inhabitants, appropriate information has to be provided by the local authorities or the housing agencies. Moreover, tenants should be regarded as the primary beneficiaries of renewal, their ideas and financial possibilities should be taken into account in all renewal schemes (Vienna Seminar, 1994: 27). Since tenant's participation is very important; moreover, low-income families, the unemployed and minorities need an extra help and attention.

2.5.2. Ownership Pattern and Rent Control

As stated in Vienna Seminar Report (1994), change of ownership, like privatization, alone does not solve any problems related to maintenance or repair. Any change of ownership as a political goal should therefore also take into account the possibilities and needs for future renewal activities. A system of renewal subsidies and/or housing allowances should be available before the privatization process starts and maintenance and repairs of responsibilities, should be clarified before changing the ownership.

If rental buildings are sold to other owners, the sitting tenant's should have some rights and security. While maintaining some national or local rent regulations may be desirable from a social point of view, rent control should gradually be eased with the ultimate goal of covering the regular building maintenance and repair costs. This has to be accompanied, however, by appropriate aid to low-income groups and by protection against eviction (Vienna Seminar Report, 1994: 28).

2.5.3. Financing

In Vienna Seminar (1994) it was determined that, financing involve three actors: **the public authorities, the owners and the tenants**: Tax rebates, low interest loans and mortgages, should be created to supply 'cheaper' money for renewal works. If controlled increasing rent is a political objective to guarantee regular housing maintenance, subsidies have to be provided for low-income groups and public subsidies should be given. In order to give main concern to social criteria, low-standard renewal schemes and self-help activities should be emphasized because this reduce renovation costs of urban rehabilitation by avoiding unnecessary social conflicts. Tendency for 'perfect' renewal projects with high standards may cause gentrification and severe social conflicts if tenants' desires and financial possibilities have been disregarded, as mentioned in report.

2.5.4. Planning Process

It is stated in Vienna Seminar Report (1994) that new planning process should follow a **strategic approach** in an interdisciplinary way. Renewal activities should move from single renovation to area-oriented approaches that include block rehabilitation schemes, improvement of public spaces, traffic, working facilities, community services, leisure activities. The most deteriorated areas should be given 'new hope' that stimulates further activities such as planting trees, cleaning the streets, etc.

Flexible administrative systems, depending on local rather than national authorities should be adapted to specific areas or projects. Such systems could be put in place for a limited period. Several such systems could be part of an overall experimental programme initiated and evaluated by the public authorities. Experiments could include forms of financing or reduced building regulations (Vienna Seminar Report, 1994: 29).

2.5.5. Ecology

Vienna Seminar Report (1994) assessed urban renewal should adapt to the requirements of ecological compatibility and to sustainable development. An emphasis should be put on developing strategies to support owners and tenants not to waste energy and to introduce energy saving measures. *Systematic information concerning ecological planning and special incentives (grants, tax, rebates) should be provided for landlords, building associations, tenants, etc. Information on ecological issues should also be dealt with in the primary and secondary schools* (Vienna Seminar Report, 1994: 30).

2.5.6. Speculation

It is stressed in Vienna Seminar Report (1994) urban renewal programs should be carefully designed in order to reduce speculation in land and housing. Acquisition of land and buildings by local authorities for compulsory purchase procedures, control of sale and purchase prices of land and buildings, special capital gains taxes on the increase of value of the land, and careful planning and timing of renovation work are some ways of preventing speculation.

2.5.7. Organization Scheme

For the continuity of a successful renewal projects, it is so essential to design powerful organization structure with wide variety of stakeholders. Each actor or party should be included in organization to declare their desires and contributions.

Therefore, active participation and creating a governance model are the key subjects in defining the structure of the project. Participation is needed to create stakeholders' actions as a fundamental element of urban renewal in a networked-based platform.

Governance refers to the patterns and allocation of the institutionalized capacity to take and control decisions with regard to a particular locality. Regional governance and regional institutions came to the fore in the 1980s in economics and geography literature, with attention given to dimensions of the long-term future and development of particular regions and localities. Such dimensions contain the institutional capacity and thickness in an area, the unseen factors in regional development, networking, and industrial districts. Efficient public governance helps to support democracy and human rights, encourage economic affluence and social cohesion, reduce poverty, enhance environmental protection and the sustainable use of natural resources, and deepen confidence in government and public administration.

2.5.8. Training of Professionals and Research

Interdisciplinary training of professionals on different levels (including post-graduate training) must be developed. Public as well as semi-public institutions (such as building associations) should be encouraged to establish regular training courses dealing with the matters of renewal, modernization, conflict management in renewal areas, process oriented planning methods, etc. (Vienna Seminar Report, 1994: 30: 31). In addition, research should be done at all administrative levels and should include social, economic, ecological and technical issues.

2.5.9. Consistence between Aims and Results of the Project

Every urban renewal project begins with pretentious aim and the local authority declares many promises to stakeholders so as to encourage them to take part in project. Nevertheless, urban renewal process is affected by social, economic and

political changes in the society. Therefore, when came to the implementation, major aim lost its popularity and the way of project could face with little or huge changes. The consistence between aims and results of the project is one of the evidence for the successful implementation of process.

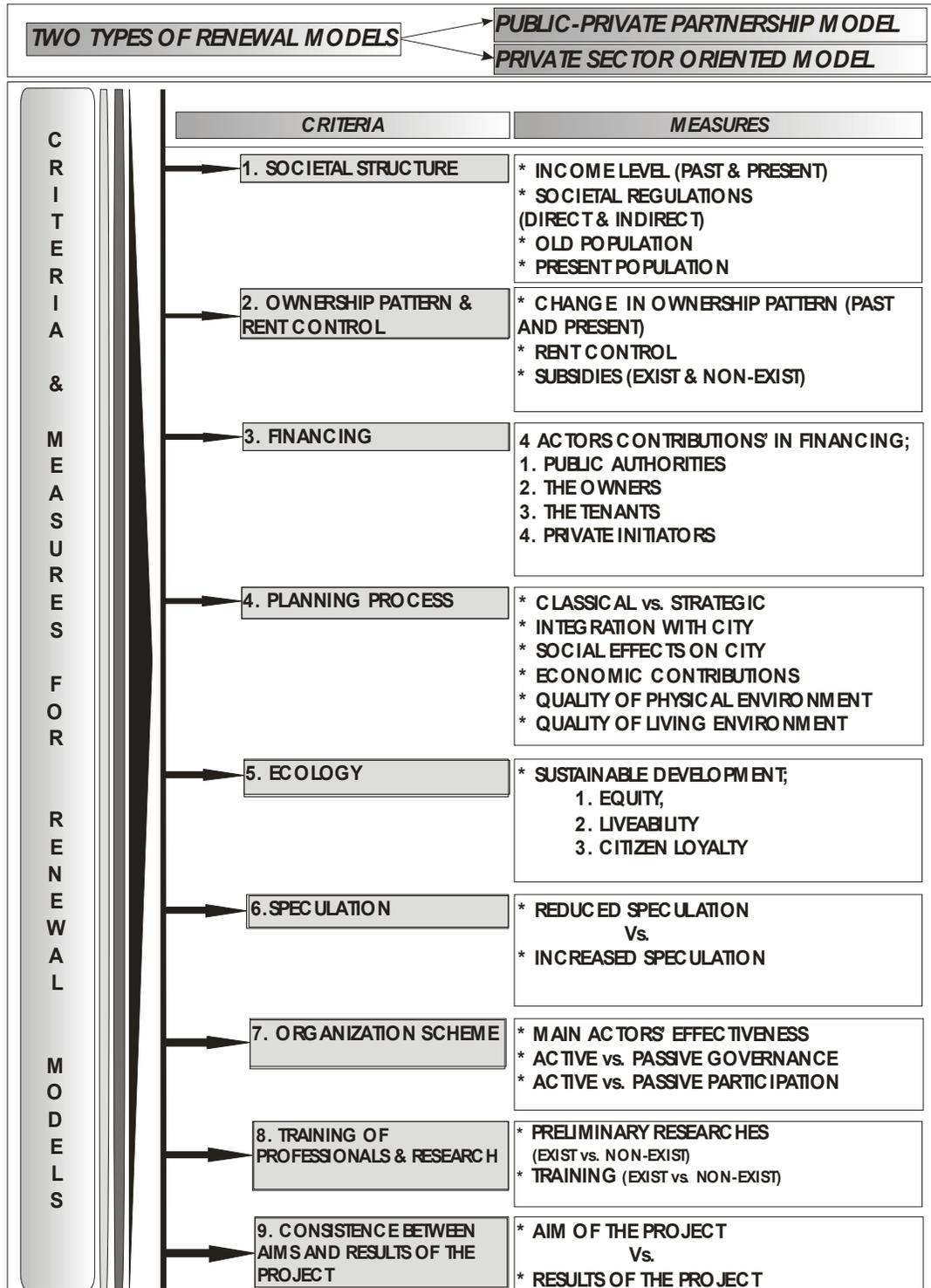


Figure 5: Criteria and Measures for Renewal Models
 Source: Compiled by the author

2.6. Conclusion

As a conclusion, housing should be thought as one of the human rights. Urban renewal is one of the ways for providing housing with fresh environment. The most crucial problem about housing is deprivation. In a sense, many proofs about urban deprivation chronologically have been talked about in this chapter. In the 1950s, main attention point was depending on physical subjects due to the damaged cities after war period. The main intervention at this period was slum clearance and revival of low-income groups. However, later experiences showed that this is an insufficient solution because of ignorance of social, economic and political contexts. When came to the 1960s, it was realized that integration of physical and social aspects of urban deprivation is very important parallel to the rising social consciousness. In addition, there occurred an increasing focus on social needs to political structures and power relations came on agenda. Besides, the beginning of 1980s showed that all aspects of life form production to power relations with an increasing focus of financial side of urban renewal programs. However, after 1990s, the integrative approach became the popular issue in the urban renewal process, which includes an inter-relationship between physical, social, political and economic aspects of urban deprivation. Therefore, a single focus approach lost its popularity and left its place to an integrative approach. Evolution of urban renewal with respect to the time series is presented in Tables 1 and 2.

Table 1: Conceptual Development of Urban Renewal

1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
Urban Decline Urban Renewal	Urban Decline Urban Renewal	Urban Decline Urban Renewal	Urban Decline Urban Renewal	Urban Decline Urban Renewal
slums of despair squatters of despair slum and squatter clearance, redevelopment, relocation	slums of hope squatters of despair neighborhood preservation rehabilitation improvement renovation of older districts	slums of hope squatters of hope neighborhood preservation rehabilitation upgrading (squatter upgrading / slum and shanty upgrading)	slums of despair squatters of despair regeneration restructuring recreating the city redevelopment gentrification re-vitalizing the central areas relocation	slums of hope squatters of hope self- regeneration redevelopment gentrification adequate housing sustainable and livable cities

Source: Changing Meanings of Urban Renewal: Ankara Dikmen Valley Development Project, Özlem Dündar, Ankara, 1997, p.63

The last century has been the age of mass housing construction. Growing populations and rising housing standards caused a constant growing demand for shelter, particularly in the second half of the century. Provoked by the war damage of two world wars and enlarged by economic wealth, the resulting mass housing shortage was answered by the production of mass housing. This production changed the outlook of Western Europe dramatically. Slowly grown villages and cities were surrounded by large-scale extensions of mainly serial constructed blocks of affordable flats and single-family row houses. More than 90% of the EU housing stock was built after 1900.

The concept of renewal does not involve an absolute idea or a distinct form of action. It could be thought as human settlements improvement that includes modernization, repair and continuation of building stock and infrastructure, the improvement of urban land and rural environment, the improvement of social and

commercial services, the improvement of transportation systems and preservation of historical and cultural heritage in urban and rural areas. In other words, urban renewal is a physical change as a product of economic and social forces. In addition to this, it is a political process, which consists of many agencies and all levels of government with an anxiety of voting and it has effects on all community groups and every citizen.

Table 2: Evolution of Urban Renewal

Years	1950s	1960s	1970s	1980s	1990s
Government Type	Centralized	Power Sharing	Decentralized	Centralized Decision Making	Entrepreneurial Models of Spatial Governance
Typical Political Regime	Directive Direct State Intervention	Concessionary	Conserving	Comprehensive	Interventionalist
Administrative Structure	Centralized Authority	Central+ Public+ Local Authority	Local Authority	Public-Private Partnerships, Urban Growth Coalitions	Public-Private Citizen Partnerships
Type of Planning	Comprehensive	Popular	Popular	Market-Led	Integrative Structure Plans
Role of Planner	Regulator	Regulator	Regulator	Dealmaker	Dealmaker
Typical Housing Policy	Public Housing	Public Housing	Rehabilitating urban fabric	Revitalizing central areas	Adequate housing
Aim of both Planning and Renewal	Clearance of the slums and squatters of despair	Rehabilitating slums of hope but not squatters as of despair	Rehabilitating slums of hope and upgrading squatters of hope	Recreating the city with clearance	To create a humane city promoting sustainability, livability and equity
Focus of	Physical Aspects	Social / Political	Social / Political	Economic Aspects	Integrative
Renewal	(Physical conditions of housing)	Aspects (need for social service)	Aspects (Political Structures, power sharing)	(economic independence of individuals and communities)	(interrelationship between all aspects of planning)
Type of Approach	Redevelopment	Rehabilitation Neighborhood Preservation	Upgrading Self-help	Regeneration Gentrification	Self-Regeneration
Finacial Resource	Government Investment	Incentive Schemes (Formal)	Incentive Schemes (Formal)	Informal Economy+ Small wards from the government+ Private	Private
Participation	Informal Giving	Collecting Information about the local conditions	Consultation with varying degrees of power sharing	Participation with the help of Steering Committees	Organized Participation of all individuals in the society
Problem	Relocation	Collection of different interests	Collection of different interests	Relocation	Relocation
Solution	Not Available	Citizen Participation	Citizen Participation	Not Available	Public- Private Citizen Participation

Source: Changing Meanings of Urban Renewal: Ankara Dikmen Valley Development Project, Özlem Dündar, Ankara, 1997, p.62-63

In short, renewal does not only mean to destroy a building and build a new one. It is a sufficient aspect of sustainable development, which aims that meeting the needs of the present without compromising the ability of the future generations to meet their own needs.

Neighborhood renewal is a deep valuable process in which a society engages to redistribute power and resources in cities. Therefore, it is critical that the political nature of urban development should be recognized and expressed by the public authorities, which is the first step toward a policy-making process in which all stakeholders, especially local residents, can participate. Land-use planning is also a key element in achieving sustainable development because it includes provisions for essential public infrastructure and the rational use of land. Investment in transportation is preferable to road or highway investment if sustainable development is to be achieved. Finally, in order to supervise such process with participation of many actors there is a need for more than just one professional with some good will. The project preparation is a key phase for assuring success and there is need for supporting such ideas not only institutionally but also financially. Moreover, the professional goal is not enough for organizing such difficult process. At this point, some financial aid will be required for continuation of the project. In addition, the exchange of knowledge and experience is of essential importance for the development and success of these approaches.

CHAPTER 3

UNAUTHORIZED HOUSING IN OTHER COUNTRIES

There is a crisis in housing in the Third World. Large increases in the urban population of Third World countries have dramatically increased the demand for housing. However, the poor are not able to afford a house with amenities / comfort and therefore try to find shelter for themselves in areas, which lack the services essential for a healthy and adequate life (Aldrich and Sandhu, 1995:17).

According to United Nations, by the year 2000, half of the population of most Asian cities will live in slums or squatter settlements. Various resources indicate that the proportion of inadequate housing varies from country to country and even there are important differences between cities in the same country due to the fact that each nation or city has its own economic, social, political, demographic characteristics (Aldrich and Sandhu, 1995: 18). This chapter covers the examples of urban renewal examples and experiences in both developing and developed countries respectively.

3.1. URBAN RENEWAL IN EUROPE

In most European countries in the 1960s and 1970s, urban problems were primarily approached as physical problems. The deterioration of the building stock was the central policy issue. Urban renewal became the answer to those problems. Most of the time, urban renewal focused on the demolition of old dwellings in the more central parts of the cities and on their replacement by new constructions. Although

of a better quality, these mainly belonged to the same part of the housing market, such as affordable social rented dwellings and most were in form of large-scale housing estates, consisting of high-rise developments in the cities' periphery.

The first urban renewal examples in Europe were done in the re-building of war-damaged cities and towns. Later on, some countries whose housing stock is one of the worst heritage of the early industrial revolution, have resumed their traditional slum clearance schemes and reconstruction issues. After World War II, an alteration from physical focus to integrative focus occurs in European Urban Renewal as mentioned in the previous chapter..

According to Couch (1990), there are three main kinds of activity, which controlled the urban renewal in twentieth century in Western Europe;

1. State-led housing clearance and replacement of buildings;
2. A general reduction in inner city housing and industrial densities which facilitated the takeover of those areas close to the city center by more profitable office and shopping activities;
3. Re-development of city centers as the density of existing office and shopping areas increased to meet rising demand.

3.1.1. Urban Renewal in France

According to Gökbulut (1995) renewal projects are incorporated within general urban plans in France-including social, economic and physical survey in detail. In 1850, The Bill makes possible for local authority to force the owners to proceed with the necessary repairs to make rented houses fit for human beings. In addition, in 1902, a Bill for the protection of public health was valid in France.

The law of land orientation sets out the limits for the organization and use of land in France. This is mainly done by means of the Schemes Directors d' Aménagement et d' Urbanisme (SDAU), or Main Development Plans and the Plans d' Occupation des Sols (POS) and the Land-Use Plans. The SDAUs cover fairly large areas, and

set out a general plan for the use of the spaces available, and, the necessary developments and their scale was 1 / 25.000. On the other hand, the POS, which follow the general directives of SDAU, lay down in detail the use to which land will be put, and act as restrains (Racine and Creutz, 1975).

The Law dated 24 May 1951, provided for the granting of loans by the government to the local authorities in order to demolish slums and to re-build houses. Within a relocation process number of poor families were vacating from their houses in order to re-built some parts of the city depended on urban renewal program in 1960. Furthermore, after their electoral victory in 1981, the French Socialist introduced a wide-ranging decentralization programmed between 1982 and 1986 (Gökbulut, 1995: 85).

They have established four main policy tools or mechanisms for land assembly and implementation of urban renewal:

1. Zone d' Amnagement Concerte (ZAC),
2. Zone d' Intervention Fonciere (ZIF),
3. Zone d' Amnagement Differe (ZAD)
4. Zone a' Urbaniser en Priorite (ZUP) (Gökbulut, 1995: 86).

The objective of ZAC is to create land for ready for development. One of the important feature of French policy is they do not use compulsory purchase. Most purchases by local authorities are carried out by negotiation. Another important tool for French Planning is Zone a' Urbaniser en Priorite (ZUP) (Negrier, 1993). These zones were created as a result of demographic growth of the cities with high immigration rate at the beginning of the 1960s.

According to Gökbulut (1995), although many urban areas are designated as ZIF, where pre-emption may take place at market prices, the actual level of purchases is usually very low and confined to strategic interventions to facilitate regeneration. ZAD is an area where a local authority estimates important development activity and thinks it attractive to control the land market and perhaps to get certain parcels

of land. Unlike a ZIF, which is permanent, a ZAD is designated for fourteen years. Furthermore, both ZIF and ZAD procedures rely on the willingness of owners to sell their property. A further distinctive feature of French re-development activity is the close relationship between public and private sectors, this solution is called Societe d' Economie Miste (SEM). These are joint-stock companies whose ownership is shared between public and private sector. (Gökbulut, 1995: 87).

3.1.2. Urban Renewal in Britain

The organization system is an important feature that effects the urban renewal projects. Britain is a good example to explain this. In Britain, a major shift occurred in strategic planning from an emphasis on new towns to on eon urban renewal in 1970s. This can be explained as comprehensive social, economic and environmental re- generation and the development of a balanced community. These programs are also has a political side (Gökbulut, 1995: 88).

The UK government's policy on neighborhood renewal is set out in 'A New Commitment to Neighborhood Renewal: national strategy action plan' (SEU, 2001 cited in Somerville and Beaumont, 2002). The policy is based on the vision that within 10-20 years, no one should be seriously disadvantaged by virtue of where they live, and it identifies two long-term goals:

- To achieve lower worklessness, lower crime, better health, better skills, and better housing and physical environment in all the poorest neighborhoods (situated in 88 local authority areas)
- To narrow the gap on these measures between the most deprived neighborhoods and the rest of the country (Somerville and Beaumont, 2002).

As explained in the previous chapter, Gökbulut (1995) stated that the most important feature of these projects is their complex organizational structure. For example, there were five public bodies participating in the Glasgow Eastern

Renewal (GEAR) project, which is a product of a desire by central government in Scotland. Although the project began in 1976, between 1979 and 1982 only the design packages and implementation of local centers were realized.

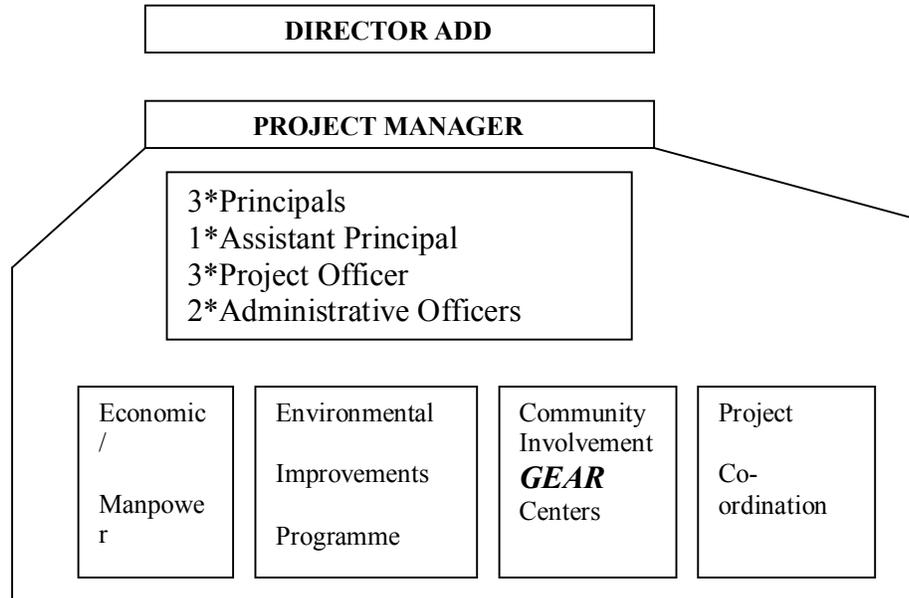


Figure 6: The Area Development Directorate of the Scottish Development, Gear Project Team After May 1981

Source: The Glasgow Eastern Area Renewal Project, Town Planning Review, R. Leclerc and D. Draffon, 1984, pp. 341

The GEAR project team is shown in Figure 6. It consists of 9 staff (7 professional and 2 support) and is responsible for directing the agency's own programs of economic assistance and environmental improvements in the East End and for monitoring the implementation of the overall program of works being undertaken by all the participants (Gökbulut, 1995: 91:92). Besides, the sizes of the projects are very large, that is, the GEAR had an area of 1600ha. and the population in 1976 was about 45 000. In addition, property based projects require important investments on large sites in urban renewal projects of England.

Furthermore, British local authorities have the following characteristics:

- low corporate identity;
- lack of trust between senior officers and the rank and file;

- lack of shared values between officers and councilors;
- innovation at lower level of the organization is not expected;
- lack of good quality staff or training to support change;
- access to information is not shared throughout the organization;
- access to real resources is hard to come by;
- management is often aloof, authorial and status conscious;
- high level of alienation of junior staff;
- feedback from communities served neither actively sought nor given a profile in planning the authorities activities (Donnelly, 1987, cited in Gökbulut, 1995: 89: 90).

3.1.3. Urban Renewal in Holland

Dutch urban renewal is one of the good examples for community participation. In Rotterdam, citizen participation in the urban renewal has reached a very high level. The main point of urban re-development was physical and the main concepts of the renewal in 1950s were:

- the re-planning of the traffic system as a network system,
- the general pattern of roads and parking facilities,
- more investment in transportation by rail,
- creating more open spaces for social necessities,
- the further development of districts adjacent to the core, and also each district has a specific importance, together with the core they form an unsupportable whole; the central area,
- the situation of buildings; height and use zoning,
- the last one is; district heating (Van Traa, 1958).

The city council established an urban renewal policy to deal with environmental problems and housing in the worst parts of the city in 1974. Their main objectives were;

1. To improve the quality of buildings and the environment,
2. To retain the character of neighborhoods,
3. To continue to provide housing within affordable rent limits (Gökbulut, 1995: 94).

Moreover, the city council chose to decentralize much of the subsequent, regarding the implementation of renewal project teams in the project area. Each city officer in Council working on a local project team to make decisions without constant reference, back to the city center. Meetings between local residents and the city are held within the neighborhoods rather than at City Hall, this is a beneficial for participation. Council purchases improve able properties and the allocation of substantial and stable municipal funding to housing repair, improvement and replacement programs. 36 000 dwellings in these areas had been treated and many local environmental improvements carried out by 1985. Finally, the urban renewal in Rotterdam can be seen as implementing in a spectacular way the advantage of a flexible city plan and city planner, and the importance of give-and-take between builder and planner (Gökbulut, 1995: 96).

3.1.4. Urban Renewal in Norway

In Norway, a particularly large population of the housing stock is owner-occupied. There is no public financing available, but in older housing mortgage is quite usual if larger improvement work is undertaken. Most of the tenancies are in the private rental market. Moreover, there are taxation benefits for the owner when maintenance work is done.

Almost all homes have indoor water and electricity in Norway. When renewal project is done, the priority is given to hot supply water, bathrooms and toilets and modern kitchens. Improvement of outdoor areas is financed by grants from the central government. Moreover, other improvements of social facilities such as nurseries, schools, etc are often part of a renewal plan and financed by the municipality.

‘In Norway, we do not have a subsidized housing sector as such. We have a policy of attempting to integrate different socio-economic groups so it is not apparent from the outside who is on social benefits and who is self-sufficient. This is quite successful on the whole (Vienna Seminar Report, 1994).

The price limit change with building types, size and location of dwellings, that is, a small dwelling in central city can have higher cost than a larger dwelling in the countryside. In the post-war housing, that is, usually cooperatively owned, the improvements cost limit are calculated in relation to the value of property after improvement. Furthermore, loans from the State Housing Bank have to be given security within 60% of the value of property. The State Housing Bank loans have a subsidy element at lower interest rates for 7 years.

3.1.5. Urban Renewal in Budapest

Besides the attractive layout and many tourist attractions, one characteristic feature of the city is the rundown condition of its inner-city housing stock in Budapest. Low rent, poor maintenance, small capital investment and ownership rights are connected to each other and constitute characteristic features of the socialist housing system.

In recent years, the government has been speeded up the privatization of the housing stock. In 1980s when the constraints on privatization of bigger houses were gradually lifted and financial discounts was introduced. Budapest rental stock is now at a very important turning point, which will affect the future development of the city’s housing policy in the most direct way.

The development of privatization process leads to an ‘exchange’: while the relative importance of the rent subsidy decreases, the importance of the value-gap subsidy increases. There are around 110 000 flats which are in urgent need of housing renewal. State money, institutional money, housing oriented-savings of the

population, which were collected by National Savings Bank, is the main sources of urban renewal project in Budapest.

Although it is hard to measure there is a 'critical mass' of privatization after which the process is irreversible and not even the price can be changed without taking too much political risks. (Vienna Seminar Report, 1994).

3.2. URBAN RENEWAL IN AMERICA

In 1949, American urban renewal program began as a national public policy. This is the provision of the Housing Act of 1949. A slum clearance is experienced in USA as a phase of urban renewal. The early examples of clearance of slum were based on a relocation principle. Therefore, they had been criticized by the time these studies were begun. They focused on the nature of relocation services. Relocation officials were criticized as being 'inhumane', 'callous' and 'bureaucracy' (Gökbulut, 1995: 96). Besides, in the Housing Act of 1949, Congress explained the goal of the national housing policy to be 'a decent home' and 'a suitable living environment for every American family'.

In the beginning of legalization or urban renewal, two obstacles were defined by Gökbulut (1995);

- The lack of adequate powers in local governments to control the use of land;
- The frozen status of high land costs in slum and blighted areas.

Studies across the nation show that urban renewal displaces mainly those Americans who stand on or near the bottom rung of the socio-economic ladder: mostly blacks, but also Puerto Ricans in New York, southern whites in the North, and minorities (Mexicans, Japanese, Chinese, Italians and Spaniards), often the aged and others who live alone or, at the other extreme, very large families, are disproportionately acute and chronic disease, broken families, and loss of strong neighborhood ties are often cited. (Gökbulut, 1995: 98). However, common denominator is that they are poor people.

3.2.1. Urban Renewal in Lafayette Park

Lafayette Park is a specific example of relocation slums in an inner city residential in USA. Lafayette Park is a residential redevelopment area carved out of the slum directly adjacent to the Central Business District in Detroit. This action's aim was to improve a tax base urban renewal project to revitalize the core city area near CBD and to evoke middle-class households. Lafayette Park was planned and built as a model locality combining mixed income residential, as well as locality commercial, around a Central Park. The Lafayette Park neighborhood has been a thriving neighborhood 40 years proving that Detroit can support mixed income, racially integrated, and age integrated residential housing. In addition, the accomplishment of the Lafayette Park community has been at least in part due to the supporting neighborhood retail over the years.

The history of clearance and renewal plans for the project is long and complicated. After almost 10 years of delay, construction was begun in accord with a design created by Mies der Rohe, and in 1958, the first structure, a high-rise apartment (Lafayette Pavilion) was opened for occupancy. About a year later, 186 single, low-rise units of the attached row-rise units were rented promptly; however, most of the single units that were intended for sale to families on a acceptance on a cooperative basis stood empty (Wolf and Lebeaux, 1969).

Most of the criticism of the United States' urban renewal programs derives from the accumulating evidence, based mainly on the reports of relocated people as the disruptive effects of relocation upon their lives (Gökbulut, 1995: 101). Moreover, Wolf, E.P and Lebeaux, C.N. (1969) assessed that the personal effect of relocation was variable among relocatees; some were affected positively where some of them were affected in a negative way.

The findings of Wolf, E.P and Lebeaux, C.N. (1969)'s research on Lafayette Park could be summarized as follows;

- 1) The physical features of a dwelling are usually more readily compromised within certain limits than the social characteristics of a neighborhood.
- 2) The neighborly interaction is not restricted to suburbs or slums, nor is it a consequence of length of residence. It results from certain physical arrangements, together with shared life styles, and is intensified by newness and the sense of being united in a common enterprise.
- 3) The rental opportunities can be an effective way initially to attract residents to a community where there is a large element of expositions or uncategorized.
- 4) The substantial proportions of black residents are accepted if they are of similar socio economic status and if white residents see little likelihood becoming predominantly black in the future.
- 5) The differences in social class are of the most important in residential decisions. The acceptable limits of heterogeneity are wider for childless households than for those with children because of the greater amount of social interaction and presumed effect, which may occur (Wolf and Lebeaux, 1969; cited in Gökbulut, 1995: 103).

3.2.2. Brazil

The new industrial man power, after migrating to the big cities, looked for the jobs and shelters especially in the closer areas to the down town. Moreover, in this process, for the two largest Brazilian cities, Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo, the mass housing settlement were the slums. In addition, as parallel to the increase in number of immigrants to these cities, the area of slums and squatter settlements increased. As mentioned by Taschner, S.P. (1995) the areas that were invaded by the immigrants were generally public lands, lack of technical and social infrastructure. This land squatting system was both through programmed collective squatting and by individual and gradual invasions. With the increasing number of the unauthorized settlements in Brazil, these areas started to be permanent rather than temporary. In doing this, the role of the municipalities is so important. The government recognizes the connection to the municipal services such as electric

power network, garbage disposal and public water distribution made these settlements. However, the level of poverty still did not decline, only the living standards of the unauthorized housing increased.

Brazilian economic growth, since the 1950s, has been based on industrial development, with a lesser growth of agricultural activities. Both slums (corticos) and squatter settlements (favelas) in Brazil are an urban metropolitan issue. There are also squatter settlements in smaller cities. Moreover, three basic historic housing types are the most important: slums (tenements-a kind of house divided internally into the largest possible number of divisions), squatter settlements (illegal occupation of lands) and peripheric low-income housing tracts. Data from 1980 with the underestimation introduced by IBGE, show a total of 1,780, 000 squatters in the nine Brazilian metropolitan regions. Favelas when compared with other alternatives are better located and equipped (Taschner, 1995: 185:186). According to the government policies on transferring resources from the agro exporter sector to the industrial sector, the population of big cities in Brazil suddenly increased in 1950's. Moreover, this increase led the cities to be covered with illegal housing formations of immigrants. After the big migration flow to the cities of Brazil, there has been three basic types of settlements; the core settlements, the inner unauthorized settlements and the peripheric low-income housing tracks. *The Brazilian Federal Constitution includes the right to adequate housing among the minimum social rights of the Brazilian population. Despite the increasing recognition of the need of housing and urban services provision for social inclusion and poverty alleviation in the country, the housing conditions of the Brazilian population are still rather precarious, mainly among poor people living in large urban centers. Furthermore, the information on housing in the country is insufficient and dispersed among various institutions* (Morais, M. 2002).

The slums and the informal settlements located in the central cities or in the peripheries of the main metropolitan areas (MAs) constitute the most visible aspects of the Brazilian housing problems. In 1999 there were 1.399.185 dwelling units located in slums, 80,24% of the which located in the 10 main MAs of the country, covering about 5 million people. The largest percentage of slum dwellers in relative terms are found in the MAs of Recife (26,46%) and

Belém (23,12%) and in absolute terms in the MAs of Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo and Recife, that jointly contribute to 62,9% of the total slum dwelling units of the country. The largest growth rates in slum areas in 1992-99 were found in Federal District (FD) and in MA of Rio de Janeiro. The process of slum formation (“favelização”) is essentially a metropolitan phenomenon, showing a strong pressure over access to land and housing in the country’s larger cities (Morais, M. 2002).

As stated by Taschner, S.P. (1995), in the case of Sao Paulo- a big city in Brazil, the first main type of intervention was removal and reinstallation in squatter areas under the idea of favelas accommodate vice, diseases, crimes, social disorganization and criminals. Because of this fact, they would solve these problems with the elimination of such settlements and the removal of the squatters to more suitable units. In the line with this policy, approximately 4, 000 families-over 19, 000 squatters- were removed from their shelters from 1971 to 1979.

Starting in 1981, a more ambitious upgrading program was also implemented- Programa de Urbanizacao de Favelas (PROFAVELA). This program not only provided for the installation of infrastructure but also services of education and health as well as financing, highly subsidized, of the improvement or building of new housing units. Another project PROMORAR, proposed the eradication of the favelas, by replacing the snacks with embryo unit of a multipurpose room and kitchen and regulation of the land-ownership (Taschner, 1995: 212).

According to Taschner, S.P. (1995), the popular movements for housing burst out in 1980 with the government help to build houses by means of self-help and mutual-help. Moreover, the government-housing plan for 1986-89 periods was not practiced but remained at the level of discourse. Only two favelas located in main areas were removed. What is important in this period is that partnership with the private initiatives for the eradication of favelas. Furthermore, in 1989, a municipality connected to the Workers Party took office with the commitment to the popular movements and union struggles in order to simplify the construction codes and de-bureaucratization of procedures related to building licenses.

On the issue of the upgrading of the favelas, the following happened in the year 1990. Twenty-six thousand families in 50 favelas were served with infrastructure services. At the same time, 3,500 families in 70 favelas executed or are executing small improvements as well as collective work. Moreover, at this time there were introduction of the environmental hazard concept and concept of property's social function with restriction to its full right (Taschner, 1995: 218).

Among the main challenges now faced by the Brazilian government to universalize the access to adequate shelter for all, one can highlight the improvement of the mechanisms of social control over public investments, the adjustment of the macroeconomic policies with the social goals, the revision of the urban legislation, the housing financing system and the constructive technologies to match the real needs and the level of income of the Brazilian population and the promotion of housing and urban development policies and programs more integrated with other governmental social policies and better targeted at poor (Morais, 2002).

Usually, slums or "*favelas*" are highly populated places, encompassing agglomerations of degraded properties and other facilities, constructed without streets and public spaces planning and lacking essential public infrastructure services like water, sewage and garbage collection and disposal. Slums are usually located in fallow lands, hillsides, seashore lands or flooding areas, in ill divided plots destined to low-income population. Slum-dwellers suffer from both social exclusion and spatial segregation, because they have less access to healthcare, education, job opportunities and proper housing and urban services (Morais, Oliveira and Cruz, 2002).

Moreover, Taschner, S.P. stated that the policies that were legislated for the housing, especially related to the slums and squatter settlements were mainly at the federal level. The first intervention on housing in Brazil was the Popular House Foundation, which was a tool of building up dwelling units for the low-income groups. The Squatter Extinction Commission was the next intervention held by the

local governments by means of regulating the squatters and other forms of unauthorized housing. Moreover, in year 1956, Favelas (Squatter) Law was prepared to get the credit lines for services in order to improve the conditions of squatter housing. Housing Company was another intervention of the government, which was based on the eradication programs of squatter settlements with funds taken from United States Agency for International Development. In addition, with the military period, the majority of squatters were removed strictly. Meanwhile, a Housing Finance System (SFH) was organized to boost the civilian construction industry. Additionally Site and Services Financing Program was declared for low-income workers in terms of acquisition of land with basic infrastructure such as lightening water and sewerage network.

“Summarizing the federal action then, during the populist period; it was ambiguous, during the first half of the military period; it was authoritarian, advising the removal of favelas and the transference of their dwellers to periphery housing estates; after 1975, it was more flexible providing differentiated programs and allowing squatter settlements up grading. After 1984, it was confused, clientelistic and disorganized. The final coup came in 1988 with the new constitution. It made the federal government lose resources to unstructured states and municipalities, configurating on unsystematic way to transmit responsibilities” (Taschner, 1995: 207).

In the municipality level, the policies on transformation and regularization of the unauthorized housing settlements in Brazil were intervened under five periods. According to Taschner (1995), the first main type of intervention in squatter areas was the removal and reinstallation of the settlement between the years of 1960s and 1970s. However, in the 1970-79 period, they were taken to the so-called temporary housing villages instead of relocating the squatters to another site. Moreover, in the period of 1980-85, in order to overcome favela problem, they used cooperation, self-help and mutual aid, private initiative, and community development as instruments of interventions. Removal of favelas located at the prime sites with an aim of slum clearance was implemented in the period of 1986-88 through private initiatives. Finally, upgrading of favelas, mutual-help housing, simplification of the construction standards, partnerships with private sector are the basic interventions in the 1989-92 period.

Table 3: Summary of the Intervention Policies in Favelas and Slums in Sao Paulo

<i>Period</i>	<i>Analysis (Rationale)</i>	<i>Solution (Action)</i>	<i>Problems (Reaction)</i>
1960-70	<i>Favela</i> as a city 'disease', a lair of crimes. Squatters as a marginalized group, 'lumpen'. Slums as the space of disorder, in the decaying central areas. Slum-dwellers as sub-employees of the tertiary sector.	Extirpation from the urban network; removal and reinstallation of squatters in housing estates. There were no interventions in slums, theoretically subject to the Sanitary Code.	Distance between the urban working and living locations, increasing transportation cost and making it difficult for the women to contribute to the family income-reduction-return to the <i>favela</i>
70-79	<i>Favela</i> as a 'springboard' to the city, a time required for integration. Squatters as migrants. Slums as a space of segregation and social exclusion. Slum-dwellers as workers registered in the tertiary sector.	Temporary Housing Village-projects viewing to shorten the time required to remain in the <i>favela</i> . Social work and professional training in the temporary shelters. Attempts to measure the problem in slums (1975 Survey).	<i>Theoretical</i> : social integration is not assured. <i>Empirical</i> : squatters are not recent migrants and the <i>favela</i> is not their first dwelling. In 1980 and 1987, 39% and 34% of family heads had different housing experiences, arriving to the <i>favela</i> by 'descendent filtration'
80-85	<i>Favela</i> as a physical expression of urban contradictions. Perception of permanence of <i>favelas</i> . Squatters as workers. Slums: detailing of typology. Perception of the existence of 'periphery slums'	1. Large scale construction (COHABS) 2. Tolerance with squatterings. 3. Attempts to solve the land problem. 4. Upgrading and rehabilitation of <i>favelas</i> . 5. Self-help housing programs (beginning: 223 units ready, 4, 471 in the agenda in Dec./85)	1. In the case of PROFAVELA: high costs, lack of people participation. 2. In the case of PROMORAR: poor construction quality, clientelism. 3. In the upgrading of <i>favelas</i> in general: if, on the one hand, the certainty of permanence makes the squatter invest, permissively induces new squatterings and a speculative market is created in the <i>favelas</i> .
86-88	Need to recover lands for the 1986 real estate boom. Squatters as poor who should be segregated. Removal from the urban center, verticalization and demolition of deteriorated houses. Partnership with free enterprise.	Removal of <i>favelas</i> located at prime sites, building of popular housing estates by the private initiative, in exchange for grants from the public authorities (interconnected operations).	Interconnected operations were simply a trick against restrictions of land occupation and of the zoning law to increase real state profits. Policy at the time was more at discourse level than at action level.
89-92	1. Squatters and slum-dwellers as poor who should be integrated into the urban network. Trial to incorporate the 'illegal city'. 2. Perception of impossibility of the state to solve the housing problem alone, but with technical and financial assistance, the people are able to improve housing and achieve their own houses. Failure of the state as a provider. Continuation of homeownership policy. 3. Participative planning and decentralization of the decision making policy. 4. Segregation as an item to avoid. 5. Introduction of the environmental hazard concept. 6. Introduction of the concept of property's social function with restriction to its full right. 7. Attempt to increase the supply of urban land.	1. Debureaucratization and simplification of the construction standards (New Building Code). 2. Organization of the population, choosing dwellers' movements as privileged interlocutors. 3. Building of houses and infrastructure by co-managed mutual-help housing. 4. Upgrading of <i>favelas</i> , with priority for those with environmental hazards caused by geomorphological problems. 5. Grant of the right of real use of the land for <i>favelas</i> in public lands. 6. Interventions in slums. Pilot projects of condemnations and new constructions, establishing dwellers in the central area. 7. Continuation of the partnership with the private sector, through interconnected operations. 8. Continuation of the construction of new housing estates 9. Use of tax over land to increase the supply of parcels.	1. Transformation of popular movements into political machines. Community associations create an 'urban coronelism'. 2. Continuity of formation of new <i>favelas</i> and densification of the existing ones. 3. Increase of the speculative market in upgraded <i>favelas</i> . 4. The differentiated urbanization standard and the identification of <i>favelas</i> with a criminal environment does not reduce the segregation of their dwellers. 5. Slowness in the process of co-managed mutual-help construction (only 10,000 houses). 6. Theoretical discussions about collective work: overexploitation for the labor force or simple production of goods? 7. Insufficient cost appropriation, both for direct and indirect costs.

Source: Housing the Urban Poor, Policy and Practice in Developing Countries, Suzanna Pasternak Taschner Zed Books, London & New Jersey, 1995, P.208 – 209

Favelas, slums, and peripheric areas deprived of services will be seen in Brazilian cities during the next millennium. As an emerging practice, one can already detect (Taschner, 1995: 219).

- a) Growing commodification in the social relationships of housing production, both in the squattered land and private land.
- b) The moving of the middle classes to the periphery, and even the construction, by these social layers, of illegal houses, outside of the building code and zoning law.
- c) The increase of the poor tenements, both in the low-income housing tracts in the peripheric belts and in the squatter settlements.
- d) The invansion of Rio squatter settlements by drug trafficking. If, on the one hand, this fact once more associates squatters with criminals, on the other hand, it makes possible the measurement of the wealth of Rio hills.

As a conclusion, if we evaluate public policies, the Brazilian government and society encounter with a difficult challenge because of the fact that it is an under-developed county. *The decentralization reform, which is taking place in Brazil in the area of housing, is supposed to improve performance throughout the policy process. Its major advantages are said to be that it increases participation, responsiveness, and efficiency in government* (Shidlo, 1990: 46). The reintegration of the country to world economy and desired rebirth of economic growth would be helpful to solve many of the problems in Brazil.

3.2.3. Colombia

Housing production in Colombia is determined by income as seen other developing countries. Colombian cities have had a foreign-dependent industry, therefore, they unable to employ many of the migrants. Because of this fact, immigrants get jobs by their own efforts and satisfying their own needs, especially housing. There is formal construction industry, however, people prefer to construct their houses by themselves and using self-help and mutual help opportunities within the context of

the so-called 'informal economy'. As Betancur, J. J. (1995) stated that government has tried to create a demand for the private construction industry to middle-income groups. However, it has given small assistance to the poverty groups for gaining their political supports and controlling their self-help construction. Moreover, their spontaneous settlements have subsidized the country's economy by maintaining demands on wages at minimum level and producing a high proportion of the infrastructure on self-help and low-cash terms.

Spontaneous settlements have taken two main forms in Colombia: pirate settlements and invasions or land take-overs. Pirate settlements are areas of self-development established in violation of urbanization procedures and requirements. An estimated 40 percent of the housing stock had been produced through pirate settlements. (Betancur, 1995: 226). Buyers of such plots have unsatisfactory title deeds of the land as a result of these violations. Therefore, these settlements have lack of public services and infrastructures even after many years. Again with reference to the book written by Betancur, J. J. (1995), 'Invasions or land take-overs' result from invasion of public and private lots for constructing self-help housing with lacking of title-deeds. Invasions could be formed in distinct forms. In the first case, they can place at publicly-owned land for instance parks, underneath bridges, etc. without infrastructure and other public services. Secondly, households can occupy public or private lands that are disused by the owners or held in reserve for the future development. *After the period of this massive migration, the small Colombian cities became large metropolises including three types of settlements; the expansion of the old urban core, the upper income group's suburbanization and the low-income group's unauthorized housing settlements* (Betancur, 1995: 227).

Policies related to spontaneous settlement have ranged from opposition through initiatives at upgrading and legalizing irreversible situations, to schemes appropriating elements of this form of settlement. As in any under-developed country, urbanization in Colombia has been sudden, massive and highly chaotic. From 1938 to 1973, within 35 years the population went from predominantly rural

to predominantly urban. The urban proportion in 1986 was 67 percent (Betancur, 1995: 227).

Policies, which includes the establishment of urban perimeters to limit expansion (since 1910), zoning regulations (since 1940s), urbanization procedures (since 1900s), and urban plans (a few since the 1920s, but most since the 1940s), are expressed by Betancur, J. J. (1995) in detail. Urban perimeters or environment were never respected by developers and there has seen violation of established urban environment periodically. Moreover, zoning, was a clear effort to control pirate development and aim to prevent the surrounding of their neighborhoods or land by the poverty groups. In addition, zoning laws separated cities by use, economic activity and socio-economic level. Another policy, urbanization procedures, is predominantly relevant for analysis because they settle on the features required from settlements. These procedures contain public services, licenses and amenities like open spaces and high housing standards, moreover, they based on middle-income housing standards in order to make development of low-income housing cost-prohibitive.

According to Betancur, J. J. (1995) there was an important Legislation Reform in 1989 in Colombia, that its first element is 'Land Expropriation'. It authorizes municipalities and other relevant institutions so as to get property through voluntary alienation or expropriation for a series of uses. Furthermore, expropriation should be started by the municipalities and excludes improvements or dwellings of the social interest type. Second key provision of this reform is 'Enactment and Perfection of Titles'. According to this, occupants of social interest housing in illegal settlements have to begin a court process in order to maintain legal title deed or to legalize their imperfect titles. In line with legalization of titles and acquiring the proper registration of title deeds, the law requires some obligations including income tax return, proof of military service, payment of national taxes, construction or urbanization licenses, and other taxes. Third provision of this reform in Colombia is that 'Legalization of Illegal Settlements', which force individuals or

groups in order to demand and attain all public services upon proof of environment and educates the proper authorities to give main concern to social interest housing units. The last provision is 'Housing Subsidies' that can be used for the attainment of un-urbanized or urbanized areas, main housing units, and dwellings by the help of improvements and rehabilitation or legalization of title-deeds.

The reform is a big step ahead in that it accepts the need for government to upgrade settlements; to work with organizations of the poor; to give more flexibility to subsidies; to build on the social function of private property, particularly land; to coordinate the activities of players involved in the production of social interest housing; to allow more flexible schemes of housing production and settlement; and to stop prosecution of residents of existing settlements, while extending protection to their possessions (Betancur, 1995: 239).

With the change in economy and production, the big cities of Colombia became a focus of employment from the rural settlements. This caused the increase in the population like in other developing countries. Since the availability of job opportunities in formal sector was limited, the immigrants had no chance other than work in self-help activities. The very first need of living; housing, became the first issue to be considered. Within a group of immigrants by adding their labor power with a very small capital, they built up their own shelters. No doubtly, this type of having shelters was not as easy as thought. They had to tackle with the local and central governments and landowners whose land they invaded.

When we look at the government intervention in the regulation and improvement of unauthorized settlements, we see too many interventions including the pulling down of dwelling units or relocation of them. Firstly, government denied serving infrastructure to these areas; however, with the aim of increasing their votes, they provided them with education and health services as well as roads. As Betancur, J. J. (1995) stated, the first institutional organization for unauthorized settlements in Colombia was the Community Action Boards, which was built at the local level to

provide the society with materials and technical supports in constructing process. On the other hand, the government set up alternatives for housing the urban poor in terms of constructing worker housing, low-income housing and subsidized housing. To make the low-income groups be able to afford housing, many projects carried on in the fields of self-help and private contract development. Additionally, flexible procedures were intervened for the development of housing in response to the regulation of self-building and land ownership. However, these policies were in practice not efficient in solving the housing problem. Moreover, this situation led the government make an urban reform in 1989.

As a conclusion, the Colombian Government has assumed an opposing attitude of resistance and tolerance, which was impractical and politically unfeasible. The 1989 Reform set some criteria that had been gradually initiated and were imposed by illegal developers on the poverty groups. Situations for the poor people in squatter settlements are not probably to improve in the near future, because of the fact that upgrading of such areas contains additional costs that residents cannot afford.

3.3. URBAN RENEWAL IN MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA

3.3.1. Urban Renewal in Israel

This renewal program was applied by coalition parties, which took over the government of Israel in 1977, so it is an interesting project, namely 'Project Renewal' that included 70 neighborhoods. As Gökbulut (1995) reminded that; to build housing, physical infrastructure and social services; to deal with health problems, educational problems, unemployment, poverty and economic problems; to reduce the violence and crime and to concern with problems of family structure were the basic goals of this renewal program in Israel.

The main idea is the concentration of resources in a limited number of neighborhoods instead of spreading them around many neighborhoods so that 'by this positive discrimination it will be possible to bring the people and their

neighborhood to a level when they will eventually be able to fend for themselves' (Carmon and Hill, 1984: 121).

According to Gökbulut (1995), relocation of slums caused very dramatic social features. The relocation of the slum population usually imposed additional transport costs and greater travel time in getting to job or shopping, therefore, making their economic situation more difficult. As a result, Project Renewal was established as a solution that enable the residents to go on living in the physical and social environment to which they have become accustomed also they provide the participation of residents. Moreover, voluntary work by residents is encouraged especially for jobs such as cleaning, painting and gardening. The idea of using under- utilized local resources is also significant.

The guiding principles of Israeli housing policy were set forth during the State's early independence years. They have been geared toward two national-interest goals – immigrant absorption and population dispersal. Both interests are underlined in Ben Gurion's declaration in the presentation of the first government, stating the need for safety and security, by a "swift and balanced settling of the country", and the need for immigrants' absorption, by "housing all immigrants". A third private-interest goal, the provision of satisfactory housing to every household, is again underlined in Ben Gurion's declaration, referring to the need to "eliminate the ill-problem density and sickness of slum-dwellings" (Kallus, 2002).

It has been argued that the first two national-goals were dominant in the formative years of Israel's housing policy. During that period, the government and its institutions played a central role in housing supply, being deeply involved in the actual settlement, development, and physical planning. According to this argument, the third private-goal has come to the forefront only when the focus has turned from quantity to quality and the government has started to retreat gradually from its deep involvement in the housing market. However, as the fortification of Gilo demonstrates, although the government has changed its type of involvement, it is still in control of the housing market and is deeply involved in its activity.

Moreover, the government keeps the mortgage market under full control, preventing the development of a secondary mortgage market, thereby maintaining its power of direction and management (Kallus, 2002).

They created not only the urban renewal policy but also a social renewal policy and main features of this policy were;

- Creating a role of an ‘employment generation officer’ in the local authority;
- Enabling women to develop home industries at hours which suit them, by providing marketing facilities and instruction;
- Making use of school buildings in the afternoons and evenings for community activities;
- Establishing in the local authority a forum for the coordination-ordination related to ‘problem youths’;
- Enhancing pride in communities’ ethnic heritage in a variety of ways (Lichfield, 1984).

3.3.2. Urban Renewal in Zambia

According to Schlyter, A. (1995), Zambia was colonized and administrated by the British South Africa Company and 98 % of the population can only afford housing of low or very low standard. Furthermore, Zambia was the most urbanized country in Sub-Saharan Africa in 1964, thus, migration rate was high. Immigrants could not afford housing from authorized housing stock, built their own houses through informal ways.

There are some unsuccessful urban renewal programs and Zambia Project is one of them, which experienced such an inner city renewal program. They wanted to transform old city Kabwata into a modern township, they relocated all the families living in this area, and the problem began with this. Firstly, the residents would wish to relocate at places where they choose, however, the National Housing

Authority insisted on giving them alternative housing in the far-flung townships. Secondly, the spacing and affordability of new housing is questionable. The housing was closely spaced and that the rents were so high for majority of the people (Gökbulut, 1995: 106: 107).

During the 1970s and early 1980s, more than a third of Lusaka's, capital city, squatter population was affected by a series of huge upgrading projects, financed by the World Bank and by bilateral organizations such as the German organization GTZ. There was no second generation of huge, externally funded urban projects. The upgrading included legalization, improvements and new developments in the so-called overspill areas. Upgrading based on national and local resources, and capacities were planned in other towns. However, outside Lusaka the policy was not implemented in more than a few marginal projects (Schlyter, 1995:319).

The upgrading of squatters in Lusaka was not followed by an exchange of inhabitants. For several reasons, such as the scale of the projects covering a majority of the squatters, the relatively low standard of improvements, the general deterioration of household economy, etc., no so-called gentrification took place (Schlyter, 1995:322). Moreover, after legalization process, infilling of new separate structures was not allowed; therefore, the rebuilding of houses increased the residential densities.

In Zambia case, both inhabitants and government have produced their own strategies as Schlyter, A (1995) mentioned. Inhabitants created their solutions for their survival. Firstly, they use their shelters as lodgings and rent them, also this renting strategy is temporary solution. Secondly, the builders of houses in squatter settlements, who put their savings and work into a house, apply a homeownership strategy-that is also called survival strategy. Thirdly, they apply the building 'bit by bit' strategy, because poor people have difficulty in taking loans. Besides, inhabitants have used the political organization to put pressure on decision-makers with regard to improvement of the neighborhoods.

As for government strategies; the earliest policy was bulldozing and resettlement strategy that end with removal of inhabitants. *With the one-party state introduced in 1972, the political base of the ruling party, United National Independence Party (UNIP), in the squatter areas restricted the bulldozing policy to some areas dominated by dissidents. Instead, lobbying for legalization and improvements of the areas was strong and supported by some civil servants and non-governmental organizations. In 1974, the government signed an agreement with World Bank on upgrading of the major squatter areas in Lusaka. Further bilateral aid projects continued the upgrading strategy in the next few years (Schlyter, 1995:333).* Nevertheless, lack of funds and financial aids caused problems in implementing policies.

3.3.3. Egypt

Egypt has faced a speedy population growth and because of this fact, there has seen inequity in the distribution of resources and income and spread of poverty. Over-concentration of the population in a major city is the most important problem that Egypt government has faced with. There is a surplus of nearly one million housing units, which are mainly located at two major cities of Egypt, Cairo and Alexandria. This housing stock could not meet the demand of the poverty groups since this is categorize under the luxury classification. Moreover, this causes a housing crisis in Egypt both in quality and in quantity.

The rapid growth in population, inequity in the distribution of national income and the lack of urbanization policies by the government can be counted as the reasons of housing problem in Egypt. Like in all other developing countries, we see the formation of primate city in Egypt, which is the centre of migration and employment. The new built-up areas that were built at the traditional city cores or at the periphery can be defined as the spontaneous settlements or unauthorized housing settlements.

No doubtly, the emergence of the unauthorized settlements in Egypt was directly related with the lack of housing that could be affordable for the low-income groups, the insufficiency of government's housing and urban planning policies. In fact, there was an amount of vacant dwelling units in the primate cities like Cairo and Alexandria, but they were too expensive to meet the urban poor's demand. This type of development had limited technical infrastructure such as the electricity, water supply network etc. On the other hand, there was a lack of social and public facilities such as schools and health services.

The picture of over-urbanization- either formal (by the state) or informal (by the private developers and the state) in Egypt is distorted by problems of definitions of the urban: many urban places are simply swollen villages, crowding being induced by the peculiar agricultural circumstances of the Nile delta (Soliman, 1995: 298). Moreover, as being stated in Soliman, A. M. (1995), the vital physical changes in the urban areas are, actually, the result of the altering economic conditions and the expansion of development in Egypt. The traditional core of the compact city and the periphery of the city are surrounded by the spontaneous development areas or informal housing stock. Moreover, this type of informal development could not named as squatters as well as formal housing types, but it is a amalgam type of development between them, namely semi-informal housing. *This type of housing development can be characterized by; reliance on indigenous illegal resources, small-scale of informal operation, labor intensive and adopted technology, skills acquired outside the formal system, and unregulated and competitive markets* (Soliman, 1995: 299). Moreover, squatter settlements had some resemblances in their especially physical features that are; a restricted location, a main road, privileges of various services such as water and electricity supplies in the old divisions of squatter areas, absence of social facilities and public services. However, there are dissimilarities in heights of housing and width of streets and in the sanitary services established within the squatter areas.

Spontaneous growth has been associated with social and economic segregation in the urban areas, and has separated the old quarters within the Egyptian cities from the new areas/ new towns. *The increase in the demand for housing, high residential density, severe sanitation conditions, and the inability of the infrastructure to support the increase in population in the urban centers, led to a new idea in state housing policy- the development of New Towns* (Shidlo, 1990: 128). The spatial growth in Egypt has been divided into specific functional sections devoted to transportation, commerce, administration, education, and manufacturing; and into three major counter-magnets: the primate cities, the new established regions and secondary cities (Soliman, 1995: 302). This sprawl growth is therefore characterized by the following shaped by Soliman, A. M. (1995);

1. Rapid encroachment of arable land by uncontrolled physical growth, mainly housing development;
2. Lack of technical infrastructure such as transport network, water supply and sewerage in informal urbanized areas of the cities;
3. Low degree of coordination between public development projects and the ongoing informal urbanization;
4. Weak performance of the urban economy of the most medium-sized towns due to lack of economic resources apart from agriculture, a small degree of backward and forward linkages between economic sectors and finally lack of cultural activities and the weak performance of political activities due to which towns could not probably contribute at the national level.

Because of these reasons, the idea of New Towns failed to attract inhabitants. Moreover, the government intervention has remained limited within the squatter areas in Egypt and these deficiencies in government policies illustrated by Soliman, A. M. (1995). Firstly, the government has provided water taps and electricity supply in squatter areas while the occupants established main facilities on the lots themselves. Secondly, government had no effect over squatters in terms of social and public facilities whereas government supported the construction of self-

sufficient religious centers within squatter settlements. Third, absence of site planning for the illegal housing development areas in the government planning offices and this had showed no control of planning had been performed by the state and this had gave to such areas a physical sovereignty. Finally, government tolerated the occupants of the squatter settlements to remain on their plots after paying a figurative charge.

As Soliman, A. M. (1995) assessed that the unauthorized settlements in Egypt differ from other developing countries in terms of their process of emergence. In Egypt, the government institutions organized some of the invasion of land for the “temporary” settlements of low-income groups for a definite time. However, these temporary settlements turned into permanent ones. *The process of land invasion within informal residential areas involves three types of invasions, namely, organized invasion, a collective invasion, and a scattered invasion. This process of land invasion has offered accessible land at a reasonable price and equally increased the availability of the rented flats (the percentage varied from 20 to 30 percent of the total housing production I squatting areas) at affordable rates for the urban poor* (Soliman, 1995: 304). The land invasion in Egypt illustrated in Figure 7.

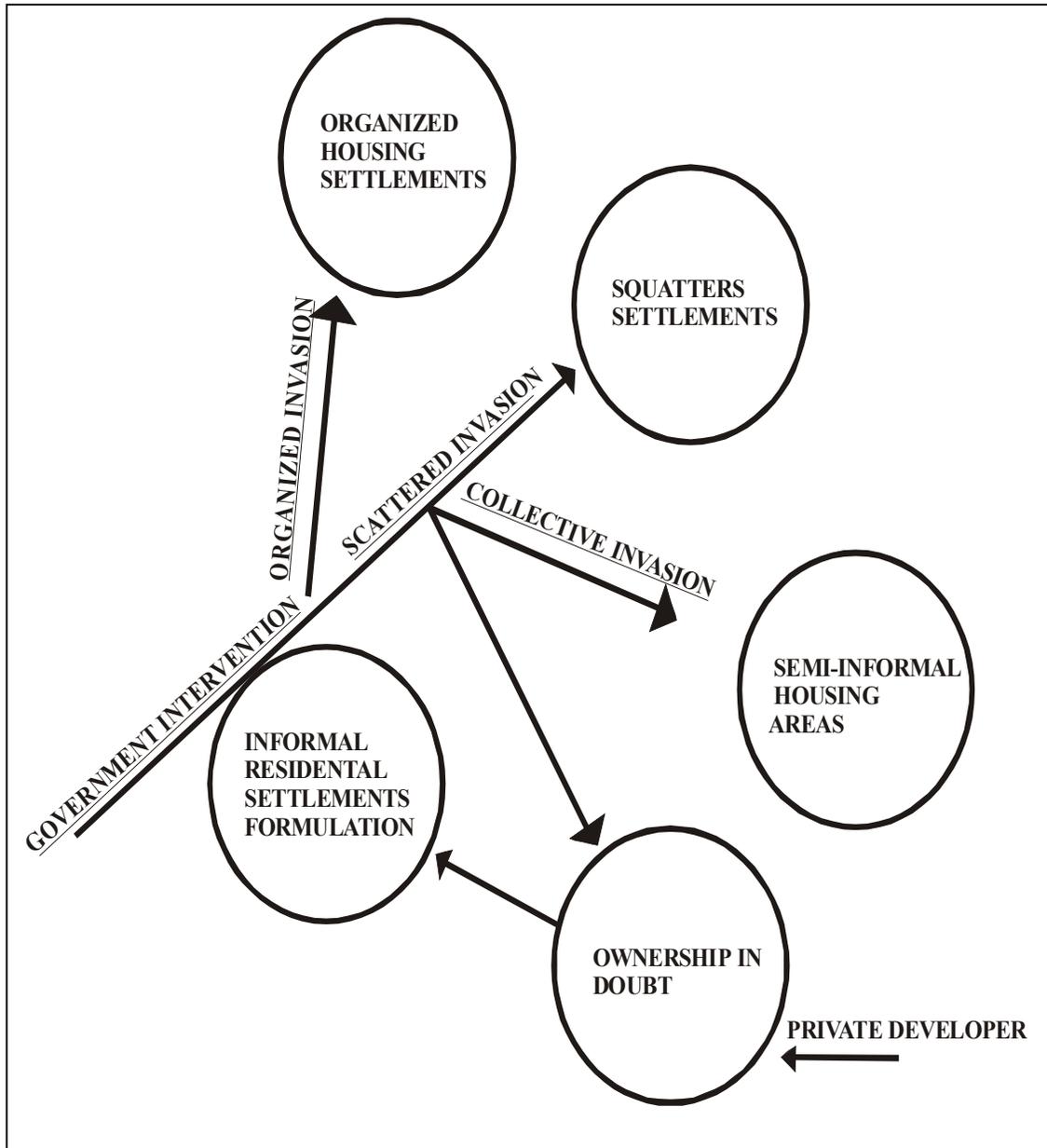


Figure 7: Land Invasion in Egypt

Source: A. M. Soliman, 1995 in Aldrich C. B., Sandhu S. R., Housing the Urban Poor, Policy and Practice in Developing Countries, Zed Books, London & New Jersey, 1995, p.305

Except from invasion, the majority of the forms of unauthorized housing in Egypt; is illegal subdivision of land. The owner of land subdivides his own property and sells them, to the people who want to build up their shelters. This building up process is defined by the capital, income, desire and ability of the house builder.

Soliman, A. M (1995) stated also that, the government interventions on the unauthorized houses in Egypt were too limited. The first attempt was to serve these areas with minimum infrastructure like electricity or water taps. On the other hand, the government built up some social services such as religious and educational units. In the year 1970's, the majority of housing stock in Egypt, was supplied by the informal and uncontrolled sector. In addition, even this stock could not meet the demand and need of low-income groups. The first attempt of the government in solving this housing problem was to set up National Housing Plan. Moreover, because of this plan, up-grading programs, core housing and subsidized housing were realized.

To sum it up, the uncontrolled settlements have occurred in the insufficiency of reasonable housing for low-income groups, lack of national urbanization policy and the weakness of planning controls that take place in other developing countries. As stated above, there is no apparent housing policy for the poverty groups in Egypt, that there is no perfect strategy or plan for the urban poor and every formation are held in a an arbitrary way. The main cause of this fact is that funds are limited in Egypt; therefore, providing some essential funds for housing policy should be the main task of the Egyptian Government.

3.4. URBAN RENEWAL IN FAR EAST

3.4.1. Thailand

Bangkok, the political, economic, social, cultural and educational centre of Thailand, is an obvious example of a primate city and at the same time, labor from all over the country is attracted as a result of employment opportunities in industrial and service sectors. As stated by Yap, K.S. (1995), slums and squatter settlements supply reasonably priced housing for low-income groups of Bangkok; however, not all slum households are poor and similarly not all poor live in slums or squatter settlements. With reference to the database of the National Housing Authority, 1.1

million people (13 % of Bangkok population) live in illegal settlements. Moreover, there are three different types of informal settlements in Bangkok that affirmed in the book with their percentage: settlements on private land (63 %), settlements on public land (25 %), and settlements on land with a mixed, that is, public-private partnership (11 %), while 1 % of the slum lands' landowners are not known.

The most common problem, which was caused by this increase in economy and population, was the lack of affordable housing for the workers coming to the cities. In general, the unauthorized housing in developing countries is the invasion of public and private land without taking permission from the landowner or authorities. However, the situation in Bangkok and Thailand was different. The minority of unauthorized housing in Thailand is in the form of *Invasion*. Nevertheless, the majority of unauthorized housing in that country is caused by the unplanned growth. According to the lack of organization in planning authorities, some areas inside the city are deprived of technical and social infrastructure. In addition, the owners of these areas rent their lands to people with a contract and let them build their own dwelling units. Moreover, this process results in unauthorized and low standard settlements.

The National Housing Authority is the main institution for housing supply with a major aim of constructing walk-up apartments so as to resettle slum-dwellers. Moreover, Yap, K.S. (1995) stated that, the National Housing Authority supervises schemes for low-income rental housing estates and common services in and around Bangkok whereas there are always problems. The major problem is that it cannot progress a slum area unless the landowners agree; however, landowners have generally been afraid of upgrading programs. Actually, National Housing Authority desires to improve land-rental slums, where slum-dweller federations want the national authorities to expropriate all slum lands and then sell it to the slum-dwellers again. However, the government is improbable to accept such a policy, since they have an attitude for no intervention in private land rental agreements.

This means that the landowners themselves can only initiate improvements in the living situations in Bangkok.

An innovative arrangement have introduced by which a plot of land occupied by slum-dwellers is partitioned into two parts: one part is leased or sold to the slum community to re-house its members; the other part is returned to the landowner, who can develop it to the best possible advantage. There are 1, 500 slum and squatter settlements in the Bangkok Metropolitan Region and two hundred slum communities were evicted between 1974 and 1986. In the late 1980s, private developers moved into the low-cost housing market, producing large numbers of complete land and housing units in the outlying suburbs (Yap, 1995: 269).

As it is mentioned by Yap, K.S. (1995), in 1980's, the private developers took place in the housing market to provide low-cost housing, by producing complete land and housing units. However, the affordability of these dwelling units was too difficult for the low-income groups. Also in the same period, the World Bank played an important role in reducing the interest rates for housing finance. Moreover, with the recommendations of World Bank and US Agency for International Development (USIAD) Bangkok became the first example for production of low-cost housing.

To sum up, the role of the government in providing housing for the low-income groups is limited to the relocation of slum-dwellers, evicted by public or private property-owners, the construction of middle-income housing in joint ventures with the private sector, and the production of housing for government personnel. Moreover, the National Housing Authority holds these government's tasks generally.

3.4.2. Hong Kong

Hong Kong's economic achievements has been the way in which it has coped with extremely high land costs and overcrowding while keeping the cost of labor

relatively low and without creating high levels of social pathology. A major element of the response to these challenges has been the creation of a public housing program, which now houses 2.63 million people- over 45 % of the population. This public housing program traces its origins to the clearance of the Hong Kong's squatter areas. Hong Kong is one of the handfuls of former lesser-developed countries that are now classed as newly industrializing countries and have been widely examined for the secrets of their success (Smart, 1995: 97)

As Smart, A. (1995) assessed, Hong Kong is one of the most densely populated cities in the world with a population over 6 million. However, its housing has always been extremely expensive in relation to average income. One of the results of crowding and high housing costs is that from its physical characteristics, or large proportion of its housing stock could be described as 'slums'.

The situation at present is that all forms of housing are crowded, and private housing is expensive as well as congested. The Spartan conditions of Hong Kong's public housing have contributed to its success by allowing its provision at a very high rate without requiring large government subsidies or resulting in government deficits. One of the main current government policies towards public housing is to make the program completely self-financing, which is resulting in some conflict as public housing rents are increasing quite rapidly. Squatter areas are gradually disappearing, and some squatter improvement projects are being instituted (Smart, 1995: 100).

Furthermore, Smart, A. (1995) mentioned that once squatter resettlement program was instituted, it took on its own dynamics. Between the years 1974-84, the proportion of housing units allocated to cleared squatters was usually less than a quarter of the total. Public housing is still being produced at a rapid rate, with a target of 30, 000 units per year.

A relatively new component of the government's housing strategy is the homeownership scheme, where higher quality units are sold to lower-middle-income families and public housing tenants. Another element of the public housing system is the temporary housing areas. They started as a form of 'core housing' where a basic framework, a roof and services were produced by the government, but occupants were expected to finish the walls, etc. by themselves (Smart, 1995: 106). Moreover, in private housing, two important policies are the legislation on rent controls and urban renewal program standards has begun to use.

Moreover, in private housing, two important policies are *the legislation on rent controls*, and *the urban renewal program* (Smart, 1995: 108). Government policies have had a critical influence on the character of Hong Kong's squatter areas. Unlike many other countries, Hong Kong has not yet regularized and squatter settlements. They remain in a limbo of illegality combined with toleration until the land is scheduled for development. Furthermore, one exception to the policy of toleration of already constructed dwellings is that adding extensions or conducting significant renovations are considered grounds for demolition. Thus, the consolidation process by which many squatter dwellings are improved and eventually become a conventional part of the urban landscape is not possible in Hong Kong, and the government's policies are themselves to a large extent responsible for the poor conditions of housing in Hong Kong's squatter areas (Smart, 1992; cited in Smart, 1995: 107).

As Smart, A. stated that, in Hong Kong, housing standards have clearly improved since 1945, and the improvement in per capita income has made the housing problem less of the availability of any kind of shelter and more of affordability of housing of minimally acceptable standards.

3.4.3. South Korea

The urban poverty groups in South Korea were formed within the process of its exacting historical experience. The process can be separated into three stages. The first stage is called by Cho, J. and Park, J. (1995) 'the primitive formation-the late 1930s to 1960', when many of poverty groups were formed for the first time during the Japan- governed period (1910-45), the 1945 Liberation Period and the Korean War (1950-53). The second stage of the process is the term after 1960 when Korean industrialization era began, which is called 'the period of structural formation'. In addition, final stage, since the mid-1980s, is named as 'the period of structural reproduction', in which the migration from rural to urban areas almost stopped and the urban poor were produced within the city.

According to Cho, J. and Park, J. (1995), there are 528 squatter settlements in Korea and the settlements have had to be improved through redevelopment and / or renewal housing programs. The unemployment rate in the squatter settlements is about six times higher than that of completely urban areas. At the squatter areas in Korea, over 50 percent of the respondents were renters, while about 46 percent were homeowners.

The squatter areas of Korea could be divided into four groups according to their formation process with reference to Cho, J. and Park, J. (1995). First group is 'illegal self-generated settlement', which has slowly disappeared by using the means of clearance and relocation schemes. Second one is 'Government Designated Settlement' that provides the property right. The third group is 'High Density Blighted Area', which one is once legal housing areas, but in time turned into a high-density residential area by the arrival of unmarried people like workers and students. The final group is called 'Public Rental Housing Area', the first comprehensive program of the municipal government for low-income groups. However, the areas where the public rental housing was located have now turned into squatter settlements.

Government implemented some interventions about squatter settlements as stated by Cho, J. and Park, J. (1995). During the period of 1951-65, the main intervention is 'Demolition and Removal', which consists of clearance of squatters in green areas and parks and then resettling squatters to sub-urban areas. In the period of 1966-72, 'Self-help Upgrading' policy was implemented in three steps. First, demolishing the illegal squatters and removing households to another residential area. Second one is legalization and consolidation of illegal buildings, which were in good conditions. Lastly, demolition of the illegal settlements on the spot was implemented. During the period of 1973-83, the major policy was 'Rehabilitation and Renewal' with the major focus of providing fund. Therefore, many renewal techniques were practiced with many financial aids. In addition, another period (1983 to the present), 'Urban Housing Renewal' policy has been the main policy, which contribute to the solution of squatter areas by creating coalition between residents and developers. As a consequence of these policies, from 1983 to 1988, an average of 6, 320 units were demolished and annually 7, 452 new units were built. Finally, the last one is Rehabilitation Period (1989 till the present) with the object of improving living conditions in squatter areas. This program was planned for upgrading and improvement rather than for clearance or renewal with mass demolition. In addition, public rental housing was established for the rental squatters.

The impact of housing policies on the squatter settlements is tremendous. Housing policies have mainly focused on housing improvement, increase in quantity of housing, and facilitation of housing supply for homeownership. These programs resulted in improvement of housing qualities, decreases in substandard housing stocks as well as increases in over-crowdedness and rent prices for low-income families (Cho and Park, 1995: 124).

3.5. Conclusion

Examples from different continents illustrate the policies and actions to cope with the problems of slums and squatter settlements, that is, unauthorized housing. In this chapter, development of slums and squatter settlements and their main characteristics, government policies towards illegal developments, and their successes and failures were discussed.

Over the last 40 years, there has been an enormous increase in the level of urbanization in the Third World. Whereas in 1950, less than 300 million people in developing countries lived in urban areas, by 1985 this figure has reached 1.1 billion. Estimates for the year 2000 suggest that nearly 1.9 billion people in developing countries will live in towns and cities, representing two-thirds of the world's population (United Nations Center for Human Settlements, 1987: 23, cited in Choguill, 1995: 403). This rapid urban development caused many problems, such as high unemployment and underemployment levels, severe pressures on infrastructure and urban services, congestion, pollution, important deficit in the provision of housing for the new comers, as well as all other forms of urban deterioration.

In each case, it is obvious that, different housing policy for development has been implemented according to countries economic structure as well as authorities' consciousness. The authorities have developed their national development planning processes; however, they may be either successful or unsuccessful. In developing countries, it is obvious that governments have not been fully successful to meet the housing demand.

In the implementation phase, the most important problem that governments face with is 'cost', that is, economic problems and constraints became significant in the development process. First, especially in developing countries, there are insufficient funds and aids. Moreover, new planning process requires new standards; however,

imposition of new standards means that costs begin to rise. In addition, it is very difficult for the urban poor to meet the repayments. Besides, removal from inner city to fringe adds the transport costs to the total cost.

All renewal processes require high level of participation in every level of the process and this is needed especially for social upgrading rather than physical upgrading.

With the help of the spreading urban renewal activities, the essential role of infrastructure has emerged. For example in Zambia, 'sites-without-services' policy has been carried out. Moreover, setting up of low cost infrastructure consists of self-help of the residents in the implementation of such process, to be successful.

CHAPTER 4

UNAUTHORIZED HOUSING IN TURKEY

The unevenness of man's advance from the lower species is best illustrated in his struggle for shelter. When time passed, the cities within each country have become the most obvious prospect for distributing the human surplus (Abrams, 1964:1). The problem has been complicated, moreover, by the fact that people have been pouring into the cities much faster than the emerging industries can absorb them. The migrant generally arrives without income or skills and often continues to live on a marginal level for most of his stay. As a result, street sleeping (a street sleeper is a mobile squatter without a house), slums, overcrowding and squatting have produced a new human predicament in the burgeoning cities. Furthermore, environment is more than physical environment; it is a combination of physical, social and personal factors (Abrams, 1964: 2: 3). In this chapter, examination of unauthorized housing's emergence forms, building models, government regulation and transformation process in Turkey.

Housing was not ranked among the most important socio-economic issue in Turkey until the early 1960s. The main reasons for this lack of interest may be summarized as follows. First, the migration from rural to urban areas was relatively slow and there was no marked deficit in the housing supply at least quantitatively until that era. Second, the slow pace of industrialization did not make the workers' housing question an important source of discontent before the early 1960s. Third until the beginning of the planned development period, housing had not been taken up within the broader context of its position relative to the whole of the economy. Therefore, its impact upon economic development was largely neglected. Finally, the

authoritarian nature of the single-party system did not allow, until the late 1940s, an open public discussion of such socio-economic and political issues. As a result, various groups were, to a large extent, deprived of the opportunity to express their housing needs openly (Keleş, 1990b: 140). However, all these situations changed slowly during the second half of the twentieth century.

Turkey is in continuous process of transformation linked to economic and political changes. The basic driving forces of this process are the spatial re-distribution of population and capital and the macro level it also effects the transformation of the settlement pattern of the country. Over the last fifty years, the basic features of this dynamic process emerged as a rising rate of urbanization, concentration in the coastal regions, uneven spatial growth and intensified network of relationships among cities (Gülhan, 2002).

Turkey's rate of urbanization has been over the past fifty years. If settlements with a population of 10.000 and over are to be accepted as "urban", the percentage of urban population has gone from 18.3% in 1945 to 56.3% in 1990. If settlements with municipal administration are to be accepted as "cities", then 27.7% of settlements in 1945 and 74.6% in 1990 fall into "urban" category (Gülhan, 2002).

The speedy growth of cities was largely a result of migration from rural areas where population was declining in absolute numbers during 1980s. Therefore, largest cities such as Istanbul, Ankara and İzmir have receiving huge waves of migration. While this tendency continues, recent data point out that fast urban growth started to take place in medium and large sized cities of Turkey.

The fast growth of urban areas was coupled with a number of urban problems due to insufficient organizational structures and limited government resources. One of these was the problem of housing. If successful urbanization policies are adopted, this mode has the potential to function as an effective means of controlling urban formations, especially for the new comers of big cities (Gülhan, 2002). The

regularly increasing insufficiency of land has made a vital impact on the existing squatter settlement as well and an informal real-estate market emerged so as to rent or sell the *gecekondus*.

Unauthorized forms of housing appropriately called *gecekondu*- literally meaning a house constructed one night that developed at fringe of the cities illegally lacking adequate urban services is a demonstration of housing problem in Turkey. *In later years, squatting on public land was, to a large extent, replaced by unauthorized construction on privately owned land subdivided illegally and sold by the land mafia where the buyers could not obtain title deed to their plots. Today, the land mafia not only organizes and controls informal land market but also protects houses constructed against demolitions. Moreover, those who control the informal land markets act as an informal intermediately institution between local governments and such informal neighborhoods to accelerate the provision of infrastructure* (Gülhan, 2002).

4.1. General Descriptions of Gecekondu

Slums may be either rented or owner-occupied, either legal or illegal. They include cabins, shanties, dens, dugouts, sheds, stalls, and other manifestations of poverty. Some are single-family shelters converted into several smaller compartments; some are one-story and others six-story tenements. Although most slums are in the industrial cities, many are found in mining towns and farm areas (Abrams, 1964: 4).

Slum life is not always the symbol of retrogression. The slum exists because no nation is able to produce adequate housing at a cost that workers can afford. The afflictions of slum living are intensified by crowding and lack of privacy. Both the houses are crowded onto almost all-available space and it refers to crowding within the house itself (Abrams, 1964). The relationship between slums and tenure insecurity is not immediately obvious, particularly in the Western world where slums actually developed within a context of defined tenure rights. However, the situation in the rapidly urbanizing developing world is rather different. Large,

visible tracts of squatter or informal housing have become intimately connected with perceptions of poverty, the effects of globalization, lack of access to basic services, and insecurity. The major cause is the rapid increase in urbanization since 1950, which is associated with concentrations of poverty, homelessness and slums (Flood, 2002).

“Slum” has become an unfashionable term in the West, being strictly pejorative and associated with all forms of negative social outcomes and immorality expressed in a spatial or housing sense. It is a term very much in the spirit of Christian reformism and later Western capitalism, which has sought to define a counterfactual, both conceptually and in the physical sense, to modernist ideals of social and physical order, morality, health, spaciousness and urban quality. Slums were identified as containing the poorest quality housing, the most unsanitary conditions, and the poorest people: a refuge for marginal activities including crime, “vice” and substance abuse; and a likely source for many epidemics that ravaged urban areas (Flood, 2002)

To a fair extent, the growth of slums in the West in the nineteenth and early twentieth century also mirrored the periodic booms and busts of capitalism, with the poor quality housing overbuilt in one boom rapidly deteriorating and becoming the slum housing of the next bust. These slums were constructed particularly, even deliberately, under the guiding control of capitalist property relations, with most land held under formal title that had been in existence for centuries (Flood, 2002)

Much of this growth has taken place in unplanned and informal settlements, where basic services are few and tenure is insecure. Many populations living in these irregular settlements have been subject to continual harassment by authorities in trying to provide themselves with appropriate and affordable housing. From about 1990, policy responses began to focus less on the provision of housing and services for slum dwellers, and more on self-help solutions backed by institutional reform, including the regularization of tenure and issuing of formal title (Flood, 2002).

Gecekondu is not only a survival problem; it covers all social lives over the world. In 1960, 30% of urban population was living at gecekondu districts and this ratio refers to 100 million people. In addition, this ratio is doubled nowadays (Keleş, 1990a). According to some writers, gecekondu is a natural process, as a result of shortage in the government housing policies. Moreover, slum and gecekondu are not the same concept. They have similarities such as in both of them poverty groups are living, however, gecekondu areas are permanent whereas slum areas are temporal. Moreover, slums are located at interior part of the city; on the other hand, gecekondu development is occurred at the fringe of the city.

4.1.1. The Definitions of Gecekondu

According to Urbanization Terms Dictionary (Keleş, 1990a) gecekondu defines as a kind of shelter- simply built over night- that is constructed on publicly owned lands, juristic person's or real person's land without their desire, permission or knowledge with the absence of the laws of development and building, in which poverty or low-income groups live because their need of shelter could not meet by government or local administrations. In addition, with reference to Özüekren (1997) gecekondu is defined as;

‘In Turkey, gecekondu is legally defined as a shelter build on land which belongs to somebody else, without permission of the owner and with regard to building regulations. This definition thus excludes shelter built on land by landowners without a building permit’ (Özüekren, 1997, p. 40, note3, cited in Uzun, 2001).

In the same way, the 775 Gecekondu Act (1966) defines gecekondu as a building that is constructed on lands owned by others without acceptance of land's real owners by the violation of development and building acts.

The term *slum* is used to indicate housing which falls below a certain level, which is necessary to contribute to human development. The term *squatter settlement either is used to indicate housing that is the result of illegal occupation or has been*

developed in an unauthorized fashion (World Bank, 1992; cited in Aldrich and Sandhu, 1995). The presence of slums and squatter settlements indicate a habitat, which fails to contribute to human development and/or lacks the most fundamental guarantees necessary for the building of human communities. Moreover, it is an evidence for indication of the extent of housing poverty in a society (Aldrich and Sandhu, 1995).

Slums and squatter settlements are often difficult to separate. However, a slum generally refers to housing, regardless of tenure, which has fallen into such disrepair that it constitutes a general condition for a neighborhood or community. A squatter area could also be a slum. The main characteristic of squatter housing is the lack of formal ownership of the land on which the squatters live. Generally, such areas are in older central parts of the cities. Squatter settlements vary in their conditions, and the characteristics of their occupants. In some societies, the squatter population may consist of large, integrated urban areas with housing, factories, shops, and services (Aldrich and Sandhu, 1995).

4.1.2. The Typology of Gecekondu

There are different views of different writers about the typology of gecekondu. According to Turner, J. (1976), whose research is mainly depends on Latin American countries, there are two dimensions of gecekondu process according to their quality and continuity.

1. First category consists of three sub-clusters with respect to their quality;
 - Developing Ones (gelişmekte olan),
 - Keeping its situations (durumu değişmeyen),
 - Becoming deteriorated (durumu kötüleşmekte olan)
2. Second category has two sub-clusters with respect to their continuity;
 - Temporal (geçici)
 - Semi-temporal (yarı geçici)

Temporal gecekondü districts are the residential areas in which income rate per person is the minimum. On the other hand, at semi-temporal gecekondü areas income rate per person is a little bit higher than previous one. This type of districts are generally seen in the countries where urbanization and industrialization rate are high, also appearance of this type of residential settlements is different from traditional gecekondü settlements. In the temporal residential areas, generally unemployed or jobless people lives; however, in other gecekondü settlements employed and socially insured people lives. Therefore, in the second case, there are tendencies of consolidating their gecekondüs.

Keleş, R. (1990a) reminded another categorization of gecekondü/ squatter settlements. John Seeley, another researcher, categorizes these poverty areas in accordance with the impression of the reason why they are living there as stated by Keleş, R. (1990a). Similar to Turner's categorization, his research sums up with such clusters;

1. Permanent Obligation (sürekli zorunluluk),
2. Temporal Obligation (geçici zorunluluk),
3. Permanent Opportunism (sürekli opportunizm),
4. Temporal Opportunism (geçici opportunizm).

According to Stokes, there are two types of gecekondü;

1. Slums of Hope (umut verici olanlar),
2. Slums of Despair (umutsuzluk kaynağı olanlar)

Another researcher, Charles Abrams's investigations, which are performed at Africa, Middle East and Latin America, separation of these areas into nine clusters is seemed possible;

1st cluster: *Owner Squatter:* Being owner and user of squatter housing simultaneously, owns his squatters and constructs the shack on any vacant land that is publicly owned and the situation of absence of the owner of the land.

2nd cluster: *Squatter Tenant:* pays rent to another owner of the squatter and categorize into the poorest class.

3rd cluster: *Squatter Holdover:* is a tenant who has stopped paying money / rent but the owner of the land afraid of him.

4th cluster: *Squatter Landlord:* is the owner of who has extra rooms or huts to rent with high profit.

5th cluster: *Speculative of Squatter:* People who constructed squatter for sold or rental purpose, i.e. is a professional and has aim to business venture.

6th cluster: *Store Squatter:* or occupational squatter establishes his own store on other's land without paying rent or taxes. At times, his family sleeps in the shop.

7th cluster: *Semi-squatter:* After built up his squatter on land of private owner illegally and then bargain with them, in time he has become a tenant.

8th cluster: *Floating Squatter:* lives on an hult, motorboat or junk floated or sailed into city's harbor / water for the purpose of survival or work and it may be rented or owned.

9th cluster: *Squatter Cooperator:* is part of the group that resists to some forces and they belongs to same village, family, etc. (Abrams, 1953:21:22).

Most of these clusters come across in Turkey at different rates. The rate of the people that meet their real need is 60% and the rate of people with speculative aim is 40% in Turkey. However, these rates are changing. Although the government policies differ from country to country, we can categorize these policies under four headings: consolidation, demolition, prevention and re-location. Demolishment of gecekondu is the oldest but ineffective policy of governments and this has not met the expected results. The theory of preventing from squatter development is not possible with demolishing or re-locating the population from one place to another. However, the effective solution would deal with the problem's socio-economic origin. To smooth out income distribution in harmony with urbanization rate and

providing enough employment are the effective long-term policies to reach a solution about squatter housing (Keleş, 1990a).

Turner, J. (1976) stated that there are three types of housing settlement sections:

1. Heteronom Section (Public or Official Part): This sector is in the struggle of providing the validity of public interest and public services and conserving the public order. Public determines the type of housing and the users are the passive actors. Therefore, contemporary technology is used at high prices. Generally, the users are the members of wealthy groups and prefer to live in big houses. The housing stock that is fabricated at this section has low use value and public donation is generally used.
2. Private Section: Turner called this section as autarchy-dominant section, i.e. autarchic- private institutions are dominant here and the main goal is to acquire profit by production of housing. Fabrication of housing is not regarded as public services but commercialization come on agenda. Moreover, users are again passive actors at this section. The decision of purchasing or renting a house is determined after fabrication of housing so that is an ex-post decision.
3. Popular Section: This is regarded as citizen section or sovereign section. In this section, people meet their housing needs by themselves at local level, so the use value of housing is higher than the other sections. Nobody thinks to get profit and the role of government is reduced to meet only technological support and giving credit opportunities. Therefore, a sovereign system is dominant.

4.1.3. The Gecekondü Process

The process of gecekondü has also special steps. Firstly, after getting the information about the location of the public land, some gangs acquire the land by taking some money (Invasion). Then people start to build their house in immediate time, especially at night. In addition to this, usually unpaid labor built the initial housing (Self-help building). In the course of the time, the municipalities carry out

different types of pulling down. When the settlement has populated enough, some political power is needed for some services, for instance infrastructure services, public services, etc., which are demanded by the people. This means a security for inhabitants because this implies the legal recognition of that settlement (Provision of certain services). Moreover, after these stages ‘consolidation of initial structures’ begins. As the legal recognition improves, the consolidation process accelerates. Finally, the actual safety is acquired when tenure rights are granted and then actual consolidation or transformation stage takes place. Another important point is that, in the process of building a gecekondü, not only ‘use value’ aspects are important but also ‘exchange value’ is also important. In other words, anytime in the process there is always an exchange value.

4.1.4. Benefits of Gecekondü

According to Keleş, R. (1990a) there are some benefits of gecekondü in terms of development process, these are listed below;

- It helps to eliminate housing shortage in terms of need,
- It is one of the best examples of solidarity, mutual support and citizen participation,
- It develops powerless citizens’ self-confidence,
- Construction of gecekondü helps to reduce the unemployment rate according to some writers. However, some writers criticize this due to the fact that people effort in construction after their real work, therefore this causes negative effects on their labor force.
- The process helps re-production of labor.

4.1.5. Negative Effects of Gecekondü

According to Keleş, R. (1990a), there are some drawbacks of gecekondü listed below;

- Gecekondus are located at the lands where dangerous for natural disaster, i.e. on valleys,
- Despite the fact that they are functionally in harmony with working areas, the quality of housing is very low,
- The infrastructure and the other public services are not sufficient at these areas,
- Health problems of people occur because of high density and poverty,
- Consolidation of gecekondus and transferring of them are needed in time, therefore it is an expensive process in fact,
- As time passed, the process became commercialized therefore provision of housing became a part of privatization,
- Use value has been substituted with exchange value in time, so it loses its social meaning as a fact of speculation.

In the more developed areas whose slums might be viewed in Asia as chateaux, overcrowded slums have been found to yield;

- a high juvenile (young) delinquency (crime) rate,
- high rates of family dependence on public assistance,
- high proportions of illiteracy,
- high proportion of employed women,
- more unemployment, poverty and divorce,
- more non-support cases and alcoholism,
- a high incidence of mental disorders and mental deficiency,
- low average educational level,
- high residential mobility (Abrams, 1964:7: 8).

4.2. Emergence of Unauthorized Housing in Turkey

In Turkey, the phenomenon of gecekondus came on agenda in the period of Second World War. In 1948, there were 25-30 thousands of gecekondus in big cities.

Furthermore, in 1953 this number increased to 80 thousands as a result of an act numbered 6188. This number rose to 240 thousands in 1960 and 1.5 millions in 1983 (Keleş, 1990a). The table below shows the number of gecekondu and the population of gecekondu in Turkey by years;

Table 4: Number of Gecekondus and Gecekondu Population in Turkey by Years

Years	Number of gecekondu	Population of Gecekondu	% of Gecekondu Population in Urban Population
1955	50000	250000	4.7
1960	240000	1200000	16.4
1965	430000	2150000	22.9
1970	600000	3000000	23.6
1980	1150000	5750000	26.1
1990	1750000	8750000	33.9
1995	2000000	10000000	35 ¹

Source: Keleş, R., 1983, Türkiye’de Şehirleşme, Konut ve Gecekondu, Gerçek Yayınevi, İstanbul.

As for Ankara, between the years of 1960 and 1966, the number of gecekondu increased from 70 thousands to 100 thousands. In the period of 1966-1978, this number rose to 240 thousands. In Ankara, in one hand, gecekondu areas were developed firstly at Altındağ nearer to city center. On the other hand, development occurred at districts such as Topraklık, İncesu, Mamak and Çankaya at the fringe of the city (Keleş, 1990a). We can see the increasing number of gecekondu by years in Ankara at the table below;

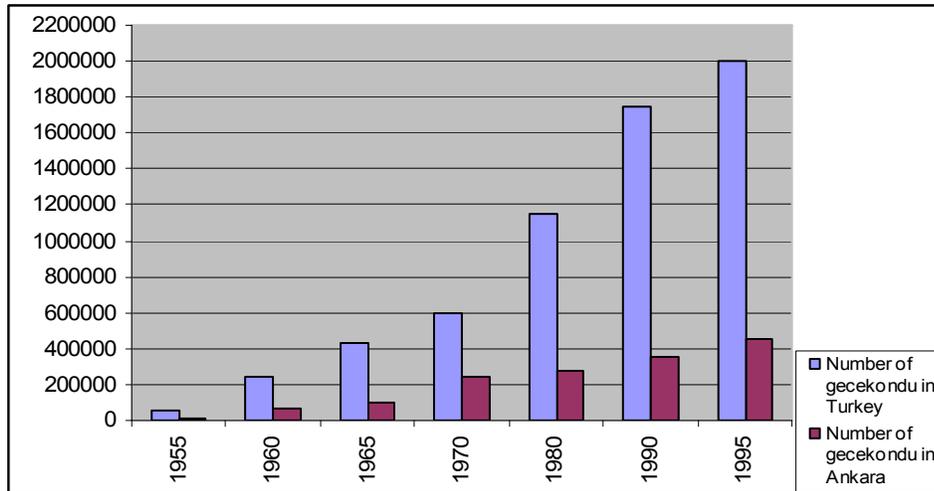
¹ Estimation

Table 5: Number of Gecekondu and Gecekondu Population in Turkey by Years

Years	Number of Gecekondu	Population of Gecekondu	% of Gecekondu Population in Urban Population
1955	12000	62400	21.8
1960	70000	364000	56
1966	100000	520000	57.4
1970	144000	748000	60.6
1975	202000	1156000	64.9
1978	240000	1300000	68.4
1980	275000	1450000	72.4
1990	350000	1750000	58.3
1995	450000	2850000	60

Source: Keleş, R., 1983, Türkiye’de Şehirleşme, Konut ve Gecekondu, Gerçek Yayınevi, İstanbul.

-The chart below shows the comparison between the number of gecekondu in Turkey and the number of gecekondu in Ankara.



Researches performed in Turkey show that qualified employment rate are 25-30 % in the population, which live in gecekondu areas. According to researchers, there is no unemployment at the squatter areas. However, this could be defined as a mistake because of the fact that the phenomenon of gecekondu is a result of imbalances in

income distribution and insufficient income. There is a general view that people regarded as labor, living at gecekondu areas are not employed in modern industry but traditional ones (Keleş, 1990a).

The main factor of gecekondu is known as migration. It is obvious that hidden unemployment in agricultural sector moves to cities or gecekondu areas, i.e. rural poverty is transformed into urban poverty. The majority of people living at gecekondu areas are regarded as lumpen proletariat. Other parts of the people are becoming petty urban gentrifiers in time by making some commercial activities. The tendency of turning back to their village is very low at these areas because they earn more income in cities than in their village. Moreover, their habits of life are changing and progressing when time passed. Therefore, the gecekondu families are the transition part between rural families and urban families (Keleş, 1990a).

In this changing process, they create their own 'culture of gecekondu' permanently as a consequence of difference between migrated families and urban families' level in the process of production and consumption. Politics is another important issue at these areas. These parts of cities consist of high number of population, so politicians are dealt with these areas especially before elections so as to acquire their votes. Therefore, in the periods just before the elections, construction of gecekondu is at its maximum point during the voting process (Keleş, 1990a).

The emergence of unauthorized housing in Turkey was mainly based on the increase in migration rate as parallel to the increase in the employment opportunities in big cities. Meaningly, it is the result of conversion from agricultural manpower to industrial and service sector man power. Additionally, insufficiency to meet the low-income group's demand with the existing housing stock, and the government's lack of housing the urban poor policies, were the other reasons why big cities of Turkey faced unauthorized housing problem. The population that could not locate inside the planned boundary of the cities chose the unplanned areas and the lands that were topographically unsuitable, for building up their shelters. In

addition, this feature showed the dominance of unauthorized housing to authorized housing in terms of its flexibility and adoptability in choosing location.

Bademli, R. explains the development of unauthorized housing in the big cities of Turkey in two generations:

“Earlier squatters, i.e., those formed in the 1940’s were constructed on marginal public land without authorization. As a rule, they were owner-occupied make shift buildings with one or two rooms and lacked electricity, water and sewerage.” (Keleş and Kano, 1987: 56). “Second generation squatters, shaped in 1950’s took roots on private land as well. Sun dried bricks and timber were replaced by cynder blocks, regular bricks and concrete as major building materials” (Keleş and Kano, 1987: 57).

The unauthorized type of housing; squatters (gecekondu – Turkish name) were mentioned as temporary settlements in 1940’s, however in time, their permanence were seen. On the other hand, these settlements have continuously increased in number because of the higher prices of dwelling units that were constructed through the construction law. In addition, according to this situation, the people who migrated to the big cities followed two ways. They either firstly rented a house nearby their work place or then built up their own squatters at the periphery, or they built up their own shelter at the first arrival since there was a limited housing stock in the city centre.

In both of these ways of housing, the aim was to become a house owner with the limited ability to pay power. In this type the factors of production are cheaper because;

- The wage of labor in construction is too low or there is no wage paid. (self-help building)
- The price of land where the building is constructed is payless (according to invasion) or too little to pay.

Commercialization of gecekondu has been expanded when time passing. Turkey’s gecekondu history lasted 45 years, could e separated into three periods;

1. Period up to 1960: The process of self-help building is dominant at this period.
2. Period of 1960-70: Tenancy rate become increased but still use their own labor force at this period.
3. Period of 1970-80 and after: The whole process becomes commercialized and institutionalized (Keleş, 1990a).

4.3. The Development of Gecekondu Policies in Turkey

Generally, in all countries policies, listed below, are implemented in order to prevent from gecekondu development, whether the country is developed, developing or under-developed.

1. SLUM CLEARANCE: Since the squatters were not supposed to be where they were, one of the universal policies was squatter clearance. This policy generally involved destroying large amounts of housing near places of employment for this unskilled and semi-skilled population and the re-location of its residents to a distant fringe of the city. This often meant relocation to another urban squatter settlement. This approach has had limited success and resulted in the relocation of large numbers of urban residents to urban fringe areas or to other regions of the country (Aldrich and Sandhu, 1995: 27).
2. Another policy was of the 'If you cannot fight them, and then join them' philosophy. Under various regimes the squatters and the political elites reached an understanding in which some appearance of services were provided to squatter areas. Changes in regimes complicated this process (Aldrich and Sandhu, 1995: 27).
3. Slum and squatter areas were formally upgraded, densities lowered, and schools and other services added. In most advanced cases, entire areas were re-built into high rise housing or more standardized units with the over flow going to adjacent sites (Aldrich and Sandhu, 1995: 28).

4. Perhaps the most famous policy, ‘autonomous housing’ was to let the squatter groups contract their own housing with their own resources. For a while, this was considered the most effective policy (Aldrich and Sandhu, 1995: 28).

Moreover, one important effect is to recognize the clinical nature of the problem, i.e. the need to take the empirical situation into account rather than proposing one policy or approach as a solution for all problems. The second important effect is to set housing policy within the context of social, political and economic processes of each country. (Aldrich and Sandhu, 1995: 28).

4.3.1. Up to Planned Periods (Before 1960)

The change of the capital city from İstanbul to Ankara in 1923 caused a shelter problem of the civil servants due to over-migration. Several legislations were put in effect in order to solve this problem after 1923. Accelerated urbanization and the rapidly increasing of squatter settlements in metropolitan areas characterize the period of 1945-60. *During these years, the percentage of non-agricultural labor increased considerably and a rapid transformation in the economic structure of the country took place. Strengthening of the labor movement, the transition from a single to multi-party political system, and the creation of ministry in charge of urban and regional development and housing characterize the socio-political arena of this stage* (Keleş, 1990b: 148). Many legislations were enacted to overcome with the squatter housing problem and to rise the supply of housing simultaneously.

Government struggled with gecekondu problem by making some acts as a solution. First act was declared in 1948 numbered 5218. This act aimed to consolidate existing gecekondu areas and providing new lands to people who were in preparation of building new gecekondus. At this period, Real Estate Credit Bank (Emlak Kredi Bankası) provided credits to households. In 1949, the act numbered 5431 was declared with the aim of preventing gecekondu areas; however, this act

was not reached its aim. In 1953, the act numbered 6188 was declared so as to legalize the gecekondus that were constructed up to time 1953 and prohibited to build new areas after the act's declaration. Moreover, the act numbered 7367 was declared to transfer the ownership of National Treasury that is in the municipal boundary to municipality ownership but this was also not implemented accurately (Keleş,1990a).

Policies that were implemented up to planned periods have mainly three characteristics that are listed below;

1. Trying to prevent from gecekondu development by transferring ownership rights from National Treasury or other public administrations to municipalities and distribute these lands to households,
2. Prohibition of construction of gecekondu by declaration of some acts,
3. Legalization of gecekondus that were constructed before (Keleş, 1990a).

4.3.2. Planned Period (1960 and till to present)

The establishment of the State Planning Organization provided an opportunity for a more objective assessment of housing issues within the framework of the economy as a whole. Since then, the principles of national housing policies can be found in the five-year development plans (Keleş, 1990b:149).

The main philosophy behind *First Five-Year Plan (1963-67)* was the belief that housing investments were not productive and therefore should be kept as low as possible (Keleş, 1990b: 149). The main rule was accepted as demolishing was to be performed after arranging new residential areas to households and had three aims;

1. Upgrading/ Consolidation (Islah): Improvement of existing gecekondu areas in terms of progress a solution of ownership and providing need of public services. In other words, *upgrading was understood as the betterment*

of the residential standards of both the houses and the settlements, chosen for upgrading (Keleş, 1990b: 163).

2. Clearance (Tasfiye): Purification of gecekondu areas, which are in very bad conditions. In other words, *complete demolition of the squatter houses surrounding historical sites and monuments was called 'clearance' (Keleş, 1990b:163).*

3. Prevention (Önleme): In order to prevent of building new gecekondu, taking preventive measures about economic and social issues and increasing the rate of housing provision so as to decrease the demand for gecekondu. In other words, *'prevention' meant taking measures to curb the pace of squatting in the future. Two types of prevention may be distinguished: long-term and shorter-term.*

In the long-term prevention, the government is expected to influence the process of squatting by distributing the population and economic activities more evenly, while assuming that slowing down the rapid growth of metropolises will indirectly reduce the number of squatter dwellings. Macro-strategies such as industrialization, creating employment opportunities and regional development have been recommended as long-term prevention tools. On the other hand, short-term and medium-term prevention denotes both the demolition of houses being built, and the provision of cheap land, housing credit, and technical assistance to prospective squatters in order to enable them to build social housing instead of squatter dwellings (Keleş, 1990b: 163: 164).

It proposed that efforts should be directed at increasing the amount appropriated. This approach led to the search for new types of dwelling, which were called 'social housing' or 'peoples' housing' as distinct from the luxury dwellings (Keleş, 1990b:149). In addition, as a result of some measures like tax exemption, tax reduction; public sector's share was reduced at this period. Another important feature of this period is enacting the Gecekondu Law numbered 775 in 1966 in order to legalize existing housing structures.

In *Second Five-Year Development Plan (1968-1972)*, goals about gecekondu are similar to goals defines in the First Five-Year Development Plan and prevention of gecekondu areas is the first task of this plan. Moreover, *the Second Plan defined the role of state in the housing sector as ‘regulator’ as opposed to direct ‘investor’ or ‘constructor’*. *The plan recommended financing social housing through publicly provided mortgages and providing assistance to self-help housing schemes* (Keleş, 1990b: 149). In addition, share of public housing investment tended to decrease, like in the First Plan, at this period. Moreover, the Second Plan was not prohibiting existing settlements and proposed that demolition of squatter units could be performed if only households were accommodated elsewhere. *This plan was deliberately opposed to legislate a new rent control law after the cancellation of the former by Constitutional Court on the grounds that such an interference would damage the balance between the supply and demand* (Keleş, 1990b: 150).

In *Third Five-Year Development Plan (1973-1977)*, there is no enough stress and there is a belief that social problems could be solved by economic development automatically and this plan emphasized sharing the responsibilities for housing between the public and private sectors. *Although it stressed the need to standardize the credit terms given by various public institutions by adding them to a single pool, in accordance with the goals of housing policy, this could not be achieved during the Plan period or afterwards. The plan also dealt with the need to increase production of housing units for rental by both sectors through a removal of the barriers blocking its progress* (Keleş, 1990b: 150).

In *Fourth Five-Year Development Plan (1978-1983)*, there is an allowance of ‘long-term usage rights’ for gecekondu households and acceleration of provision of infrastructure services in the reported plan. However, there was no such an implementation during this planning period. This plan was actually a combination of the previous plans. However, there were some differences in suggestions for example it proposed that providing encouragement of upgrading schemes in squatter areas. *Another major point dealt with the regularization of the land on*

which squatter dwellings were built, by leasing it to squatter families on a long-term basis. This plan took a rigid stand on the realization of the control of central and local governments over the urban land in the outskirts of rapidly growing cities (Keleş, 1990b: 150). This period often called as ‘unplanned term’ due to political instability in Turkey and crisis in the construction industry.

In Fifth Five-Year Development Plan (1985-1989), there is no detailed principles take place; however, there is an effort for legalization of the illegal housing stock. This plan is mainly a document transmitting the principles of the programme of the political party in power onto a formal footing. Legislation on the squatter dwellings, the regularization of their tenure, the introduction of the cost recovery rule into all aspects of urban development and housing, the creation of Mass Housing Fund by extra-budgetary sources, and the privatization of the process of housing production are major aims stated both in the government programme and in the five-year development plan (Keleş, 1990b:151).

VI. Five-Year Development Plan (1990-1994): In order to prevent from gecekondu development, nucleus housing with some subsidies and credit support proposed in this plan.

VII. Five-Year Development Plan (1996-2000): It is stressed only that gecekondu acts should try to gecekondus convenient to current conditions.

4.4. Forms of Unauthorized Housing in Turkey

Unauthorized house building takes various forms, ranging from building squatter housing on invaded land, to building multi-storey apartments on illegally subdivided land. Forms of provision of unauthorized housing include self-help, self-provision, and speculative. When unauthorized housing has been regularized in accordance to the Building Amnesty Act, dated 1984, about half of the regularized dwellings are in Istanbul, although its population has only 20 per cent share in total

urban population of Turkey. This indicates that most of the unauthorized housing is built in Istanbul, and in many years, unauthorized house building dominates all other forms of provision (Türel, 2002). In Turkey, there have been five forms in the production of unauthorized housing with response to construction process and land ownership.

Type 1: Construction On an Own Unplanned Land without a Right of Construction.

In this form of unauthorized housing, the builder has his own land according to the property right. However, since this land is not an urban land, the owner does not have a right of construction.

Type 2: Construction on the public land such as land belonging to local governments, municipalities, national treasury and foundations.

In this form of unauthorized housing, the builder constructs his dwelling unit on the public land by invasion. Naturally, the government forces tend to clear up this unit, however the builder continues rebuilding the unit again. This is the most common form of unauthorized housing in Turkey.

Type 3: Construction on the private property, without taking permission from the owner of the land.

In this form of unauthorized housing, the builder builds his dwelling unit, on one another's legal and registered land by invasion. This form is more serious than the other forms. Because the government must protect the society's properties and in this form, the society's properties are not protected enough.

Type 4: Construction on a private subdivided land, contrary to the construction law. (Illegal Subdivision of Land)

In this form of unauthorized housing, the owner in notary ship subdivides the private land illegally, and the owner sells this subdivided land to the people who want to build up their own dwelling unit. The builders build up their houses contrary to the construction law without construction and occupancy permit.

Type 5: Construction on the own planned land, contrary to the construction law.

In this form of unauthorized housing, the builder gets the construction permit, and constructs his dwelling unit. However, the final construction does not obey the construction law. In addition, the owner cannot get the occupancy permit. The share of this form in all unauthorized housing forms in Turkey is too little.

4.5. House Building Models of Unauthorized Housing in Turkey

In the years of 1980's, there were two types of settlements in the big cities of Turkey. These were the unauthorized settlements some of which were legalized with the laws, and the authorized housing settlements that emerged as the result of Master Plans. In this period, we can classify the housing supply models as follows:

“In Authorized Areas:

- Self-help house building
 - Building cooperative's house building
 - Speculative house building
 - Mass housing firm's house building
 - Building cooperatives – Local government cooperation's house building
- (Tekeli,1982: 62).

In Unauthorized Areas:

- Self – help squatter house building
- Semi – organized squatter house building.” (Tekeli,1982: 62).

The basic financial source of house building in the unauthorized settlements in Turkey, like in other developing countries, are the “direct system” in which the funds that are need for the construction are provided from relatives, family members or friends in an informal way. Moreover, if we look at the unauthorized settlements that were located inside the city, we witness the inability of housing supply to the demand, which is influenced by income and price. Even this supply could not meet the housing need, which is the quantity of housing that is required to provide accommodation of agreed minimum standards and above. Now let us examine the two types of house building in the unauthorized settlements in Turkey.

4.5.1. Self – help Squatter House Building

Historically, the earliest form of producing provision is *self provision*, which implies organization of all tasks in building a dwelling unit by the owner of a parcel for the own use of his or her family. The tasks that land owners undertake include hiring architects and engineers for the preparation of architectural and engineering projects, to get construction and occupancy permits from the municipality, to buy building materials and hire construction workers and sub-contractors. The household relies mainly on his own savings to finance construction. Self provision virtually does not exist any more as a form of authorized housing provision in large cities, such as Istanbul, mainly because land is supplied through the planning and subdivision process in large parcels as suitable to build multi-storey apartment housing or housing estates by speculative producers or co-operatives. It is almost impossible to find small-size parcels in the formal land market. Lower income households buy illegally subdivided land that they can afford, and build housing without permission (Türel, 2002).

Self – help house building model can be called as flexible type of production in terms of not obeying the Construction law, and lowering or removing the land cost and ranking the construction period according to the owner’s wants and income. Also with another definition, “the construction of squatters by the family members

for themselves is called the self – help house building” (Türel, 1994: 638) However, since they are generally pulled down by the government forces and rebuilt by the owners again, this production process has become a bit costly. In this type of house building, the actors are family members, relatives and the subcontractors who make the specific tasks in the construction period. Moreover, later, as parallel to the increase in the number of squatters, the dependency on sub-contractors increased.

In the process of self-help house building, the builder firstly has to find a suitable land for constructing his shelter. This land can be obtained from public lands, private property or illegally sub divided lands. The second step of this process is to have a definite amount capital to afford the construction cost, the enlargement cost, the reconstruction cost after pulling down by the government force and the payment to the sub contractors. Meanwhile, in this process the builder tries to get the legal rights to his unauthorized house. Finally, although it is delayed, local and central governments provide them with minimum infrastructure and legalization.

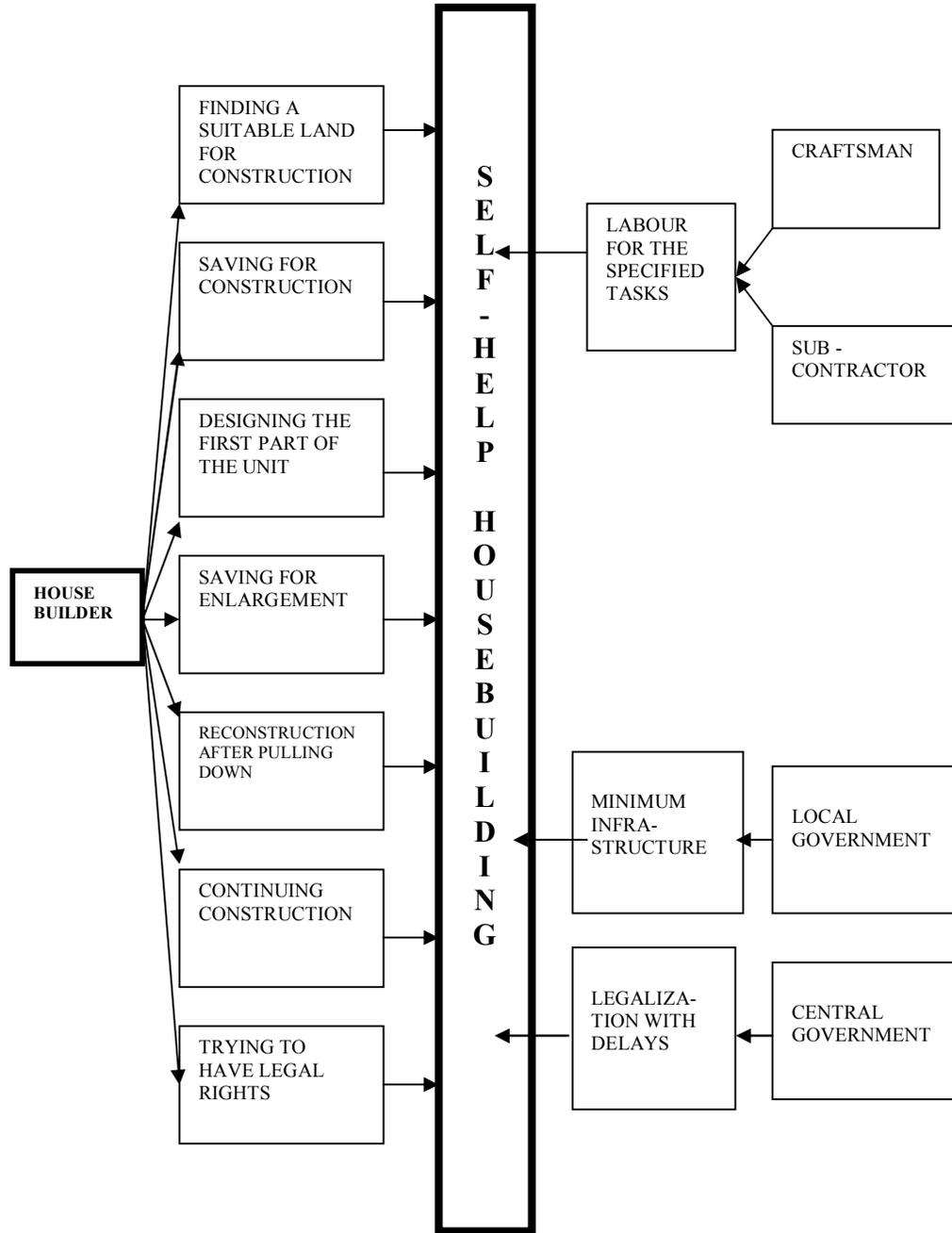


Figure 8: The Mechanism of Self-Help House Building

Source: Konut 81, Türkiye’ de Konut Sunumunun Davranışsal Nitelikleri ve Konut Kesiminde Bunalım, İlhan Tekeli, p. 83

4.5.2. Semi – organized Squatter House Building

In time, market mechanism emerged in the unauthorized settlements of the city. Then, it was too difficult for an immigrant to find a public land individually to build up his own squatter. Therefore, he firstly had to pay a certain amount of money to a person (can be called as commissioner) to find out land for himself. In this mechanism, there emerged three different groups;

- land commissioners
- squatter sellers
- squatter constructors

This type of house building in unauthorized form is called “Semi-organized” house building because; the lands that are appropriate for construction are controlled by some specific illegal groups.

Small-capital house builders who are called "yap-satç1" in Turkey, meaning builder and seller, produce multi-story apartment housing usually on single plots of land. Land is not generally purchased in cash, due to shortage of capital, but a deal is made between the landowner and the yap-satç1 concerning the number of dwelling units that will be left to the landowner as the payment for land. By acquiring land in this way, yap-satç1 saves in operating capital, but has to accept the terms of the landowner. Production cost of housing by yap-satç1 has increased in time due to rising share of land in total cost. Yap-satç1 producers do not borrow from banks as most of them cannot use the land on which they build housing as collateral, interest rates are high, and construction period is long.

Those who cannot finance construction through their own resources may begin to sell dwelling units that they build during the construction stage, by offering convenient conditions of payment to buyers. However, the more houses that a yap-satç1 sells during the construction, the less chances he will have of making

speculative profit. Bankruptcy is also likely during inflationary periods if many dwelling units are sold at the construction stage without rightly anticipating the inflation rate. Small-capital house builders operating under these conditions would not have much chances of accumulating capital. (Türel, 2002).

It is possible to take part in the process of semi-organized house building as either builder or buyer. In this process, builder provides land, builds up the first part of the housing, tries to have legal rights, saves for enlargement and enlarges. On the other hand, buyer saves capital for buying, buys the dwelling unit and saves for enlargement. Additionally, he also tries to have legal rights. Also the other actors who subdivide and sell the land, build and sell units, commissions for the urban infrastructure, tries to get the legal rights are; land owners, real estates agencies, political groups, politicians, squatter builders and sellers. On the other hand, local and central governments provide minimum infrastructure and legalization with delays.

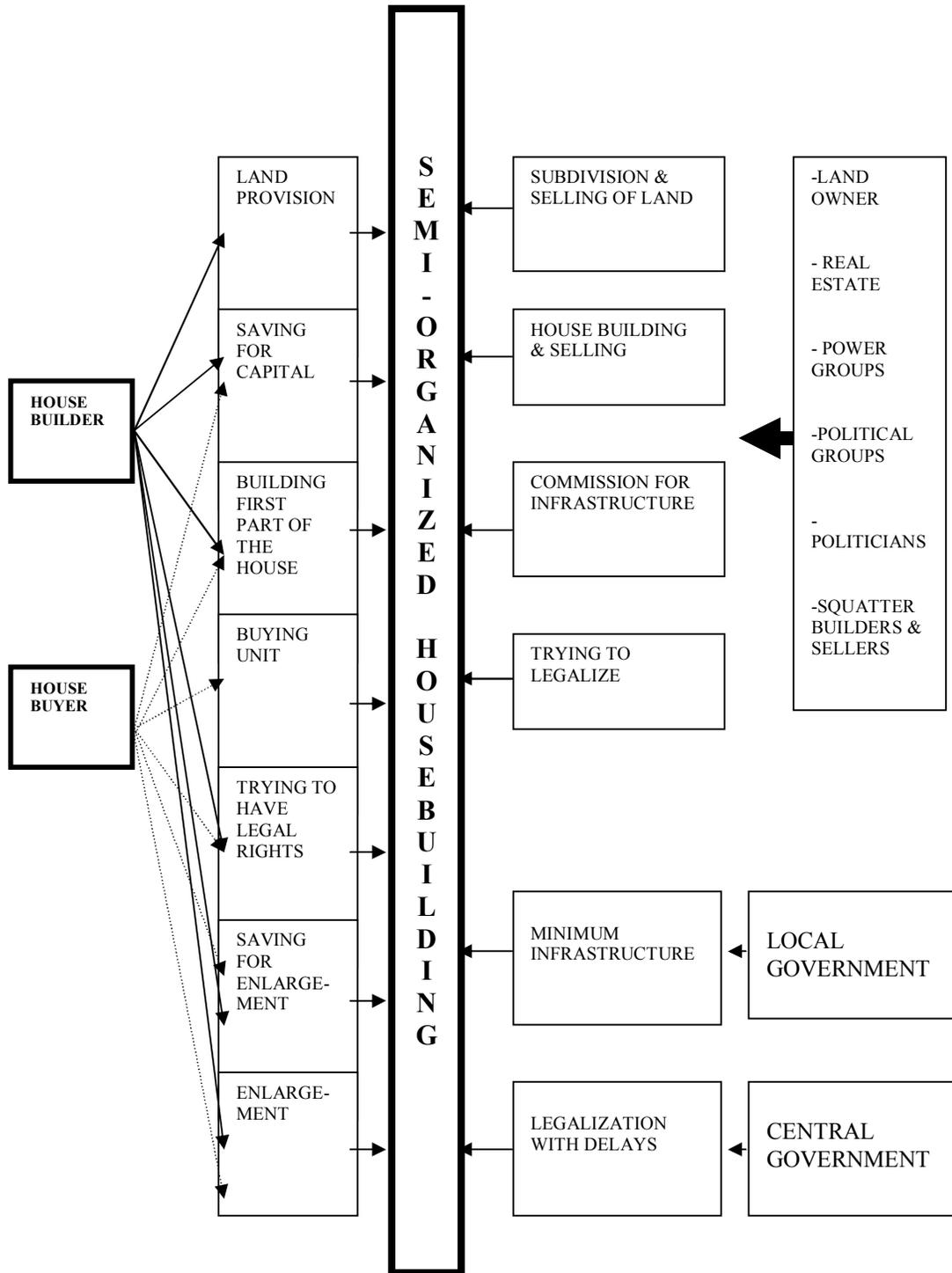


Figure 9: The Mechanism of Semi-Organized House Building

Source: Konut 81, Türkiye’ de Konut Sunumunun Davranışsal Nitelikleri ve Konut Kesiminde Bunalım, İlhan Tekeli, p. 87

4.6. Socio – Economic and Cultural Structure in Unauthorized Housing Settlements in Turkey

When considering the socio-economic and cultural structure in unauthorized housing settlements in Turkey, the research of Şenyapılı, T. (1996), is undoubtedly the main source. According to this research;

- In these settlements, generally the number of family members, is 4 – 5 people
- Most of the relatives that the families live together are the parents
- The majority of the population in unauthorized settlements is young.
- The percentage of educated parents are low and generally they are primary school graduates
- Every member who can work, contribute to the family budget
- Generally the squatter population is tradesman
- The time and cost distance between work and house is important for them
- Unauthorized houses are generally with garden and the average size of the parcel is smaller than 200 m².
- Direct system is the mostly used finance model
- Living standards are very low in these settlements.
- Houses are flexible and there are trends of adding storey and rooms.

After considering the emergence of unauthorized housings, their forms, building models and the socio – economic and cultural structure of people living in them in Turkey, another essential topic will be assessed: Regularization or Legal aspects of unauthorized housing in Turkey.

4.7. Regularization / Legal Aspects of Unauthorized Housing in Turkey

In Turkey, as parallel to the lack of housing supply and housing stock for the low-income group, the size, number and the population of the unauthorized housing increased. And this increase not only influenced the development of the city in a control – free way, but also took a share from the local and central government's

budget in terms of technical and social infrastructure. After reaching to a certain size, the unauthorized settlements made pressure on municipalities in response to have some services as road, water, electricity, transportation etc. (Türel, 1994: 640)

At that point, the government made restrictions to prevent the emergence of new unauthorized housing settlements, to control the existing ones and to improve and renew them through the market conditions.

4.7.1. Policies of Gecekondu Act numbered 775 (1966)

The Gecekondu Act, implementing today, has parallel principles with Development Plan's principles in terms of gecekondu policies. As a result of exploitation in the squatter settlements, government found itself responsible for solving these problems that the cities met. The first attempt to solve the problem of unauthorized housing with a planning procedure was "775 Building Amnesty Law". This law was the first experience of the government to tackle with these spontaneous settlements. The aim of this law was to partially legalize the already built up unauthorized housings, on the other hand, to prevent the new emergence of new buildings. 775 Building Amnesty Law, which is still the basis of new laws, identified 3 terms:

- Upgrading/ Improvement
- Prevention
- Clearance

The term upgrading/improvement was used to increase the technical and social standards of the unauthorized settlements. Prevention was used to refer to the prevention of new illegal spontaneous settlements. In addition, the term clearance referred to the removing of unauthorized settlements from their initial location. In brief, *the gecekondu legislation of 1966 attempted to legalize already existing dwellings by allowing municipalities to provide public services, and by forcing the*

occupants to pay various municipal and national taxes, fees, and levies (Keleş, 1990b: 164).

As a policy in 775 law, the construction of social housing and core housing in the predetermined “Prevention Areas”, were built by the Ministry of Construction and Settlement, with sufficient infrastructure. The applications and the efficiency of the 775 Law were criticized according to the reasons written below;

- Since the implementations were carried out by the central government, local governments were not effective enough in controlling mechanism
- The implementations of the law lost its power since there was not a housing policy developed by the government.
- Since the population of the squatter areas were not organized, a pressure on implementing the law was not sufficient.
- Prevention areas in Ankara were strictly criticized because of their being settled at a very distant location from CBD, and their increasing the time and transport costs.
- It was proposed that the Prevention Areas became a political tool of increasing the votes in the unauthorized zones by the politicians.
- Since the prevention areas did not have the opportunity of meeting the quantity of housing demanded inside the city boundary, the densities increased in these areas and they became the new focuses of pulling unauthorized settlements surrounding them.
- The measures of the poor and low-income people, who could benefit from this law, were not clearly mentioned. On the other hand, these people could not have property for the mortgage, to take housing credit.

The policies of the housing the poor have changed with the World Bank’s support in 1970’s. This new trend was providing the existing dwelling units with the

technical repairs and infrastructure. By that way, “support to the self-house builder solution has emerged according to Şenyapılı and Türel (1996: 12). Additionally, between the years of 1968 – 1977, the Ministry has launched rental housings, which they were later sold to the renters. Also in that period, as an implementation of support to the self-house builder policy, people invaded the new emerged Prevention Areas (such as Aktepe Prevention Area). Meaningly, the projects of diverting unauthorized into legalization process, have not been successful enough; on the other hand, they increased the public land stocks, which made invasions easier to build up new unauthorized housings.

4.7.1.1. Defining the Boundary

First task is defining the boundary of gecekondu areas. This act demands municipality to determine the boundary of consolidation and purification areas at most in 6 months. The entire buildings at these areas should be shown in air photographs, maps or roughly drawn sketches (kroki). At this first step, municipality could demand help from governors, kaimakams or Ministry of Public Works and Development. Then the decision about these boundaries is negotiated and determined by Commission of Municipality (encümen). Moreover, the decision and sketches are announced at both municipality and related mukhtar in the period of 1 month. If these areas are located in the Adjacent Area Boundary, then the governor will be responsible for that process.

4.7.1.2. Land Subsidy

The law showed the ways for municipalities that they could get suitable lands for building affordable houses to meet the demand. According to Gecekondu Act, municipality is competent authority for acquiring land and distributing these lands in harmony with Act’s aim. There are three sources that municipality could acquire land from three ways. Firstly, municipality could get land from National Treasury’s, Governor’s Private Administration’s (il özel idaresi) or other administration’s with supplementary budget (katma bütçeli idarelerin elindeki) land without any payment.

Secondly, Foundations own the plots or lands; if these areas are not assigned to an obvious public service in development plan or have no historical quality, then municipality could acquire these areas with payment. The last way of obtaining land is that buying land by using their budgets or by expropriation.

The lands or plots that acquired by municipality should be used for only housing provision by the decision of Council of Municipality. Furthermore, municipality has an authority for selling or renting these areas if those lands are not applicable for low-priced housing, not assigned for any public services in development plan or not located at dense working areas.

Determination of priorities about utilization of these lands is a must due to the fact that limitless demands of people but limited land. First priority is given to people who have no other house for survival when their gecekondus are consolidated or demolished. Second priority is belonged to other families, which are not have any house. The final priority is given to people who want to demolish their own gecekondu, living in the boundary of consolidation or demolishing areas. Furthermore, people who would get land subsidy should have two important qualities determined by this act. Firstly, families should be poor or low-income family determined according to changing economic conditions by Ministry of Public Works and Settlement. Secondly, families should not own any other applicable land, house or apartment flat in any municipal boundary.

4.7.1.3. Funds

Gecekondu Act proposes two different types of funds, at the central and local levels, are to be formed, which are Municipal Gecekondu Fund and Gecekondu Fund supervised by Municipality of Public Works and Settlement so as to provide financial aids for implementations. Two of them have some same aim for using but the sources are different.

4.7.1.3.1. Municipal Gecekondu Fund

Municipalities supervise this fund and its sources are listed below;

- a. Revenue getting from selling and renting land,
- b. Local people's contributions for public services,
- c. Municipality budget (limited amount but not lower than %1),
- d. Excess amount of subsidy revenue for soldiers' families,
- e. Transferred money from government budget and Ministry of Public Works and Settlement budget
- f. Fund's credits' monthly payments and interests of these payments
- g. Interest of revenue of fund's collected money,
- h. Other revenues or contributions with the help of other acts.

Moreover, this act defines the way of expenses. These are; buying land and constructing 'social housing', 'housing for guests' and 'nucleus housing', providing public services for consolidation or prevention areas, and for tasks such as determination of gecekondu prevention areas, preparing maps or buying lands where municipality's budget is insufficient.

4.7.1.3.2. Ministry of Public Works and Settlement's Gecekondu Fund

These fund's sources are listed below;

- a. Appropriation allocated to Ministry of Public Works and Settlement's budget,
- b. $\frac{1}{4}$ amount of total credit by taking housing credit,
- c. Monthly payments and interests of credits,
- d. Revenue acquired from renting or selling lands that transferred to Ministry of Public Works and Settlement,
- e. Interests of money that accumulated at fund,
- f. Other revenues transferred to fund by the help of other acts,
- g. Other contributions and subsidies.

Furthermore, preliminary tasks of this fund's expenses are determined as; giving credits to people who will built a house or repair his house (Time of credit should not exceed 20 years and interest rate will be minimum %5), technical assistance to gecekondu areas for constructing guests houses and nucleus houses, completing public services at consolidation and prevention areas, and lastly, providing subsidies to municipalities so as to implementations of Gecekondu Acts. Unfortunately, these funds have not as efficient as people expected, because of the poor sources and the problems about collecting money.

4.7.2. Islah İmar Planı

Improvement Plans (Islah İmar Planı) has first came to the urban planning terminology with the Building Amnesty Laws (İmar Affi Yasaları) in Turkey. In fact, these plans were used to improve the technical and social infrastructure of the unauthorized and unhealthy settlements, which were lack of these attributes. The term "improvement" was used to refer to the rehabilitation and renewal of these settlements. In our country, because of the massive migration, cities became in position of coping with the arbitrary, unauthorized and low standard residential with a huge population living in them.

Both legalizing Laws Nos. 2805 and 2981 attempted to pardon the gecekondu builders. While pardoning the gecekondu built before 1981, they ordered the demolition of unauthorized buildings in specific locations in the event that they did not conform, within a specified period, to the conditions stipulated by these laws. The squatter dwellings built on the public land have been given the land titles at a very low prices. On the other hand, those built on the land of others, could only be pardoned with the consent of the landowner. To be eligible to receive land titles or a 'land allocation certificate', a gecekondu dweller, his wife and children, should not possess a house, flat, or piece of land suitable for dwelling construction within the boundaries of that city (Keleş, 1990b: 164).

Moreover, in 1984, Ministry of Public Works and Settlements' duties on squatter settlements have been transferred to the local governments. In addition, the Development Plan Law numbered 3194 was enacted in 1985, which have indirect effects on gecekondu. This law held gecekondu problem with an aim of legalization of them. Nevertheless, this law has conditioned a fulfillment of technical standards was to be observed, although the license was not required.

4.7.2.1. The 2805 Law

The next law after 775, in 1983, that can be referred as one of the most comprehensive laws based on unauthorized housing is the 2805 Law of procedures of implementations on the buildings that are contrary to the construction law.

This law included the private or public buildings including residential, industry, tourism etc. that were built contrary to the legislation, within the municipal and adjacent area boundary or not. In the terms of "proprietaryship", the law consisted all of the unauthorized buildings that were built on both the owner and one another's land, within the municipal and adjacent area boundary or not.

Since the laws of 3194 Construction Law and 3030 Greater Municipality Management Law, were not in operation, in 1983, in this period the valid Construction Law was 6785. According to this law, the authorities of municipalities were limited. The central government carried on the preparation and the registration of the plans. In this perspective, 2805 Law had the opportunity of diverting some of the authorities from central government to the municipalities and local governments. The law gave the responsibility to the municipalities within the municipal and adjacent areas boundary and to the local governments in the areas out of this boundary.

The buildings under the concept of this law were classified under five categories:

- buildings to be protected

- buildings to be protected by rehabilitation
- squatters
- buildings on the private sub-divided lands
- buildings of dangerous material storages.

According to the 13th item of 2805;

- The deeds will immediately be given to the people having buildings on their own land without plan or contrary to plan.
- In the case of constructing on the lands owned by the national treasury, local government, municipality and foundations, these lands were transferred to the municipalities within the municipal and adjacent area boundary. Moreover, the lands out of these boundaries were transferred to local governments.

Additionally, people having construction on the private sub-divided parcels, could get the property of them by paying the value, otherwise, the judgment procedure was implemented.

This concept penetrate to urbanization literature in 1983 with the help of an act numbered 2805 namely ‘Building Amnesty Act’. This act defines İslah İmar Planı as development plan that aim to transform an unhealthy and orderless urban areas to a balanced, systematically ordered and healthy environments under the condition of defining an accurate border. In other words, İslah İmar Planı’s main goal is to provide households living at gecekondü areas in a well-planned environment and eliminate the illegal housing stock. This type of plan is only prepared for the areas with building clusters or residential areas. This act lost its validity with another act numbered 2981 that came into agenda in 1984. According to the 2805 Building Amnesty Act, İslah İmar Plans were approved by Bayındırlık ve İskan Bakanlığı in 3 months from plan’s approval. However, in 2981 Building Amnesty Act approval of the plans is performed by governorships in 1 month at most. (Keleş, 1990a)

**THE
MECHANISM
OF 2085 LAW**

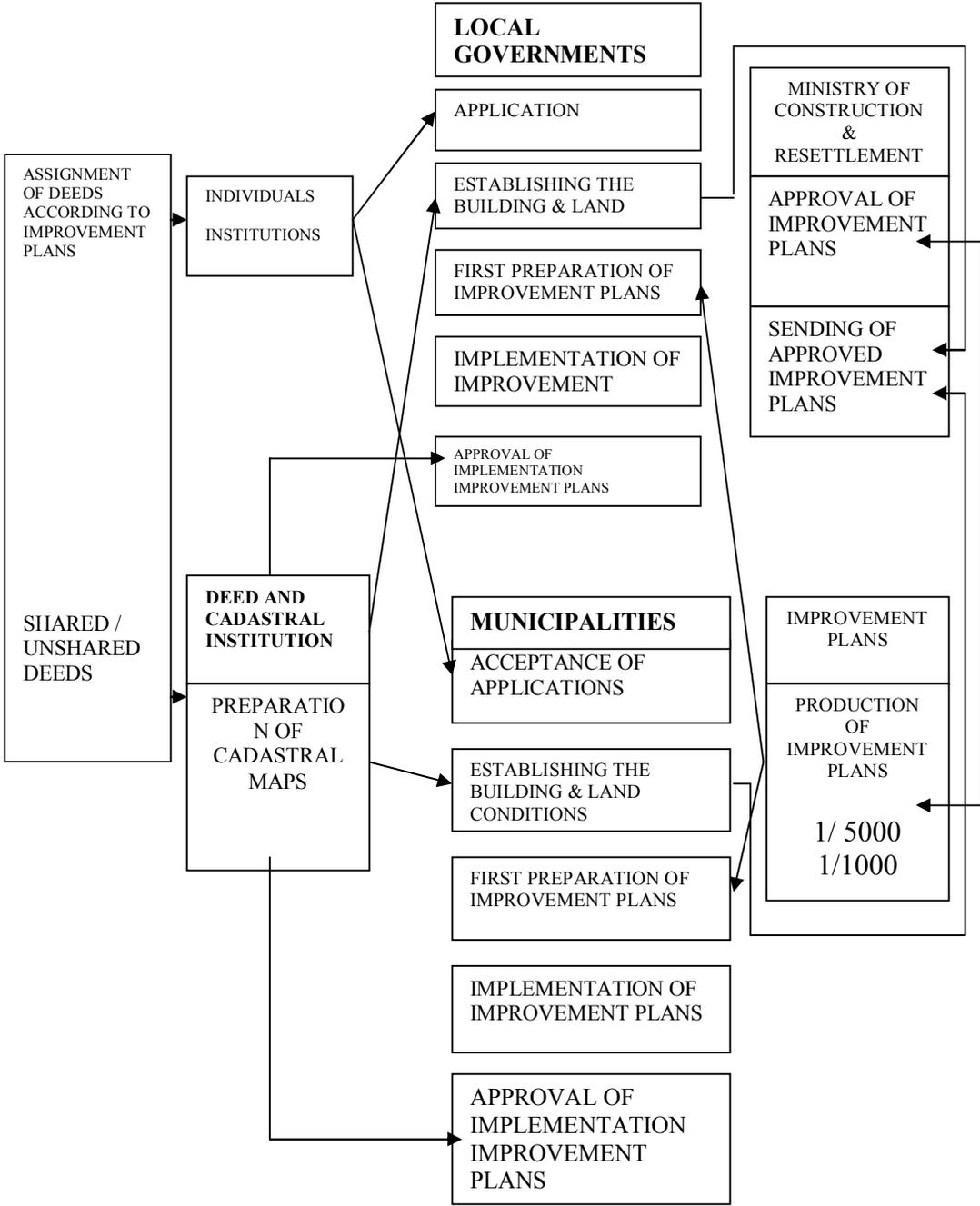


Figure 10: The Mechanism of 2085 Law

Source: CP 382 Legal and Administrative Aspects of Planning Lecture Notes, Instructor :Özcan Altaban , 2001-2002 (compiled by the author)

4.7.2.2. The 2981 Law

According to the act numbered 2981, illegal building separated into two categories. These are buildings have to be conserved and buildings have to be demolished. Building that should be conserved has two minor categories, which are buildings have to be kept as its existing mode or buildings have to be consolidated. Moreover, the scope of amnesty was expanded by this act and the price of punishment was diminished. In this sense, the owners of the illegal buildings acquired a Title-deed Assignment Certificate (Tapu Tahsis Belgesi) - a kind of starting point of giving title-deed to owners of the illegal buildings by the help of this law (Keleş, 1990a).

The main purpose of this law is to renew the procedures that result in delays in the implementation process in the previous 2805 Law. With this manner, the concept of the 2981 Law was enlarged. Additionally, another important point which 2981 Law aimed was; in the process of implementation. In this process, the aim was not legalization of the unauthorized housing as in 775 and 2805 Laws. Instead, the aim was to renew the squatter areas rapidly and collectively by providing them both technical and social infrastructure as well as other urban services.

According to Şenyapılı, T. (1996), this renewal can be called as “Apartmanlaşma” process. This means the connection of small parcels together and building up an apartment building on it with a share between the owners. This law brought two more terms in planning terminology in Turkey. These are Title-deed Assignment Certificate and Technical Bureaus. Deed Assignment Certificate is especially related with the unauthorized houses built on the public lands. It is the pre-assignment certificate given to the squatter owners that built their dwelling units on these public lands, before the Improvement Development Plans.

The second term; Technical Bureaus are the private units that make the technical works of the municipalities and local governments. Later on, these establishments were closed down by the Constitution Court, saying Deed Assignment Certificates

were abolished by the Constitution Court with the reason of their inability to provide squatter owners with property rights.

2981 Law of procedures of implementations on the buildings that are contrary to the construction and squatter legislation partially eased the process. However, it is not possible to say that, it solved the problems of ownership of unauthorized housings built on the public lands and on the illegally subdivided private lands. On the other hand, the problems based on technical and planning field of the unauthorized housing built on the own legal property, were partially solved.

The owners of the buildings that are out of development legislation can easily get the occupation permit as soon as possible; however, the implementations at the buildings that have to be conserved would get permissions after consolidation process. In principle, the *gecekondus*, which are located at the lands owned by public juristic person, are to be excused and the land price are to be pay in at most 4 years or in advance payment as soon as possible (Keleş, 1990a).

On the other hand, there are two conditions for the *gecekondus* located at real juristic people's areas. Firstly, there should be an agreement between the owner of the land and the owner of the *gecekondu*, then construction and occupancy permit can be got. In second case, if there is no possible agreement, expropriation method will be used according to decision of the Council of Ministers and Land Office's laws. Another principle of this law is that the owner of *gecekondu* that would get title-deed assignment certificate should not have another house or apartment flat. Moreover, the *gecekondus* that were built up to 2 June 1981 and other illegal buildings constructed up to 1 October 1983 are to be excused. (Keleş, 1990a)

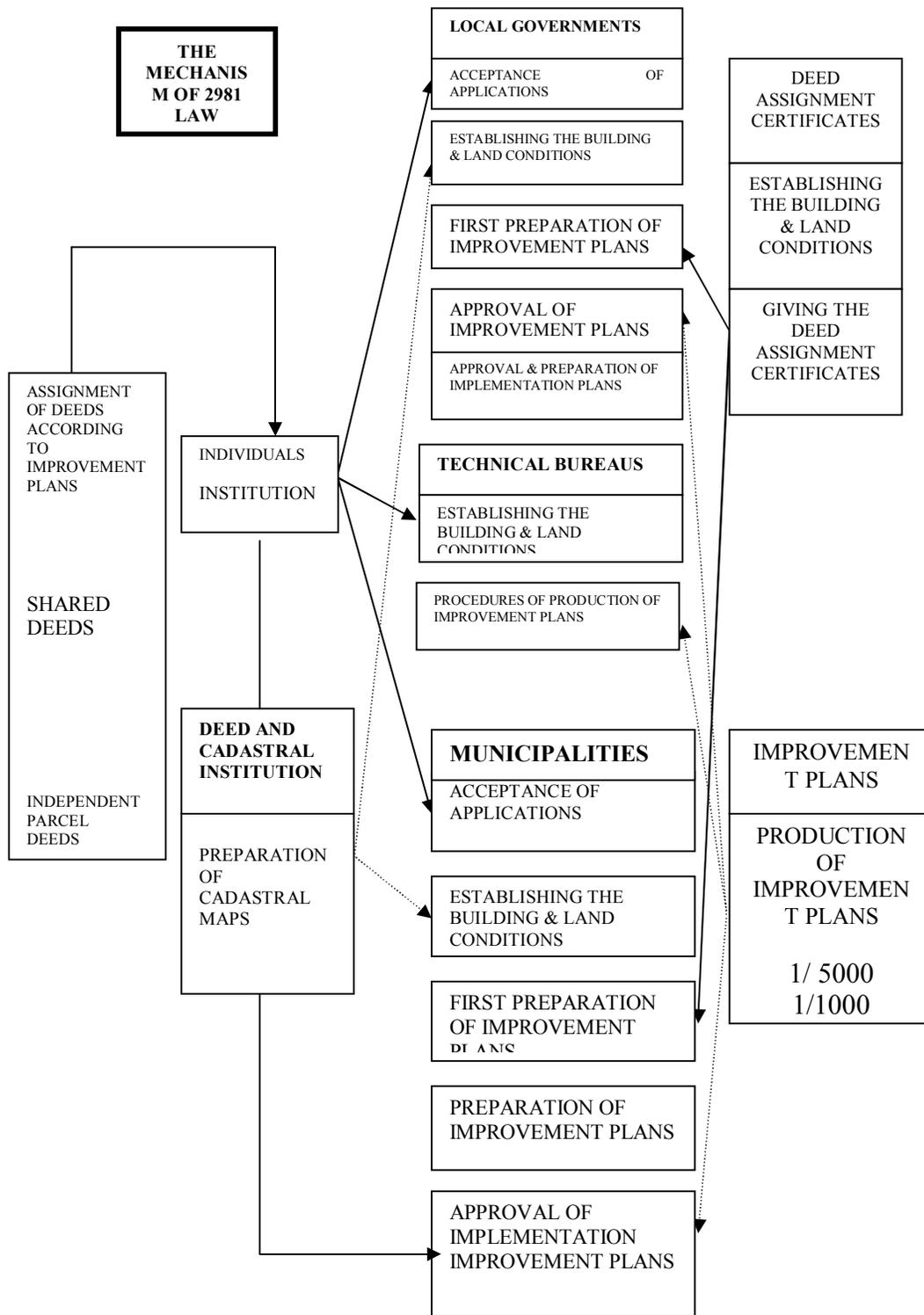


Figure 11: The Mechanism of 2981 Law

Source: CP 382 Legal and Administrative Aspects of Planning Lecture Notes, Instructor : Özcan Altaban , 2001-2002 (compiled by the author)

However, in 1986 the scope of the time was expanded a little more. According to the new arrangement, gecekondus and the other illegal buildings built up to 10 November 1985 were excused. Therefore, legalization of gecekondu was a simple process anymore. Also, before this arrangement, the prerequisite of official registration was performed by İslah İmar Planı and this condition was removed from the process. The main idea behind excusing of development punishment is that demolishing costs are very high for the society. This is the struggle for solving problem's consequences but not for its causes. Therefore, each Building Amnesty Act is the starting point of the new building act. Besides this, rational method will be shaping cities in orderly and healthy manner, not bringing new building amnesty acts frequently (Keleş, 1990a).

In the content of the law, in order to carry out the procedures in a rapid way, the municipalities and the local governments were the main responsible authorities. However, since the technical and monetary powers of these authorities were limited, the procedures could not have been well implemented. In addition, this led to a new law just after one year, which is called the 2981 law of procedures of implementations on the buildings that are contrary to the construction law.

4.8. Public's and Individual's Losses and Gains

From the point of Public's view, the public land stock was diminished. The new way of providing land for the public investments was, buying of lands from private property. The decline in local governments and municipalities' land stock made the new technical and social infrastructure is operated difficultly. On the other hand, they had to nationalize private lands for the investment of public services. In addition, the government provided the society living in unauthorized settlements with technical infrastructure. Today nearly all of the unauthorized housing settlements have electricity, water distribution and transportation networks. Since the government has directed an important share of its budget into the rehabilitation

of these settlements, this prevented the government from investing on industry, which would help to develop the country's economy.

From the point of Individual's view; first, the individuals had the chance of living in an urban area through illegal ways. They had a share from the rent of urban land. With the laws of 2805 and 2981, the legalization of unauthorized housing, let the owners have urban land below its market price. Meaningly, the government subsidized the urban land.

4.9. Transformation of Unauthorized Housing in Turkey

As a result of legalization of unauthorized housing, these settlements became urban land and had the construction right according to the Construction Law. Moreover, after this process, these new rights provided the owners with spatial rent. This rent led the investors to improve this low-qualified urban land and take a share from this huge rent. In this period, the unauthorized squatter settlements were directed into this new market in 3 canals (Şenyapılı and Türel, 1996: 16);

- large capital firms, constructing on the main axis
- speculative house builders, buying agricultural land and construction on them
- speculative house builders, making agreement with the owner of land , and construction on these lands.

First group constructors were mainly active on the routes of main transportation networks. Since they have large fixed and variable capital, they built up large amount of housing units. The second group constructors, speculative house builders mainly related with the peripheral land, which was generally the agricultural land without any technical and social infrastructure. In addition, the last group constructors were again the speculative house builders with small capital, making business inside the city boundary on a single parcel. *In Turkey, the production process of speculative house builders is like Burgess's manufacture form of housing*

supply. (Türel, 1994: 640). This type of production includes generally using man power and simple equipments in the construction process and building up more than one dwelling units in order to sell. (See figure)

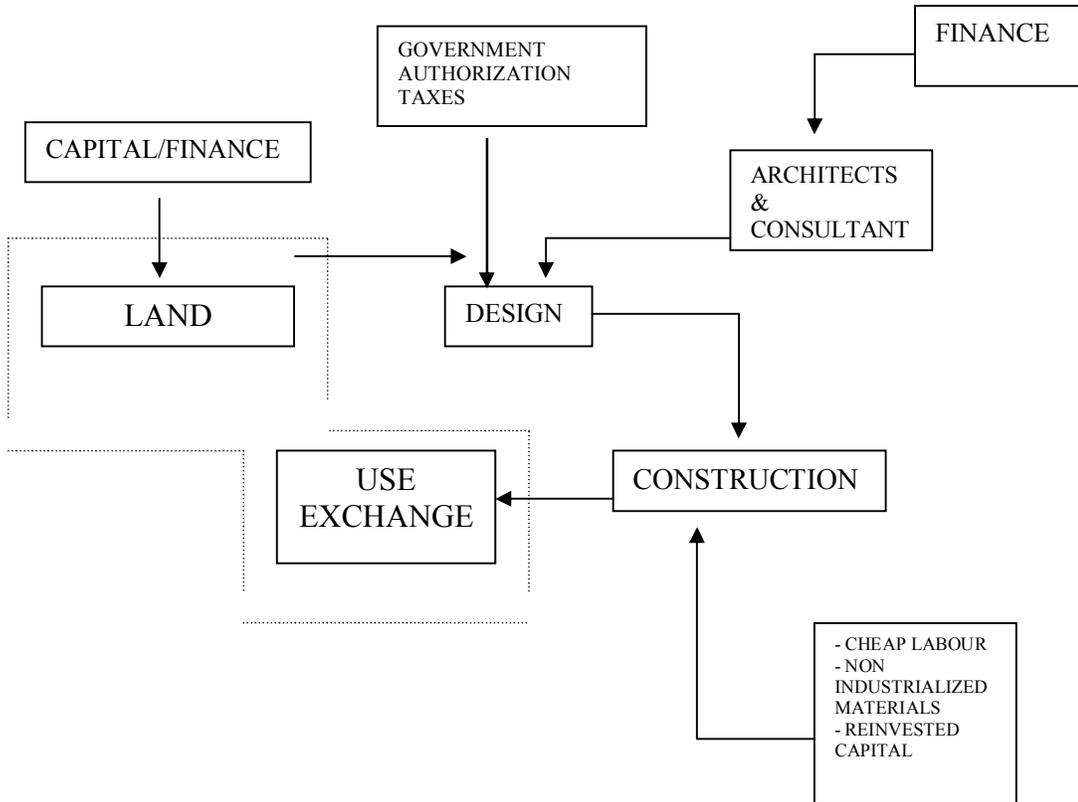


Figure 12: Housing Production through the 'Manufactured' Mode

Source: Articulation Theory and Self-Help Housing Practice in the 1990's, Ward M. P., Maccollo C. G., 1990, p.63

This type of construction of housing, which is the most widespread in Turkey, is dominantly based on the agreement with the landowner, with response to the share of the output. This ratio is determined according to the location of the land inside the city. If the land is located in a very valuable part of the city, the ratio of sharing the output between landowner and the speculative house builder increases.

The output of the speculative house building process is the Apartment Building that is based on the Flat Ownership Law. This gives the chance to the landowner to have

more dwelling units than the initial and to increase his real income by renting some of them. The speculative house builders held majority of the constructions in the urban renewal process in Turkey and they are still the most preferred actors by the landowners.

CHAPTER 5

EFFORTS OF RENEWAL IN ANKARA

5.1. Examples of Transformation of Unauthorized Housing in Ankara

In 20th century, technology transformed from Fordist Type into Post-Fordist Type and this has a great effect on planning. By making Revision Plans and Upgrading Development Plans, they try to provide decentralization in Turkey. The urban renewal plans have been implemented since 1985 with increasing conscious of planning needs strategic and interdisciplinary thinking. Bademli, R. (1991) defines three main steps in project production as seen below;

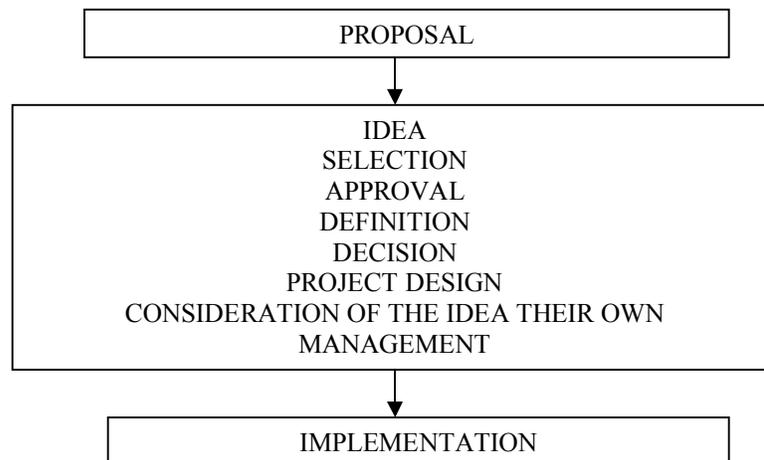


Figure 13: Development of an Urban Project

Source: Raci Bademli, 1991; cited in Özlem Gökbulut, 1995

Bademli, R. (1991) asserted that in Turkey, urban project proposal came from different resources; these are; transferred from the previous administration,

‘promised’ in election period, ‘inevitable, compulsory’ projects, ‘Not foresighted’ project proposed by citizens or scientific authorities or they are only “dream, caprice, coincidence or imitation” of administrators.

5.1.1. Criteria-Based Evaluation of GEÇAK: “From Squatter to Modern Housing”

The GEÇAK Project has been applied in four intervention areas as mentioned in GEÇAK Project Report prepared by Çankaya Municipality. First, one was *the old developed areas where municipality offered that these parcels would be transferred to the municipality* and the right-owners would be organized in cooperatives and becomes the owners of housing units in the same locations (Dündar, 1997: 117). The **first** implementation area of GEÇAK is the GEÇAK I Project in Koza Street is such an example for this type of intervention, where the squatters built on the planned plots of the municipality and it was put into application in 1993. In GEÇAK I, 90 housing units have been built in 1996, 600 more would planned be added soon.

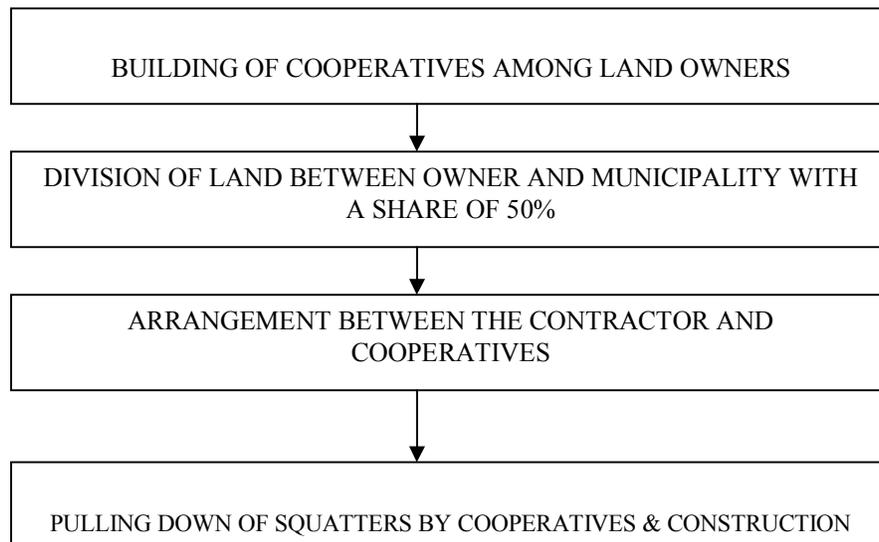
Secondly, GEÇAK is applied to *improvement areas where the properties of squatters are divided into shares with municipality or with each other* because of Upgrading Development Plans. *The municipality gathers the parcels and encourages the people to organize in cooperatives to upgrade their areas. The examples of this type of application are in Huzur, Yıldız, Cevizlidere and Çukurca* (Dündar, 1997: 117).

A third application is in the *squatter areas where two-stage improvement plans have been applied* as in Karapınar, Gökkuşığı, Şehitler, Ata and Öveçler neighborhoods, where municipality gathers the parcels and urges people to organize in cooperatives to upgrade their areas. The last application area is *the old developed neighborhoods with low rate of urbanization* like Dilekler Neighborhood.

GEÇAK I Project Area cover approximately 1.56 hectares area surrounded by housing plots of high-income groups at Gaziosmanpaşa District in Koza Street. The project area consists of 18 planned plots which their possession belongs to the Municipality and these are total of 47 squatters and approximately 235 people live there (Kuzu, 1997: 144). Since it was not possible to protect these squatters in the planned areas and transformation of these squatters was chosen as the first solution by paying the cost of nationalizing ruins. However, this was not possible in the implementation process. At the end, the municipality found the solution by incorporating the directly effected groups into implementation.

GEÇAK II Project was designed for Büyükesat Valley, which is located at the southern parts of Ankara and consists of some parts of Bağcılar, Kırkkonaklar, and Çukurca districts with an area of 33 hectares. However, project area covers some part of the valley, that is, 9.33 hectares of its total area was included in this project. *The project area for which no decisions was taken in the previous plans has been defined first in the master plan of Ankara 1990 as Irregular Housing Area (Kuzu, 1997: 155). The Master Plan was revised in 1991 in the direction of the planning decisions taken previously and arranged again within the content of “Revision of İmrahor Master Plan” (Kuzu, 1997: 157).*

The Process of GEÇAK:



This model is known to be the most efficient and successful projects of solving the problem of housing and ownership and producing livable urban space.

5.1.1.1. Societal Structure

In **GEÇAK I** Project area, 235 people were lived in 47 squatter housing. Moreover, **GEÇAK II** Project area covers the population of 1200 people and surrounding areas consist of high-income groups.

5.1.1.2. Ownership Pattern and Rent Control

In **GEÇAK I** Project, the municipality was assigned five planned plots to the cooperative and pays the cost of squatter ruins, that is why municipality had succeeded in bringing back 13 old planned plots in a very short time. Moreover, only the squatters who owned title deeds or property owners according to Law No.2981 were included in the project where tenants were totally excluded. In **GEÇAK II** Project, Kuzu (1997) as defined property ownership pattern; the Municipality of Çankaya District owns 57% of the project area, 34% of it is owned by the Greater Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and remaining 9% is the property of individuals. The ownership status of the project area has changed as 95% for the Municipality and 5% for the ownership. In **GEÇAK II** Project, land rent was emerged as a financial resources and project area had high level of land rent based on locational advantages.

5.1.1.3. Financing

Land rent was emerged as a financial source for the implementation of the project and planned to be distributed among the squatter right owners, the municipality and the construction firm. Moreover, the project had the chance for implementation due to high level of land rent based on locational advantages.

5.1.1.4. Planning Process

The first implementation project of GEÇAK is the *GEÇAK I Project in Koza Street* where the squatters built on the planned plots of the municipality. Moreover, municipality has initiated *GEÇAK II Project at Büyükesat Valley*. Other implementation areas were regarded as the squatters in the improvement areas, and districts planned in the past but not developed, i.e., unrentable areas, and the squatters necessitate the change of existing plan.

As Kuzu (1997) stated that, against the land to be assigned to Housing Construction Cooperative, the squatter right-owners accepted to pull down their shelters, demanded from Municipality to pay them the cost of nationalizing squatters in GEÇAK I Project. To the squatter right-owners who did not desire to be included in the GEÇAK I project extent, the municipality has assigned the land on its possessions in Kırkkonaklar, Çukurca Districts Improvement Plans. Moreover, at the selection stage of private construction firm (TEPE), the cooperation between the municipality and the cooperative continued. The construction firm has accepted to construct in return for unit, according to the existing plan condition in the plots assigned to cooperative. Except 47 flats that belong to cooperative, all other flats will be transferred to the firm. Kuzu (1997) had been explained the planning process of GEÇAK I Project shortly as;

“In short, in the implementation of the model realized in Koza Street, to each of the members of the “local improvement cooperative” established by the owners of 47 squatters located on the zoning plots of Çankaya Municipality, a flat to be constructed within the scope of the project will be given against they demolish their squatters and leave the land as a field to the municipality, in the usage of zoning right the remaining flats will be left to the construction firm and the empty zoning plots which are not used will be left to the municipality”. (Kuzu, 1997: 153).

In *GEÇAK II Project*, a proposal has been developed in order to solve the housing problems of 220 squatter right-owners, and will provide the geographically inconvenient areas to the green. The vicinity defined as “Special Project Area” in the Revision of İmrahor Master Plan with a scale of 1/5000 and 50% of it arranged

as special project area, 20% as controlled area and 25% as green area as Kuzu (1997) mentioned. Moreover, the area that have Structure Plan decision of 1/1000 scale is approximately 2.28 hectares. However, this area was regarded as green area in the Improvement Plans and this would bring extra expropriation of land. Therefore, in the remaining part, the implementation plan with a scale of 1/1000 does not exist. According to GEÇAK II Project, 40.6% of the project area was allocated for residential uses, 12.8% for cultural and commercial centers, 46.6% for roads and green areas, and population density in general was 276 person/ha.

In **GEÇAK II** Project, firstly, a proposal developed by municipality was represented to the possible construction firms with an aim of realizing them the project's proposals in 1991. Afterwards, in 1995, a second plan was prepared because of change in local authority after elections. *The Metropolitan Municipality did not want to transfer public lands to district municipality. Second Plan was developed for handling of these properties separate from the implementation that required assigning these areas as green* (Kuzu, 1997: 169).

In **GEÇAK II** Project, 13-14 storey buildings with 230 housing units would be given to the right-owners 23-24 storey buildings with 291 housing units would be shared by firms and municipality with reference to this project. *Every building is going to have its own car park, central heating, high construction quality and well-organized surroundings. Also, sub-center functions such as trade center in one of the high rise buildings, kindergarten, cultural center, gas station, mosque were separated in the plan* (Kuzu, 1997: 169).

According to **GEÇAK II** Project, in a total of 9.33-hectare area, 46.294 m² of its construction decisions are being made and this means 50% of the area is going to be built and the remaining 50% will be used as road-green area. According to this, in the project area, 2.345 people were going to live in 521 housing units and gross population density was estimated as 250 person/ha. (Kuzu, 1997: 172).

The municipality presented the list of pre-contract conditions of **GEÇAK II** Project construction firms are requested new proposals from them as Kuzu (1997) stated;

- A total of 220-230 housing units will be given to squatter right owners,
- Housing units' standards and quality will be defined previously,
- Children's playground and the area to be reforested will not be reconstructed,
- After evacuation (clearance), new construction will construction will start on a totally velar area,
- Housing units should be delivered to the squatter right-owners in a maximum of 24 months,
- All technical information can be obtained from the technical personnel,
- Proposals regarding the project should be submitted to the Urban Planning Office in Municipality Settlement Directorate.

Suggestion projects were prepared by different construction firms and after appraisal by municipality, MESA Housing A.Ş. was determined as the decision-making organ under the regulation of Çankaya District Municipality. In addition, it is aimed to finish by the end of 1997.

5.1.1.5. Ecology

It was compulsory not to proceed with the housing constructions without completing the geological studies using drills, not to start constructions without demolishing the squatters, and not to give permission for residences without making the necessary environmental arrangements in the green areas (Kuzu, 1997: 173).

5.1.1.6. Speculation

The main opinion behind the GEÇAK Project was to initiate the transformation of rentable areas.

5.1.1.7. Organization Scheme

Rather than public-private participation, the help of cooperatives holds **public-citizen** participation in GEÇAK model. Municipality has developed a model to solve the reconstruction problems in squatter areas and eliminate the differences between regular and irregular housing areas. Kuzu pointed out that with current laws the problems of such areas have not been solved and continued as;

“Through the establishment of cooperatives, it is aimed to developed regular urban settlements and publicly owned land to be rescued from invasion of squatters, thus production of urban lands and creation of urban fabric integrated to the city. At this point, ownership of one unit in a multi-unit building against the reconstruction rights from improvement plans; one flat in return for one ownership right; 45-50 % deductions on property instead of 35% that is defined on the Law No. 2981, **self-financing** implementation process has proved the success of the project” (Kuzu, 1997: 182).

GEÇAK is a participatory approach, which includes searching, planning, organizing, financing, implementation and management dimension and feedback mechanisms as Kuzu (1997) mentioned. Another important feature of this model, different from the classical physical plans, is enabling public participation compulsory. What is more, this model has brought changes in the understanding and attitudes of current planning.

GEÇAK Project was developed under three basic principles as Dündar (1997) stated;

- To preserve the squatters in their existing locations,
- To change the urban structure,
- Organization of squatters in cooperatives.

In this project the cooperatives and the municipality are two parties coming face to face in all project discussions rather than the people as in the case of Dikmen Valley. The Municipality ensured the squatter right-owners to be organized under the roof of “BESA Housing Construction Cooperative” in the GEÇAK I Project.

ORGANIZATION MODEL: “Municipality guided cooperative cooperation= A Model of Building Cooperative”

Municipality:

- to arrange the relationships between the construction firms and cooperatives,
- to supervise and to perform technical assistance,
- to provide land and facilitate the public works.

Cooperatives:

- to solve the problems between property owners with share differences.

Construction Firm (Private Sector):

- to provide housing for the cooperative,
- to play an active role as an implementer in the project.

Squatter Right-owners:

- undertake the task of establishing construction cooperative and prevention of construction of new squatters on the project area and demolishing their squatters, and establishing an “Environmental Administration Committee” among the owners for the maintenance and management of new environment.

The most important characteristics of GEÇAK Project Model is the formation of **active participation** system by the organs included in the project in a balanced manner creation of an agreement platform desired mutually by the participants on the implementation of the project has been successful in the realization of the model as soon as possible (Kuzu,1997: 130).

Due to the fact of mutual meetings with squatter owners, it has been suggested the way to organize cooperatives to provide the possibility to own their environment, to remove the anxiety for being relocated to another place.

Table 6: Expectations from GEÇAK Project Model

STAKEHOLDERS	EXPECTATIONS
<i><u>1. Squatter Right Owners</u></i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">* to obtain their rights that come from the Law No.2981* to own housing units according to their construction rights* to survive in a well developed environment with whole social services and urban infrastructure.
<i><u>2.The Municipality of Çankaya District</u></i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">* to renovate squatter areas by active implementation process* to solve the problems of squatter areas by the participation model* to acquire squatter occupied lands into use of public purposes* to generate income resources to use in the application other urban transformation projects.
<i><u>3. Construction Firm</u></i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none">* to provide urban lands near to city center, which are scarce and high property values in the city.

Source: Compiled by the author.

5.1.1.8. Consistence between Aims and Results of the Project

The purpose of GEÇAK project is to solve the squatter and housing problem and transform the urban fragment to be established in the squatter areas where transformation has not taken place, especially in the inner-city center, into integrated with the urban fabric with its modern residential areas, social equipments, green areas, both physically and socially (Kuzu, 1997: 125).

The precondition of the project is to organize the squatter right-owners under the name of cooperatives by initiating active participation process locally in these areas where it will be implemented (Kuzu, 1997:126).

The aim of this project was to solve the problem of housing and housing ownership and to produce livable urban space with technical and social infrastructure. GEÇAK Project has purposed the transition of squatters into modern housing, which were

settled inside the boundary of Çankaya Municipality. In this process, the landowners who had been right owners by 2981 Law, organized under cooperation with the municipality.

In the model which is based on implementation, planning-implementation integrity is provided by the small scale project, depending on organization and finance models which are not complicated and allowing a planning approach which covers the entire process in the defined area (Kuzu, 1997: 179).

Vedat Baranoğlu, Vice-Mayor of Çankaya Municipality, had explained the successful sides of this project as Dündar (1997) stated;

- they work with big housing contractors like TEPE and MESA to prevent construction problems,
- they developed citizen participation in the project evaluation process,
- they give 90-100 m² houses, bigger than social houses,
- they consider the social aspects of planning with the help of cooperatives,
- Some dwellings would be sold to person from different income group, helps to prevent ghettoization.

5.1.2. Evaluation of Dikmen Valley Urban Renewal Project According to Criteria

Dikmen Valley Housing and Environmental Development Project is one of the large-scale renewal projects compassing a valley, which is an important element of Ankara Metropolitan Area Culture and Recreation System (Dündar, 1997: 125). The project area constitutes a total of 158 hectares is located in the south between Dikmen and Ayrancı which are the densely populated housing areas of Ankara, which was included the largest unauthorized settlement. The studies of project have started in 1989 and are continuing.

In Ankara 1990 Master Plan, which was prepared in 1970s, the Valley allocated as a green area. Because at that time, air pollution had already reached a high level

especially in central areas, preservation of the air corridors of the city became a crucial issue for Ankara. So the city council approved the 1/5000 scale “Dikmen Green Area Project” concerning the Valley on November 17th 1986. In the meantime, the Ankara 2015 Structural Plan was also accepted with the basic objective of decentralizing Ankara in order to decrease the pressure of high densities within the existing built-up area, which was the cause of a very unhealthy development. The plan proposed green corridors in between dense housing areas (Dündar, 1997: 126).

5.1.2.1. Societal Structure

In 1989, there were about 9 809 residents in Dikmen Valley project’s first phase, which was increased to 10 350 in 1991 as Dündar (1997) stated. Moreover, total number of unemployed is 833 and the average household size is 4.58 according to project’s questionnaire results. Furthermore, the proportion of households is higher in old neighborhoods. *This implies that those who had previously settled and established a new life by adapting to the city have then attracted their relatives there as well. Likewise, increase in the proportion of employed within the neighborhood population is observed in older neighborhoods* (Dündar, 1997: 132).

Population characteristics of Dikmen Valley changed after Project as some of the previous residents remained and new comers were added (Dündar, 1997: 148). Most of the current population was immigrant and they have mostly come to Ankara from another city either because they have found jobs or for education. Family size reduces to 1-2 for the tenant population and family size among the new owners is generally three (62.5 %). Moreover, education level increases to university degree. Furthermore, use of urban areas reaches to greater percentages for the new owner population than both the right owners and the tenants.

After the Dikmen Valley Project, economic characteristics of the residents also altered. Most of the right owner householders are retired persons. What is more, the

workers in public sector's percentage are 16.2 and the rate of marginal works is very low (4.7 %) as Dündar (1997) pointed out. Besides, income distribution shows enormous differences among the tenant residents. In addition, economic characteristics show similarities with the right owner population generally composed of retired people.

Consequently, most of the right-owners and the tenant population are migrants but right-owners commonly migrated from regions in close proximity to Ankara; however, the tenants and the new-owners migrated from all over the country. Moreover, family size decreases whereas education level increases among the new comers. Number of people working per family also rises among the tenants parallel to the economically dynamic women population. Furthermore, joblessness rate reduces among the new comers; besides, monthly income rises among both the tenants and the new-owners. More to the point, utilization of urban areas and shopping malls increases amongst the new population. Lastly, it led to **social segregation** and created a conflict area rather than a peaceful consensus platform.

5.1.2.2. Ownership Pattern and Rent Control

Land ownership in the valley was extensively private, that is, nearly about half of the Valley was constituted of private properties. Therefore, Dikmen Valley dwellers had a participation in the project process. Total project area is 158 hectares; some of its parts are undefined with respect to ownership.

2300 squatter houses existed presently in the Valley, about 1500 of these squatter houses had been built before October 1985, were benefited from 1985 Amnesty. On the other hand, comparison of 1988 and 1990 aerial photographs reveal that squatters at an increasing rate have continuously occupied public property. There are no social service areas in the site except for four mosques. Shared ownership was very low (Dündar, 1997:132).

Before the Valley Project, rate of shared ownership was very low among the right-owners (10.1%) and among them there were mostly two or three shareholders of relatives (Dündar, 1997: 189). Moreover, land prices increased with the project. Changing features of this locality of the valley with a rising rate of green areas and other services like the Culture Bridge led to the increase of both sale prices and rents of the houses both in the valley and in the outside edges.

5.1.2.3. Financing

The method envisaged for this project makes use of both the “**build-sell**” model used extensively in all Turkish cities by contractors in developing single plots and the “**build-operate-transfer**” model which is being used for some major government projects. The investments in this project can be classified as: those to be realized by the municipality, those to be realized by contracting/finance organizations and those to be realized by long-term operators (Build-operate-transfer model) (Dündar, 1997: 146). Moreover, the financial/monetary source of the project comes from private firms, credits from foreign countries and from the contractors.

First a research was conducted in order to find firms eligible to undertake development in this comprehensive, large-scale project. Secondly, introductory negotiations were carried out with chosen contractor/financier corporations for evaluating the size and context of investments. Thirdly, tender and bidding procedures and documents were prepared in the light of preliminary negotiations. Lastly, preliminary designs were re-evaluated in coordination with eligible firms (Dündar, 1997: 146: 147). Moreover, official procedures for land expropriation practice were also begun. Stability of investments in the city scale is also an important debate for the avoidance of many repercussions of project request and management.

5.1.2.4. Planning Process

Type of planning is half **comprehensive** and half **market-led** again under the effect of privatization policies of 1980s, i.e. comprehensive rather than structure plans. In other words, it is a classical type of planning experience it has no strategic meanings.

Integration with other parts of the city is weak in this case. In other words, Dikmen Valley Project was abstracted both physically and socially from its peripheral developments and could not be integrated with the city in physical and social space.

As for the **housing** characteristics before the project, residents built their houses through self-help with their family members (62.4 %) or with their relatives (7.8 %), and some bought the squatters from other people (19.1 %). Moreover, Dündar (1997) pointed out that each family generally owned only one house on the project area and most of them owned a title deed (56.1 %) or licenses (18.2 %). Nevertheless, 14.8 % of the householders had no certificate for their squatters.

Existing **infrastructure** before the project explained by Dündar (1997) as; no sewerage, wastewater and drainage systems in the project site except for the 700mm waste water collector. Therefore, it had been decided that it would be necessary to construct the sewerage and drainage system networks before any other construction in the valley.

Functions proposed by the project can be classified into four as housing, social infrastructure, culture park and municipal service areas. A total of 23 hectares of the area in the Valley was allocated to housing namely 404 housing units and schools, health centers, Culture Park were settled at the site.

Table 7: Landuse Distribution in Total Area

USE	AREA (ha)	%
Housing	22.99	14.5
Education	3.46	2.18
Health	0.93	0.59
Commerce and Services	7.69	4.85
Green and Recreation	103.49	65.26
Roads	20.02	12.62
TOTAL	158.58	100

Source: Dikmen Valley Housing and Environmental Development Project Report, Metropol İmar A. Ş., cited in Dündar (1997): 139.

5.1.2.5. Ecology

As parallel to the **sustainability** criteria, open areas in the valley which can be clarified as a component of the **liveability** criteria in the valley, does not seem to be sustainable in the near future since a higher population and building densities will oblige pressure on the valley. As for adequate shelter for all principle, dwelling units do not meet the needs of the squatter population resettled in the valley. Therefore, this project's provision of adequate shelter for all of the valley population was insufficient. As a result of this fact, it can be said that Dikmen Valley Project does not represent the features of a humane city. This project could provide **equity** on space. Moreover, it could not provide **citizen loyalty** of the individuals on space, since it was not participative, therefore it is not sustainable.

5.1.2.6. Speculation

The Dikmen Valley Project resulted in an unfair rent given to the squatters and an unfair rent circulation/transfer in the land to some extent. Project became a cost-recovery scheme, in time it will be opened to speculation.

5.1.2.7. Organization Scheme

The model of Dikmen Valley Project enables contracting/finance firms to undertake construction in a prestigious area by sharing rent. This is a **public-private**

participation model in a development corporation (Metropol A.Ş.) which had been formed under Greater Ankara Municipality, takes the role coordinating the public and the private firms (Dündar, 1997: 139). Besides, administrative structure of Dikmen Valley Project, government type presents a **centralized** decision-making model of 1980s' privatization policies, rather than a global, decentralized one (Dündar, 1997: 215). In other words, the project was developed with the classical regime of 1980s under the indications of neo-liberal policies.

In Dikmen Valley Project, Metropol İmar A.Ş. come into view as a non-profit and quasi-public development organization. Actually, this project was the product of an entrepreneurialist local government that tried to catch the attention of private investment into the project site to renew the vicinity with intend of regeneration.

The squatter owners have been organized within five **housing cooperatives** so as to carry out necessary works, represent their members, handle reactions with finance bodies and maintenance of common facilities after construction and keep information channels open with higher level organization. Besides, negotiation procedures and expropriation were also elements of the project for the people who did not want to participate.

“Meanwhile for the management, coordination and control of the project, a **steering committee**, consisting of members from Greater Ankara Municipality, The District of Çankaya Municipality, Metropolitan Development Corporation of Ankara Municipalities and representatives from the five housing cooperatives was formed. Metropolitan Development Corporation (Metropol İmar A.Ş.) will be acting as the project management body on behalf of the municipality. A separate unit within the municipality, which will be coordinating the relations with this firm, will also be formed” (Dündar, 1997: 141).

Project was carried with the co-operation of private and public sector with an aim of providing the right owners with livable urban environment including housing, technical and social infrastructure. However, the aim of the project changed and the architecture of the dwelling units became the dominant feature rather than the function of them.

After the municipal elections, the way of project was affected; the Steering Committee was rearranged and composed of only municipalities, constructors and cooperatives. As a matter of fact, the Steering Committee which was formed to collect the local needs, could not work because of four reasons as Dündar (1997) pointed out;

- Reflections of political conflicts between two municipalities on planning,
- Insufficiency of an organization of the project participants,
- Inability of the cooperatives in representing the people in the Valley in front of the Committee,
- Insufficiency of a participative element which will make every citizen to be represented in the committee.

The organization structure can be summarized as such and it does not add global criteria to the organizational structure of an improvement plan. For example, Union of City Planners was not taken as a participative body and became a body of the critiques (Dündar, 1997: 143). Although Dikmen Valley Project seems to be more transparent and open to citizen participation than some other plan implementations, it could not go beyond information giving rather than fostering active participation and therefore it can be asserted that the project is **transparent** but not **participative** (Dündar, 1997: 204). In short, this project could not build up a dynamic participation model, which would avoid dismiss from the valley and it could not perform an entrepreneurial model of spatial governance.

5.1.2.8. Consistence between Aims and Results of the Project

The main goal is to transform this area into a recreational, commercial and residential area and to create a green corridor running in the city, to supply the Valley's inhabitants with high quality housing. In more detail expressions, the aim of the project was set up as follows;

“Within the framework of this project, *an environmental planning* to enable the disrupted ecological balance to be set up again will be prepared by analyzing the natural structure and the existing problems in the valley. Furthermore *a cultural and recreational corridor* to serve the whole city will be created on the one hand with planned restructuring and on the other hand, the project aims at *solving the housing problem* of present squatter owner inhabitants of the Valley within the same area through a *participatory* rehabilitation model” (Dikmen Valley Housing and Environmental Development Project Report, 1991:1; cited in Dündar, 1997: 135).

Moreover, four basic objectives were stated for the project as follows;

1. To create a green corridor;
2. To provide a cultural, recreational, commercial and social center;
3. To supply the Valley’s inhabitants with high quality housing, upgraded urban technical and social infrastructure;
4. To realize public-private sector collaboration on a higher level (Dündar, 1997: 135).

The valley now is a very rigid barrier between its two sides where two different income groups are settled. This means that project was not very successfully implemented because the aim of the project is providing dwellings for low-income groups who are living in valley. However, the dwellings that were made in valley are for high-income groups. Furthermore, these luxury dwellings cause an increase in rent in the neighborhood area of Dikmen Valley. Indeed, this is a political issue. Nonetheless, this created a lack of confidence among dwellers towards municipality.

Dwelling units do not answer the needs of the squatter population resettled in the valley because studies were not conducted in each income group. Therefore, the original inhabitants leave the valley to connect to other squatter housing areas of Ankara and new comers show completely different demographic and social structures.

As for the problems created by the Dikmen Valley Project that determined by Dündar (1997); the first and the most important problem is out-migration; meaningly “dismiss” of a great proportion of the Valley population. Moreover, the

inner city structure of its population was also changed in line with the project. The original population of the valley was enforced to leave the area to new comers totally unusual in demographic, economic and social characteristics. For that reason, Dikmen Valley Project, which first aimed at a physical intervention to an area spatially deteriorating, soon became a demographic and social intervention. The second problem created after the project is social unrest. Many project participants soon left the Valley because of social and economic reasons and settled in new places. In short, three basic problems created with the project can be listed as follows;

1. The building structure of the project do not fits to the bearing capacity of the Valley;
2. The project area is not interrelated with the main land-uses;
3. The project does not have the potential for the future development (Dündar, 1997: 191).

Consequently, project evaluated the physical potentials of the land but did not consider its local capacities coming from the existing civic identity of the area. Dikmen Valley Project, which will disappear in time, does not have the potential of becoming a case for a series of projects that will make the city of Ankara competitive in the global scale. This project will physically deteriorate in time like all other island project, which are repeated in plan proposals but cannot reach the desired goals (like Batıkent). The results of the Dikmen Valley Project in the long-term are; an unfair rent given to the squatters and an unfair rent circulation in the land. (Dündar, 1997: 193: 194). On the other hand, Dikmen Valley Project is a good example to the restructuring efforts of a reformist local authority in trying to renew Ankara with a bundle of action plans (Dündar, 1997: 197).

Aim	Result
* to create functions and green areas	* no integration between those areas in which activities gathered, e.g. no transportation network which will connect this area with the other green areas of Ankara.

5.1.3. Criteria-Based Evaluation of Portakal Çiçeđi Valley Urban Renewal Project

Portakal Çiçeđi Valley is an area of approximately 11 hectares, situated in the proximity of high-income residential areas, modern shopping centers and embassy buildings in Ankara. The valley is at the southern and highest point of Ankara and joins a series of valleys that are Dikmen Valley, Seđmenler Park, Botanik Garden. In respect of the area Portakal Çiçeđi is the second largest valley in the region (Gökbulut, 1995: 139).

This project supported two important ideas: the project would be **self-financing** one and **expropriation in return for rents** would take the place of expropriation in return for money. In this model, the municipality gave the land, which was determined as green area, to the developer and the developer obligated to produce housing, green and open areas with the given building coefficient and to give the landowners luxury housing with high rents in return for land (Dündar, 1997: 114). Shortly, this project proposed a market mechanism with a private-public participation model in which it was the allocation of value-added produced by government that was essential.

5.1.3.1. Societal Structure

As we look up the **population** structure before the project, there were 250 dwellers living in the 67 squatter houses in the Valley. The people living here was low-income groups as seen in other examples.

5.1.3.2. Ownership Pattern and Rent Control

In 1990, 57% of the land was owned by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 38% by individuals, 3% by the İş Bankası Foundation, and 2% by the Treasury. Moreover, two people owned 25% of these private lands (Gökbulut: 1995: 145). In the project cycle, municipality acquired the lots in the project site by bargaining

them with shares in company; therefore, no expropriation expense was to be paid by the municipality.

Ownership of Portaş JS Company:

OWNER	SHARE
Municipality	49%
Landowners	21%
Entrepreneur	30%

38 of the squatter dwellers were the owners of the squatters and 29 were tenants where they have no legal rights. Moreover, three important opportunities were provided for squatter dwellers; after reconciliation process, they moved to their new houses;

1. They were provided 250 m2 lots with full infrastructure in the Karapürçek Gecekondu Prevention Region at agreement prices,
2. Costs of demolition of their houses were directly paid to them,
3. The squatter dwellers were allowed to keep hold of their ruins.

What's more, after reconciliation practice, many eight shareholders were exchanged with the municipality's lots placed in other regions of Ankara; on the other hand, twenty-seven shareholders preferred to stay within the project. Besides, on the 15th of February, 1991, "Preliminary Protocol" was signed between the actors included in the project and the Municipality and the Portaş. When time passed, the next document, "Main Protocol", was signed on the 24th of December, 1991 between Portaş and Greater Municipality of Ankara.

As Gökbulut (1995) pointed out that, most of the land was transferred from landowners to the project company regardless of expropriation. Moreover, 32 % of the area was included in the project by expropriation. In addition, in 1992, barter/exchange process between Portaş and Greater Ankara Municipality (roughly 5660

m2) was occurred. Soon after, in 1993, an extra 13.000 m2 of land was bought through finance mechanisms.

5.1.3.3. Financing

The main idea behind this project's finance scheme is to create a **self-financing** model. In the finance of project, local authority uses three major resources. First one is using municipalities own sources that are inadequate that only small investment can make by them. The second one is using foreign credits that this one is the mainly used. The last means is to use private resources like Portakal Çiçeği Urban Renewal Project for initial finance of the projects as Gökbulut (1995) pointed out.

Gökbulut (1995) pointed out that, 30% of the capital was gained from private entrepreneur and he got the 30% share of the Portaç J.S. Company. However, he later left the project and in 1993, 24 billion credits were got from other resources.

Dündar (1997) pointed out that, this is an attractive self-financing model. Nevertheless, it creates such problems as; these projects are developed partially, without considering the whole city pattern. Moreover, the land and building values, and property rights of neighboring lands and buildings increase with the effects of such projects. Furthermore, when there appears a self-financing and multi-functional mechanism, the physical and functional unity of the activities that are expected to increase rents, becomes a big problem.

5.1.3.4. Planning Process

The first sub-division plan of the valley was prepared in 1950's and as a result of this plan private ownership private ownership had increased in that area and speculative activities came on agenda. In 1953, due to the fact of amnesty law, public lands turned into the private ownership; therefore, the squatter owners acquired their title deeds. In the Master Plan of 1957 called Yücel-Uybadin Plan, a

new sub-division plan for this area was prepared with the total built-up area of 180.000 m². In 1970, the number of the squatter settlements reached at its maximum point and so land values have increased. In addition, all construction rights were abandoned and the whole valley was assigned as green and open area, even though this had not been implemented.

Although there were more than 200 squatters in the valley in 1970, the number decreased to 67 in 1990. Moreover, most of these squatters have been rented. Of the 67 squatter, 29 were tenants in 1990. This means there exist persons who buy the squatter houses and rent them to these new comers (Gökbulut, 1995: 142). Despite these planning decisions being taken for the valley for many times, there had been no implementation activities until 1990s.

In the first phase, three building blocks were designed. Total construction area of these blocks was 18.000 m², and all of them were designed for high-income groups (Gökbulut, 1995: 180). Moreover, these blocks' 28 flats were transferred to the landowners that are shareholders of the project in 1993.

In the second phase, they plan to solve the property problems and create another 50.000 m² green area. They also planned to build a culture center named "Ansera" (Gökbulut, 1995). In addition, there are 2 blocks and 150 apartment buildings.

The construction in valley began in the summer of 1992. One firm undertook the construction of building blocks (EMT-Aydiner), and one construction of landscape (Eralp) and another for construction of Ansera culture and commerce center (Gökbulut, 1995: 187).

The main design principles of the project can be summarized as:

- 70% of the valley will be green areas,
- Social structure (housing, commerce, socio-cultural facilities, etc.) will be located in the valley,
- Structures to be built in the valley will take into consideration their relationship with the instant surrounding and the urban profile,
- The nature and the size of the developments will be determined after market researches,
- The project will be designed to include the near surroundings,
- The near gardens of the adjacent buildings will be incorporated into the project area.

Two significant political alterations have an effect on the future expectations of valley. Former one is the local elections that were carried on in 1989 and the new administration starts on urban renewal project. The following main change came with the local elections held in 1993. The aims of new administration acted different from the latter one. In view of the fact that all shares of Portaş re-assigned to the municipality before the project, this adjustment was extremely efficient on the project.

This resulted in extended implementation practice because the executive group was changed. The entrepreneur sold his share to the municipality before the elections. Therefore, the municipality before the elections owned all shares of the firm. The new administration had not been able to supply an agreement between municipality and one of these firms. The design of project was also affected by this change, a new conciliation and assessment processes were began after this condition.

Besides, the plot ratio (1.20) was reduced because of political pressures when the Chamber of Architects opposed to project. As a result of this fact, the extra cost was going to be paid by municipality. Moreover, there were reactions to the

expropriation values. What's more, the project company had not used the media efficiently.

Table 8: Pressures on the Portakal Çiçeği Urban Development Project

MAIN GOALS	PRESSURES TO CHANGE	CHANGES
1. Allocate at least 80% of the Valley as green area.	* reactions to design of park	* changing in the design of project
2. Self-Financing Model	* questions about selection of entrepreneur and his surplus	* no change by the reactions from social institutions but change by the political changes
3. Creating an Environment of high urban standards.	* discussions about public interest	* no change
4. No shareholder will have shares enough to enable him to make decisions solely by himself. That is the public shares will not exceed 49%.	* discussions about public interest, * political changes	* no change, * all shares are sold to the municipality before the project finished

Source: Urban Renewal: An Urban Dimension in Process of Change within the Context of Globalization: Case Study Ankara: Portakal Çiçeği Urban Renewal Project, Özlem Gökbulut, Ankara, 1995, p.191.

5.1.3.5. Ecology

One of the main design principles was that 70% of the valley will be the green areas with different functions in order to provide sustainable development within the frameworks of equality, liveability and citizen loyalty.

5.1.3.6. Speculation

Since the first parcellation plan prepared in 1950s, Portakal Çiçeği Valley has become the speculator's one of the main focus site in Ankara.

5.1.3.7. Organization Scheme

The stakeholders who were expected to participate in this project could be listed as;

- The municipality,
- The developer,
- Squatter Dwellers,
- City Dwellers.

According to the planning notes, public participation and citizen participation is must in any proposed plan, that is, this is a **participatory** project. The actors in this project were municipality, landowners, squatter owners and the contractor firm. The project served different types of housing units for different level of income groups. It took eight months to reach a consensus among different interest groups. **‘Project Democracy’** is the main idea behind the Portakal Çiçeği Urban Renewal Model, in which the affected groups organized into cooperative platform under the umbrella of “Decision Committee”. Two different approaches have been followed to increase public participation by SHP.

1. The expression of the plans to the public and listening to the critics before implementation,
2. The inclusion of the people directly affected by any proposed planning process.

The new municipality accepts the public-private corporations as a vital element of democracy. Municipalities own resources and foreign credits are the finance of the projects. Furthermore, the model of the project is a self-financing model. The project company was Portaş Joint-Stock Company. Different from Metropol J.S. in Dikmen Valley Project that has fully public share; Portaş J.S. Company, which has a private share, was established in 1991 in order to provide more financial resources. Moreover, landowners in the project area also have shares in company as stated in the previous paragraphs. In addition, private entrepreneur was used for provision of financial resources.

Portaş J.S. Company is directed by the Board of Direction, which is composed of seven persons and is audited by the Board of Audit, which is composed of two persons. All of them are elected by the General Assembly composed of landowners, Municipality representatives, and the entrepreneur. The entrepreneur Aykut Mutlu was elected as a chairperson of the Board of Direction. In the beginning, the project team consisted of two city planners who realized the early negotiation between interest groups (Gökbulut, 1995: 157).

5.1.3.8. Consistence between Aims and Results of the Project

The Portakal Çiçeği Urban Renewal Project was revealed with three basic aims, which are listed below;

- Developing a contemporary green area of high quality urban standards for Ankara without disturbing the natural characteristics of the valley,
- Creating the funds of the project without resorting to the public funds (creating a self-financing model),
- Ensuring participation in the project of the landowners through such a system by which they would not lose the right of development they acquired in the past.

Table 9: Interest Groups and Their Initial Expectations

Interest Groups	Expectations/ Wishes
Municipality	* to create a contemporary cultural-commerce center and high quality housing and infrastructure in the valley, * to strengthen their political careers, * to create a sample model for using in other similar cases.
Developer	* to realize such a prestigious, profitable, complex urban project without investing a big capital
Squatter Dwellers	* to get lots in a planned area and become economically comfortable
City Dwellers	* to obtain more green areas, abolishment of the unhealthy infrastructure conditions at the area.

Source: Compiled by the author.

However, the aim of the project changed as in the example of Dikmen Valley Project, and the low-income groups have little chance of owning dwelling units.

CHAPTER 6

TRANSFORMATION PROCESS OF CEVİZLİDERE

Cevizlidere was chosen as the study area for this Thesis study because it used to be a gecekondur neighborhood located in one of the first and extensive gecekondur areas of Ankara subjected to transformation by the Improvement and Development Laws. These gecekondur neighborhoods, located on steep slopes facing and extending about 6.5 km. along Konya road, were visible to the intra and intercity traffic (Map 1-2). So both long years of gecekondur settlement growing on these slopes and the transformation process that started with the 1980s and gained pace throughout the years, have taken place on one of the main entrance roads to the city, and the whole process of growth of gecekondur settlement and its transformation have been open to observation by all.

The area study is based on three main sources. The first one is a Masters Thesis study titled ‘Cevizlidere: Spatial Structure of a “Gecekondur” District with Regard to Economic Dynamism and Ownership’ conducted in 1981 in the Department of City and Regional Planning, Faculty of Architecture, Middle East Technical University by Ali Ulubaş (A. Ulubaş, 1981). This study explains the process of opening of the area to settlement along with a survey study implemented in Cevizlidere neighborhood (Map 3). The basic hypothesis of the Thesis study is that there is an interrelation between economic life of the household of the gecekondur and two types of relevant spatial mobility that exists. The first type of spatial mobility of the household is observed as the family changes location among different neighborhoods of the city. The second type of mobility is displayed in the

physical changes made to the gecekondu itself. The study concentrates on the second type of mobility, that is on the causal relationship between pattern of subdivision of land along with stages of construction process and economic mobility (labor turnover). The hypothesis was tested in Cevizlidere gecekondu district. Interviews were conducted with the headman, the first settlers-the founders in the area and a 3% sampling was applied with 41 gecekondu owners (Map 4). Visual information was obtained from existing maps, aerial photographs, cadastral maps and title deed registrations were studied.

The second source includes reports of the successive Improvement and Development Plans made for the larger area which includes Cevizlidere neighborhood along with several others extending along the Konya Road.

The third source involves a limited area study made in an already transformed and in a still untransformed part of Cevizlidere in 2008. So the following discussion is based on these three sources, yet unfortunately since information presented in each source is related to different spatial units used for analysis by the planning and project authorities since the 1980s and the 1990s, aside from general follow-up information, precise quantitative comparisons could not be made.

6.1. The Plan Area

In 1983 Law no. 2805 (İmar ve Gecekondu Mevzuatına Aykırı Yapılara Uygulanacak işlemler ve 6785 sayılı İmar Kanununun bir Maddesinin Değiştirilmesi Hakkında Kanun) was passed according to which the plan area titled Balgat-Dikmen no. 16 Improvement and Development Plan Region (16 no.lu Balgat-Dikmen Islah İmar Planlama Bölgesi) bounded by Çetin Emeç boulevard, Dikmen avenue and Konya road, covering Akpınar, Karapınar, Gökkuşığı, Cevizlidere, Ata, Huzur, Şehit Cevdet Özdemir, Şehit Cengiz Karaca neighborhoods and parts of Balgat, Öveçler, neighborhoods was defined (Map 3). The plan area is about 616 ha. and extends about 6.5 km. along Konya road, as

mentioned above. The southern tip of the roughly linear area is 10 km. away from Kızılay, 12 km. from Ulus, the northern tip is 4.5 km. away from Kızılay and 7 km. from Ulus.

Table 10: The Plan Area and Neighborhoods

Neighborhoods	Area (ha)
Akpınar	74,5
Karapınar	42,5
Gökkuşığı	49,5
Cevzlidere	90,2
Ata	41,8
Huzur	76,6
Şehitler	57,6
Öveçler	106
Balgat	76,7
TOTAL	615,4

Source: Çankaya Belediyesi, İmar Planlama Müdürlüğü, Şubat 1992, Dikmen I. Etap Kısmi Nazım İmar Plan Revizyonu ve Dikmen II. Etap Nazım İmar Plan Raporu, s.2.

In the plan area topographical thresholds exist mainly along the Konya road, especially where Gökkuşığı, Karapınar and Akpınar neighborhoods are located. Five valleys in this area, altogether cover about 74 ha. These valleys constitute important natural air channels for the area and for the city making it necessary to avoid clugging of these valleys with tall buildings.

Of the total 616 ha. 30% has 0-10 degrees of slope, 40% 10-20 degrees, 14% 20-30 degrees of slope and 10% of the area displays over 30% slope. If 0-20 % slope is accepted as suitable for residential location, then about 70% of the area is suitable for settlement. Topographical structure of the area resulted in formation of rather weak connections in east-west direction. Only three avenues; Tanyeli, Ceyhun Atuf Kansu and 1.st avenue run along east-west axis and there are eight connections to the Konya road.

Geological structure of the area is mostly consistent of loose soil (aluvion, grovak, pliosen) therefore in case of construction of multi-storey and heavy structures,

special ground studies including the immediate vicinity of the construction area are necessary.

6.2. Process of Settlement in the Area

According to historical documents there were vineyards and orchards in this area in about 1920's. In the small farm houses on these 1-2 quarters of acres (2.5 acres about 1.0 ha) there were vineyards and orchards and poultry, sheep and goats were bred. In these documents it is mentioned that Greeks resided on the northern slopes of Çaldağ towards Dikmen and nice villas with gardens (bağevleri) were located in Yukarı and Aşağı Öveçler.

In the Ulubaş study, which covers the first years of settlement of the area, historical development of the area is divided into three phases (Map 5). The first phase, 1958-1960, covers the first settlement years. Ulubaş relates that the area was first opened to settlement in 1958 by two brothers from Erzurum and their friend from Kars. By the end of 1960 there were 10 settlers in the area, acquaintances from work places or from gecekonu districts where they had been living before so the first settlers were neighbors, friends or countrymen. The first three settlers, two brothers and their friend, was the core of this group and therefore they had significant influence on the organization of the neighborhood by the later settlers. Eg. they advised newcomers, showing them proper places to settle and if they already knew the owner of the land confiscated, they would volunteer to assume the role of middlemen for the purchase of the occupied land at reasonable prices and for payment in affordable installments. Performance of these functions strengthened their status and power in the community and lasted until the end of 1970's when control and organization was transferred to other groups. So with the exception of the very first settlers, all the other settlers acquired land in the area with the help of each other and of previous settlers. In fact the first real estate dealer service came into effect in 1974.

Depending on the type of ownership, land was acquired through two processes. If the land occupied was under private ownership, the owner or co-owners were searched out to negotiate for a proper price and installment payment for the purchase of the land. If land was owned by the state or the municipality, the cadastral parcel was divided into several lots in a single night. Ulubaş relates that although it has not been revealed by the first settlers themselves, it was told by others that in each operation the first settlers reserved at least one patch of land for themselves as the “founders’ share” (A.Ulubaş, 1981, p.33). In cases where the ownership of land was not known, title-deed registrations were unofficially consulted through officials who were countrymen or friends, in charge of this officially closed information.

In case of settlement on private land, land could be bought from the owner, so settlers could and did obtain the title-deeds but the 66% who had settled on public and municipal land did not have title-deeds. Within the functioning of the informal land market, 14 of the 25 households who had settled on public land had paid “the price of land” to middlemen”, 5 had acquired land from their relatives without pay, and 6 had occupied land without any payment. As expected, due to the guarantee of ownership obtained through title-deeds, private land was more expensive compared to public land.

Most of the parcels (42%) in the area concentrated in the 101-300 m² size. In general publicly owned parcels were larger than the privately owned ones. Yet the area of publicly owned parcels occupied by the first settlers ranged between 340-1000 m² displaying the advantage of opening up of vacant land to settlement in the informal land market.

According to the study Ulubaş conducted in the cadastral registries, the first settlement took place on private land and development continued on private parcels. Later on development was oriented towards publicly owned land and then extended

in all directions invading the whole area mostly due to provision of municipal services at the beginning of 1970's.

In this first phase, 1958-1960, the area was connected to Balgat by a narrow path extending among large parcels of vacant and semi-vacant land. The first settlers had to walk along the Konya road in order to reach Ulus or Kızılay. The area was lacking in infrastructure and services. Drinking water was obtained from a public fountain located far from the area and ground water was collected in tin cans for use. Major demographic and infrastructural development occurred in the area in the second phase, 1960-1970. Majority of settlers in the area were employed in Ankara municipality and therefore they had significant role in the provision of infrastructure and services. So water system and electricity were brought in 1966-1967 during which the narrow path connecting the area to Balgat was at first enlarged and then coated by asphalt. The settlers also applied to the gendarmerie, responsible for security outside municipal boundaries, to stop dumping of garbage in the area. The coming of infrastructure to the area encouraged further settlements. There were 40 households in the area in 1961, this number reached 60 by the end of 1965 with relatives and acquaintances of settlers joining them. The area gained the status of "muhtarlık" in 1969. In the third phase, 1970-1980, the settlement expanded on the vacant spaces around, covering the whole area as observed in Maps 5-9.

In the 1981 Ulubaş area study, of the 41 households interviewed 37% declared that they had acquired land by themselves, while 51% had acquired land through help of relatives/acquaintances and only 12% had used real-estate services. The percentages show the extent of informality involved in acquisition of land in a typical gecekondu area. It is also interesting to note that most of those who had acquired land by themselves had settled in the area after 1970 and so have those who have utilized real-estate services.

Construction process in the area shows that financial aid from relatives along with loans and subsidies provided by the construction materials sellers (ardiyeci) in the

vicinity have had considerable impact on the relative welfare of the households. 37% of the household heads declared that they have been able to finance the construction through subsidy by construction materials sellers, 22% by support of relatives and 12% used both sources of support. Those who have been able to complete the construction by their own financial sources declared that they had to sell real estate, land and/or house in the village or gecekondur in Ankara, plus sold gold jewelry of the wives. In periods of increasing family welfare, renovation and/or additions were made to the gecekondur, even a new gecekondur could be built on the remains of the land. In periods of economic family crisis, if larger pieces of public land had been confiscated eg. as in the case of the first settlers, part of the land could be sold. In other cases, part of the gecekondur could be rented or the gecekondur could even be completely sold the family moving to a rented gecekondur. Ulubař study thus provides a limited but clear view of the first stages of a gecekondur settlement in the informal land and housing market.

6.3. Demographic Structure of the Area

In the Ulubař study the population of the Cevizlidere area is cited as 9 148, living in 1 351 houses in 1981 (A.Ulubař, 1981, p.8). The 41 households included in the survey displayed an average household size of 6.29 and an average family size of 5.06, there were 1.24 families per household. 35% of the families were extended of which 5% consisted of families with two wives. 61% of the household members were migrants mostly from Erzurum, Konya and Kars. In general migrants from Erzurum and Kars were concentrated in the central parts of the area (A.Ulubař, 1981, p.10).

The first demographical statistics at neighborhood basis was conducted in 1985 by the State Statistics Institute (Devlet İstatistik Enstitüsü) therefore it has not been possible to obtain increase of neighborhood population according to successive periods. The Plan Report of 1992 gives the 1985 State Statistics Institute population and population calculated based on area studies in the table below.

Table 11: Population of Neighborhoods in the Balgat-Dikmen Plan Area No:16

Neighborhoods	Population acc.to 1985 census	Population calculated acc.to household size of 5.5
Akpınar	4 757	4 824
Karapınar	3 527	3 179
Gökkuşığı	5 398	5 428
Cevizlidere	9 946	8 245
Ata	5 519	4 707
Huzur	5 357	4 730
Şehitler	3 150	4 521
Balgat	13 850	2 519
Öveçler	15 533	6 072
TOTAL	67 039	44 231

Source: Çankaya Belediyesi, İmar Planlama Müdürlüğü, Şubat 1992, Dikmen I. Etap Kısmi Nazım İmar Plan Revizyonu ve Dikmen II. Etap Nazım İmar Plan Raporu,s.18-19.

Population in the second column has been calculated by determining number of households based on existing number of independent apartments in the 616 ha. plan area. From survey studies conducted in the area it was deduced that family size was in the range of 4-8 persons so average family size for the area has been determined as 5.5. It was also determined that local development plans would provide space for location of 9 977 new residents moving total population in the plan area to 54 208 and that only 12% of the population would be living in the new areas, outside the plan area, opened to residence by local development plans (1992 Plan Raporu, s.19)

The Plan Report draws attention to the fact that in the plan area there is vacant land of about 100 ha. including topographical thresholds and/or land under private ownership and existence of this vacant land reduces the range of gross densities to 35-163 per./ha. and overall density for the plan area to 96 pers./ha. Overall density rises to 100 pers./ha. when vacant land area is deducted from the total plan area of 616 ha. (1992 Plan Raporu, s.19-20).

Table 12: Distribution of Neighborhood Population Densities of the Improvement and Development Plan No:16

50 pers./ha or lower density	50-100 pers./ha.	100-150 pers./ha
Balgat	Akpınar	Ata
Öveçler	Huzur	Cevizlidere
		Gökkuşığı
		Şehitler

Source: Çankaya Belediyesi, İmar Planlama Müdürlüğü, Şubat 1992, Dikmen I. Etap Kısmi Nazım İmar Plan Revizyonu ve Dikmen II. Etap Nazım İmar Plan Raporu,s.19-20.

2023 Capital City Ankara Development Plan (2023 Başkent Ankara Nazım İmar Planı) prepared in 2006-2007, is the present city scale development plan for Ankara prepared by the Greater City Municipality Development Plan Bureau. This plan includes Greater City Municipality and neighboring area (849 000 ha) of Ankara in a 50 km. radius with the provincial government building taken as the center according to Law no. 5216 (Büyük Şehir Belediyeler Kanunu). This Plan divides the plan area into 6 sub-regions and Cevizlidere is included in the Central Planning Area which covers the central city work areas and their near vicinity, namely Altındağ, Çankaya districts along with a part of Yenimahalle district. The sub-districts under the Central Planning Area relevant to the study area are Balgat and Öveçler and Cevizlidere seems to be located under Balgat. A table designed according to major neighborhoods in the area gives information about Cevizlidere as well. Balgat area in this case involves different neighborhoods, some located north of Çetin Emeç Boulevard (Nasuh Akar, Oğuzlar, Ehlibeyt, Balgat and Cevizlidere) therefore only Cevizlidere values are given in the table below.

Table 13: Central Plan Area Analysis of Population, Housing and Approved Plan Area

	Total district			Built up area			Vacant land	
	Area (ha)	Population	Family size	Area (ha)	Population	Density pers/ha	Unplanned land	In development plan, nonresiden. Land (ha)
Cevizlidere	67	7 097	4,24	11	3 459	303	0	7
Balgat* TOTAL	257	31 583	3,70	160	27 575	195	0	37

*"Balgat TOTAL" includes Balgat, Ehlíbeyt, Nasuh Akar, Oğuzlar and Cevizlidere neighborhoods.

Source: 2023 Başkent Ankara Nazım İmar Plan Raporu, s.531

Table 14: Central Plan Area Analysis of Population, Housing and Approved Plan Area

	Geceköndü						Total area	Difference
	Number of households	Population	Area (ha)	Existing density	Density in improvement plan	Population improvement plan	Population	Plan and existing population difference
Cevizlidere	858	3 638	48	75	303	14 624	18 083	10 986
Balgat* TOTAL	962	4 009	60	53	269	17 485	45 060	13 477

*"Balgat TOTAL" includes Balgat, Ehlíbeyt, Nasuh Akar, Oğuzlar and Cevizlidere neighborhoods.

Source: 2023 Başkent Ankara Nazım İmar Plan Raporu, s.531.

Tables 4 and 5 taken from the 2023 Plan Report present inconsistent figures for area, population and density. Therefore the information given in these tables is not compatible with the previous ones included in the 1992 and 1995 Dikmen-Balgat Plans. These tables included here reflect discontinuity and reasonal disconnectivity among successive plans undertaken by Çankaya and Greater City Municipalities since 1994.

According to 2023 Plan Report in the 1985, 1990 and 2000 population censuses Balgat population has changed between 24 321, 26 941, and 31 583 and in 1985-2000 only 30% new population has been added to existing Balgat population. So it is interesting and notable that, if figures for area and population are accepted as

valid, the household size has decreased from 6.29 in 1981 to around 3.50 in 2000, and family size from 5.06 in 1981 to 4.35 in 2000 displaying the change in composition of population of the area due to transformation plans. Yet this demographic change has to be validated by other dependable research like building census and/or construction and residence permits.

6.4. Housing in the Area

The 1992 Plan Report relates that almost all of the gecekondu and illegal housing in the area are of medium quality and a smaller section may be considered at good quality (1992 Plan Raporu, s. 24). Distribution of number of floors in the area is given in the table below:

Table 15: Distribution of Floors in the Residential Buildings

Neighborhood	Total nu. of buildings	No. of buildings with 4 floors	No. of buildings with 3 floors	No. of buildings with 2 floors	No. of buildings with 1 floor	Total nu. of households	Population	%
Akpınar	818	-	1	58	759	878	4 829	11
Karapınar	569	1	1	58	509	578	3 179	6
Gökkuşığı	940	-	2	43	895	987	5 429	12
Cevizlidere	1 426	-	8	57	1 361	1 499	8 245	19
Ata	770	4	7	62	697	874	4 707	11
Huzur	797	1	4	48	744	860	4 730	11
Şehitler	734	-	10	68	656	822	4 521	10
Balgat	415	-	3	37	375	458	2 519	6
Öveçler	1 049	1	9	48	991	1 104	6 072	14
TOTAL	7 518	7	45	479	6 987	8 060	44 231	100

Source: Çankaya Belediyesi, İmar Planlama Müdürlüğü, Şubat 1992, Dikmen I. Etap Kısmi Nazım İmar Plan Revizyonu ve Dikmen II. Etap Nazım İmar Plan Raporu, s.25.

Table shows that in the 7 518 buildings in Balgat area, 8 060 households and 44 231 residents live. The neighborhood with most residents seems to be Cevizlidere where in 18.9% of buildings, 18.6% of households and 18.6% of residents are located. The 1992 Plan Report mentions (s.25) that in the area there exists approved and implemented local development plans since 1975 covering about 32 ha. of land. An analysis of these plans shows that gross density in these areas is within the range of 200-250 per./ha, floor numbers between 7-12 leading to the expectation of about 10

000 new additional population for the Balgat area (1992 Plan Raporu, s.26). 1/5000 Development Plan for the city has determined general population density for the area at 200 per./ha. Yet considering the fact that gross density has been 250 pers./ha in the local development plans approved for the region, it is apparent that development plan decisions have not been followed.

Apartment sizes are about 125-150 m². Despite the fact that Improvement and Development Plans have been approved since 1987, the transport system in the area has not developed according to these plan decisions.

6.5. Socio-Economic Structure of the Area

According to Dikmen I. Phase Partial Development Plan Revision and Dikmen II. Phase Development Plan Report (Dikmen I. Etap Kısmi Nazım İmar Plan Revizyonu ve Dikmen II. Etap Nazım İmar Plan Raporu) surveys conducted in the area show that about 10% of the families can be accepted as in medium income level with monthly income of 1.5 million TL. or more and about 50% of male members were employed in public service and in Balgat Gıda Sanayii and the remaining 40% worked in “marginal” jobs in 1990’s (1992 Plan Raporu, s.20).

Ulubaş study gives a more detailed analysis of employment structure of 41 household heads and members in his survey in the area in 1981 showing the process of employment history of household heads as well.

Table 16: Percentage Distribution of Household Heads and Members to Different Employment Categories During Successive Job Stages

Employment Categories	1st Job %	2nd Job %	3rd Job %	4th Job %	5th Job %	6th Job %	7th Job %	Present Job %
Marginal jobs	10	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Worker in construction	13	7	5	5	5	5	5	5
Worker in petty industry	2	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Petty tradesmen	5	5	10	13	15	10	13	13
Commercial enterprise	2	-	2	5	5	5	8	8
Worker in industry	2	10	5	2	2	2	2	2
Driver	8	10	8	10	8	8	5	8
Worker in public service	24	23	17	17	17	17	17	17
Government official	22	30	30	25	25	30	27	24
Other	10	7	10	7	7	7	7	7
Retired	-	2	5	8	8	8	8	8
Unemployed	-	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Unknown	2	2	4	4	4	4	4	4
TOTAL	98	98	96	96	96	96	96	96

Source: A.Ulubaş, 1981, p.16.

This is a significant table reflecting the changing outlook of the 1960's and early 1970's labor market of gecekondu residents. The table reflects two characteristics of process of development of gecekondu labor market. Ulubaş relates that 70% of household heads have changed jobs in the labor market, 51% have changed their jobs two or three times. Therefore first of all, the table reflects the high turnover in the labor market of gecekondu dwellers. Secondly, in general the turnover has occurred towards higher pay jobs and/or jobs providing higher social security, which eventually was reflected in slow but definite upgrading of gecekondu areas.

According to the 1992 Plan Report, surveys conducted in the area at the beginning of the 1990's show that in general educational, cultural and income levels in the

area were low and although most households owned radios and TVs, sale of newspapers, and of periodicals were low. 2023 Başkent Ankara Nazım İmar Plan Raporu relates that according to surveys conducted about 47% of Balgat’s population (including Cevizlidere) is employed in social and personal services sector which reflects the important change in employment profile of the new population (2023 Plan Raporu, s.520).

6.6. Ownership of Land in the Plan Area

Ulubaş relates that there existed two large cadastral blocks within the boundaries of Cevizlidere; blocks 1980 and 1967. He copied the ownership pattern in block 1980 from title-deed registry but it has not been possible to do so for block 1967 due to difficulties he met in the registry office.

For the first phase of settlement Ulubaş gives the distribution of ownership and relevant sizes of land as follows:

Table 17: Distribution of Ownership of Land and Relevant Sizes

Ownership	Nu. of Cadastral Parcels	%	Area m ²	%	Average area per parcel
Municipality	16	33	190 848	37	11 928
State	11	23	117 828	22	10 712
Private	21	44	212 726	41	10 130
TOTAL	48	100	521 402	100	10 863

Source: A.Ulubaş, 1981, p.39.

The table shows that of the 48 cadastral parcels, 59% was owned by the municipality and the state, and 41% was under private ownership (Map 6). Publicly owned parcels were slightly larger than parcels under private ownership.

Map 6 shows the distribution of ownership pattern at the beginning of development phases in terms of cadastral parcels. The distribution of ownership in successive stages of development of settlement is depicted in Maps 7-10. According to these Maps the first settlement took place on cadastral block 1980 on parcel no. 3 which was privately owned. At the beginning of the development phase two (1961) expansion proceeded on private land yet at the end of phase two development changed its orientation towards land owned by the municipality and the state.

In phase three (1970-1976) expansion is observed in all directions, invading almost the whole area. The unoccupied parcels were privately owned. Ulubaş relates that this sudden development was due to provision of services in the area which started about 1971.

In the last phase (1976-1980) development proceeded by occupation of vacant private parcels and of vacant patches of land owned by the state that had remained in the area. Most unoccupied patches of land in this stage were under private ownership.

According to Ulubaş study, during the development phases of the area only two official cadastral divisions occurred. Parcel no. 31 owned by the state has been divided into parcel no. 45 owned by the municipality and parcel no. 46 owned by 13 private co-owners. The other division took place in parcel no. 33 owned by Ankara municipality. One section remained under the ownership of the municipality (no. 47), whereas the other parcel (no. 48) was transferred to private ownership shared by 32 co-owners (A.Ulubaş, 1981, pp.44-45).

There has been no other official cadastral division in the district yet the whole area has been divided into smaller lots unofficially by gecekondü dwellers. Ulubaş relates (p.45) that division of private land could be observed in title-deed registry to some extent but since parcels occupied by gecekondus were still registered in their

original undivided form, it had not been possible to observe the division in the registry documents.

In the development phases of the area, publicly owned cadastral parcels have been divided into smaller pieces of land. Ulubaş cites the example of process of division one private and one publicly owned parcel throughout the years of development of the Cevizlidere district.

Table 18: Comparison of Division Process of a Public and a Privately Owned Parcel Throughout Development Phases

		Public parcel no. 33	Privately owned parcel no.3
	Initial area m ²	48 779	25 625
1960	division into area m ²	- 48 779	10 2 563
1970	division into area m ²	39 1 251	36 712
1976	division into area m ²	98 498	41 625
1980	division into area m ²	120 406	41 625

Source: A.Ulubaş, 1981, p.46.

Ulubaş gives the size of average parcels as 232 m² on publicly owned land and as 423 m² on privately owned land and relates that division of public land has been more than one, even two times greater than that of privately owned land (A.Ulubaş, 1981, p.46).

Ulubaş relates the ownership of land in the 41 cases distributed in his survey area in 1981 in the table below

Table 19: Distribution of Ownership of Land in Ulubaş Study

Ownership	Nu. of cases on land under different ownership	%
Public land	25	61
Municipal land	2	5
Private land	14	34
TOTAL	41	100

Source: A.Ulubaş, 1981, p.34.

As observed, the highest frequency of settlement is on public land (treasury and provincial administration). Those who have settled on private land have bought the land and therefore have title-deeds. Ulubaş relates that of the 41 cases 27 (66%) did not have title-deeds because land is owned either by the public or by the municipality. 14 cases which have settled on public land reported that they have paid the price of land to the middlemen as mentioned before. Since no title-deed is received in case of occupation of public land, money paid to middlemen is less compared to land price under private ownership in which case title-deeds could be received. 6 cases have occupied public land without payment and 5 cases have acquired public land from their relatives without payment (A.Ulubaş, 1981, p.34). Later on it will be observed that after the implementation of the Improvement and Development Plans in the area, public ownership of cadastral land which was 50% would be reduced to (shared ownership not taken into consideration) to 3% (1992 Plan Raporu s.23).

In the 1992 Plan Report the ownership pattern of the plan area was calculated based on title-deed registrations. Yet since Improvement and Development Plans of the area had already been made according to which title-deeds have been received, cadastral ownership had been transferred into development ownership. Therefore public ownership could not be observed clearly. Besides in the parcellation plans only the cadastral surface area was taken, altogether reducing the area on which authorized housing rests to 375.6 ha of the total.

Table 20: The Plan Area (Area where parcellation has been applied according to approved improvement plans)

Neighborhood	Area ha.
Akpınar	62.1
Ata	20.8
Balgat	37.9
Cevizlidere	53.8
Gökkuşığı	52.2
Huzur	57.4
Öveçler	51.2
Şehitler	40.2
TOTAL	375.6

Source: Çankaya Belediyesi, İmar Planlama Müdürlüğü, Şubat 1992, Dikmen I. Etap Kısmi Nazım İmar Plan Revizyonu ve Dikmen II. Etap Nazım İmar Plan Raporu, s.23.

The ownership of this approximately 375.6 ha. is divided in the following way.

Table 21: Ownership in the Plan Area

Ownership	Area (ha)	%
Çankaya municipality	9	2,45
Çankaya municipality shared	21	5,6
Greater Ankara municipality	6,2	1,7
Greater Ankara municipality shared	20,8	5,6
Treasury	2,5	0,8
Provincial administration	0,23	0,04
Provincial administration shared	0,36	0,01
TOTAL	42,04	16,2

Source: Çankaya Belediyesi, İmar Planlama Müdürlüğü, Şubat 1992, Dikmen I. Etap Kısmi Nazım İmar Plan Revizyonu ve Dikmen II. Etap Nazım İmar Plan Raporu, s.23.

As mentioned in the Ulubaş study, the 1992 Plan Report also mentions the fact that public ownership ratio of the cadastral area which was about 50%, was reduced to 3% (shared ownership not included) after the improvement plans (1992 Plan Raporu, s.23) which means that occupied land has been authorized by the Improvement and Development Plans.

Table 11 showed distribution of ownership among neighborhoods. In the table below which shows distribution of ownership of land among neighborhoods, areas for which Improvement and Development Plans have been made and registered at the title-deed registry plan area were accepted as the plan area by the 1992 Plan Report. Since cadastral registry areas have been accepted as basic, areas of neighborhoods are different in this table. Because cadastral ownership has been transferred into planned ownership, public ownership could not be observed clearly either.

Table 22: Distribution of Ownership Among Neighborhoods in the Plan Area

Owner-ship	Akpınar	Ata	Balgat	Cevizli-dere	Gökku-şağı	Huzur	Öveçler	Şehitler	Total (ha)
private (ha)	41.44 13%	7.28 2.3%	37.6 12%	39.49 12.6%	53.7 17.1%	56.97 18.2%	38,65 12.3%	38,63 12.3%	313.76 100%
Çankaya municipa. (m2)	-	99 894 33.3%	1 535 0.5%	31 909 10.6%	29 533 9.9%	4 323 1.4%	117 162 39.1%	15 446 5.2%	299 802 100%
Greater City mun. (m2)	151 728 6.1%	35 343 13%	557 0.2	77 935 28.9%	544 0.2%	-	4 218 1.6%	-	270 325 100%
Treasury (m2)	54 879 62.8%	-	528 0.6%	27 749 31.7%	-	-	4 167 4.7%	-	87 323 100%
Provincial adm.	-	-	113	5 530	-	-	-	272	5 915

Source: Çankaya Belediyesi, İmar Planlama Müdürlüğü, Şubat 1992, Dikmen I. Etap Kısmi Nazım İmar Plan Revizyonu ve Dikmen II. Etap Nazım İmar Plan Raporu, s. 23.

6.7. The Process of Development of Planning in the Plan Area

The plan area was not included in the Jansen plan and no specific plan decision was brought for the Dikmen area in the Uybadın-Yücel plan with the exception of opening of Dikmen avenue and proposal for a small residential settlement west of the avenue. The Uybadın-Yücel plan applications in north and east of the areas reduced the area size from 863 ha. to present 616 ha.

Ankara Development Plan Bureau (Ankara Nazım Plan Bürosu) prepared a structural development plan for Ankara for the year 1990. In this Plan analytical studies Cevizlidere is included in the no. 27 Balgat-Çukurambar plan sub-region. According to the social and housing surveys of the 1990 Plan analytical studies conducted in 1970 Balgat area specifications, induced from sub-region 27 data, are listed below (Ankara Metropolitan Alan İmar PlanRaporu, 1990, s.402).

Balgat population (1970)	10 584
Balgat gross housing area (1970)	168 ha
Balgat gross population density	63 per/ha
Total local service area	2.2 ha
Need for service area	17.25 ha

In the Ankara Development Plan Bureau (Ankara Nazım Plan Bürosu) Development Plan of 1990 studies it is mentioned that in the 1957 Development Plan Balgat area has been opened to settlement without a feasibility study and it was foreseen that approximately 130 000 population would settle there. The 1990 Ankara Development Plan has ruled that according to development strategy of the Plan about 750 000 population would be added to the existing city macroform and new development areas would be opened in the west and southwest for about 1.6 million additional population. In the existing urban macroform 1957 Development Plan and Sub-Regional Storey Rule Plan (Bölge Kat Nizamı) would be in effect and in gecekondü areas measures would be taken according to Law 775's action policies.

According to the 1990 Ankara Development Plan Bureau Plan along the Konya road food industry and warehousing were foreseen for the Balgat area. No additional population and renewal for the existing gecekondü areas were proposed. It was noted that in case of upgrading of the area technical and social infrastructure had to be provided (Information about Ankara Development Plan Bureau 1990 Plan mentioned in the text above has been contributed by Assoc.Prof. Özcan Altaban).

Starting with 1975 the area has been partially developed through Local Development Plans (mevzii imar planları) until proclamation of Law no. 2805. Law 2805, one of the first Improvement and Development Plan Laws, issued in 1983, ruled that boundaries of untidy, disorderly and unwholesome building groups and settlements should be determined and declared as plan areas and Improvement and Development Plans should be prepared for these plan areas to achieve orderly, balanced and wholesome settlement levels. Accordingly, Balgat-Dikmen no. 16 Improvement and Development Plan Region (16 no.lu Balgat-Dikmen Islah İmar Planlama Bölgesi) was determined (Map 3). The plan area, approximately 616 ha. was bounded by Konya road on the west, Dikmen street on the south, Dikmen's old zoned area on the east and Çetin Emeç boulevard with Balgat's old zoned part on the north, as mentioned before.

The following year, in 1984, Law 2981 (İmar ve Gecekondu Mevzuatına Aykırı Yapılara Uygulanacak işlemler ve 6785 sayılı İmar Kanununun bir Maddesinin Değiştirilmesi Hakkında Kanun) was issued which abolished law 2805 and allocated the jurisdiction of preparation of 1/1 000 scale Improvement and Development Plans to district municipalities. This Law for the first time brought a new agent, "sworn technical bureaus" (yeminli teknik bürolar) overtaking some of the duties of the government and were abolished later on by the Court of Constitution, The Law also brought the concept of a pre title-deed document, (tapu tahsis belgesi) and classified unauthorized building stock as: those which would be preserved, those which would be upgraded and those which had to be demolished.

So according to Law 2981 1/1000 base maps for the area were prepared and approved by the Bank of Provinces (İller Bankası). In 1985, with the base maps ready and approved, preparation for making of Improvement and Development Plans for the whole region started. Yet although according to Law 3030 Greater City Municipality was expected to prepare a 1/5000 scale Development Plan to provide the basis for the Improvement and Development Plans, the Municipality failed to do so.

In 1987-1988, 1/1000 scale Improvement and Development Plans and parcellation plans were prepared for the whole region, approved by the district municipalities following which title-deed registration procedures were completed. So by 1988 in almost all of the area gecekondü owners achieved legal ownership rights.

In 1988 Greater City Municipal Council approved Development Plan at scale 1/5000 called Dikmen 1.st Stage Development Plan (Dikmen 1. Etap Nazım İmar Planı) which included only Akpınar and Karapınar neighborhoods. Since Improvement and Development Plans for Akpınar and Karapınar neighborhoods had been completed, approved and registered to the title-deed registry before the approval of the Development Plan of 1990 for the city, it has not been possible to revise these Improvement and Development Plans according to the Dikmen 1.st Stage Development Plan. At the time the only other Development Plan at 1/5000 scale existed for the Balgat Gıda Sanayii. No other Development Plans at 1/5000 scale existed for the rest of the area. Settlements in the area were all developed according to 1/1000 scale plans.

The Improvement and Development Plans for the area were to be implemented according to two methods.

- one stage plans at parcel/plot-scale, (doğrudan parsel bazında imar durumu), where development rights would be given in one stage,
- two stage plans at block scale (çift aşamalı ıslah imar planları), in which case development rights were to be granted in two stages.

The second method involved all the right owners in a block uniting and asking for changes in the plan according to plan notes, in which case they would be granted development rights. Since Improvement and Development Plans were applied in two steps, no decisions were included on number of storeys. In the first phase (plan A) of the two stage plans, the existing situation was to be preserved and permission was not to be given for further physical changes in the block. Plan A aimed at provision of services to all houses which would receive title-deeds, and where originally social service areas could not be allocated due to dense location of

gecekondu. If there were buildings in the block, maximum net density had to be 500 per./ha and if there were no buildings maximum net density had to be 400 per./ha. Social service areas were to be obtained from left over land.

Table 23: Distribution of One-Stage and Two-Stage Plan Areas Among Neighborhoods

	One-stage plan areas (ha)	Two-stage plan areas (ha)
Akpınar	10.3	64.2
Karapınar	42.5	-
Gökkuşığı	23.2	40.5
Cevzlidere	3.4	86.9
Ata	-	41.8
Huzur	75.5	-
Şehitler	-	57.6
Balgat	45.6	-
Balgat food industry	27.7	-
Öveçler	19.4	60.9
Tourism prof. sch.	16.5	-
TOTAL	264.1	351.9

Source: Çankaya Belediyesi, İmar Planlama Müdürlüğü, Şubat 1992, Dikmen I. Etap Kısmi Nazım İmar Plan Revizyonu ve Dikmen II. Etap Nazım İmar Plan Raporu, s.50.

So of the total 616 ha, about 264.1 ha. was to be transformed through one-stage plans and 351.9 ha. through two-stage plans. On the 484.4 ha. of surface area, gross density was to be 250 pers./ha, storey numbers ranging between 2-4, according to which 120 600 population would be living and service needs of this population would be provided with reference to standards of Law 3194. Since the municipality wanted to avoid expropriation as much as possible, social service areas were taken wherever possible. In fact, this means that the service area needed for 120 000 population should not be provided according to the Law.

Following table shows the plan area in further detail.

Table 24: The Plan Area in Detail

Plan Area	Area (ha)
Tourism profession school	16.5
Balgat food industry (urban service area)	31.1
Special project area	54.0
TOTAL SERVICE AREA	101.6
Plan areas transformed from two-stage to one-stage plans	279.9
One-stage plan areas	184.5
Areas developed by local dev. plans	32
TOTAL SETTLEMENT AREA	482.4
TOTAL AREA	616

Source: Çankaya Belediyesi, İmar Planlama Müdürlüğü, Şubat 1992, Dikmen I. Etap Kısmi Nazım İmar Plan Revizyonu ve Dikmen II. Etap Nazım İmar Plan Raporu, s.74.

Table 25: Land Use Ratios in the 482 ha. Settlement Area

Land Uses	Ha.	%
Residential areas	277	57,4
Active green areas	49,95	10,4
Kindergarden	1,2	0,28
Primary education	10,9	2,3
High school	2,7	0,57
Socio-cultural areas	2,8	0,6
Health	3,12	0,65
Municipal service area	2,93	0,6
Roads	121,0	25,0
Infrastructure area	3,3	0,7
Commercial area	7,07	1,5
TOTAL	482,4	100,0

Source: Source: Çankaya Belediyesi, İmar Planlama Müdürlüğü, Şubat 1992, Dikmen I. Etap Kısmi Nazım İmar Plan Revizyonu ve Dikmen II. Etap Nazım İmar Plan Raporu, s.74.

Soon problems started related to two-stage implementation. Rightowners complained that they could not reach agreements among themselves. In cases of coalition in some blocks, small shareholders could not get apartments. Feuds started among families and households creating tension in the neighborhoods. Also while constructions started and proceeded in one-stage areas, they lagged and could not be started in two-stage areas.

In 1991 Karapınar Improvement and Development Plan, which had originally been based on two-stage method and registered to title-deed registry, was revised upon

increasing complaints from the area, by the Municipal Council and the area was transferred to one-stage plans. Yet pressures coming from other areas to transform two-stage plan areas to one-stage plan areas could not be solved because due to Laws 2981-3290 and 3366 an Improvement and Development Plan could be made for a certain area only once. A new plan could only be made if based on a new 1/5000 scale Development Plan. Yet at the time there was no approved plan at this scale except only for Akpınar-Karapınar. So Çankaya Municipality started a plan study at 1/5000 scale in 1991.

In 1992 Çankaya Municipality Development Plan Bureau completed the analytical studies of the 1/5000 plan and the plan report and Greater City Municipality Development Plan Bureau signed a contract with Metropol İmar A.Ş. and the two Municipalities and Metropol A.Ş. started a coordinated study. The project name was **Dikmen 1. Etap Kısmi Nazım İmar Planı Revizyonu** (which included revision of Dikmen 1. Etap Nazım İmar Planı covering parts of Akpınar and Karapınar districts and which had been approved in 1988) **ve Dikmen 2. Etap Nazım İmar Planı** (including all areas which had 1/1000 scale Improvement and Development Plans registered at the title-deed registry, namely Gökkuşığı, Cevizlidere, Huzur, Şehitler, Ata, Öveçler, Balgat districts which had no 1/5000 scale development plans).

In the meantime all development activity in the area, between Dikmen road and Konya road was temporarily suspended in 1992. But soon protests grew in the area and in 1993, 1/5000 scale Development Plan was also suspended just when it was to be proceeded to Greater City Municipal Council and it was decided that all suspended development activities would proceed according to 1/1000 scale Development Plans. The Council decided that continuation of two-stage plan area development later on would clash with the new city Development Plan and therefore revisions were necessary for transformation of these areas to one-stage plan areas. So in 1994, 1/1000 Implementation Development Plan revision

(Uygulama İmar Plan Revizyonu) started. The revision process proceeded in two stages. The first stage referred to revision of Development Plan in the western part,

1. Etap Dikmen Batı Yakası İmar Planı Değişikliği including Cevzlidere, Gökkuşığı, Karapınar and Akpınar districts. The second stage, Dikmen 2. Etap Nazım İmar Planı, referred to Dikmen eastern part including Şehit Cengiz Karaca, Şehit Cevdet Özdemir and Ata districts.

In 1994 the two Revision Plans were sent to Greater City Development Department for approval but due to the fact that the same year 1/5000 scale City Development Plan was approved, the Revision Plans were sent back for coordination according to the new Development plan.

The requested changes were made on 1/1000 scale plans and were approved by the Greater City Municipality. Yet at the time Greater City Municipality did not have the jurisdiction to make 1/1000 scale plans or to revise 1/1000 scale plans made by district municipalities. Therefore the plans approved on condition by the Greater City Municipality were studied in the district municipalities with necessary changes made on 1/1000 scale plans and in 1995 Dikmen I. Phase Western Side Development Plan Revision and Dikmen II. Phase Development Plan for the eastern side were finally approved by the Greater City Municipality.

Cevzlidere district is included in the 1/1000 scale Dikmen I. Phase Western Side Development Plan Revision which covers about 224 ha. on the western part of Dikmen where net density is about 750 per./ha and proposed population is 71 200. The plan area includes four neighborhoods; Cevzlidere, Gökkuşığı, Karapınar and Akpınar.

Dikmen I. Phase Western Side Development Plan Revision Plan area was divided into following land-uses:

Table 26: Dikmen I. Phase Western Side Development Plan Revision Plan Area Land Uses

Landuses	Area (ha)	%
Residential	91,5	42
Green area	32	15
Education area	5,74	2,65
Socio-cultural area	0,54	0,25
Health area	0,55	0,26
Municipality service area	2,41	1,12
Religious area	0,77	0,36
Infrastructure area	0,54	0,25
Commercial area	1,45	0,67

Source: Çankaya Belediye Meclisi, 1995, 07.04.1995 Gün ve 106 no.lu Karar Metni, ss. 4-5.

Rest of the area was allocated for roads, pedestrian ways and car park areas.

Size of land uses allocated to different neighborhoods is presented in the following table in which total area allocated for development is 47.3%.

Table 27: Land Use in Neighborhoods

Land use m2	Cevizlidere	Gökkuşığı	Karapınar	Akpınar
Residential	336 076	197 555	200 595	217 085
Green	70 795	72 869	42 527	153 017
Education	12 189	13 141	3 600	19 808
Nursery	3 944	1 700	1 060	-
Health	1 120	-	2 500	1 927
Socio-cultural	2 650	-	1 350	1 440
Munici. service	7 338	3 850	8 383	4 158
Commerce	7 900	-	4 000	5 600
Mosque	2 754	805	1 960	2 245
Infrastructure	1 487	1 351	1 570	1 672
Allocated for residential development	50,3 %	45%	49.9%	30%
Allocated for residential use and services	53,6 %	49.3 %	53.1%	33%

Source: Çankaya Belediyesi, 1994, Dikmen Batı Yakası İmar Planı Değişiklik Raporu, s.5.

According to the plan notes in the 47.3% development area, the plan proposal includes detached, six-storey buildings, coefficient of floor area is set at floor area ratio of E=1.80. This E value has been based on average population density of Improvement and Development Plans which was 450 per./ha. To keep the same density and to settle 71 200 population in the area E ratio had to be 1.80. Thus the proposed population in the previous approved Improvement and Development Plans has remained the same at 71 200.

Total expropriation area was calculated by dividing the new proposed residential area by the residential area proposed in the Improvement and Development Plan. The ratio obtained was 25% and when area needed for social services and municipal land is subtracted the ratio of expropriation falls to 13% from 25%.

Other important plan notes depict that maximum plot size in the residential area might go up to 850 m², maximum base area coefficient (TAKS) should be 0.40 and coefficient of floor area should be 1.80.

A comparison of 1987 Improvement and Development Plans and 1994-1995 Dikmen I. Phase Western Side Development Plan Revision shows that the Improvement and Development Plans of 1988 were based on two different implementation methods, the proposed land uses presented a rather complex, divided and disorderly pattern, especially in plans A. In the Dikmen I. Phase Western Side Development Plan Revision land uses are more orderly and less complex. There are more green areas (from 10.4% to 15%) and less residential areas (from 57.4 to 42%). Moreover especially the valleys are allocated to large green areas instead of residential areas.

On the other hand, the Floor Area Ratio (KAKS) is 1.80 in the 1995 plans whereas the same coefficient was 1.20 in the 1987 Improvement and Development Plans, This means that numbers of storeys have increased. The Base Area Ratio (TAKS) is also increased from 0.30 in 1987 plans to 0.40 in 1995 plan. So both number of floors and the ratio of built-up area have been increased in successive plans.

A study made for Ankara in 1997 reveals the changes in existing and proposed population and densities in the periods 1984-1989 and 1990-1996 by Improvement and Development Plans.

Table 28: Existing and Proposed Populations and Areas for Squatter Housing Areas of Ankara by Improvement and Development Plans in Periods 1984-1989 and 1990-1996

	Existing squatter population 1984-89	Proposed squatter population 1984-89	Existing squatter population 1990-96	Proposed squatter population 1990-96	Existing squatter area 1984-89	Proposed area 1984-89	Existing squatter area 1990-96	Proposed area 1990-96
Altındağ	140 862	297 430	137 392	202 000	1439,7	1168,7	796,7	548,5
Çankaya	149 945	272 726	23 268	301 003	1815,4	1135,2	2201,5	1064,7
Etimesgut	-	-	57 896	267 080	-	-	584,4	641
Keçiören	148 234	403 115	155 065	360 773	1689,9	1245,9	1379,3	1015,2
Mamak	203 353	455 553	118 050	257 052	2701,2	2576	1681	966,7
Yenimah.	215 196	528 666	10 502	9 650	961,1	837,7	157,5	33,7
TOTAL	857 590	1 957 490	717 173	1 397 558	8607,3	6963,5	6800,4	4269,8

Source: N.Aydan Sat, 2007, "A Critique on Improvement Plans: A Tool for Transformation of Squatter Housing Areas in Ankara", Journal of the Faculty of Architecture, METU, Ankara, vol.24, no.2. p.31.

Table 29: Existing and Proposed Densities for Squatter Housing Areas of Ankara by Improvement and Development Plans in Periods 1984-1989 and 1990-1996

	Existing density 1984-89 (a)	Proposed density 1984-89 (a)	Existing density 1990-96 (b)	Proposed density 1990-96 (b)	Changes in existing density in 1984-89 % (a)	Changes in proposed density in 1984-89 % (b)
Altındağ	97	255	173	368	163	113
Çankaya	83	240	108	272	189	152
Etimesgut	-	-	99	386	-	290
Keçiören	87	324	112	355	272	217
Mamak	75	177	70	266	136	280
Yenimah.	223	631	67	286	183	327
TOTAL	100	281	106	327	181	209

Source: N.Aydan Sat, 2007, "A Critique on Improvement Plans: A Tool for Transformation of Squatter Housing Areas in Ankara", Journal of the Faculty of Architecture, METU, Ankara, vol.24, no.2. p.31.

The two tables above display the high differences between the existing and proposed populations and densities for two different but successive periods. The Improvement and Development Plan implementations resulted in increased population densities in plan areas unfortunately disproportional with urban service and infrastructure standards.

The table below shows the social and technical service areas which need to be added to the proposed service areas by Improvement and Development Plans according to Law 3194. This information is important since it does show the legal requirements for urban services. Yet the municipalities responsible for Improvement and Development Plans have not taken those rules into account.

Table 30: Social and Technical Service Areas to be Added to Improvement and Development Plan Proposals According to Law 3194

	Education	Health	Socio-cult.	Green	Commer.
Altındağ	160,4	47,2	149,9	218,6	69,8
Çankaya	178,3	50,4	170,6	205,1	77,3
Etimesgut	89,5	22,8	72,7	62,2	29,7
Keçiören	239,2	64,7	210,0	359,0	100,4
Mamak	191,6	60,5	208,8	425,0	43,3
Yenimah.	199,8	52,8	165,0	322,4	73,1
TOTAL	1058,8	298,4	977,0	1592,3	393,5

Source: Summarized from N.Aydan Sat, 2007, "A Critique on Improvement Plans: A for Transformation of Squatter Housing Areas in Ankara", Journal of the Faculty of Architecture, METU, Ankara, vol.24, no.2. p.32.

An example of the discrepancy between population and densities proposed by Improvement and Development Plans and urban social and technical service area standards may also be cited from Balgat-Cevizlidere study area. A summary of densities proposed by subsequent plans for the area is summarized below.

-According to the analytical studies of Ankara Development Plan Bureau 1990 Plan, in the sub-region 27 and specifically in Balgat area, local urban services are less than about 87% of the standard. In 1970 the urban service standard of the Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement was 16.2 m²/per, and in Balgat this standard very low at 2.10 m²/per. Although some municipal infrastructure as electricity, water, sewage has been partly provided, important social infrastructure areas like green area, education, or health areas were almost nonexistent (Assoc.Prof.Ö.Altaban notes).

-It was already mentioned Balgat area was opened to settlement according to 1/1000 scale Improvement and Development Plans approved in 1988. It was also

mentioned that Dikmen I. Phase Western Side Development Plan approved in 1992 proposed that 120 600 residents would locate at gross density of 250 per/ha, in 2-4 storey houses, on 264 ha. of land in the western side. Development Law 3194 rules that service areas had to be expropriated in conformity with the 1985 urban service standards. Yet since the Municipality was not in favor of expropriation therefore in the 1/1000 scale Development Plan urban services could be allocated at 20% level.

-1/1000 scale Dikmen I. Phase Western Side Development Plan was revised in 1995 according to which 71 200 population was proposed for the four neighborhoods; Akpınar, Karapınar, Cevizlidere and Gökkuşığı on 224 ha. In this plan area of 224 ha. 91.5 ha. was allocated as gross housing area which raised net population density to the high level of 778 per/ha in the four neighborhoods. In order to be able to locate 71 200 population at such a high density floor area ratio of E=1.80 and 6 storeys were allowed on the average 800 m² development parcels. As apartments remaining below the road levels due to sloping topography were not included in the floor area ratio, high rise buildings of 8-10 storeys were built on the slopes facing the Konya road.

-The population allocated to Cevizlidere was 28 822, which would settle at net density of 857.8 per/ha on 33.6 ha. Yet only a very low proportion of 6.18 m²/per local urban service area would be allocated for in Cevizlidere instead of the Law 3194 standard of 23 m²/per.

So transformation process resulted in unwholesome, overly dense and congested building stock and physical environment in Balgat in general and Cevizlidere in particular.

6.8. Present Status of the Area

In 2005 a new prestige transformation project, Konya Yolu-Çaldağ Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Gelişim Projesi was proposed for part of the area that extends on the

eastern side of the Konya road from the Çetin Emeç boulevard to Oran city covering Çaldağ Park, Akpınar, Karapınar, Gökkuşluğu and Cevizlidere neighborhoods.

The area is about 320 ha. including the Çaldağ park and at present there are about 420 housing units on it. The project involves building of 8200 new housing units. Ownership pattern in the area is given in the table below.

Table 31: Ownership Pattern in Konya Yolu-Çaldağ Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Gelişim Projesi

Ownership	Nu. of parcels	Area (ha)
Private	760	100
Municipality	5	40
Treasury	3	180
TOTAL	768	320

Source: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi web site.

The reason for the project was cited as the area having developed into congested, dense, standard apartment blocks built according to the Improvement and Development Plans of 1995, creating a negative image along one of the main entrance routes to the city. In the Dikmen I. Phase Western Side Development Plan Revision signed in 1995, landowners were asked to abandon 20% of their parcels without compensation to the municipality for creation of green areas. In the prestige project it was planned that by the year 2005 all constructions in the area would be suspended except the ones with construction permits and the project would start. For the area, a project similar to Dikmen Valley Project would be developed. So among the present dense blocks of high-rise apartments open spaces would be created, it would be possible to provide more service areas and create a more aesthetic urban tissue. According to the reports of the Municipal Council about 65% of the housing parcels were already vacant and that of the 740 housing parcels 410 were vacant and on 330 of them constructions were either completed the were going on. Çaldağ hill itself was to provide a lookout point among the surrounding

greenery and create an image for the area yet the hill now is obstructed from the view by the high-rise apartment buildings around it. The project has not started yet.

6.9. 2008 Area Study

In March 2008 two small areas were chosen for interviews on the north and east of the old Bağlarbaşı mosque, located at the junction of Ceyhun Atuf Kansu road and 2. cadde (Map 11-12-13). This area is in the triangle drawn on the colored Ulubaş study area in Map 3) and the mosque is accentuated by color. One area (Block A) is an already transformed block where six large apartment buildings are located, facing the Ceyhun Atuf Kansu road, east of the mosque. The other area (Block B) is a small one with about 10 gecekondus and one apartment house on it, separated from the mosque with a narrow path, called 19th street. Some of the gecekondus were vacated and two were half demolished. Twelve Interviews were conducted with the headman of the neighborhood, with four real estate agents, two former gecekondu/present apartment owners, four present gecekondu residents, and with one gecekondu tenant.

The study area is an old gecekondu settlement (Map 14-15), which was transformed through Improvement and Development Plans (Map 16-17). Map 12 shows the present aerial view of the area.

6.9.1. 1-Interview with Cevizlidere headman, S.C.

“The original population of this neighborhood arrived from Erzurum, Kars, and from environs of Amasya and Haymana. The reason why they chose this area was because treasury land was cheap then and their relatives and countrymen had already settled in the area. Today most of the rightowners in the area are retired workers of Greater City or Çankaya municipalities or are retired construction workers. Family size is about 6-7 and almost all children are encouraged to receive education.

The neighborhood used was covered by gecekondu since about 8-10 years ago. During the Özal period there was some talk as to distribution of title-deeds. It was also said that relevant laws, regulations have already been issued and title-deeds would be issued after payment on land was deposited. Some gecekondu owners deposited the required amounts and some could not. Title-deeds were issued occasionally. Karayalçın received votes from the area upon promise to issue title-deeds but failed to fulfill his promise. Gökçek received votes based on the same promises. He made agreements with the rightowners and promised them multi-storey buildings. But when it was realized that only 4 storeys would be allowed, residents started to resist the demolition teams. A neighborhood committee was formed and I was the leader, we went to the prime minister. The prime minister interfered and Gökçek stopped development process. Finally development rights were granted at 5 storeys. So immediately developers started to buy gecekondu parcels, uniting them and constructions started and have been going on for the past 10 years. In the meantime, Gökçek failed to fulfill his promises, eg. there is no green area, no “breathing” space for the residents, the area is covered by buildings.”

“Today only about 5% of the original population still live in the area. Those who failed to receive development rights migrated to other gecekondu neighborhoods of Ankara. In general gecekondu plots were about 200 m². So people received their development rights on this size parcels. Some rightowners made agreements with developers for 50% share plus (if possible) for one shop. Some received 2 apartments and some sold these apartments and bought 3-4 apartments in Sincan-Fatih where prices are far cheaper. Some rented their apartments. Today there are almost no vacant parcels in the area. Land prices are very high. Minimum rents are about 750 YTL, shops are rented for at least 1000 YTL.”

The new housing block right across the mosque Bağlarbaşı, consist of 6 apartment buildings constructed in place of about 40 gecekondu. Rightowners had to give up their gecekondu for small amounts of expropriation money, about 3-5 000 YTL. Application to courts and protests failed to bring solutions and they had to leave the

area. There were also family feuds when members failed to agree on sharing of the ownership rights.

As to Göktaş building in 19-20th streets. This building replaced 5 gecekondus and the title-deed was issued in the name B.G. No one knows how this person received the title-deed as land belonged to the treasury. Many of the gecekondus in this area are registered in the name of A.Ü. Again nobody knows how these title-deeds were issued and who these people are. For example, my father bought 1 200 m² land from the then Bursa member of the Parliament, M. Ö. yet today they have only 500 m². Even we don't know how our land has been confiscated in time.”

6.9.2. Interviews with real estate agents and developers

2-B.G. (the same B.G. mentioned by the headman as the owner of Göktaş building) developer and apartment owner in the only apartment building in Block B (no. 140, 6 storeys)

“There were 5 gecekondus on the parcel of this building. The land belonged to the treasury. Gecekondu owners did not have title-deeds so they only received expropriation money, 3-5 000 YTL and left for Sincan or for other low-cost housing areas. At the time we lived in Gölbaşı and the parcel of this building with gecekondus on it our rightful field and we had a title-deed for it. When development came to the area, our field became a proper development parcel. We expelled the gecekondu dwellers in the area. Since they did not have title-deeds for the land, they could not receive shares in the new building.

In 1997 development came and transformation started after 1999. The process received velocity in 2002-2003 during which demolition expanded in the area. Today only 3 gecekondus remain near our building and they are waiting for the court decision but actually they have no right on land and will have to leave. They have originally confiscated land that belong to others and have lived on it for so

may years without paying any compensation. So If they had any rights, it has been exploited through these years when they lived free of charge on the land.

Today there are almost no vacant plots for sale, and there are almost no gecekondus left in the area. Sale price of an apartment is about 250-300 000 YTL, and I rented apartments in this building at 650-750 YTL.”

3-K.A. real estate agent, owner of Işık Emlak and apartment owner in Block A.
(building no.143/22, 5 stories, built in 2002-2004)

“This block of six apartment buildings replaced approximately 40 gecekondus. My real estate office was built in place of six gecekondus. I have retired from Çankaya municipality. I have been living here for the past 38 years, I worked in paving of the Ceyhun Atıf Kansu road which is an old road since 1975 and it used to be called 4. cadde. Cevizlidere caddesi did not exist then, it has a past of 3-4 years. All this area was treasury land and was covered by gecekondus and none had title-deeds. During transformation somehow these lands turned out to be registered in the names of people we haven’t heard of.

Transformation started with measurement of the area in 1986 during which all ownership shares and sizes were determined, in 1989 another round of measurements were made. The headman’s office notified people and transformation first started in Öveçler then came to this area (block A) in 8-10 years. In the meantime, gecekondus were demolished, water and electricity meters were abolished and land was cleared of the debris and then presented to the developers. Demolition of the gecekondus did not take place immediately, the process takes about two years because first of all residence permit has to be received, demolition will take place, the municipality will determine the new measurements, the construction project has to be prepared. Demolition itself takes only a day. For this block (block A) demolition took place a year after notification and the 40 gecekondus here were demolished in different time periods. Construction lasted

about two years and different developers conducted the construction of the six apartment buildings. With transformation road were paved, new roads were opened, physical layout became for presentable.

Rightowners here made agreements on 50% share so many received at most 2 apartments here. Today sales price of an apartment is around 200-250 000 YTL, with the minimum m² price at 3 000 YTL and rent in this building is 750 YTL. Rents for shops start at 1 200 YTL. Since there are almost no developed parcels for housing in this area, sales are very slow.”

In this building (the first apartment block) there are only three rightowners. Others have sold their shares and moved on to around Sincan-Fatih. With the sales money they received for these apartments here, they have been able to buy 3-4 apartments there. They rented and/or allocated these apartments to their offspring. Almost all of the previous landowners have moved away also because their way of life is not compatible with the newcomers most of whom are military men and doctors. For example, the gecekondü owner is used to leave his shoes outside the house door, in an apartment building his shoes would be thrown away. Besides these people were socially attached to each other, in these apartment buildings people don't even socialize with their neighbors.”

4-Interview with T.D. developer, he is the developer who constructed one of the the buildings in block A.

“I now work as a developer in this area but I used to sell cars. For a time I worked both in construction and in car selling jobs but now I am only working as a developer. I know the gecekondus that used to be in this area. They were built by the first settlers. Land here was vacant and belonged to the treasury or the the villagers so migrants confiscated the area, enclosed parcels to build gecekondus and then bought the land from owners. No formal announcement was made to the residents here about the transformation by the authorities, eg. municipality or the

headmen. Residents learned through hearsay and from each other and as roads started to be paved and parcels were divided according to the development plan, they started making agreements with developers. For example, the gecekondu in the site of this building were demolished in 2-3 days and the debris was moved, so the site was cleared in about a week. Then construction started and was completed in two years. The apartments were sold in about 3-5 months as this area presented a new and attractive settlement potential. In general, agreements were on 50% share between the developer and the parcel owner. At the termination of the construction when residence permit was received both sides registered their shares at the title-deed registry office. Unfortunately most of the original population had to leave the area selling their shares and moving to Sincan, Mamak and Etimesut districts, to Karapürçek, where they could buy 2-3 apartments with the sales money of one apartment here. They could not afford the new and raised standard of living here with now high apartment resident fees, new shops selling higher priced goods for the new higher income residents coming to the area. There was also a culture gap with the new population which mostly consist of working, white collar professionals. So the previous gecekondu residents changed location in order to maintain the life standards and styles that they are used to. Most of the apartments in these six blocks are work places and some of the shops in the ground floor are used also used for storage. Rents of apartments are between 500 million to one billion TL. Sales prices range between 150-350 billion TL.

As to the transformation process in the area, the positive aspect is that the area was cleaned of what we may call 'filthy image'. But then I have to confess that I do not appreciate the municipality project. In my opinion the project could have been much better with more green areas, more playgrounds, pedestrian ways, buildings located with proper distance from each other, there could have been higher buildings with large social areas in between, roads could have been wider. At the time of the gecekondu one could step on the soil, there were lots of greenery around, people had gardens where they could breathe and children could play ball. None of these exist now. Municipality also failed to prepare the infrastructure in

time. In Europe all the infrastructure systems, natural gas system, sewage system are laid beforehand and as soon as the constructions are finished they are connected. Here you finish the construction and wait and wait for infrastructure services to come. It is true that this problem is solved in time but it is solved slowly and in pieces like completing a puzzle. For example, until a year ago there was a sewage problem here. One agency comes and digs the road, the other agency comes and tears down a few street furniture, they don't work in coordination, the PTT, sewage, electricity agencies never come to the area in a coordinated project.

With transformation the value of land increased skyhigh, whatever was sold for 1 lira then is sold for 1000 lira now. There is an increase of hundred thousand times. For example, at the time of the gecekondu, price per square meter of land was about 50-100 million TL now the price is 3-4 billion TL.

5-Interview with developer I.K., Kayhan Emlak. Tekstil Kent İş Merkezi

“This business center (7 floors) is being built on 13 or 17 gecekondu parcels. Parcels were united by the developer and handed in to the construction firm. To buy apartment in these new buildings is now a dream. They are more expensive than apartments in Çankaya. Price starts at 300 000 YTL. In fact, people are moving around here from Çankaya and its vicinity. Rents start at 600-700 YTL, and shops are rented at 1-1.5 000 YTL. There are almost no gecekondu left in the area.”

6.9.3. Interviews with former gecekondu/present apartment owners

6-Y.K. former gecekondu owner, present apartment owner in Block A. (building no. 143, 5 stories, built in 2002-2005)

“I came to Ankara in 1969 with my wife from Posof-Ardahan when I was 25 years old. We directly settled in Cevizlidere because we had acquaintances here. We had four children here who all have left home by now. I at first worked in constructions

and then entered Çankaya municipality, worked there for 17 years. Then went to Libya and worked there for 7 years. Now I have retired.

In this gecekondur area most residents were from Erzurum, Kars and Amasya. All these gecekondus were built on treasury land. Like all my neighbors, I built our gecekondur myself. In Özal's time title-deed promises (tapu-tahsis belgeleri) were distributed, those who could pay received their title-deeds in time. I too paid and received my title-deed. Those who could not pay received 3-5 000 YTL expropriation money and left the area.

About 5-6 years ago development came. The parcel of this building was about 1 200 m² and there were six owners each with a share of about 200 m². Shares were distributed according to the frontage of the plot. I received two apartments and a shop with percentage share. I sold one of the apartments and my wife and I am living in the other. The shop is rented. Most of the rightowners sold their apartments and bought cheaper apartments in Sincan and Fatih residing in some, their children in others and the remaining ones rented or sold. Almost all the original population has left the neighborhood.

Transformation has been good for me. Rents are about 650-750 YTL and shops are rented at least at 1 000 YTL. Apartments are sold for 200-250 000 YTL. You'll find similar stories all around us.

7-Interview with M.B. former gecekondur/present apartment owner (Block A)

"I came to Ankara from Posof-Ardahan in 1966 with my family, I was 4.5 years old then. We came directly to Cevizlidere because my uncle had settled here. We lived as tenants about 2 years and in 1968 we bought the land, there were five other partners on land including my uncle and built this gecekondur ourselves. At the time there were three walnut trees at the present Fen Lisesi junction and a brook flowed nearby. The neighborhood was covered by vineyards. We had only two bus stops and the only bus service was to Ulus, no bus service existed with Kızılay. Busses

came to these stops every two-three hours and there was no time schedule for them either. Five-six years later a dolmuş line came here and the first stop was before the Bağlarbaşı mosque. There was no running water, we used water from wells. Later on as road system developed and as electricity arrived in 1976, industry like Dörtel, Samantha came by. I went to school and worked at the same time in one of industries around. After my military service I entered Hacettepe University as a technician and I am still working there. My wife is also employed by the same University and my children are attending the primary school in the Beytepe campus.

Nobody notified us residents about the transformation. We learned about it by asking our friends in the municipalities and through hearsay from neighbors and friends. As development rights were granted developers jumped on us to in order to close deals cheaply on land. At this stage we realized that our parcel had a mortgage on it by the former owners. So we went to court where the process lasted for three years and still there are unsolved issues. Finally we made an agreement with the developer which in turn lasted for 3-4 months and we gave the land to him in exchange for a number of independent apartments. Then the gecekondus owners on land started to demolish the gecekondus. A year after the start of the construction, as the building reached sub-basement level, the developer stopped the construction for about a year due to financial difficulties and finally left the construction. We contacted another developer who also declined and finally we applied to a third developer who had just bought a shop in the area and he agreed to proceed at 50% share as before. He finished the building in two years and in the meantime we stayed at a rented place. Of the original five families only two have gone elsewhere, one lives in Germany and the other who was wealthy lives in Çankaya, other are now living in this building.

The positive aspect of transformation is that the area reached a wholesome environmental level. These buildings are clean and hygienic compared to old gecekondus environment. On the other hand, social life has ended. You only greet you neighbors when you meet them now otherwise nobody socializes with others.

In the old days when tea was brewed at least ten people gathered to drink it. We had a common pergola in the land where we used to gather and socialize until one-two o'clock in the morning. It is all gone now.”

I wish there was a green park in the area where I could go, sit and relieve stress. I also wish that instead of these piles of concrete buildings, two storey, authorized buildings were constructed. I believe the transformation should have followed such a spatial model.

6.9.4. Interviews with present gecekondü residents

8-S.E. gecekondü owner in Block B .

(gecekondü no. 6, 2 storeys, built in 1965, family of 3 children, one child graduate of lise-unemployed, one still student in Gazi univ. one boy left lise.)

“We migrated from Erzurum 43 years ago and directly settled in Cevizlidere because our acquaintances were here. At first we were tenants in the area then in 1980 my father bought this gecekondü. We worked as construction workers and built most of the gecekondüs in the area. We are a family of 5 but most of the families around have about 6-7 members. The first comers worked in constructions or in any jobs that they could find. Later on some managed to find jobs in Greater City and Çankaya municipalities and in time have retired from these institutions.

About 8-10 years ago talk about transformation in the area started. The process received velocity in 2002-2005. Land in this part of the neighborhood belongs to the treasury. When there was talk about legalization to be granted to gecekondüs, suddenly registrations took place in name of people nobody had heard of. The actual rightowners failed to receive anything. They also failed to act together and received no external support. A few rightowners tried to resist and protest but they have not been effective and could not even go to court. There used to be 30 gecekondüs around us and now only 3 families are left including us. Most

gecekondu owners lost court cases, received only 3-5000 YTL expropriation money and left for other gecekondu areas. We are waiting for our court case to come to a decision. In short, transformation has brought downfall for us, we failed to received our compensation for our rights on land.”

9-Interview with S.E. and her mother, owners of a gecekondu, waiting for transformation. block B.

“I was born in Ankara and I am now a university student. My parents and grandparents all lived here and they had settled here because their relatives were in the neighborhood. This gecekondu is about 100 m², and the parcel is about 250 m². The house has two bedrooms and a living room. Kitchen and WC are inside, there is only a coal shed outside. The gecekondu was built around 1962 and my grandparents have bought the gecekondu.

Transformation in the area came nearby within the past five years, since 2003. No developer approached us yet but we expect an offer to come by soon. In general neighbors around acted individually and made individual contracts with developers. Nobody received outside help. Those who had no title-deed problems could receive two-three apartments in transformation process but it turned out that some title-deeds were registered on other people’s names. We have the same problem, in the past my grandfather bought this place but title-deed was issued on somebody else’s name and we could not transfer the title-deed to our name because we have another house nearby which is registered to our name and therefore the authorities refused to issue another title-deed. So our only profit is the years we lived here. We are now waiting for an offer which might include an amount of money equal to a year’s rent plus, if possible, moving expense coverage or demolition expense coverage. Since the title-deed is on somebody else’s name and he happens to be a lawyer there is nothing we can do or expect to receive a share in the new building. Anyway many of our neighbors opened court cases but almost all lost, received a small compensation and left. So we did not even go to court.”

10-Interview with S.E.'s mother

“Look at the new environment, I am 43 years old and I have not yet seen a green park, none of our children could play in a park, they could only play alongside the roads. With the coming of some non-residential buildings like industry, the textile sector, political party headquarters, we lived a building boom. No consideration was given to the residents, and to their comfort. The whole area became a construction site. I have not been educated but more or less I am able to evaluate the environment. I attend meetings and listen to speeches made by the mayor and other important authorities.

When we came here this plot was vacant, it was not even bounded or enclosed in anyway. If it were bounded, nobody would have settled on it and build houses. We all settled here on this seemingly vacant land and only with the beginning of transformation process years later we learned that these plots had owners. I am not sure whether this is really true or some sort of cheating is involved here. It seems the real owner is deceased and his grandchildren are lawyers. How can we deal with them? Nobody warned us when we settled here, the whole thing was clarified in the past five-six years. One of my neighbors had to leave his home where he lived for 43 years by receiving only 10 000 YTL, what would he do? A new apartment here costs at least 140 000 YTL, nobody around here can afford that kind money. If we had a title-deed we could have received two apartments but now we'll get only 3-5 000 YTL. One of our neighbors who was exactly the same problem like us had to leave with 2.5 000 YTL with which he paid electricity and water bills and left. Now he lives in a rented building in Keçiören because rents are high, between 500-800 YTL here. My children also want to go on living here, if possible in a rented place. But even basement apartments ask for 400 YTL rent. So we cannot possibly stay here, none of my neighbors could do so. The new population are doctors, dentists, businessmen and most of the new apartments are used as workplaces. We suffered the lack of infrastructure, the mud and all the problems of a completely vacant and unofficial, illegal settlement area, we lived through and faced fear of demolition, we

strived and suffered to obtain infrastructure, services and legality to the area, and now we can no longer live here.”

11-Interview with G.E. gecekondü owner, waiting for transformation, block B.

“I was born in Kars, my husband was a farmer in Erzurum. He has now retired from State Planning Organization publishing workshop. We are both graduates of primary school. We migrated to Ankara in 1960 and settled directly here. In fact we are one of the first settlers in the area and that is why this neighborhood is also called Erzurum mahallesi, we started the settlement here. There were lots of walnut trees here and then people called this area ‘the place where walnut trees are, it is called Erzurum mahallesi’. We came here because some relatives had already settled here. We bought the land from Ministry of Finance for 310 million TL at the time, about 48 years ago and we built the gecekondü ourselves with the help of our relatives here, anyway my husband had experience in construction. So we never employed construction workers. The gecekondü is 80 m² and has three bedrooms and a living room with separate bathroom, WC and kitchen.

Transformation in this block started about seven years ago. We have 134 m² to be given to the developer. Developers are after us but it has not been possible to come to an agreement with them. We want a duplex top floor apartment in the new building but the developer wants extra money for it. They say that they can sell such an apartment in a short period of time for about 300 000 YTL, in which case we want 250 000 YTL. So we are ready to leave the duplex top floor apartment to the developer in return for 250 000 YTL with which I could buy houses in Sincan and Etimesut. My children live in those district as tenants and with this money I can buy them houses. If it wasn’t for them I would have liked to go on living here. So we are still waiting to come to an agreement with a developer. In fact, I am not happy with the new spatial environment that resulted from transformation. Look around, its all disorderly, dense, no breathing space, dirty. In the old days people kept the area around their houses clean. Actually if the transformation process were

to end, and the environment cleaned up, I would have liked to live in an apartment here if it weren't for my children living on the other end of the city for rent.”

6.9.5. Interview with a gecekondü tenant

12-Gecekondü tenant in Gökkuşığı street (building no. 1, old and badly kept house, family of 3 children, household head 60 years old, works as waiter in Çankaya)

“We are tenants here and have lived here for a long period of time. As tenants we have no rights here, we asked to leave the area but where could we go? Our children are unemployed and they have no professions. Government should support us. As you see yourself these houses and area is not fit for healthy living.”

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

With the 1973 global petroleum crisis induced by per barrel price rising from 2.50 dollars to 12.50 overnight, a dramatic increase of five times, western economies, especially US and UK economies, went into decline as they failed to maintain a healthy competition against the influx of cheap eastern, especially Japanese goods. Increased input cost due to rising energy price in view of failure to reduce labor cost due to resistance from powerful unions and the narrowing market for their products led firms to large scale labor dismissals. Labor dismissals led to fall in labor income and therefore to reduced consumption expenditure which stimulated further contraction of the economy with reduced investments leading to further labor dismissals and closing down of firms.

This vicious economic crisis circle also had its impact on urban areas. Rising petrodollars in the middle east were channelled into western economies. In these economies primary sector was already over-invested, so profit expectation was not high. Besides in this sector profits accrue with a time lag. So profitable property sector where profits/rents could be acquired in far shorter periods of time, received investments. In the meantime it was time both for third world countries to pay back interest on loans they had received and pension funds were increased in Europe. All this increased supply of money also went into the property markets of the west, which became over-invested and tended to collapse early in the 1990's.

The vicious economic circle in the western markets possibly leading to drastic consequences was broken by reorganization and restructuring of economic base. As

already known, this restructuring of economic base involved transition from vertically integrated Fordist type of manufacturing for markets based on price competition, to flexible, horizontally integrated manufacturing organization for markets based on design, quality and fashion. This flexibility in production was achieved by allocating stages of production to the relevant cheap labor depots so capital became globally mobile and emphasis in the markets shifted to consumption goods. This radical transformation and reorganization of production was based on development of new technology, namely the telecommunication technology.

The restructuring of global economic base, reviewed in summary above, had its impact on urban systems, on urban physical set-up, on urban social structure with rising of new professions and reorganization of the urban labor markets and on urban culture. Expansion of globalized capital led some developing country cities, which have had 'primate city' functions and history in the past, to rise to supra-national level and using their already established economic, social, political and cultural heritages to become candidates for a new league of world cities formed by the developed economic capitals of the world. The other cities entered a rapid and critical race under the leadership of their local administrations to catch-up with and establish new interrelations with their national world city candidates and with other world cities. To reach this aim, local administrations had to define new urban functions and/or new urban identities in compromise with the new global values to be able to catch up and keep pace with global trends.

Among economic, social and cultural policies, the urban policy of local administrations involves 1) developing into a regional city if the hinterland has economic potential, 2) to open up new urban residential and work areas in conformity with the new global values and aesthetics and 3) to transform the declining sections of the city with low income residential areas getting the priority.

Turkey also follows this general trend and Ankara is a feasible example for discussion of especially the third policy because the city contains examples of the

second and third main solutions developed for transformation of especially the low income areas, namely the former gecekondu settlements. The two solutions mentioned are, the series of Improvement and Development Laws issued during the 1980's with development theoretically defined not only through economies but through quality of life criteria and secondly individual transformation projects developed towards the 1990's defined through a human centered angle reflecting the new global values like governance, democracy and human rights. Both solutions were discussed in Chapter 5.

Implementation examples of renewal from different countries display policies, actions and projects developed to cope with problems of slum and squatter settlements. As mentioned in Chapter 3, in each case different renewal policies were adopted compatible with the relevant economic and administrative set-up of the country. It was also mentioned and discussed in the same Chapter that the most important problem that most of the countries faced was availability of sufficient finance. Especially in case of developing countries funds and aids were insufficient to begin with to which new standards increasing quality of life and space were added. It was difficult for administrations and especially for the urban poor to meet these payments.

Another problem faced, in addition to insufficiency of financial resources, was ability to establish efficient organization, a successful cooperation of the public and private sector, and an efficient financial plan in which the government would be able to extract the value increase in the area due to renewal and transformation, in the name of the public. Obviously extraction of the share of the public is a very important matter of finance and organization as otherwise increasing rent would mostly be shared by the developers with only a small fraction of it accruing to the rightowners.

The organization of the renewal process is also important from the point of view of provision of proper social and technical infrastructure. Examples show that when

implementation is left entirely to developers, in cases where a feasible renewal policy does not exist, necessary spatial service standards may not be achieved.

Examples also show that social transformation is as important as physical renewal and this can only be achieved through building the whole process on a comprehensive and feasible renewal policy, compatible with existing large scale plans of the city, and based on viable physical and socio-economic analyses of the area.

This Thesis study concentrated on the third type of solution, individual renewal of a former gecekondü settlement in Cevizlidere as it was one of the first and extensive gecekondü areas of Ankara subjected to transformation by the Improvement and Development Laws. Cevizlidere and its neighboring districts are located on the steep slopes facing and extending 6.5 km along the Konya road, one of the main entrances to the city and therefore the whole process of growth of the settlement of gecekondüs and their transformation have been open to observation by all.

The study, interviews conducted and observations made in the area reflect the existence of spatially and socially not a very successful transformation process. Obviously gecekondü transformation involves several controversial issues difficult to resolve. A summary of maybe the most difficult issue has been expressed in field interviews by a developer and a gecekondü resident. The developer expressed one aspect of the issue by saying that "... but actually they (gecekondü dwellers) have no right on land and will have to leave. They have originally confiscated land that belong to others and have lived on it for so many years without paying any compensation. So If they had any rights, it has been exploited through these years while they lived free of charge on the land" (interview with B.G. no.2). and the gecekondü resident says that "We suffered the lack of infrastructure, the mud and all the problems of a completely vacant and unofficial, illegal settlement area, we lived through and faced fear of demolition, we strived and suffered to obtain

infrastructure, services and legality to the area, and now we can no longer live here” (interview with S.E.’s mother, no.10).

The Ulubaş study reveals some of the main aspects of the informal land and housing markets of the 1950’s and evaluates functioning of these markets through reference to interrelation of these markets with the urban labor market which has not been referred to in this Thesis text. Ulubaş study relates the process of confiscation of vacant, uncontrolled but conveniently located land alongside a main road linking the settlement to the main work centers of the city Kızılay and Ulus, by migrant groups. The migrants “dare” to confiscate land in an “alien” urban environment through courage and power obtained from social bonds that arise from sharing of the same fate in an environment where they live on the edge of disaster and they have no other source of assistance. It is interesting to note in Ulubaş study that immediately an informal organization developed in opening the land to settlement with housing lots defined, with areas left for roads and services, acquisition of legality whenever possible by buying land from private owners and in obtaining infrastructure in time, all achieved though different types of compensations paid like payments to middlemen or patches of land reserved from opening of new areas to those who lead newcomers to the area.

Transformation process reflects a completely different picture. The interviews in the area reflect how residents were drawn suddenly into a major physical transformation, completely ignorant of the process and its possible consequences, they were unprepared and uninformed. So they were frightened and anxious, their only reliable source of information was their neighbors, who were no different from them and hearsay and rumors flowing around. This impression reflected repeatedly in the interviews shows how unorganized the process had been. The residents were left to the mercy of the developers. Social bonds which had assisted them in settling on land here were now disrupted in view of sharing of rent. Many lost their rights because either they did not know how to go after them or they could not afford private legal advice. One resident expressed this fact as “Land in this part of the

neighborhood belongs to the treasury. When there was talk about legalization to be granted to gecekondu, suddenly registrations took place in name of people nobody had heard of. The actual rightowners failed to receive anything. They also failed to act together and received no external support or guidance. Most gecekondu owners lost court cases, received only 3-5000 YTL expropriation money and left for other gecekondu areas. In short, transformation has brought downfall for us, we failed to receive compensation for our rights on land.”

Impressions received in the field shows that one aspect of failure of transformation was in the serious discrepancy and lack of connection and bonding between planning, and people for which planning is made in the first place. Global values involved in the new approach, governance, which was to be adopted by local administration were overlooked in this case. The authorities failed to organize the people, to inform them, to obtain their contribution and participation, to strive to achieve equality. This implementation resembles the general attitude of planning observed in the Improvement and Development Plans drawn on existing gecekondu settlement disregarding the existing setup, existing roads, existing open areas, existing small building groups, designed as if on vacant land, with roads passing over most dense housing groups, completely ignoring, disrupting and destroying the existing settlements (Map 17).

The rapid transformation of the area into luxurious, high cost apartment buildings without taking into consideration the original population who had lived for long years in the area and suffered all the material problems due to lack of infrastructure and psychological problems arising from illegality encountered in any gecekondu area. Tenants were ousted from the area as almost in all cases of spatial transformation. The rightowners at first could not cope up with the two-stage plans and afterwards, as interviews conducted in the area show, about 70% had to leave the area either because they could not cope up with rising prices due to new incoming higher income population. They could not afford to live in the new apartments and shop in the new commercial areas. The new inhabitant profile

consisting of white collar professional, high income groups caused tension and social duality creating an unaccustomed social atmosphere and challenge for the original residents, as regretfully expressed by a resident, “Today you only greet you neighbors when you meet them otherwise nobody socializes with others. In the old days when tea was brewed at least ten people gathered to drink it. We had a common pergola in the open space among our gecekondus where we used to gather every night and socialize until one-two o’clock in the morning. It is all gone now.”

So most left the area by selling their shares in the high priced market and moved on to middle or lower-middle class areas like Sincan or Etimesut now able to afford two-three apartments there. Those who had so little shares in the area that they failed to obtain an independent apartment had to move on to other gecekondu areas of the city as most of the tenants did.

Spatially the previous gecekondu area has now been transformed into dense, cramped, congested, high-rise, tasteless but luxury apartment blocks with high sales values and rents. The new urban tissue reflects a very high, unaesthetic and unwholesome building density. At times, distances between high-rise, 8-10-15 storey apartment buildings are not more than 10 m.

In order to economise from construction cost and to finish the construction in the shortest possible time, topography and environmental planning have been overlooked and neglected. The rather wavy topography of the area, sloping sharply towards the Konya road, which once carried small houses nestled in the topographical contours with wooden porches overlooking the Konya road, with small green gardens and steep pedestrian paths and stairs dug into the slopes in between, has now on it large and high-rise buildings with insufficient distances and steep slopes among them, piling upon each other towards the Konya road. The large and long valley, important air current channels for the area and for the city, are now clogged with high buildings.

Since the developers do not care for arranging the immediate vicinity of the apartment houses, the surrounding area consists of mud covered paths. There are no green spaces, no parking areas, no playgrounds which are essential factors of any residential area. This final fact has been bitterly expressed by a housewife as “Look at the new environment, I am 43 years old and I have not yet seen a green park, none of our children could play in a park, they could only play alongside the roads”. One other resident expressed his regret by saying “I wish there was a green park in the area where I could go, sit and relieve stress. I also wish that instead of these piles of concrete buildings, two storey, authorized buildings were constructed. I believe the transformation should have followed such a spatial model”.

Since transformation projects are designed and planned for target groups who, in general, are original residents of the area, along with upgrading and improvement of the physical environment, the projects aim at increasing quality of life which involves reduction of socio-economic inequalities resulting from unplanned location of contrasting income groups together increasing cost of living in the area to the disadvantage of the original low income group. In Cevizlidere example although transformation target group was the original gecekondu population, the upgraded area with its luxurious, high cost apartments went to the upper middle and high income groups further increasing cost of living, deriving the original population and their problems to other areas of the city, some of them, possibly tenants, joining and enlarging other gecekondu areas of the city.

Cevizlidere example shows that transformation through improvement and development applications on gecekondu settlements leaves transformation to the discretion of small developers, who are not sufficiently equipped and who are guided by the aim of maximization of personal rent. Construction of a new residential environment by these small developers through exchange of land for apartments to be shared with the landowner with primary aim of maximizing and obtaining the largest possible share from resulting rent, creates an unwholesome residential environment with high-rise building blocks at high densities without

taking into consideration other residential settlement factors like parking spaces, green parks, playgrounds, efficient road system which are either completely ignored and lacking or provided at a very minimum and insufficient level. The infrastructure system which dates from a far less density settlement also causes further problems as it is not able to carry the burden of additional population.

Implementation process of Improvement and Development Plans seems to have suffered from lack of feasible socio-economic and spatial policy on which they should have been based. From this point of view they may be compared to the feasible policy brought by Law 775 which therefore is still in effect. Improvement and Development Plans, on the other hand, have suffered from lack of cooperation with other scale city plans, from successive interventions by the administration and through local revision or local partial development plans which brought conflicting changes lowering the quality of life throughout time.

To summarize, Improvement and Development Plans in Cevizlidere did fulfill the aim of legalization of squatter houses. On the other hand, transformation through Improvement and Development plans failed to reach the target groups causing most of them to relocate elsewhere in the city, replaced them with a very different, high income group causing important rise in cost of living and settlement, created channels of rent for developers and some gecekondu owners, created an unwholesome, unaesthetic physical tissue.

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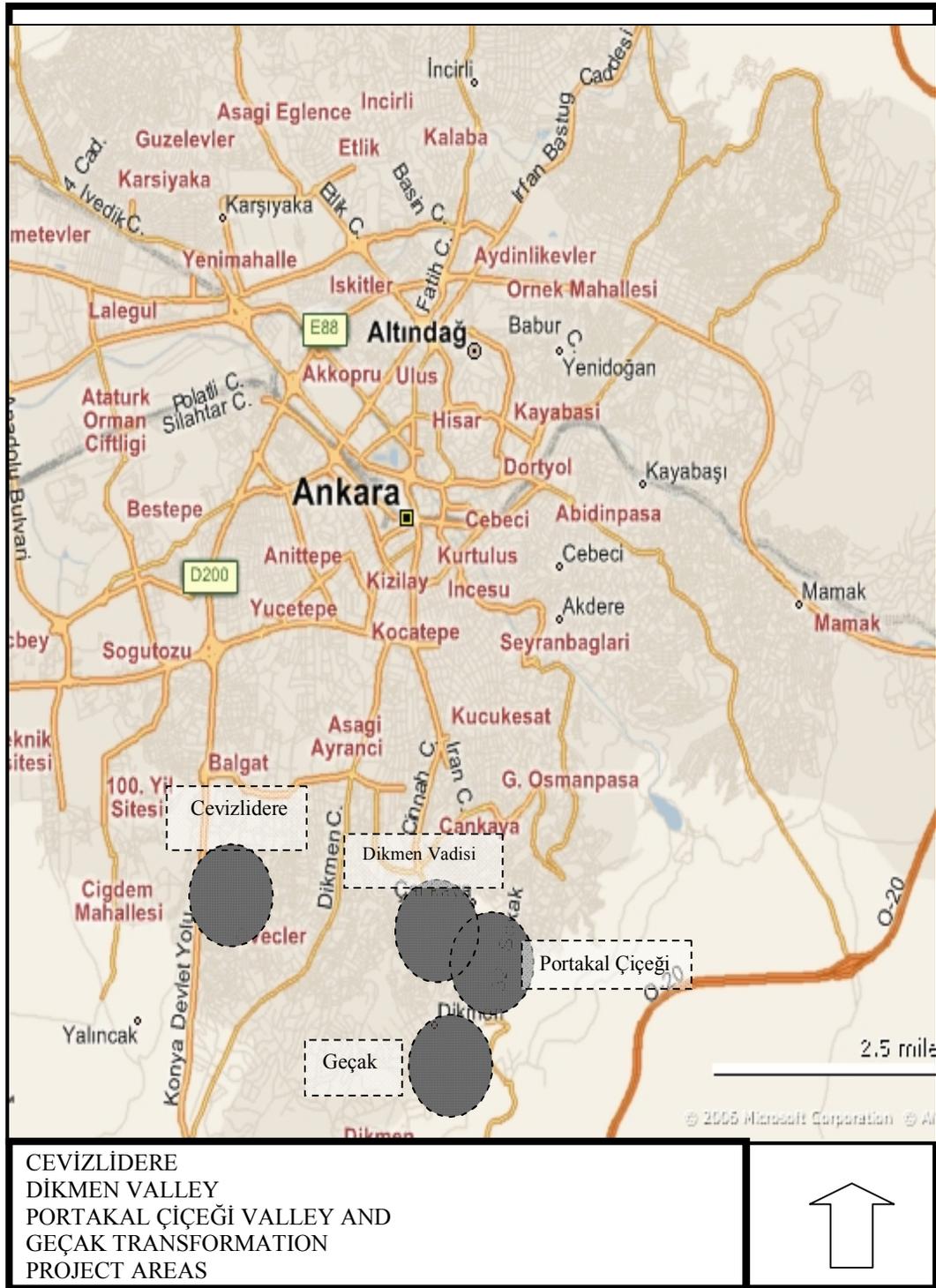
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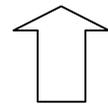
APPENDIX



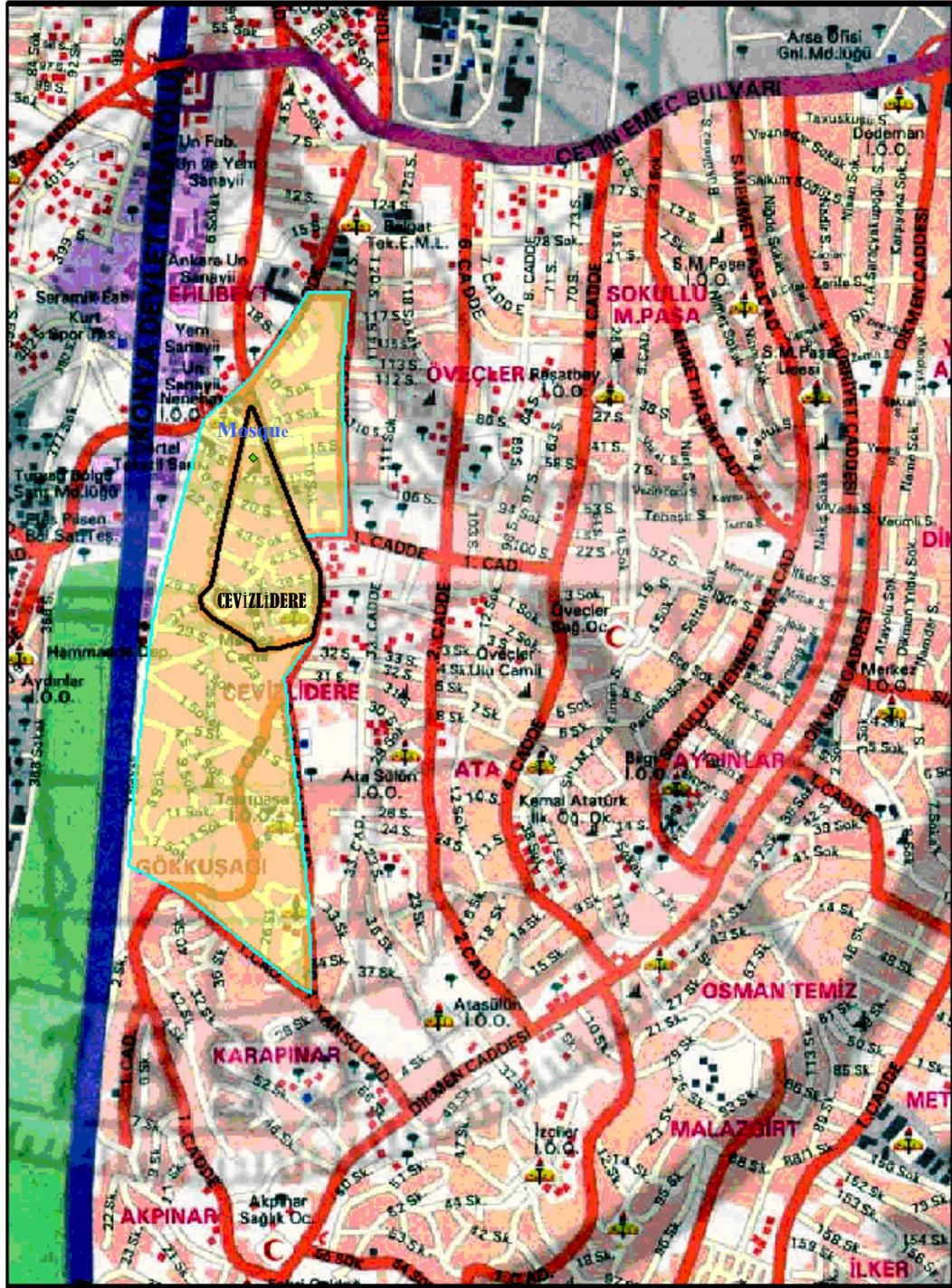
MAP 1



CEVİZLİDERE GECEKONDU
SETTLEMENT
TRANSFORMATION



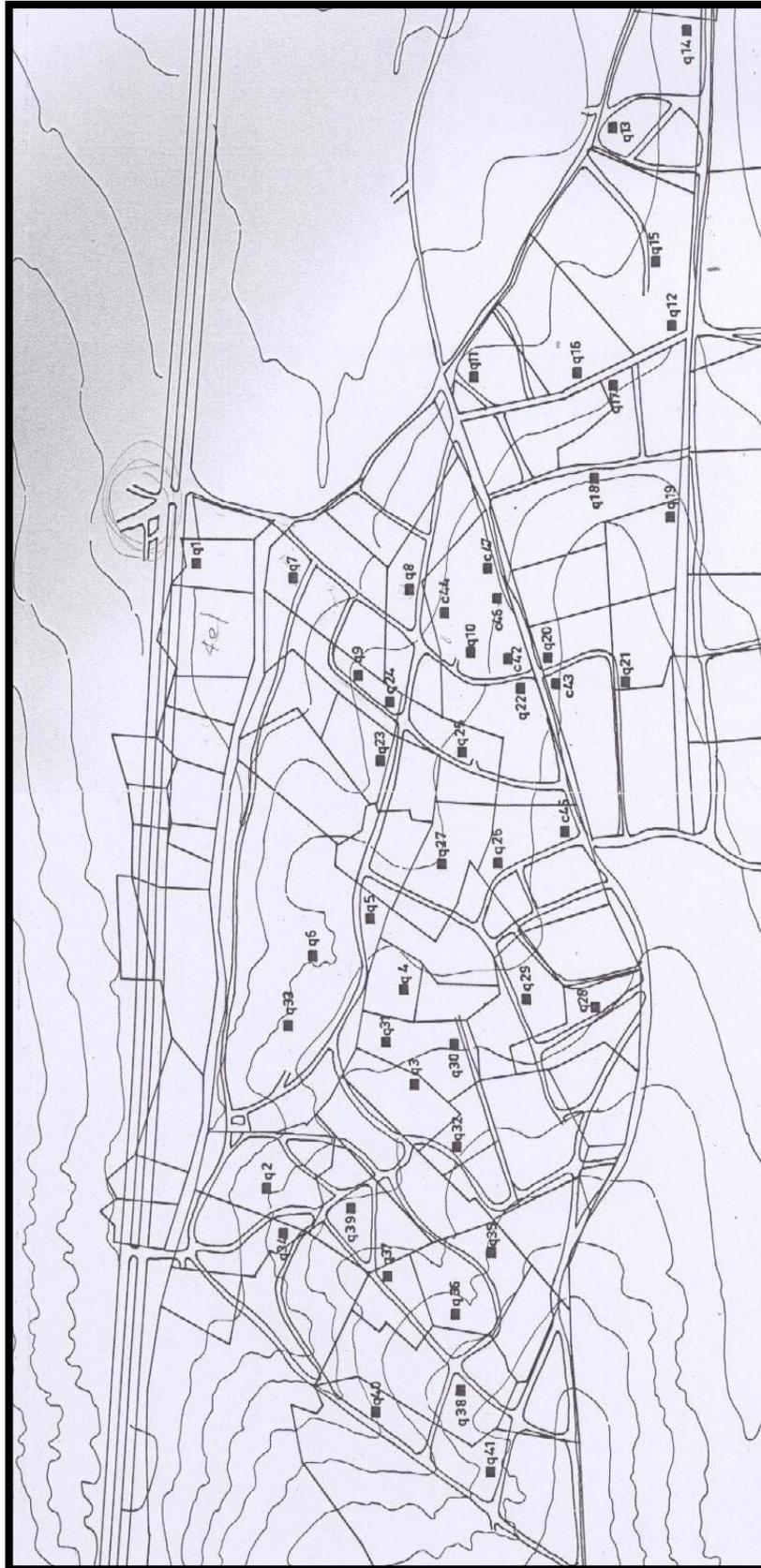
MAP 2



CEVZLİDERE PLAN AREA
 ULUBAŞ STUDY AREA COLORED
 (2008 study area framed)



MAP 3



CEVIZLIDERE
Scale: 1:5.000
SPATIAL DISTRIBUTION OF THE CASES
 SOURCE: A.U. Ulubaş



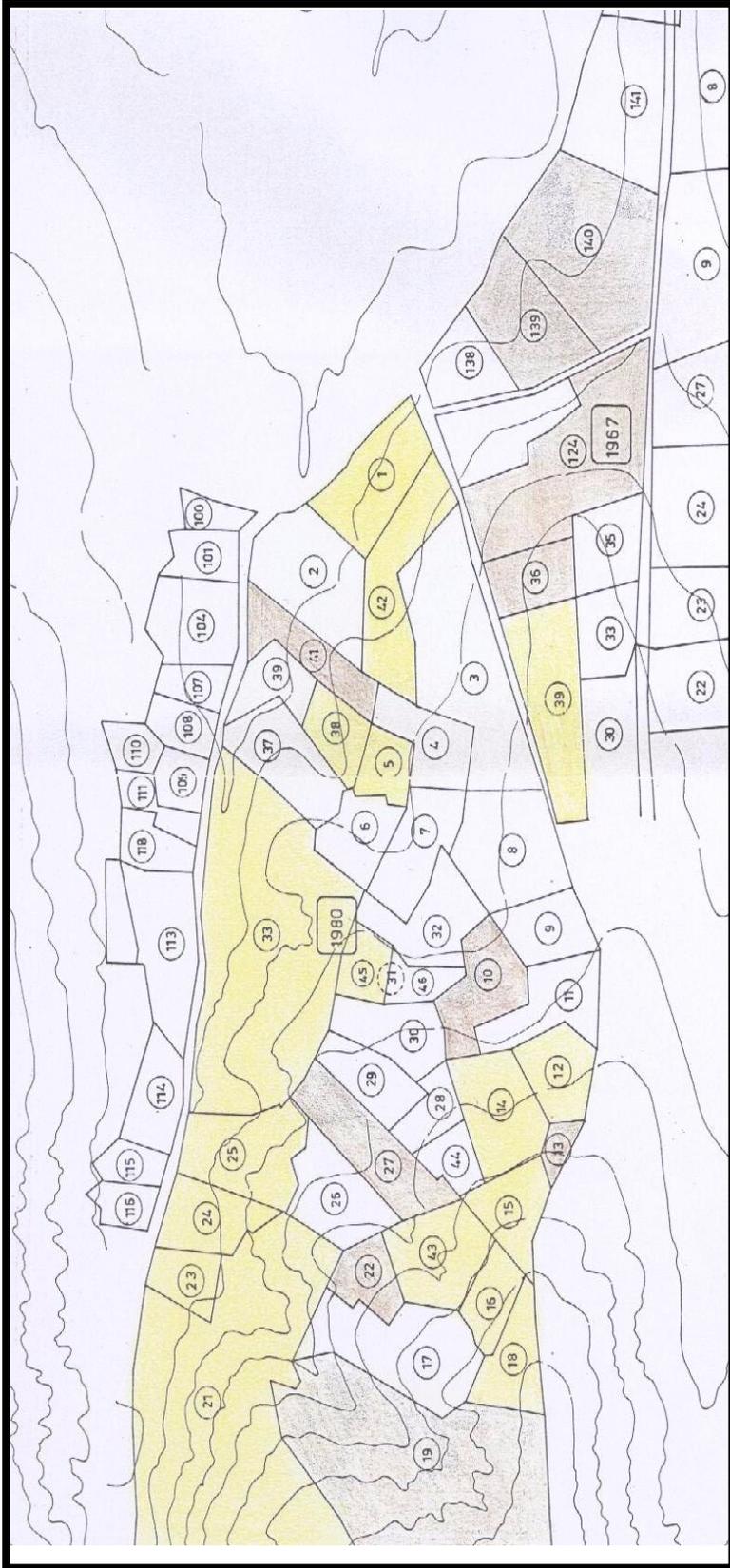
MAP 4



CEVİZLİDERE
Scale: 1:5.000
HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT
SOURCE: A.U. Ulubaş

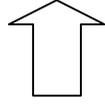


MAP 5

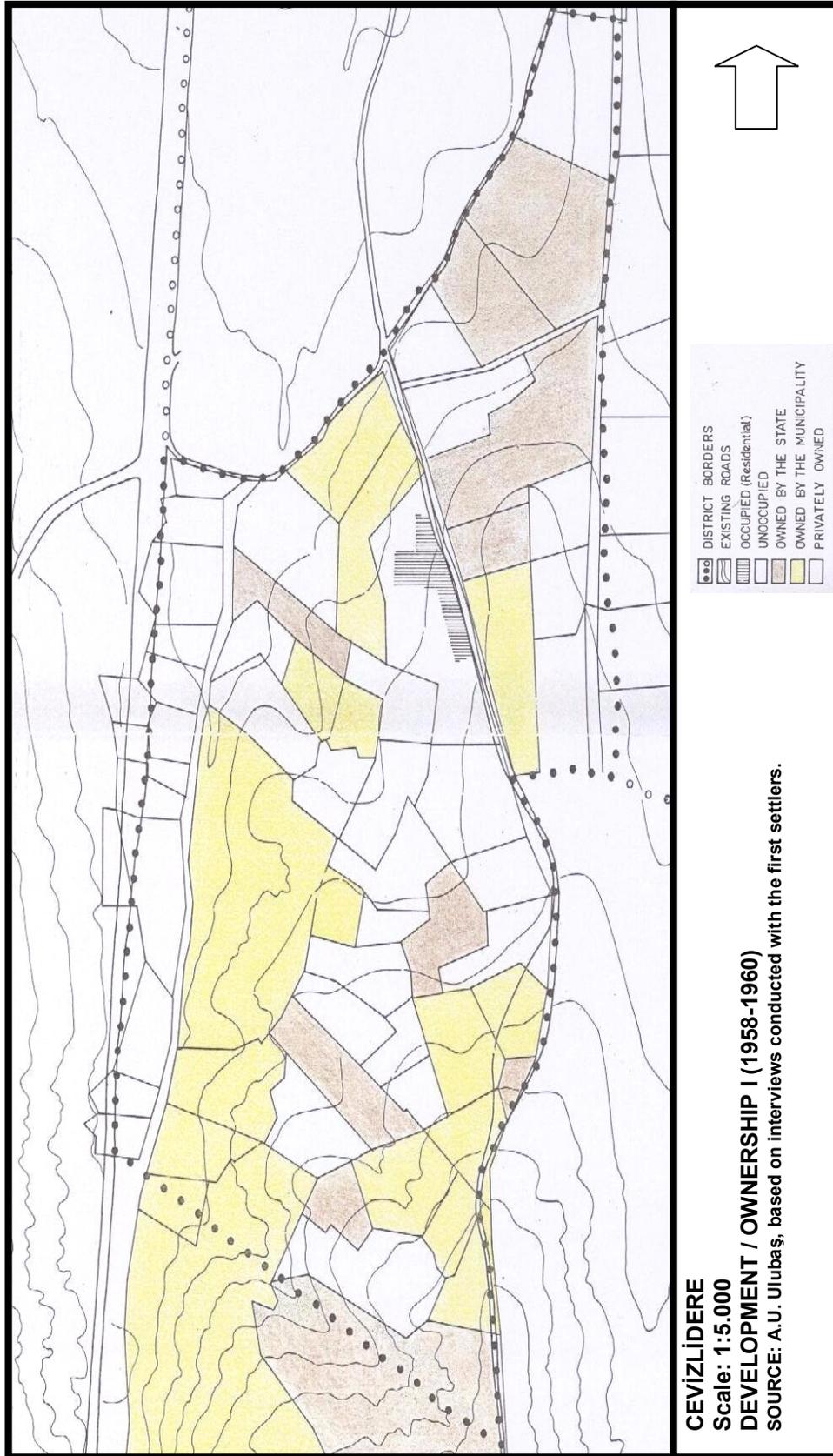


- 1967 CADASTRAL BLOCK NUMBER
- 23 PARCEL NUMBER
- CADASTRAL ROADS
- OWNED BY THE STATE
- OWNED BY THE MUNICIPALITY
- PRIVATELY OWNED

CEVIZLİDERE
Scale: 1:5.000
CADASTRAL SITUATION / OWNERSHIP (1954)
SOURCE: A.U. Ulubaş from Title Registrations.



MAP 6



MAP 7



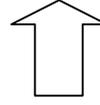
CEVİZLİDERE

Scale: 1:5.000

DEVELOPMENT / OWNERSHIP II (1960-1970)

SOURCE: A.U. Ulubaş, from the existing map of Ankara, i-29-b-12-a 1970.

-  DISTRICT BORDERS
-  EXISTING ROADS
-  OCCUPIED (Residential)
-  UNOCCUPIED
-  OWNED BY THE STATE
-  OWNED BY THE MUNICIPALITY
-  PRIVATELY OWNED



MAP 8



CEVIZLIDERE

Scale: 1:5.000

DEVELOPMENT / OWNERSHIP III (1970-1976)

SOURCE: A.U. Ulubaş, from aerial photograph 1:2.000 taken 1976.

MAP 9



MAP 10



AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHY OF
CEVIZLİDERE

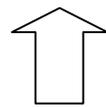


MAP 11

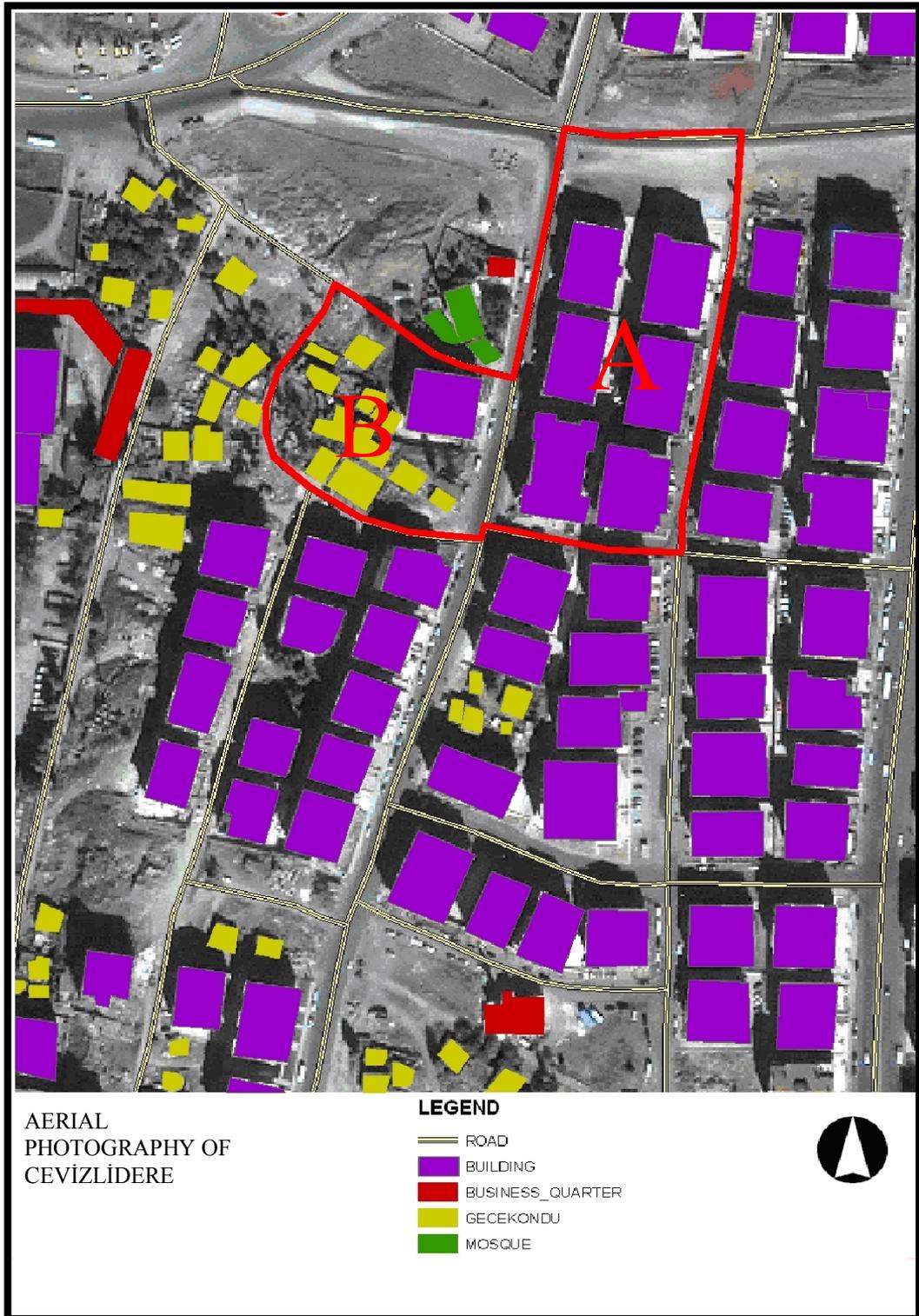


**CEVİZLİDERE
AERIAL PHOTOGRAPHY OF CEVİZLİDERE**

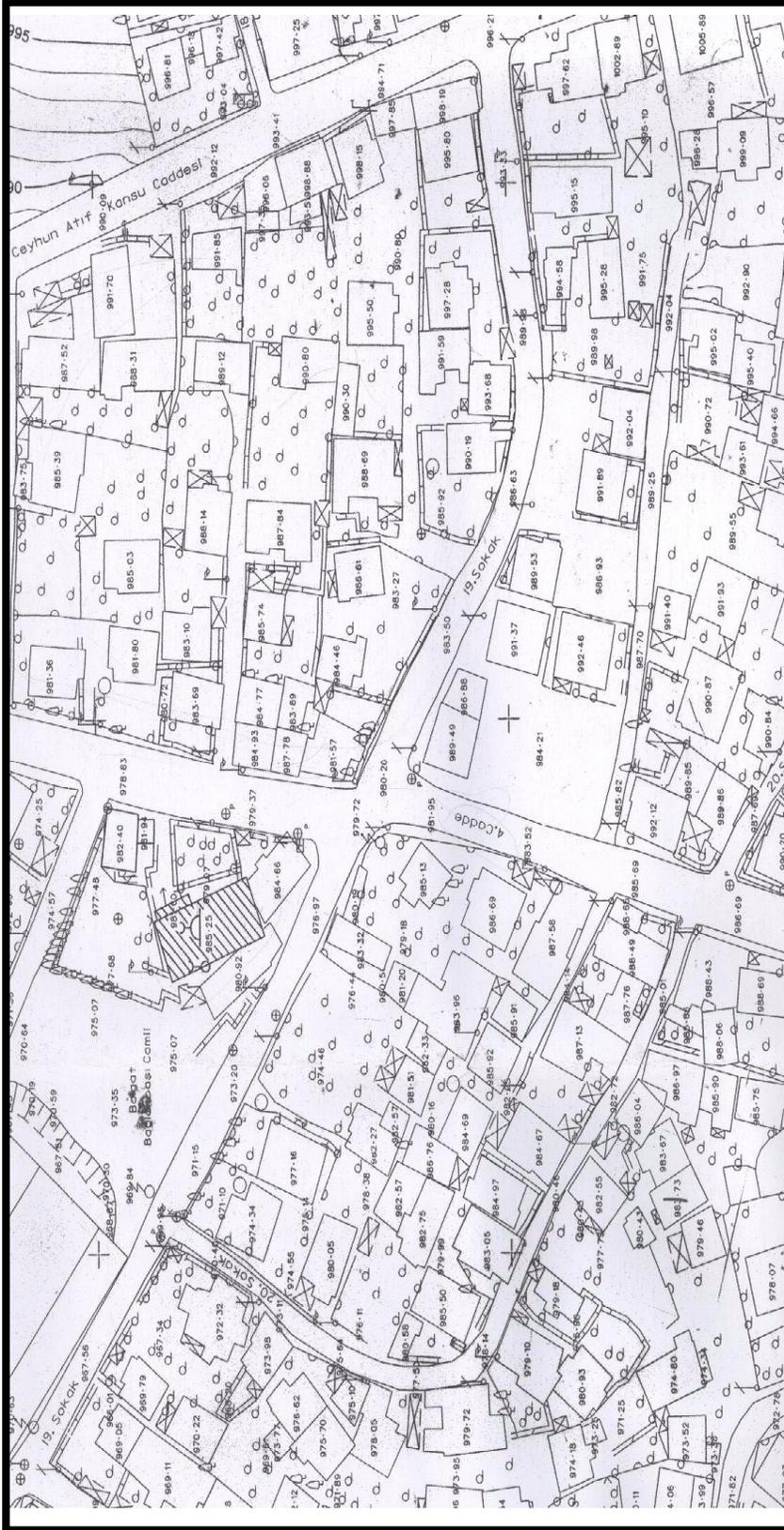
September 2007



MAP 12



MAP 13



GECEKONU MAP OF CEVIZLIDERE STUDY AREA

MAP 14



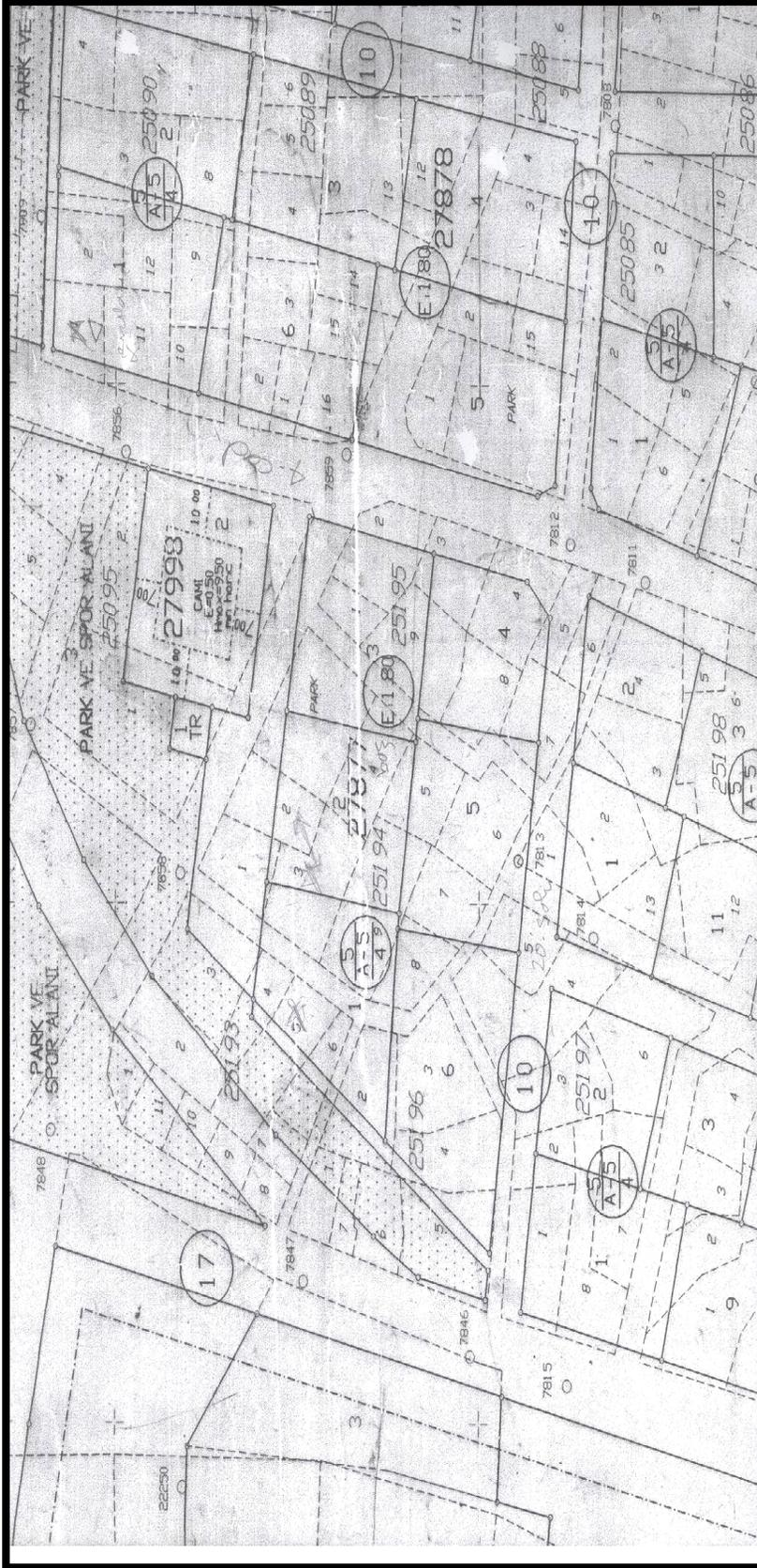
MAP 15



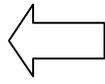
IMPROVEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT PLAN OF GECEKONDU STUDY AREA



MAP 16



**DEVELOPMENT AND PARCELS IN CEVIZLIDERE
STUDY AREA**



MAP 17



View from Cevzlidere
Source: Personal archive

Photo 1



View from Cevzlidere
Source: Personal archive

Photo 2



View from Cevzlidere
Source: Personal archive

Photo 3



View from Cevzlidere
Source: Personal archive

Photo 4



View from Cevzlidere
Source: Personal archive

Photo 5