

**AN INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS of the TRANSFORMATION of INFORMAL
HOUSING SETTLEMENTS in TURKEY:
A CASE STUDY in the ŞENTEPE NEIGHBOURHOOD of ANKARA**

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ABSTRACT

AN INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS of the TRANSFORMATION of INFORMAL HOUSING SETTLEMENTS in TURKEY: A CASE STUDY in the ŞENTEPE NEIGHBOURHOOD of ANKARA

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Transformation of informal housing settlements by urban renewal and redevelopment has become one of the major tasks of Turkish urban policy in the last decades. Nevertheless, in some cases urban redevelopment could not be facilitated due to low level of investments; and moreover most of the transformed settlements are still problematic with added difficulties brought out by urban transformation itself such as lower levels of physical quality, gentrification or dislocation. Understanding the sources of these implications and incompetence would be an important step for developing more successful policy and planning tools. To serve this aim, hypothesizing that there would be available regulatory tools including planning besides policy options relying on finance for local and central authorities and planning institutions on the basis of their political and regulative power and resources to overcome most of these bottlenecks; I have carried out both a theoretical and an empirical research to discuss the relevancy of this hypothesis. First, I have developed an institutional model of urban transformation to unravel the constituent shaping factors and actors of the process. Secondly, I have implemented this model for the analyses of urban transformation in informal settlements in Turkey with a case study in Şentepe and carried out surveys with households and interviews with developers to focus more on household and developer perspectives in terms of their aims and the implications they have an impact upon and are subjected to. Thus, this

thesis includes an institutional analysis of urban transformation in informal settlements of Turkey, outlines the major problems of implications, discusses the links between factors, actors, events and their implications and accordingly searches for clues of efficient policies and better practices in urban transformation with a case study in Şentepe Neighbourhood. The findings of the empirical study revealed that first and foremost, the problem of disinvestment and very low levels of transformation in the area have been solved dramatically by a new 'project' by the local authority in 2005, after almost twenty years passed since the first redevelopment plans were prepared. Moreover, the results indicate that the Şentepe Transformation Project could also managed to avoid the well-known unintended or undesirable social outcomes of a typical redevelopment like dislocation of residents or social integration of initial and new residents. These findings of the research suggest that local authorities and planning institutions could avoid some but not all of the bottlenecks and drawbacks of market mechanism in urban redevelopment even by making minor changes in the institutional environment such as providing information flow, easing the procedures for investors and developers, changing subdivisions and planning additional green areas for increasing the attractiveness of investments by builders in that area, and adoption of more participative approaches for developers and households. On the other hand, if the complementary housing and non-housing policies for redevelopment; such as affordable housing, employment or rent assistance are lacking, some of the outlined problems remain hard to solve. For local authorities and planners, these findings suggest the importance of accommodating policies, which are more responsive to the locality, to the needs and perceptions of local residents, local developers and local economy as well as of considering vulnerable sections of the society. For central authorities, on the other hand, the findings underline the cruciality of upper scale policies both directly and indirectly related to housing such as affordable housing and employment in the overall success of any local urban redevelopment practice. Once we have the institutional model to imply on various urban renewal processes, it would be helpful to carry out comparative studies for future research to better understand and evaluate various policy tools.

Keywords: Urban transformation, urban renewal, urban redevelopment, institutional analyses, informal housing

ÖZ

TÜRKİYEDE GECEKONDU YERLEŞMELERİNİN DÖNÜŞÜMÜNÜN KURUMSALCI ANALİZİ: ANKARA ŞENTEPE ÖRNEK ÇALIŞMASI

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Islah İmar planları ve kentsel dönüşüm projeleri yoluyla gecekonduların konut stoğunda yenileme, Türkiye kentsel politikasında son birkaç on yılının temel konusu olmuştur. Bununla birlikte, günümüzde bu gecekondular alanlarının bir bölümü hala yenilenemekte, bir bölümü ise yenileme sonrası hanehalklarının yerinden edilmesi, yeni oluşan sosyal yapıda uyumsuzluklar, artan yapı ve nüfus yoğunluğunu karşılayamayan altyapı gibi dönüşümün kendisi ile gelen farklılaşan yeni sorunlara sahne olmaktadır. Bu sorunların kaynağını anlamak daha başarılı politika ve planlama araçları geliştirmek için önemli bir basamaktır. Bu çalışma, planlama ve idare kurumları ve kuruluşları yolu ile yapılacak finansal dayalı olan veya olmayan bir dizi düzenleme ile bahsedilen problemlerin üstesinden gelinebileceğini savunmaktadır. Bu hipotez çerçevesinde teorik ve ampirik düzlemde yürütülen çalışma iki aşamalı bir yöntem izlemiştir. İlk olarak kurumsalcı yaklaşımlar çerçevesinde geliştirilmiş bir modeli esas alan bir betimleyici analiz yürütülmüş, ve kentsel yenileme süreçleri bileşenleri ve sonuçları ile incelenmiştir. İkinci olarak, bir alan çalışması ile mahalle düzeyinde bu analiz tekrarlanırken, bu analize hanehalkı ve konut yapımcıları ile anket ve görüşmeler yolu ile elde edilen ampirik bulgular eklenmiştir. Böylelikle bu çalışma Türkiye'de gecekondular alanlarında kentsel yenileme süreçlerinin kurumsalcı bir analizini; aktörler ve faktörler arasındaki ilişkileri ve sürece etkilerini ve temel sorunları ve sonuçlarını içermekte ve etkili politikalar ve

pratikler geliřtirebilmek için bazı ipuçları sunmaktadır. Ampirik çalıřmanın sonuçları, Őentepe'de ilçe belediyesinin yapmıř olduđu küçük birkaç deęiřiklięin alandaki 'dönüřememe' problemini çözmüř olmakla kalmayıp, dönüřümün sık rastlanan istenmeyen sonuçlarından da önemli ölçüde kaçınılabilmesini sağlayabildiđini göstermiřtir. Arařtırmanın bulguları, yerel idareler ve planlama kurumlarının bilgi akıřının saęlanması, hanehalkları ve konut yapımcıları için prosedürlerin kolaylařtırılması, katılımcı politikalar izlenmesi gibi yapılacak kimi küçük düzenlemelerle piyasanın kendi iřleyiři içinde oluřan pek çok sorun ve darboęazın üstesinden gelebilecek pratiklerin geliřmesini sağlayabildikleri yönünde olmuřtur. Bununla birlikte, kentsel yenileme politikalarını tamamlayıcı dar gelirli için konut üretimi, kira yardımı, iřsizlięin azaltılması gibi konut ve konut dıřı politikaların yokluęunda yenileme ile ilgili bazı problemlerin çözülebilir olamayacađı saptanmıřtır. Yerel yönetimler ve plancılar açısından bu bulgular yerel sosyal nitelik, algı ve beklentilere; toplumun en hassas kesimlerinin ihtiyaçlarına ve özel sektör ve piyasa kořullarına duyarlı planlama yaklařımları ve politikalarının benimsenmesi gereęi anlamına gelirken; merkezi yönetim açısından bu bulgular; konutla doğrudan ya da dolaylı ilgili üst ölçek politikaların kentsel yenileme süreçlerinin başarısındaki vazgeçilmezlięini vurgulamaktadır. Kurumsal ve ampirik yaklařımların birlikte ele alındıęı bu analizin farklı dönüřüm uygulamalarına uygulanması karřılařtırma ve politika araçlarının geliřtirilmesi açısından faydalı olacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kentsel dönüřüm, kentsel yenileme, kentsel yeniden geliřtirme, kurumsalsı analiz, gecekondü, enformel konut

To my altruistic Mother and Father...

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Transformation of informal housing settlements by urban renewal and redevelopment has become one of the major tasks of Turkish urban policy since the mid-1980s. Although a considerable amount of stock was redeveloped, two major types of failure were experienced; first, some of the informal housing stock could still not be redeveloped at all despite the improvement and redevelopment planning efforts (since the mid-1980s) for those areas and first (since the 1990s) and second generation (since the mid-2000s) 'urban transformation projects' for many informal housing settlements. Low levels of attraction for private sector house-builders or ownership problems composed the major bottlenecks for those neighbourhoods in terms of redevelopment. The second form of failure in transformation of these informal settlements is characterized through the implications of redevelopment. Although urban transformation practices all over the world attempt at improvement of residents' housing welfare as well as improvement of built environment and community development; there is a variety of problems experienced in those informal housing settlements which were redeveloped, including lower levels of physical quality, dislocation and social discontent and integration problems.

Two major models have been experienced for redevelopment in informal housing stock or more precisely for gecekodu¹ settlements; first, by (re)development plans (according to law numbered 2981), and second by transformation projects. The first model considered the volume of the informal housing stock and aimed to achieve a "rapid" transformation on a "mass scale" (Şenyapılı and Türel,

¹ Gecekodu literally means 'built over night' in Turkish

1996, 13) in gecekondu settlements. In that model, redevelopment was to be realized through market processes in which finance, demolishing and reconstruction to be carried out by the private sector housebuilders in a framework in which plans and infrastructure to be prepared and provided by the public sector. Known as build-and-sell mechanisms, which helped to meet housing need of middle income households in big cities and became the dominant form of housing provision in authorised housing during the 1960s was modified for those informal housing managed to redevelop a considerable amount of stock after the 1980s.

By late the 1980s, 'transformation projects' appeared as a new model implied for some of those areas which could not be redeveloped by the first model. Pioneered in Ankara by the Municipality of Çankaya, this model tried to engage a range of stakeholders through public-private partnerships. While in the 'improvement plan' model, the surplus generated by redevelopment was shared by owners of gecekondu housing and speculative house builders; in the model of transformation through "transformation projects" private resources generated through self-financing projects and the surplus created is shared by many stakeholders, such as local governments, private project company, owners of gecekondu housing, owners of land and city residents (Türker-Devecigil, 2005). The approach of these first generation transformation projects accelerated, strengthened and reformulated after the 2000s into a more centralized approach by the second generation transformation projects in which the central government plays a crucial role through Housing Development Administration. Moreover, the Urban Transformation Law for Areas with Disaster Risk (law numbered 6306) replaced law numbered 2981. Through the time during which this thesis was prepared, several new laws reshaped the practices and agenda of urban transformation. On the other hand the study presents the market driven urban redevelopment processes underpinned and regulated either by development and redevelopment plans. The most recent changes regarding transformation projects directly invested, regulated or undertaken by the central authorities in the 2000s in search using the land in strategic locations in more intensive and lucrative ways appear as a distinct model which could further be elaborated and studied in a further study. Nevertheless transformation by development plan model still remains as a valid paradigm since it relies on spontaneous market processes, since local authorities still are responsible and authorized for local development plans and since it is not possible to involve all

informal dwellings within specific projects and since those projects seek also for profitability criteria so that some locations might still be out of interest.

As it will be discussed in detail in the following sections, urban redevelopment is inevitable in most cases in the Turkish context since the informal housing stock is illegally and poorly- built and disaster-prone. Thus, the main concern should not be whether to transform or not, but to develop ways to transform appropriately, wisely and on the grounds of conscience and public interest. This study hypothesizes that despite the general considerations, it is still possible for planning and local authorities to cultivate for better practices in urban redevelopment, preventing most of the problems and bottlenecks of the process by their power of changing the 'rules of the game'.

1.1. Presentation of Research

1.1.1. Rationale and Context

Cities undergo continuous change, but over the last few decades, as Couch et al (2003) argue, many European cities have experienced a pace of change far more rapid than at any other time in history. In this period, cities have experienced two major changes. First, cities have been transformed from centres of manufacturing production, into centres of services and consumption. Secondly, cities have experienced the processes of decentralization or suburbanization pulling many urban functions out from the central and inner city areas towards the peripheries. These trends result in large-scale abandonment and dereliction of land and buildings, degraded environments, unemployment of labour and social deprivation at inner districts. Urban transformation schemes in the forms of 'urban regeneration', 'urban redevelopment' and 'urban renewal' came out as policy responses attempting to turn back these derelict and vacant land and buildings to efficient uses, to create new forms of employment and to improve the urban environment.

Turkey too, has experienced a dynamic and evolving process of urbanization especially during the last five decades. Among one of the milestones of this process, is migration to cities and consequently emergence and domination of informal settlements in big cities by the 1950s; another is the enormous increase of apartment blocks by the 1960s, which has been triggered subsequently by the

Flat Ownership Law in 1964. Other major trends include suburbanization by the 1970s, mass housing and redevelopment of informal settlements in the 1980s, gated communities and increased suburbanization and decentralization in the 1990s, and lastly restructuring in local authorities and development according to EU and earthquake mitigation measures and 'urban transformation projects' in the 2000s.

At present, a closer look to the demographic and housing statistics of Turkey suggests a significant shift in policies of urban development and management. First, the population increase rates (Annual population increase rate figure in 1985 was 2,40 and diminished to 1,31 by 2008) and urbanization² rates have started to decrease since 1985 (from 7,70% to 2,25 by 2006). Moreover, according to the building census for the year 2000, almost 35% of the housing buildings need either basic or main alterations and 2% of them are ruined and are to be demolished³. The 8th development plan of State Planning Organisation notices that approximately 10% of the total housing need is due to renewal and disasters. Especially after the 1980s, considering both the demographic trends and the quality and quantity of the existing stock of built environment, the Turkish housing policy is in need to emphasize the maintenance, management, rehabilitation, revitalization and renewal of the existing stock rather than the production of new stock or Greenfield development, although in practice there is a considerable number of new housing production going on.

Considering together with the impacts of new economic trends and globalisation, demographic trends and the condition of the housing stock and the experience on urban transformation until now, dictate and impose transformations in Turkish cities, necessitating functional changes in the stock and stimulating the authorities, construction industry and investors for redevelopment and transformation projects. Accordingly, after the 1980s, a new wave of transformation in Turkish cities occurred in the forms of redevelopment and renewal. Therefore, urban transformation has proven to be one of the major

² Urban refers to areas with population of 20.000 or more. (*) Urbanization rate : Turstat defined the urban population as population living in province and district centers and rural population as people living in villages and nooks (bucak); urbanization rate is the share of urban population in the total population (Source: 2000 General Population Census, Social and Economic Character of Population, Turstat)

³ Turstat, 2001, Building Census of Year 2000

tasks of planning profession in the future. Planners have a critical role in urban transformation as in other development processes since implications of any planning activity creates further opportunities and challenges for the city and thus for further planning activities. Planners and their professional activities are constrained by several locational (i.e.: land prices, neighbourhood prestige, level of local economic development), contextual (i.e.: modes of production, technologies, ideologies) and structural (i.e.: administrative and organisational schemes or hierarchies, legislations, rules) factors; but also they have certain knowledge of and impacts on these factors. Planners have roles such as to inform, advice, organize, participate, facilitate, advocate or resist certain groups' demands and actions related to development. Planners have also the potential to put or change several 'rules of the game' of the development process by their plans and planning decisions. Moreover, a variety of planners work for either the government or the private sector or voluntary sector such as neighbourhood organisations or NGOs, thus there is not a unique role but each might take different positions throughout the development processes. Nevertheless, each needs to know about the dynamics and constituent factors and actors of the development processes to develop successful strategies.

1.1.2. Aim of the Study

The main point of departure for this study has been the validity and complexity of problems regarding both those areas which could not be transformed at all and areas which could be transformed at the expense of fulfilling physical, social and economic well-being of the built environment and residents. Many physical and socio-economic implications of urban transformation practices up until now have led to either not meeting the initiating objectives or creating unwanted results. In daily politics, media, academics and society in general, these problems have resulted in taking contradictory positions such as being either in favour of or against urban transformation. In that context, urban transformation is perceived paradoxically as both an inevitably harmful process and at the same time as an ultimate solution of all kinds of socio-economic problems. This results both an overestimation and an underestimation of the possibilities of urban transformation as well as an overestimation and an underestimation of the role of the planning profession and public sector as well. Although the recent arguments in the field depicts planners as only observers of the process; or the

public sector as only the implementer of private sector objectives; the aim of this study is to test the hypothesis whether or not there are available regulatory tools and policy options for local and central authorities and planning institutions to overcome most of the bottlenecks and problems of transformation with their political and regulative power/ resources even they lack of sufficient financial power/ resources.

This study assumes that the implications are the results of complex processes consisting of many interactions among various actors bounded and interacted with several contextual, structural and locational factors. Thus, like any other development processes, urban transformation processes can be best understood when all these factors and actors are included in the analysis. This study also credits that a better understanding of urban transformation processes would equip planners with more powerful resources. In that regard, this study in the most general sense aims to serve as a basis for developing solutions to these problems by highlighting the actors, factors, presence, causes, implications, bottlenecks and problems of urban transformation and by helping to increase our understanding in the field, exploring the reasons of problems, exploring the opportunities and limitations of planning and to developing an insight for opportunity space for action for planners, policy makers, authorities and society in general for better practices in urban transformation.

1.1.3. Research Questions

This thesis is an exploratory study, which aims to understand and discover the actors, factors and dynamics of urban transformation. Concerning the problems of urban transformation in informal settlements of Turkey, one of the main research questions of the study is 'why do these problems occur? In connection with the assumption of the study, which emphasizes the interactions among various actors bounded and interacted with several factors, the research questions might be categorised into three interrelated categories. The first group are related with planners' and public sectors role for better practices in urban transformation. 'The second group is related to what/ who and how affect the urban transformation processes?' Finally the third group searches for 'how does urban transformation affect the actors and built environment?'

1. Is it possible to trigger urban transformation in those areas where developers are not attracted to make investment by using non-financial instruments?

- Do leverage policies of authorities targeting the developers for triggering urban transformation and creating higher quality housing environs by transformation? (*Which policies could they be?*)
- Do policies targeting households to encourage and empower them for urban transformation work for triggering transformation and sustain Households to be satisfied with the created housing and environs? (*Which policies could they be?*)
- What are the opportunity spaces for action for better practices in transformation processes?

2. Which factors and actors affect urban transformation processes? Why in some areas urban transformation cannot be generated?

- Is it because households' decision not to transform or is it because private sector is not interested in those areas?
- What can be the factors which keep away households from urban transformation?
- Why house builders attracted by some areas for investment but not by some others?
- To what extent the state/ public sector shape these processes?
- To what extent do planners shape these processes?
- To what extent do residents shape these processes?
- To what extent do house builders shape these processes?
- To what extent the economic and political environment shapes these processes?
- What are the bottlenecks of urban transformation?

3. In what ways do transformation processes in the informal settlements affect/ constrain the actors and space?

- Does it bring forth high quality living environments?
- Does it trigger gentrification?
- Does it compensate for the lack of affordable housing options for the poor?
- Does it lead in wealth redistribution?
- Does it provoke societal discontent?
- Who loses? Who benefits?

1.1.4. Scope of the Study

Instead of investigating all types of urban transformation schemes, this study attempts to concentrate on transformation of residential areas. Two major justifications for this precedence are first, residential areas are in general the most influential space affecting the quality of life of most people, and constitute a significant portion of the building stock and thus deserve a specific attention in development research. Secondly, the policy and practices in urban transformation in Turkey until now mostly covers residential areas although there are also a number of other kinds of examples.

The study will only cover the transformation processes that are taking place in the informal housing stock of Turkey. Again, there are two reasons behind this restriction. First, existing policy and practice of residential area transformation in Turkey mainly covers only informal housing although it is well known that there is also a considerable share of formal housing stock which necessitates renewal and redevelopment. This necessity is mostly related with aging, poor construction quality and vulnerability and incoherency to disaster risks. However, renewal policy and practices in Turkey until now have put the emphasis on the informal housing stock, more precisely on the 'gecekondu' stock. Secondly informal housing areas are more likely to be considered and relied on renewal and redevelopment although revitalization or rehabilitation might be other major options in historical areas and for most of the regular and formal stock.

When we consider 'urban transformation' in Turkey, we mean mainly two models of transformation; transformation by improvement and redevelopment plans; and, transformation by transformation projects. On the other hand the study presents the market driven urban redevelopment processes underpinned and regulated either by development and redevelopment plans. In the theoretical part, the study will review both models as Turkey's major practices of urban transformation experience. The case studies on Şentepe and Dikmen on the other hand are mostly in line with the transformation by improvement and redevelopment plan model. Although, 'development plans' are prepared and implemented, the plan of Şentepe is named and announced by the municipality as 'Şentepe Transformation Project'.

This thesis is aimed to be an exploratory study; however, as Taylor puts it; the profession of "... planning exists to improve the world, not just to understand it" (Taylor, 1998, p. 167 in Kocabaş, 2005). That's why some parts of the study might take a more normative position which seeks to find out clues for policy and planning options. Moreover, considering that there are strong policy implications of the research subject, policy and planning implications of the findings can be defined as an important further study area.

1.1.5. Definition of Terms

Although a detailed definition of urban transformation types will be explored in the theoretical chapters, it is important to primarily state what is meant by 'urban transformation' and the differences between urban regeneration, renewal, redevelopment and revitalization.

Based on an initial understanding, redevelopment and renewal usually indicate comprehensive construction involving complete clearance and re-planning of a dilapidated area. On the other hand, rehabilitation and revitalization generally mean restoration of, and putting new life into, an old building or bringing an aged area into good condition so that it can be brought back into use. The term 'regeneration' on the other hand involves a synthesis of the above approaches and also social and economic elements. In general urban regeneration refers to a comprehensive approach that revitalizes urban areas by mixed means, including redevelopment and rehabilitation of the physical structure, conservation of elements of cultural significance and revitalization of local economy and social fabric. Other objectives of regeneration are strengthening the sense of belonging, existing socio-economic networks and community ownership.

Under the research hypothesis, the term "urban transformation" is used to describe Turkey's renewal/ redevelopment processes since Turkey has not yet to achieve a comprehensive urban regeneration approach and since transformation is a more general term that might embrace some special features of renewal/ redevelopment in the urban informal housing stock of Turkey and since in the Turkish planning literature as well as in the daily practice, the use of the term 'transformation' instead of 'renewal' or 'redevelopment' is a widely confirmed practice. In this dissertation, the terms "urban redevelopment", "urban renewal"

and “urban transformation” will be used loosely as they do not possess a universal definition and they would generally refer to building, demolition and rebuilding of an urban area. While quoting or citing from other authors, the terms will be used according to the authors’ preferences in their publications.

1.1.6. Method

This study focusing on transformation of urban space is conducted within an intersection of built environment, actors and macro level political and economic environment. Urban transformation is addressed as a ‘process’ and both the structuring forces of transformation and the outcomes of transformation are taken into consideration. Accordingly, two levels of analysis will be employed; an institutional analyses at the neighbourhood level and an empirical case study.

The first level which is the institutional analysis decomposes the influensive and structuring forces, factors and actors and implications of transformation and incorporates all these in a comprehensive model of urban transformation process in the urban informal housing stock of Turkey. Then, the analysis will be employed at the (Şentepe) Neighbourhood level. The second analyses will be an empirical one based on a case study in Şentepe discussing the actors, factors and implications of a recent transformation project being carried out in the neighbourhood. To judge and compare the significance of the findings of Şentepe, a complementary empirical survey in Dikmen (west-side) is used for comparing purposes. The results of the household surveys will also be supported by semi-structured interviews with house builders in Şentepe. Moreover, meetings with mukhtars and municipality officers of both neighbourhoods complemented the case study. Both theoretical and empirical analyses will be supported by archive work of plans, projects, reports and literature survey of previous empirical and theoretical research.

1.1.7. Data Sources

The sources of data of the study come from various resources, mainly;

- The (re)development plans, projects, protocols and reports of transformation projects;
- analysis, articles, theses,
- data on building licences
- surveys and interviews in selected areas:
 - with officials of local authorities for collecting available data and information on the case study areas and redevelopment activities
 - with contractors, by interviews investigating the existence, the volume and the motive behind urban regeneration investments, availability of knowledge on incentives and the property market;
 - with mukhtars, by interviews for information such as on characteristics of the site and residents;
 - With real estate agencies, by interviews investigating such as price of land/ dwellings, the volume of demand.

1.2. Structure of the Thesis

The thesis is organised under six chapters. The next chapter, which is Chapter II, will build the conceptual, historical and contextual and theoretical frameworks for urban transformation. Basic concepts will be defined with reference to their historical context and urban transformation in different contexts and geographies. Different approaches in analysing urban (re)development will be summarized and the institutional approach will be discussed in detail. Building on the work of Healey, an institutional model of urban transformation will be developed and presented to serve as a template for the analyses.

Chapter III decomposes the elements in institutional analysis of urban transformation processes outlined in Chapter II and discusses the constituent factors and actors of urban transformation, events/ procedures of urban transformation and implications of urban transformation.

Chapter IV adds the time and space dimensions to the model by analyzing the emergence, evolution and transformation of informal settlements in Turkey. The institutional model will be implied with reference to the four critical dates in urbanism, urban renewal and urban planning history of Turkey; principally the 1950s, 1966, 1984, 2004.

Chapter V presents the set up and findings of the case study. An empirical study in Şentepe will be integrated with the institutional analyses of a two-tier attempt of urban transformation in the neighbourhood since the 1980s. Moreover, a comparative empirical analysis conducted in Dikmen (west- side) neighbourhood will be presented as well. Results and evaluations of household surveys, interviews with developers, mukhtars and households will be portrayed.

Lastly, Chapter VI is the conclusion part of the study, which will include a summary of findings of theoretical and empirical research; an evaluation of what these results might mean for the planning profession, for policy makers and local and central authorities; and a brief discussion of the visions for future research.

1.3. Preliminary Hypothesis of Research

Hypothesis of this study might be grouped into three broad categories in line with the assumptions and research questions of the study. First group of hypothesis concern the opportunity space for governments, local authorities, plans, planners and planning institutions to overcome the bottlenecks of urban transformation. The second group focuses on the impacts of agency; particularly the impacts of the households, state and planning institutions on urban transformation and lastly the third group of hypothesis search for impacts of urban transformation on agency, particularly on the households and on space.

Main H1: There are available policy options and regulatory tools for local and central authorities and planning institutions to overcome most of the bottlenecks and problems of transformation with their political and regulative power/ resources even they lack of sufficient financial power/ resources.

Main H2: The perception, interests and expectations of related agencies and locational, economic structural forces have a determining impact on the transformation process.

Main H3: Transformation creates both winners and losers among current residents and among the whole society.

CHAPTER II

CONCEPTUAL, CONTEXTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORKS FOR URBAN TRANSFORMATION

This study attempts to examine the constituents and consequences of urban transformation in the informal settlements in Turkey. Therefore, 'urban transformation' and 'urban informality' are the two broad groups of concepts that require definitions and discussions in the dissertation. In line with the emphasis that the study puts on historical and contextual factors, these concepts will be discussed within a historical framework. The literature review demonstrates that theories and practices of urban transformation are constantly being shaped by trends and changes in both global and local contexts such as globalisation of information technology, social movements, and trends of decentralization, notion of partnerships, and rise of consumption culture, localisation and community development. The chapter investigates the development of urban transformation process in the last three to four decades. To further emphasize the contextual character of urban transformation; urban transformation in Europe, in USA and in developing countries will be reviewed as separate sections. Later sections of the chapter are aimed at developing a theoretical framework for studying urban transformation.

2.1. Concept of Informality and Informal Economy

The title of this dissertation suggests that urban transformation of 'informal' housing in Turkey will be studied. In the dictionaries, 'informal' is defined as "(of situations) not formal or official, or (of clothing, behaviour, speech) suitable when you are with friends and family but not for official occasions" (Cambridge

Dictionary Online). The concept of informal economy describes "income-generating activities which take place outside of the formal regulatory framework, as opposed to the formal economy where similar activities are in effect regulated" (Sassen, 1997). Roy and Al Sayyad, (2004) describe urban informality as an organizing urban logic; a process of structuration constituting the rules of the game, determining the nature of transactions between individuals, institutions and within institutions.

The so called informal settlements in the title on the other hand, refer to the Turkey's unplanned and/ or unauthorised housing settlements which have emerged as an immediate solution for housing the migrants coming to cities for employment opportunities. The massive flow of the rural population to the urban areas began in the 1950s and resulted in high rates of urbanization in the country. The increase was accompanied with neither the same pace of industrial developments nor the same pace of legal and affordable housing provision. This mismatch led to the informality both in the economic sphere in terms of emergent informal sector in the labour market for those who couldn't be entitled with formal jobs; and in the built environment as well, in the form of squatter settlements. These informal housing later on became one of the major housing provision channels, which supplied housing for more than just the working-migrant-poor classes. Several other terms are used in the literature to define the mentioned settlements; for instance; 'squatters', 'shanty towns', 'unplanned settlements', 'irregular settlements', 'illegal settlements', 'spontaneous settlements', 'shacks' or 'gecekondu' which as a Turkish word has also a widespread use among English writing scholars as well as Turkish or Turkish writing scholars similar to the international use of the terms 'bidonville' of France and North Africa, 'favela' of Brasil, 'barrios' of Argentina or 'bustee' of India all which are used terms to define a unique informal housing type peculiar to that locality instead of a more general term 'squatter'.

The reason why the gecekondu settlements are described and defined by a variety of terms in the literature is that different definitions notice or emphasize different aspects of their characteristics. For instance, they are called 'unplanned' because gecekondu settlements are built on land, which by development plans are not allocated for housing or even for development land uses. Moreover they do not have construction and residence permits, which are related with their 'unauthorised' character and at the same time as a consequence of again with

their 'unplanned' nature. Since they are spontaneously located one after another, they do not follow a pre-planned pattern, some scholars refer them as 'spontaneous'. Since they are not proposed, planned and designed by a plan, they do not follow an orderly spatial pattern they are also described as 'irregular'. These settlements are called 'illegal' because the appropriation of land is squatting (Duyar-Kienast, 2005). They are called 'informal'; because they are constructed mostly by self-help and with no formal employees therefore they are outside of the formal regulated construction sector. In fact these are 'illegal' housing units since they disregard ownership and/ or planning and zoning laws and regulations; however the very special context gives them a kind of 'legitimacy' that 'informal' rather than 'illegal' has become a prevalent way to describe them.

In sum, by 'gecekondu', which literally means 'built overnight'; we basically mean illegally built houses on (mostly the state's, rarely privately owned) land. They were built overnight since the regulations at that time suggested illegal housing to be demolished immediately if noticed during construction by the authorities, but if noticed during inhabitancy a series of procedures should take place including municipality and court decisions for eviction (Yörükan, 2006). Due to this hurried construction, a typical physical appearance of a gecekondu dwelling is a one or two storey jerry-built uncompleted building. A gecekondu settlement thus consists of a number of jerry-built dwellings within gardens and courtyards, which is serviced by irregular streets or footpaths.

Like the case of Turkey, the rapid transition in the economy, technology, demography and society in the developing countries resulted in emergence of various forms of informal settlements. In most cases, squatters do not constitute the entire picture of 'informal housing', but "they are only the most visible part of the iceberg" (Kapoor and le Blanc, 2004). Within the context of these developing cities, it is not possible to clearly differentiate formal and informal, since most housing have a form of informality in varying degrees. In most cases two common characteristics distinguish informal from formal; first being built outside administrative procedures and thus facing a high risk of destruction and eviction, and second lower or even no provision of infrastructure. Formal and informal housing might have similar characteristics to some extent such as the construction materials (concrete, bricks, etc.), or even the resident profile. 'Informal housing' might refer to a diverse range of housing where the occupants

might be from the middle classes as well as the low-income classes. According to Roy and Al Sayyad (2004), it is the era of liberalization, what made the boundaries between formal and informal more blur while at the same time, deepening the organising divide within different informalities. There are different types of informal accumulation and informal politics and the "neoliberal state deepens these forms of differentiation fostering some forms of informality and annihilating others"(Roy and Al Sayyad, 2004, 4).

However in many countries informal housing has been accepted as a major alternative form of housing provision. As a result, urban form in developing cities is being socially constructed in two interrelated ways, of formal and informal. Therefore, formal and informal forms of housing co-exist, and policy actions on either sector have a co-influence on each other. According to Kapoor and Le Blanc (2004), in order to generate efficient housing policies in such countries, how the two alternatives compare and what drives their relative attractiveness should be understood.



Figure 1: A Typical Scene from a Gecekondu Settlement in Ankara

Due to the increases in urban land prices and the inadequate response by the governments in terms of supply of residential plots through formal ways; titled property became unaffordable not only for the urban poor households but also increasingly less attractive for the middle-income classes throughout African, Asian and Latin American countries (Thirkell, 1996). However, once recognized as the settlements of the urban poor, the unauthorized housing areas have also witnessed an increase in land and housing prices. Thirkell, (1996) points out the process of "downward raiding" that in expanding cities, middle-income households often buy the informal or squatter housing dwellings of poorer

households where supply of affordable land is not sufficient. This means that social groups are recently more diverse in many cities (Thirkell, 1996). The availability of higher income households in informal settlements could help the development of infrastructure in the settlement. However, poorer household might not compete with middle income within the wider informal land market for plot acquisition, bargaining and timing of occupation and therefore might be negatively affected which might deepen the level of poverty in the lowest quality areas (Thirkell, 1996). According to Thirkell (1996), although these processes create a concern for leading to displacement of poor families who then need to settle elsewhere which might perpetuate squatter housing; the behaviour of poor families of selling their dwellings and moving elsewhere could be considered as inevitable within all kinds of markets since people prefer to liquidate their valuable resources into cash; a rule also applying to their lands (Thirkell, 1996).

The social composition of inhabitants and thus the physical environment of informal housing areas not only change by sales and transfers of individual dwellings or plots, but recently they are increasingly more subjected to fundamental transformations with 'transformation projects' which originates the priority of urban policy and urban land markets of today's cities.

2.2. Definitions and Historical Evaluations of Concepts of Urban Transformation

Many cities across Europe and Northern America have experienced a decline during the post-war period. After this period, revitalisation strategies have become parts of urban policies in many cities. These policies have been context specific and varied according to the historical evolution of thinking and practices within different countries and cities, according to administrative, cultural, social and economic differences which all result in different policy and practices. This has necessitated new terms and concepts to be used to identify different phases or typologies of interventions. For instance, according to Roberts (2000) urban policies have evolved through five phases in the post war period, with five distinct focuses of strategy and orientation. According to Roberts (2000), each phase is identified by distinguishing focuses of interventions;

1. 'Reconstruction' during the 1950s, considered older parts of the cities to be reconstructed and extended based on master plans;
2. 'Revitalisation' during the 1960s, attempted to promote suburban development and growth in the periphery, with minor focus on rehabilitating those areas;
3. 'Renewal' during the 1970s, concentrated on in situ renewal and neighbourhood schemes;
4. 'Redevelopment' during the 1980s, flagship projects and projects out of inner cities;
5. 'Regeneration' during the 1990s; introduced a more comprehensive approach in policies and practices which integrates social, economic, physical and environmental aspects.

Nonetheless, the term 'urban regeneration' refers a multi-dimensional phenomenon and it can be defined only within the larger context of urban transformation taking place over a longer period of time. In the Western World, urban regeneration began in the form of public interventions implemented to regenerate those areas in the city, which were undergoing social and economic decay. Urban areas losing population, neighbourhoods where the low income groups lived in poor physical conditions and where the social and economic support systems have disappeared; or derelict industrial zones and ports which could be developed to contribute to the city economically, were the major areas of these interventions (Türel et al, 2005). In these early period implementations, the main concern of urban regeneration was to promote social inclusion social welfare through physical improvements and thereby creating economic welfare. Urban renewal, restructuration and urban improvements are some of the methods implemented. In the 1980s flagship projects were introduced by the public and private sector initiatives and these large development projects were planned as catalysers of urban economic development. Beginning the 1990s on the other hand, urban regeneration and urban conservation in most of the European countries were accepted as multi-actor interventions and requiring a new institutional framework (Türel et al, 2005).

Mostly, there is not a clear consensus on which concept to use for specific practices in the literature. However, to get a deeper and better understanding of the process and the concepts, the study will attempt to outline the most widespread and accepted uses of these terminologies in the literature. In the 'urban regeneration' literature, 'slum clearance' practices are often referred as the first form of these kinds of interventions. Then the five concepts (phases) of Roberts (2000) will be identified in the historical sequence; namely 'reconstruction', 'revitalisation', 'renewal', 'redevelopment' and 'regeneration' then other related concepts such as 'urban rehabilitation', 'urban improvement', 'urban gentrification', 'urban refurbishment', 'infill development' and 're-urbanisation' would be discussed.

Slum Clearance: Skifter Andersen (1999) claims the first real urban renewal activity to be as the slum clearance of the 1950s. This activity involved the demolition of whole areas and construction of new buildings and combined with reorganization of traffic systems. 'Slum clearance', refers to the removal of derelict or inefficiently used urban areas with unsatisfactory living conditions and insufficient for economic activities, and rebuilding by rearrangement of buildings and roads. The solution of many governments around the world for the problems of slums was to clear away old, decrepit housing and replacing them with new dwellings.

Urban regeneration issues were limited with the "slum clearance" practices since the beginning of the 1900s until the World War II. Since the restructuring of cities of the industrial period has resulted in obsolescence and decline in cities and central governments funds were used to clear and redevelop these areas. This period is often referred to as 'the bulldozer era'.

Slum clearance operations in Europe and North America differ in terms of the scale and purposes of the projects. While in US, the scale of the clearance projects was so large and all the existing fabric was totally cleared; in Europe, slum clearance operations were implemented under a housing policy, so as to clear unhealthy housing areas and residents were subsidized by social housing.

Slum clearance practices, however, has been criticised especially in USA that they tend to ignore the origins of the problems which are the cause of slums. Moreover, social cohesion may be lost when households moved out of slum

areas to better housing. If the households are not moved, residents of the new housing again face the same of poverty and unemployment problems after redevelopment.

Reconstruction: Lichfield (1988) defines reconstruction as “rebuilding a new in imitation of the old”, when a necessity occurs due to disasters such as earthquake, fire or war. The reconstruction activity could take place on the same site, but in extreme cases, it might be another site (Lichfield, 1988, p. 26).

Urban Revitalisation: The term ‘urban revitalisation’ focuses on the social aspects and bringing back life to the inner city areas, using two strategies; first by social networks of residents, second by using re-imaging tools and flagship projects (Haase et al. 2003).

Urban Renewal: Urban renewal refers to attempts to change the existing city areas through planned and large-scale adjustments into a new urban setting compatible with newer requirements of urban living. Areas which are prone to blight are intervened by re-planning and comprehensive redevelopment within a framework of an overall plan for a city (Grebler, 1964, 13).

Lichfield (1988) defines ‘urban renewal’ as the “action to cope with actual or potential obsolescence, ranging from varying degrees of amelioration in the existing fabric to its complete replacement” (Lichfield, 1988, p.25). Couch (1990) states that economic and social forces on urban areas inevitably necessitate a physical change, or change in the use or intensity of use of land and buildings.

Redevelopment: Lichfield (1988) defines redevelopment as the replacement of the fabric by new construction, for a similar or different use (Lichfield, 1988, 21).

Urban Regeneration: Couch et al (1990) describe ‘urban regeneration’ as the field of public policy that deals with economic, social, physical, environmental and financial problems (Couch et al, 1990, 2). Roberts (2000) describes urban regeneration as “a comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change” (Roberts, 2000,17). Although some

types of regeneration types, such as 'slum clearance' and 'improvement of old part of urban fabric', have been traced since whole of the twentieth century, this type of urban policy is recent that is unique to the last quarter of the century. According to Couch et al (1990) the difference between recent decades and the efforts in the past is the size and complexity of the problems, the speed of change, and the sophistication of policy. Urban regeneration can be defined as a whole of physical interventions which are carried on to stimulate the economy and maintain the social peace in the parts of the city which have been subject to economical and physical depression and whose social partnership is ruined. It aims to bringing back investment, employment, and consumption, and enhance the quality of life within urban areas (Couch et al, 1990). Regeneration integrates economic, social, constructional and ecological renewal of derelict and devaluated urban land (Carmon, 1999; Imrie, Thomas, 1999). Haase et al (2003) emphasises that urban regeneration is different from urban redevelopment; while urban redevelopment aims basically a physical improvement and it was essentially a short-term policy and has a tactical approach; urban regeneration is a long term and strategic (Haase et al, 2003).

Reurbanisation: Reurbanisation is defined as "the process of optimising sustainable economic, legal, social, built environment conditions to provide an upgrade within the urban core (encompassing identity and cultural heritage) where individuals and households choose to live and which attracts investment" (Haase, et al 2003). The definition of Roberts and Sykes (2000), on the other hand is "comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change" (Roberts and Sykes 2000, p. 17). The similarity between the two definitions underlies a commonality of vision and intention.

Berg et al (1982) define 'reurbanisation' as one of the stages of urbanisation. Berg et al (1982) define four successive stages of urban development in Europe since the early 19th century (Berg et al, 1982 cited in Haase et al, 2003);

1. *urbanisation* (centralisation), industrialisation leading to urban growth and mass migration from rural to urban areas

2. *Suburbanisation* is a relative decentralisation in still growing areas. While the pace of population increase lost speed in inner city areas; rapid expansion in suburbs due to the search of households for higher environmental quality and housing. This relative decentralisation could be possible by the widespread use of motorised transport and higher incomes.
3. Economic changes after the 1960s, lead decline in old industrial towns and the continuous suburbanisation led to the decline of inner-city areas and in extreme cases to *desurbanisation* (absolute decentralisation, also named as *counterurbanisation*).
4. *Reurbanisation*, observed when the share of the population of the core in the total population of the 'functional urban region' is again increasing. In this final stage a real increase in population numbers in the core is observed although this increase is not sufficient to counterbalance loss of population from the suburbs. By upgrading the social, physical and environmental conditions in the core cities, renewal and restoring practices in Western European cities attempted to contribute in the period of this general decline in population (Haase et al, 2003).

Urban Rehabilitation: The term 'urban rehabilitation' implies that there is a loss in the original function and the intervention aims to install a contemporary use by keeping the original physical character. This type of intervention is the adoption of the building to a contemporary use, which will be capable of sustaining it (Lichfield, 1988, 26). This is also called 'reconditioning', 'renovation', 'remodelling' and 'adaptive use'.

Urban Gentrification: 'Gentrification' is defined as a process occurred since the mid 1960s as middle classes' invasion of working-class neighbourhoods, which usually have a declining or declined character. Conversion of modest houses into expensive residences follows this invasion and at the end of the process the original occupiers are displaced (Glass, 1964: xviii, cited in Smith, 2002, p.1).

Urban refurbishment: is the process of major maintenance or minor repair, either aesthetically or mechanically.

Infill development: The development or redevelopment of small gaps of vacant or underutilized sites between existing buildings in economically and physically static or declining areas.

2.3. Urban Transformation Thinking, Policy and Practice in the World

The 'urban regeneration' policies have been context specific and the changes in theory, policy and practice reflects the evolution of politics, economics and social values (Haase et al, 2003). The literature commonly emphasizes the evolution of urban regeneration; however this may involve different processes and different occurrences in time in different countries according to contextual differences. In order to avoid omitting these differences, the history of urban transformation thinking, policy and practice will be reviewed in different geographies in the world.

By studying urban transformation in various geographies, the following section of the dissertation aims at understanding the possible similarities and differences of urban transformation aims, procedures and implications within different contexts and different geographies. Since European countries and North American countries have an experience of urban renewal going to at least the 1950s, there is a rich literature on the urban transformation practices, thus it would be informative to study their experiences. On the other hand, to capture a more similar context with Turkey, studying urban transformation in the developing countries is also of particular importance. The following sections are organized as to bring up the urban transformation thinking, policy and practice in Europe, in USA and in developing countries.

2.3.1. The Context of Urban Regeneration in Europe: Declining Cities in the Post-war Period

The urban transformation of Paris in 1850s which was a large scale radical project which radically changed the city restructuring the transportation network into a radial structure with central terminals by Baron Hausmann who was commissioned by Napoleon III is one of the oldest examples of urban transformation we can trace in modern history in the 19th century.. Nevertheless

urban transformation in the contemporary meaning is commonly dated back to the post-war period (the 1950s) in Europe by many scholars.

The post-war Europe was characterized by the crisis of the cities (urban decline, urban shrinkage⁴ and urban abandonment). Most severely effected cities were Mainly Western European, but also Central and Eastern European ones and mainly old industrial cities. City exodus and abandonment of buildings were results of industrial decline, job changes, increasing unemployment, social polarisation, and declines in birth rates, ageing and an inappropriate housing stock for changing demands (Haese et al, 2003). Population losses and decay mostly hit the inner city areas and accordingly urban regeneration policy usually focused only on parts of the city as a reaction to urban decline (Haese et al, 2003).

Urban regeneration policies attempted to return these derelict and vacant land and buildings to beneficial use, to improve the urban environment and to create new forms of employment has came out as a response of public policy to these problems. These interventions are implemented through different organization models in which the role of the public and private sector varies between totally public dominated approaches to more entrepreneurial models.

Until the World War II, urban regeneration issues were limited with the "slum clearance" practices since the beginning of 1900s. These projects aimed to solve the problems of industrial cities such as low standard housing, insufficient infrastructure and environmental pollution (Legates and Stout, 1998). The Park Movement, the Baron Housmann Plan, City Beautiful Movement, etc. are the major movements of this period. Consistently, in 20th century with the Modernist Movement, especially with Charter of Athens suggesting that the modern city should be clean, healthy and beautiful and the unhealthy areas should be rebuilt and suggests skyscrapers in large green areas. Several demolitions and redevelopments according to these criteria have been observed in many European cities after the Charter.

⁴ 'urban decline' is widely used for referring Anglo-Saxon and North American context, the term 'chrumpfung' (shrinkage) is used for the West German context in the 1980s.

2.3.2. The Context of Urban Regeneration in USA: Inner-city Decline in the Post-war Period and Homelessness

Similar to the project of Baron Hausmann in Paris, 20th century New York City witnessed radical changes by the urban transformation project of Robert Moses suggesting new bridges, tunnels, viaducts, housing projects and public parks between 1930 and the 1970s. Grebler (1964) argues that although for many decades the United States looked to the advanced European countries for models and guidance in the development of housing policies and the improvement of city planning, in the case of urban renewal, since the national program for the cities and towns in 1949, the United States has a leading role on urban renewal. Urban renewal is one of the three main tasks of American urbanism together with suburbanization and homelessness.

The history of urban renewal in USA shows similarities especially with UK. Ralph and Peterman, (2004) comments that in the last three decades government of Britain and USA have frequently borrowed urban programmes from each other, which particularly focused on the regeneration of depressed areas. For instance, there are similarities between the Urban Development Action Grant programme of the US introduced in the late 1970s and the Urban Development Corporations in Britain in the early 1980s. Enterprise zones originated in Britain, nevertheless also used as tools for revitalising depressed areas in the U.S (Ralph and Peterman, 2004).

In the US context, urban renewal is a concept strongly associated with the city-centre and inner cities. When low income households concentrated in central locations, this further motivated middle and high income to move out to suburbs and not move back (Downs, 1997). In USA, like in Europe urban renewal came out as a solution to the problems of inner city districts in the post-war period. That's why, it is important to mention what changes occurred in the inner cities after World War II. We can cite a number of characteristics to describe the contextual environment of this era;

- By the 1950s, central cities' boundaries were largely fixed by state legislatures after the population and boundary growth since 1860s (Koebel, 1996).

- Post- World War II economic and demographic expansion fuelled the demand for housing.
- While the supply of vacant land within the city was diminishing, transportation technology enabled the peripheral farmland available for urban development.
- Enabled by the transportation technology and encouraged also by the real estate interests, the more prosperous moved farther out from the inner city neighbourhoods to suburbs.
- Along with the preference of suburban life, the flight of middle class from inner city is also associated with the social status of the neighbourhood. When new comers threatened the social status of a neighbourhood, the old residents begun to move far away and once this trend begins, the more hesitant to move also started to move due to their considerations about the safety and the manners of their children in the school and the effect on their social status by an non-prestigious address. After World War II, most new comers to cities were predominantly coloured people while suburbs remained predominantly white and this resulted a segregation of neighbourhoods.
- Central cities not only lost their population but also their function (Marris, 1962). In USA, Marris (1962) describes that while the metropolis continued to grow, although it is the heart of the metropolis, the central city showed signals of decline with empty stores, pulled down buildings and offices following their employees to suburbs.

Dreier (1996) lists the serious social, economic, and physical problems of the American city of the late 20th century as fiscal and social troubles such as concentration of poverty; growing poverty, homelessness, violent crime, infant mortality, widening economic and racial segregation, crumbling infrastructure and deepening social traumas (Dreier in Boger and Wegner, eds 1996).

By the 21st century, USA has still important issues to tackle with housing problems. While land struggles and squatters are generally considered the domain of the third world, as Rameau (2008) states devolving material conditions in USA compel social scientists to examine this strategy to use in the 'first world' (Rameau, 2008, p.8). Homelessness and inappropriate or informal housing types are not uncommon in US cities. While there are hardly examples of large scale informal settlements like we observe in developing world; it is

possible to observe different types of informalities in the housing sector developed as innovative but informal solutions to the problem of homelessness; besides mobile homes and in-law apartments the most recent and innovative form of informality occurred as a result of the latest foreclosure crises which gave rise to the practices of families facing foreclosure 'squatting in their own homes'.

2.3.3. The Context of Urban Regeneration in the Developing World: High Urbanization Rates and Informal, Inadequate and Unaffordable Housing

Urbanisation and urban development processes in the developing world can be differentiated from the developed countries' experiences in many aspects. While the developed countries needed urban transformation mostly due to deindustrialization processes; the developing countries needed urban transformation due to problems created by industrialization and urbanization process which they experienced later but unprepared than the developed countries.

Third world cities have experienced a dramatic increase in their population in the last decades. In the developing world, the percentage of the population living in urban areas has increased from 26% in 1975 to 37.4% in 1995, to 40% in 2000 and estimated to be 48.5% in 2015 (UNDP, 2002). By 2030, the projection of the urban population of developing countries is about the same level (56%) as prevailed in 1950 in more developed countries. Hence, the enormous majority of the world's population increase during the next 30 years will be concentrated in cities and towns. Moreover, almost all of this urban growth (99%) will be observed in developing countries (UNDP, 2002).

The mentioned population increases experienced by Third World cities have put enormous pressures on existing infrastructures and housing markets. The flow of migrants coming from the countryside and, in some cases, from neighbouring countries, as well as the natural increase of the urban population, overextend the capacity of those cities to satisfy the basic physical needs of their populations: shelter and access to urban services such as drinking water, electricity, drainage, sewerage and garbage disposal.

A different contextual background is the example of Brazil. Brazil abolished slavery in 1888 however; no land was redistributed to former slaves. In search of greater economic opportunity, millions of population migrated to the big cities like Sao Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Like the rest of Latin America, Brazil never completed a substantial land reform. In the absence of public housing or decent paying jobs these people built 'favelas' (shantytowns) on public land (DeSoto, 1989).

Researches have clearly shown the incapacity of the formal sector to provide enough housing to meet the demand. In most large cities in the developing world, the formal market serves only a minority of the population. In fact, it is estimated that it rarely produces more than 20% of the needed housing stock (Belanger, 1998). Rapid urban population growth together with the insufficient serviced land provided by local governments has resulted in a large number of households to reside in informal settlements in the developing world. The inconsistency between supply and demand affects low-income population most severely. This situation has led to the creation of an informal housing sector, which accommodates the vast majority of the urban population in Third World Cities.

Globally, people living in slums⁵ are almost one billion according to UN estimates (United Nations, 2003). It is estimated that those live in 'irregular' settlements in developing world are between 30 and 70 per cent, and that new housing stock is that is produced in an extra-legal manner with severe social and environmental consequences reaches up to 85 per cent. (Berner, 2001). Conditions in such areas vary widely; in some cases they are dismal, temporary shelter in squatter settlements in some others they are relatively well constructed, informal housing persisting for many decades. However, common characteristics of these settlements include uncertain tenure status, poor basic services such as water and sanitation, low-grade construction and overcrowded living conditions. Slum-dwellers are not only prone to physical deprivation, but also to poor integration with the rest of the city and the social stigma related with their inferior residential location (Lall et al, 2006).

⁵ United Nations agency UN-HABITAT defines 'slum' as a run-down area of a city characterized by substandard housing and squalor and lacking in tenure security.

As Lall et al (2006) point out, for many households, informal housing areas are not just temporary residences, but are homes for many decades; “some households manage to use the informal housing market as a stepping-stone towards improved housing, while for many who stay behind, slums essentially become poverty traps” (Lall et al, 2006). The squatters occur as one of the basic modes of housing supply in the developing world characterized by economic factors such as low national income and mass poverty; demographic factors such as rapid urbanization rates and migration; and lack of strong institutions such as the inadequacies of housing finance systems and land development.

Governments’ approaches to solve the informal housing problem have fluctuated between two extremes; viewing housing either as a human right, or as a commodity like any other (Berner, 2001). Justified on the grounds of legal aspects as well as improvement and beautification of the city, removal of ‘centres of crime and health hazards’ and more intensive and lucrative use of land in strategic locations, massive demolitions and evictions had been practices in those areas (UNCHS, 1996:245). While developers began to see relocation and compensation for original residents not as a responsibility but as a barrier to higher profits new homebuyers and commercial and work units largely bear the total development costs of the projects. Moreover since increasing numbers of displaced residents are now suing the governments and protesting against unfair renewal processes, the residents are treated as opponents rather than partners in the government’s plan (Zhang and Fang, 2003). To address the problem of informal housing, development agencies and national governments have also supported a range of shelter- related programmes such as sites-and-services programmes. Upgrading existing settlements with better services is usually more expensive but it helps to avoid the social disruption of moving households into Greenfield developments (Lall et al, 2006).

2.4. Main Theoretical Approaches for Studying Urban Transformation and Urban Processes

Understanding of the urban transformation processes is contemporaneously one of the most important constituents of an understanding of the cities and urban development processes in Turkey, since informal housing, aged and obsolescent housing constitutes a large portion of the total housing stock, especially in the

big cities of Turkey. Moreover, urban transformation especially in informal housing has become the major urban policy and practice of both local and central governments in the last three decades. As Healey and Barrett (1990) point out, knowledge of the processes through which the built environment is produced and used is critical to our understanding of urban development as well as in our attempts at managing, guiding and controlling urban development processes. Understanding these processes not only provides us a sound basis for the professions and specializations of architecture, urban design, urban policy, urban management and economic development; but also gives us a critical capacity to evaluate these practices.

This study aims to analyse the urban transformation as a process aiming to discover the role of shaping dynamic and evolving structuring forces in the institutional environment that urban transformation is taking place; the role of the effecting and effected parties on and of the transformation process; and the implications of transformation on people and built environment in the transformation of informal housing settlements of Turkey. In our effort in understanding urban transformation processes, first it would be helpful to set up a general framework for our analysis. The next section will review the main theoretical approaches in studying urban development processes, particularly the transformation processes in urban areas. In literature, there are generally three main approaches to the analysis of urban development, urban economy and land and property markets (Basset and Short, 1980; Ball, 1986; Healey and Barrett, 1990; Krabben and Lambooy, 1993; Kauko, 2001; Rydin, 2003); Neo-classical analyses; Neo-Marxist analysis; and Institutional analyses. There are also a number of other approaches within these three broad categories. The diversity of approaches is interrelated with the complex nature of housing and urban development. The distinctions between various approaches lie in their research questions, their assumptions, methods and their interpretations. After giving a brief summary of these three main approaches, the institutional approach will be discussed in further detail for it is considered to be the most relevant approach for our research subject.

2.4.1. Neo-classical (Mainstream) Economics Analysis:

Neo-classical urban economics builds on the tradition of human ecology which Basset and Short (1980) considers as a further distinct approach to housing and urban analysis and which is the first theoretical approach to urban research (Kauko, 2001). Ecological approach can be traced back to Chicago school in the urban research such as Robert Park's and Ernest Burgess's concentric zone theory published in their book "The City" (1925) developed to explain the spatial organization of, in particular the distribution of social groups within urban areas.

Neo-classical economics began as a reaction to the classical economics of Ricardo and Marx in the latter half of nineteenth century. Instead of circumstances and conditions of production, neo-classical approach focuses on preferences and needs of individual consumers as well as production functions and factor prices for producer. Neo-classical approaches in social science draw their theoretical guidance from neo-classical economics and concerned with the utility maximization of individual consumers. The central concepts within the neo-classical approach are equilibrium, efficiency and market failure.

In neo-classical economic thought individual households' and firms' main intention is supposed to be to maximize their utility and profit shaped in demand and supply oriented systems respectively. Neo-classic economists believed that individuals' behaviour were motivated by these desires and were predictable. Hence the equilibrium conditions were formed by the self-regulating system that affected the market economy (Cadwallader, 1996). Neo-classical theory focuses on the consumers' and producers' decisions in a given context. Each person seeks to satisfy his/ her needs in an optimum situation, given a certain budget. How the context has evolved is not taken into consideration by the theory (Krabben and Lambooy, 1993).

Market failure on the other hand, describes the situations in which market processes do not result in an efficient equilibrium, which is defined in terms of balancing 'marginal costs' and 'marginal benefits' in the market. Market failure occurs due to the failure of real life markets to satisfy the assumptions of the markets in the perfect model. Four distinct types of market failure include existence of monopolies, externalities, existence of public goods and existence of missing markets (Rydin, 2003, p.177).

Neoclassical urban economics assumes that the market clears and determines prices and rents of land and property and helps us understand how the land use in cities is determined in a static equilibrium within a micro-economics setting (Kauko, 2001). Neo-classical urban rent theory assumes that supply demand relations structure the land and property markets (Krabben and Lambooy, 1993). The basic idea in the urban rent theory was taken from the classic rent theory of Ricardo and developed to a "bid rent" theory of consumers and producers by Alonso, Muth and Mills. "Bid rent" explains that different distances from the city centre are associated with different land use zones depending on the willingness of each group to pay (Kauko, 2001).

The most general criticism to neo-classical approach is that it fails to consider the structuring of household housing decisions. Household's preferences are affected by wider social structure, but this is not considered in neo-classical economic tradition (Bassett and Short, 1980). Other criticisms to neo-classical approach are the impossibility of perfect information for individual to decide rationally, lack of social and public goods and motivations effecting decisions other than economic rationality.

2.4.2. Political Economy (Neo-Marxist) Analysis:

The main opposition to neo-classical thought has traditionally come from the amenders and extenders of Marx's theory who are neo- Marxists. In neo-Marxism there is a clear departure from neoclassicism. While neo-classical models focus how supply-demand relations structure land and property markets; in neo-Marxist models (such as works by Castells, Harvey and Smith) the emphasis is on macro-economic, distributive factors and social factors rather than on the micro-economic ones offered by the equilibrium approach. The studies of neo-Marxists criticize the capitalist system discussing urban injustices.

The concepts of 'natural choice' of the human ecologists' and the 'rational choice' of the neoclassical economists' are not present in the explanation of housing or land markets in neo- Marxist models. Marxist models focus on the factors which structure supply-demand conditions, that is the struggle between capitalists, workers, landowners, developers and rent seeking investors about the

distribution of the total outcome of production and the role of finance capital in using the built environment as a 'store' of value thus increasing both the supply of capital for investment and generating a form of demand (Healey, 1990).

Models of the development process derived from Marxist economics and urban political economy replace the notion of the individual 'rational actor' operating in markets, with the concept of 'struggles between groups' for control of the surplus generated in production. Structures of power and interest are generated through these struggles. In the production process, they are generated between capital and labour; over the appropriation of rent that are generated between landowners and capital/labour and in the interest communities created over the production, use and management of the built environment that are generated in a whole variety of ways. This theorization emphasizes the way the structures of modes of production and modes of regulation (Aglietta, 1979) are actively constituted by those involved in them (Healey, 1992).

Although Marx himself did not particularly studied the spatial dimension of capitalist mode of production and accumulation, neo-Marxist authors such as Lefebvre, Castells and Harvey attempted to fill this gap by discussing how urban space is socially produced under capitalist system. The main focus of Marxist approach to housing is the role of housing as an essential element in the reproduction of labour power and the position of housing as a commodity in a system of commodity production, which draws upon historical materialism (Bassett and Short, 1980).

The Marxist theory of rent contrasts with the theory of rent theories of classical economics such as Smith and Ricardo and with modern neo-classical economics by rejecting the idea that land rent has a neutral residual role in capitalist societies. Marxist rent theory emphasises instead the importance of historical change and stresses the social nature of the rent. (Ball et al, 1985).

The recent Marxist and 'political economy' research is mainly concerned with identifying the structural 'driving forces' shaping the form of the development industry and the processes of production built environment. Harvey links the production of the built environment with production and consumption processes through the 'circuits of capital'. Another well-known scholar in this tradition is Neil Smith who is credited for his theories on gentrification.

Kauko (2001) compiles that the later extensions of the neo-Marxist tradition have been twofold:

- (i) the place attached line of research introduced a behavioural argument
- (ii) The restructuring thesis introduced the importance of institutions.

However, neo-Marxist approaches have become less popular among property researchers (Kauko, 2001) and in traditional economic analysis of housing (Ball, 1998). Nevertheless according to Kauko (2001); the most important contribution of neo-Marxists is gentrification theory (Kauko, 2001).

Weberian authors such as Pahl (1977) criticized the Marxist thought claiming that urban and regional phenomena such as stratification of housing by occupation and regional inequalities are valid also in cities under socialism although Marxist thinkers consider them as outcomes peculiar to capitalist mode of production (Pickvance 1995, 39). Therefore Weberians suggested the common features of capitalist and socialist societies such as industrial technology, a high level of economic development or bureaucratic organisation have causal significance instead of socio-economic system in producing urban phenomena. While Marxist authors consider the interventions of the state on urban areas and processes in terms of struggles among classes and capital accumulation, Weberians position it within their own inner logic of the state and bureaucracy.

2.4.3. Institutional Analysis:

Besides neo-classical and neo-Marxist theories, a growing body of theories in various social sciences such as sociology, geography, economics and political science are being defined as 'institutional approach' (Giddens, 1984; North, 1990; Powell and DiMaggio, 1991; Healey and Barrett, 1990; Healey, 1997). As a term, Walton Hamilton first brought "institutional economics" to the general attention in a meeting of the American Economic Association in 1919 (Rutherford, 2001). In his conference paper, Hamilton (1919) lists a number of attributes of this school and he claims that institutional economics alone could unify economic science by showing how parts of the economic system related to the whole. Hamilton (1919) cites five characteristics of economic theory, which he thinks institutional economics, can fulfil;

1. Economic theory should unify economic science,

2. Economic theory should be relevant to the modern problem of control,
3. The proper subject matter of economic theory is institutions,
4. Economic theory is concerned with matters of process,
5. Economic theory must be based upon an acceptable theory of human behaviour.

Institutional approaches do not constitute a unified body of thought and there is not a clear consensus on the definition and on the relation of this approach to the neo-classical and neo-Marxist approaches. Various scientists consider and describe this kind of analysis in various ways such as an extension or modification of neo-Marxist school, an extension or modification of neo-classical school; as a synthesis of both schools or a new school of thought of its own.

2.4.3.1. Main Idea, Methodology and Departure from other Approaches:

North is one of the scholars who links institutionalism with neo-classical approach. North (1993) considers (new)⁶ institutional economics as an attempt to incorporate a theory of institutions into economics. However, in contrast to the earlier attempts to overturn or replace neo-classical theory, the new institutional economics according to North (1993), builds on, modifies, and extends neo-classical theory.

For North, what institutional economics shares common with the neo-classical approach is the assumption of scarcity and competition. What it abandons in neo-classical thought is the assumption of instrumental rationality. According to North (1993) the assumption of instrumental rationality makes neo-classical economics an institution-free theory. Institutional economics modifies and extends neo-classical theory by adding institutions as a critical constraint and by analysing the role of transaction costs as the connection between institutions and costs of production. Institutional approach also adds ideas and ideologies into the analysis. These approaches consider the political process as a critical factor in the performance of economies, as the source of the diverse performance of economies, and as the explanation for 'inefficient' markets (North, 1993).

⁶ NIE (New Institutional Economics) and OIE (old Institutional Economics); NIE is generally linked with neo-classical economics

Healey (1991) also considers institutional approach as similar to neo-classical models in the sense that it recognizes the importance of the supply and demand relations of land and property markets; but also as similar to political economy analysis since it also emphasises the structural dimensions of the development industry and land and property markets.

Healey (1999) traces the origins of the new institutionalism back in the evolution of other schools of thought such as Marxist political economy, its encounter with phenomenology and social exchange theory, regulation theory in French social science, and Giddensian structuration theory. As developed within sociology, Healey (1999) states, institutional approach "is grounded in an interpretive and relational view of social life, which focuses on people actively and interactively constructing their worlds, both materially and in the meanings they make, while surrounded by powerful constraints of various kinds" (Healey, 1999, p. 113).

Rydin (2003) dates back the 'new institutionalism' to two certain key texts of the 1980s; Laumann and Knoke's 'the Organisational State' (1987) and March and Olsen's 'Rediscovering Institutions' (1989) (Rydin, 2003). Laumann and Knoke's 'the Organisational State' (1987) present a study on how energy and health policies are formulated, selected and implemented in USA putting an emphasis on social structure, decision participation, and influence on outcomes. They highlight that the actors who shape the structure of events which constitute together the public policy are not persons but a number corporate actors such as state, trade unions, firms, professional associations. These actors represent interests instead of persons. In 'Rediscovering Institutions' (1989) March and Olsen (1989) argue that human rationality is limited or 'bounded'. In their view, institutions matter because they shape, even determine, human behaviour. Institutions give legitimacy to certain rules of conduct and behaviour, which concern power relations, and go further than the utility maximizing thought by considering social and cultural norms (Koelbe, 1995). March and Olsen (1989) claim that institutional approaches are "new" because, both the behavioural approach of the 1960s and the rational choice school neglected the role of institutions in explaining political outcomes.

According to Koelbe (1995), the institutional economics approach is "new" because its proponents have broken away from orthodoxy in economics. While

still assuming that the individual is the central actor in social science research, they introduced an incorporation of environmental factors into the rational choice model. Koelbe explains that institutions matter in decision-making because they set parameters to choice. Although they do not determine choice, they influence it by setting limits; they provide certainty under conditions of uncertainty and thus help to foster cooperative as well as repetitive (habitual) behaviour. According to Koelbe (1995), rational choice analysts adopted the concepts of limited information and transaction cost analysis into their theory in order to develop a powerful explanatory model. Koelbe gives examples of these efforts as North's theory of fluctuating prices and Levi's bargaining theory, which attempt to build a sophisticated rational choice model of human action, institutional emergence, and change.

Zucker (1987) defines institutional analysis as a new area concerned with explaining action as the output of institutions rather than individuals. Zucker claims that recent reviews in political science (March & Olsen 1984) and in economics (North 1986a in Zucker) reflect emergence of explanations based on institutions "behaving" as actors in their own rights (in Zucker, 1987).

According to Werlen (1993) in institutional approach, "explanations of actions" should acknowledge the "constraining and enabling aspects of socio-cultural, psychological and material factors" (Werlen, 1993, p. 6).

A major departure of institutional approaches accounted by scholars is the methodology. Guy and Henneberry (2000), consider the point of methodological departure for institutional analyses (often allied to realist approaches) as the rejection of positivist theories, which reify, idealise and isolate economic structures and individual behaviours. Özveren (2007) states that institutional economics attempts to position itself with a different methodology than the mainstream economics. While mainstream economics is related with positivism, Institutional economics relates itself with critical realism (Özveren, 2007).

In institutional economics homo economicus who is supposed to be rational becomes homo institutalis who makes choices under the effect of his habits acting in a limited rationality (Özveren, 2007). According to Veblen, the theory of economics, which is set on a fictional individual, remains inadequate in understanding and examining economics as a social process. Instead, individuals

are in fact a product of their previous experiences, traditions and material processes. What is valid for the individual is also valid for the society and the economic change is in fact the change of the society or the mode of production of the society which is change of habits of thought (Yılmaz, p.99 in Özveren, 2007). According to institutionalists; economic, social and political decisions cannot be explained merely as expressed in the decisions of individual actors operating independently (Sim et al, 2003). Decisions and actions are 'structured' by their interactions with others, their social obligations and networks and their frames of reference (Healey, 1999).

New institutionalism emphasizes collective decisions in economic processes instead of simply focusing on economic explanations. It analyses the existence and importance of political, legal and social institutions, which govern human behaviour within the 'bounded rationality' of agents' decisions (D'Arcy and Keogh, 1996; Healey, 1999; Hodgson, 1998; North, 1990 in Sim et al, 2003). Institutional economics differ from other approaches that consider institutions to some extent in that it defines economics as an institutionalised process itself. Institutional economics recognize the market not as a natural formation but as an institutional formation and rejects reducing the economy into the market. This way of thinking broadens the definition of economics, expands it out from being a 'science' affected economics and zooming into its 'political economy' attributes. Thus in fact institutional economics is 'institutional political economics' (Özveren, 2007). The smallest unit of the institutional economists is a unit of activity, which is a transaction with its participants (Commons, 2002).

The conceptualisation of 'market' is another departure of institutionalist approaches. In institutionalist models, markets both reflect and help to operationalize the institutional structure of the society whereas in neo-classical thinking, market processes merely allocate resources (Samuels, 1995). Institutional approaches study a range of explanatory variables to explain market outcomes because they acknowledge, "the market economy per se itself is a system of social control" such as cultural influences and power distribution, (Samuels, 1995, p. 573). The rules, norms and regulations are created by society reflecting power and interests and enable the market to function properly therefore Keogh and D'Arcy draw our attention that, in this context, what is legally or culturally feasible is as important as what is technologically feasible (Keogh & D'Arcy 1999).

In institutional approaches, economics is positioned within a wider socio-cultural system, which performs as an important factor in determining the behaviour of individuals (Özveren, 2007); Rydin (2003) stresses that institutional economics see economic action as embedded in networks of personal relations rather than being carried out by atomised agents.

Kauko (2001) points out that, institutional analysis assumes that institutional and cultural factors influence supply-demand relations. Moreover, the market is assumed to be more heterogeneous than it is assumed in the neo-classical and neo-Marxist approaches. However, for various scholars, it is impossible to define exact boundaries to these two traditional approaches (van der Krabben and Lambooy, 1993; Ball, 1998).

Table 1: Summary Comparison Table of Neo-Classical and Neo-Marxist Economic Approaches

	Assumptions	Methods	Common themes	Models	Well known scholars
Neo- classical Economics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Rational individual • Perfect market 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Instrumental rationality • use of mathematical techniques • equilibrium analysis 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • rational choice • utility maximisation • economic self-interest • decisions of consumers and producers • equilibrium 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equilibrium Models • Event-sequence models • Agency Models 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Burgess • Park • Muth • Alonso
Political Economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • struggles between groups for control over surplus 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • dialectical method • historical materialism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • conflict • redistribution • power 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Capital-labour models • Structure-agency models 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Castells • Harvey • Neil Smith
Institutional economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • institutional and cultural factors influence supply-demand relations • The market is far more heterogeneous than is supposed in neoclassical and Marxist theory. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • rejection of positivist methods and adoption of critical realism • contextualising 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structure- agency relationship • Institutions • Human agency as social actors • conditioning of decisions by institutional arrangements, regulation and the influence of power on the functioning of markets 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Structure- Agency Models • Institutional models 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hamilton • North • Hodgson • Veblen • Commons

Source: Compiled from Healey, 1992; Krabben and Lambooy, 1993; Werlen, 1993, Rydin, 2003

Table 2: Summary Comparison Table for Urban Analyses of Neo-Classical and Neo-Marxist Economic Approaches

	Urban Analyses
Neo-classical Economics	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • assumes that supply-demand relations structure land and property markets • Assumes competition in the urban arena will always lead to equilibrium on the urban land market. • Emphasis is placed on the demand side of the urban economy: demand for land and property defines urban spatial structures in a timeless framework.
Political Economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Struggle between landowners and other capitalists for a part of the surplus value that is generated in the production process. Their strategies are based on acquiring development gains, and their relative power characterises the relation between spatial structure and urban economic development • More recent neo-Marxist approaches focus on how capital flows through the built environment. • The relation between spatial development and the functioning of the urban economy is thus defined by investment decisions of financial institutions: the built environment acts as capital.
Institutional economy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • focuses on the way in which different groups of actors and institutions that participate in urban development processes are related to each other and to other sectors of the local economy and to regional, national and international financial and development interests • The heterogeneity of the market-both heterogeneous groups of individual actors and organisations operate on the market is the most important starting-point. • The built environment is the result of the relationships between agents and institutions within the local economy on the one hand, and with regional, national and (inter)national financial and development interests which are influenced by structural factors on the other hand. • Where neoclassical economics focuses on optimal allocation within a given (institutional) context, institutional analysis focuses on the functioning of institutions and the related problems of coordination of market parties.
Source: Compiled from Krabben and Lambooy, 1993	

2.4.3.2. Basic Terminology in Institutional Approach:

The rest of the study will use some of the concepts with reference to their use in institutional approaches. Therefore, this section of this chapter will give a brief account of the most basic and most important terminology of institutional approaches. Most common concepts in the institutional economics are 'institution', 'organisation', 'institutional environment', 'embeddedness', and 'transaction cost'.

First and foremost, it is important to emphasize the distinction between '**institutions**' and '**organizations**' in institutional approach. Within both new and old institutional economics, institutions are often regarded as the 'rules of the game' in contrast to the 'players' or organisations (North, 1990, 1993; Healey, 1999). Institutions in daily speech which usually account for post offices, schools, courts, central bank and so on can be viewed as materialized and organized institutions of the more general kind. In other words, they can be viewed as a subset of the more general concept of institutions.

In the most general sense, institutions are the rules, norms and regulations by which a society functions. The institutional approach diverges from the traditional public administration view, which refers to the analysis of the formal structures or procedures of public institutions and where institutions are understood as simply 'organizations'. Rather, 'institution' refers to an established way of addressing certain social issues, such as "the relationships through which what we understand as family are produced and reproduced, or, on a more micro-scale, the ways in which people go about community organizing activities" (Healey, 1999). Mac Iver (1931) distinguishes between an association, as an organised group and an institution, as an organised procedure (in Powell and DiMaggio, 1991).

Generally in institutional approach, institutions are defined as the rules of the game of a society or more formally are the humanly devised constraints that structure human interaction. They are composed of formal rules (statute law, common law, regulations), informal constraints (conventions, customs, traditions, norms of behaviour, and self imposed codes of conduct), and the enforcement characteristics of both (North, 1993). On the other hand,

organizations are the players: groups of individuals bound by a common purpose to achieve specific objectives. Organizations, whether political, economic or social, behave and perform within a framework defined by institutions. They include political bodies (political parties, the senate, a city council, a regulatory agency); economic bodies (firms, trade unions, family farms, cooperatives); social bodies (churches, clubs, athletic associations); and educational bodies (schools, colleges, vocational training centres) (North, 1993).

In development processes the relationship between state and market is of particular importance. As Oxley (2004) suggests, the distinction the way institutional economics define institutions and organizations challenges conventional language, which is value-laden highlighting market 'intervention' rather than market 'participation'. According to Oxley (2004), the concept of intervention reflects an artificial separation between state and market where the state is seen as an agent of society and the market is seen as a social/ societal construct. To take either the state or market away from any conceptualisation of the use, management, investment and development of land and property leads to a partial analysis.

Although the concept of 'institutions' underlies the 'institutional approaches'; the definition of 'institutions' by various scholars of Institutional School might also vary. March and Olsen define institutions as rules of conduct in organizations, routines, and repertoires of procedures (p. 21). Political institutions are:

Collections of interrelated rules and routines that define appropriate actions in terms of relations between roles and situations. The process involves determining what the situation is. What role is being fulfilled, and what the obligation of that role in that situation is (p. 160) (in Koelbe, 1995).

While March and Olsen (1989) define institutions as rules, procedures, organizational standards, and governance structures, Powell and DiMaggio (1991) adds to this definition conventions and customs. Powell and DiMaggio argue that institutions define the actions of "rational actors." For example, Koelbe explains an individual seeking a divorce cannot seek separation from his or her spouse by inventing a new set of rules but has to follow those already in place (Koelbe, 1995).

Institutions impart certainty and stability to social interaction, but they also change and develop over time as circumstances and experience dictate. Since human society creates institutions, they are not independent from the power and interests within that society and different social groups will benefit at varying levels from the prevailing institutional structure. Institutional economics puts that institutions emerge to reduce frictions and uncertainties, collectively regarded as transaction costs (Eggertsson 1990 cited in Keogh & D'Arcy, 1999). However, since institutions are bounded with influence and power within the society, they might reduce transaction costs for certain groups and activities but not for others (Keogh & D'Arcy, 1999).

Kauko (2004) emphasises, institutions and agency are not binary oppositions in this context. Rather; agency is embedded in informal institutions by definition and at the same time this partial effect is dependent on the incentives or constraints set by the institutional environment. On the other hand, institutions are established and transformed by the preferences of actors leading to a collective decision-making.

Another important concept in institutional economics is the '**transaction cost**'. Johnson, (1987) defines transaction costs as the costs of arranging and enforcing contracts, which should be seen together with production costs. To a larger extent Johnson quotes from Matthews (1986) who explains; "transaction costs are costs of relations between people and people while production costs are costs of relation between people and things". The economic agent is supposed to economize on the sum of both costs. 'Institutional change' in this view is a product of this process and different institutional arrangements are compared on the basis of what they do to transaction costs. It is also worthwhile to remember that the economic agent is not the homo economics of the neo-classical economics as Johnson (1987) states, but "his distant cousin: a less well informed, less capable in mathematics and sometimes cheating and living figure" (Johnson, 1987).

Table 3: Main Types of Institutions versus Organisations

Institutions (According to formality)		Institutions (According to function)		Organisations (According to function)	
Formal rules	Law Regulations	Political institutions	Legislature Legal system	Political bodies	Political parties Senate City council
		Economic institutions		Economic bodies	Firms Trade unions Cooperatives
Informal rules	Conventions Norms of behaviour Self imposed codes of conduct Customs, traditions	Social institutions	Language Customs	Social bodies	Churches Clubs
		Educational institutions		Educational bodies	Schools Colleges

Source: compiled from North, 1993

In institutional approaches, Commons (2002) states transactions intervene between the labour of the classic economists and the pleasures of the hedonic economists. This is because who controls access to the forces of nature is the society. Since transactions are not the 'exchange of commodities' but they are in fact alienation and acquisition of the rights of property and liberty between individuals, created by society, "they must be negotiated between the parties concerned before labour can produce, or consumers can consume, or commodities be physically exchanged" (Commons, 2002). In institutional economics, the focus is mostly on property rights where it is assumed that "if property rights are correctly set by institutions, then economic progress is more likely to occur; if institutions increase transaction costs and distort property

rights, then economic development will be impeded" (Hesse, 1992 in Leitman and Baharoğlu). The performance of economies rely on institutions which lower transaction costs related to assigning property rights (i.e. costs of information, negotiation, monitoring, co-ordination, and enforcement of contracts) (Bardhan, 1989).

Embeddedness: the notion of embeddedness underlines the important role of culture, society, organizational identity, and industrial sectors in the definition of interest a person might develop.

Institutional environment: Institutional environment: constraints lying in the background of economic structure and rules of the game, which serves as a guide for individuals' behaviour (Şenalp, 2007). The economics is conceptualised as an 'open system' rather than a closed system (Özveren, 2007).

Institutional arrangements: structures arranged to mediate the economic relationships. Commercial firms, long-term contracts, non- profit organisations and agreements depending on contracts (Şenalp, 2007).

Institutional thickness: Phelps and Alden (1999) define institutional thickness as formal structures that exist: the number and the variety of institutions, resources available to them, or the way in which these institutions collaborate with one another through institutional networks.

2.5. Developing the Analytical Framework for Studying Urban Transformation

This section of the thesis is aimed at explaining the rationale for the selection of the model within the institutional approach in which the research design is based on. The aim of this study is to analyse the urban transformation processes to highlight the presence, causes and implications of these bottlenecks and problems related to urban transformation. This study assumes that these implications are the results of complex processes consisting of many interactions among various actors bounded and interacted with several contextual, structural and locational factors. Thus, like any other development processes, urban transformation processes can be best understood when all these factors and

actors are included in the analysis. Therefore, institutionalist perspective is suggested to be the best of alternative theoretical approaches to study the current research subject. That is, constraints placed on planning and development activity by economic processes will be analysed while at the same time considering the possible influences of individual or collective actors or institutions on policy and impacts. Consequently, the players in the development processes might be considered as both the subject of implications of urban transformation as well as having impacts on the transformation process and outcomes.

Urban transformation is not a simple process; but encloses a complexity with many dimensions due to incorporating physical, economic, social and environmental aspects. Actors involved also vary; the stakeholders of an urban transformation process may be sited as central and local authorities, residents of the unauthorized stock, local or global investors, contractors, and new residents of the specific transformed area and also all other residents living in the city. The whole process is shaped by the interaction of these stakeholders acting according to their interests and expectations from the transformation process. Application of different models of transformation on the other hand may lead to various compositions of share and allocation of surplus generated in the process (Adair, et al, 2003). The level of complexity in urban regeneration increases if (Adair et al, 2003a);

- Area of regeneration is on the cross border of different countries with different agendas and mechanisms concerning urban renewal strategies.
- The public-sector is engaged into urban regeneration by support mechanisms to lever private-sector investment.
- There is a mix of stakeholders within regeneration. (Public sector consists of a number of different units or agencies and different tiers of governance and the private sector involve short-term and long-term investors, developers and occupiers). While the private sector alone is not sufficient to bring forward regeneration requiring some form of support from the public sector to overcome the perceived risk factor. The short-term risk-taker which is usually the property development companies which enables the opportunity for longer-term investors.

The way this research suggests to tackle with this complex nature of process will be simplifying by the help of using 'models'. The main hypothesis of the study is that there are available policy options and regulatory tools including planning for local and central authorities and planning institutions to overcome most of the bottlenecks and problems of transformation with their political and regulative power/ resources even they lack of sufficient financial power/ resources. Therefore the core of the analyses will deal with both the 'impact' of policy actors (local and central authorities, planners, planning institutions) and with the 'implications' on space and on non-policy actors. Correspondingly, if a model is to be employed in order to understand and explain these dimensions of the process; the model should involve policy as well as non-policy actors; provision, production as well as consumption side considerations; inputs as well as outputs or impacts as well implications; the role and the actions of actors as well as their relationships with constraints put on each other and on the process.

There are different models developed for land development employed in literature. First group of models are those models focusing either one of the constituents or one of the dimensions of the process; event-sequence models, equilibrium models, actor-agency-behavioural models and structural and production based models. The second group are employing a more comprehensive or synthesis of two or more models of the previous group; structure-agency models, structures of provision model and institutional models. In accordance with the concerns of this thesis each of these models are reviewed critically in order to judge the relevancy of applying to the specific research of the study.

The first type of model developed in literature is event-sequence models. These models explain development process in a chronological sequence of stages of certain events. According to Healey (1991) by unpacking the development process into its constituent events (i.e.: evaluation, preparation, implementation and disposal), these models offer a vocabulary for describing a development process and focus attention on potential blockages to development activity. On the other hand, event-sequence models are descriptive models focusing only on the events of development process, so they would fall short in explaining the complex set of relations, interests and activities in urban redevelopment processes, therefore serve for only partial analysis of this research's concerns.

Equilibrium models on the other hand, assume that development process is driven by demand for new property. Transactions and investments will be activated by land and property prices and rents as market signals. As long as the actors read the signals correctly, the projects will be successful (Healey, 1991).

Accordingly equilibrium models are found that they might only partially help to explain the disinvestment for urban redevelopment problem in informal settlements. These models lie on the assumption that new development is driven by demand. However, in Şentepe case even if there is demand from the residents to redevelop their gecekondü dwellings, there was no 'investor' demand by house builders. In urban transformation projects, the development activity is facilitated by only after a market is 'created' by the project in some cases regardless of the demand from investors or households.

Agency models focus on actors, their roles and interests guiding their strategies. How different agents perform different activities in the development process, the roles of different actors and the importance of their decisions are emphasized. Although they might adopt a sequential format, in these models, events are presented as secondary to decisions of actors (Gore and Nicholson, 1991). Drewett's model is an example of agency models with no time dimension (Figure 2); Bryant et al (1982) proposes a model which links agency model to an event sequence model (Figure 3).

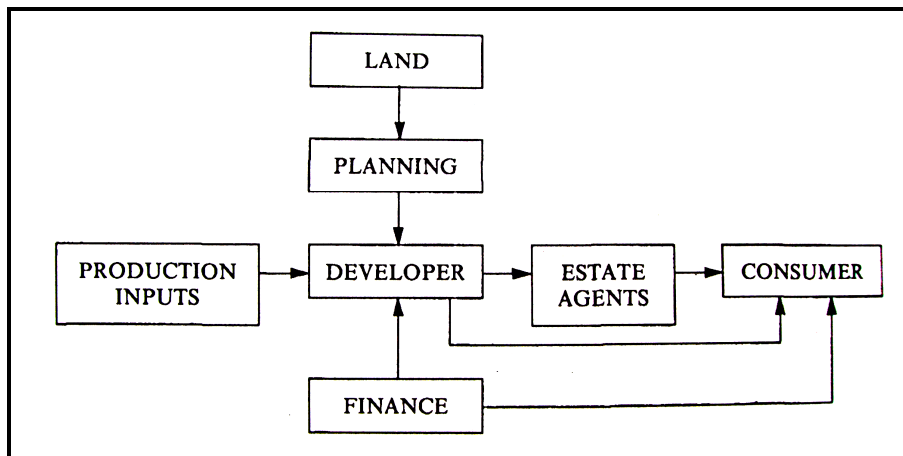


Figure 2: Drewett's (1973) model of Decision Agents in the Land Development Process

Source: Healey, 1991

	Non-urban use	Non-urban use with pressures for change	Urban interest seen in land purchases; land use is transitional	Active purchase of raw land	Active development	Active purchase of developed land
Primary decision agents	Farmer	Farmer Land dealer	Farmer Land dealer Developer	Developer	Developer Builder	Builder Households Industries Firms
Secondary decision agents		Financier	Financier	Financier Lawyer Realtor Planner Politician	Financier Lawyer Planner Politician	Financier Lawyer Realtor

Figure 3: Bryant's (1982) model integrating agency model with event sequence model

Source: Gore and Nicholson (1991)

Behavioural or agency models could have been helpful in studying the roles, power relations or behaviour of actors of redevelopment such as house-builders for instance investigating for why they did not invest in Şentepe. On the other hand these models do not focus on the web of relations, structural changes in time and their impacts on behaviour; rather they analyse behaviour in a particular, given circumstances in a closed system with no reference to external factors that might influence the decision and events.

Structural models on the other hand, are mostly neo-Marxist studies in urban political economy literature. They assume that the markets are structured through the power relations of capital, labour and landowner and the property development is structured by capital-labour, capital-landowner and state-market relations (Figure 4). As Gore and Nicholson (1991) point out in these models development process is considered as a specialised form of economic activity, mostly an economic perspective is adopted and macro-economy is dominant such as the Harvey's 'circuits of capital') in Figure 5.

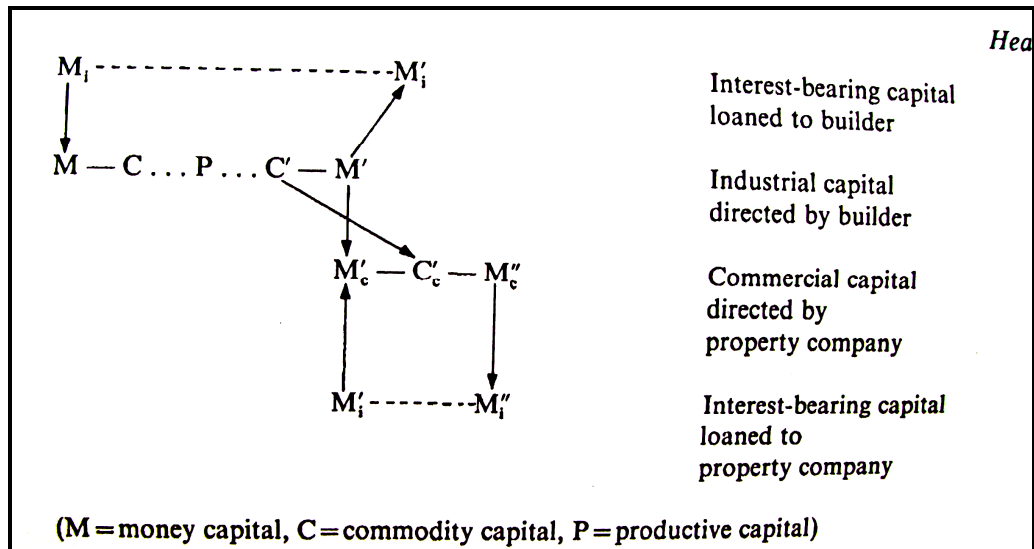


Figure 4: Boddy' (1982) model of development process as a circuit of commercial capital
 Source: Healey, 1991

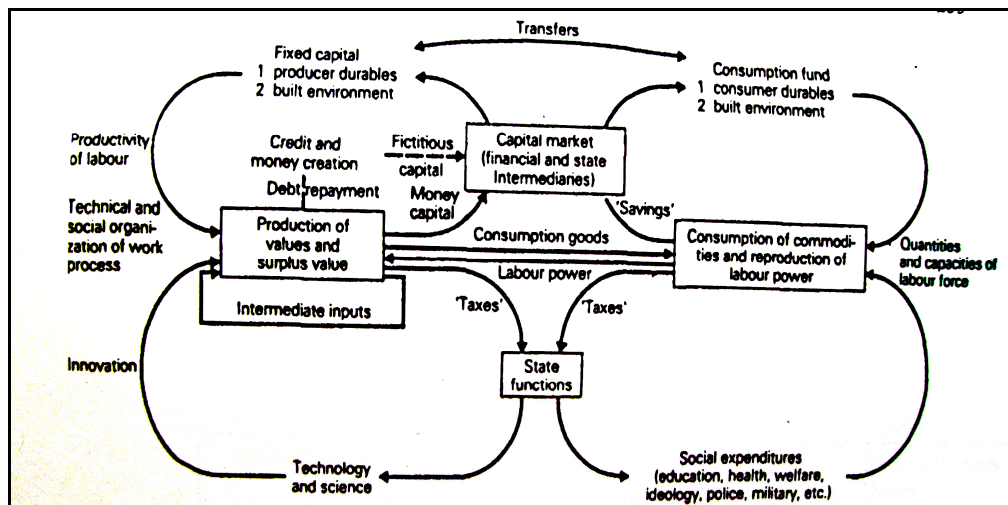


Figure 5: Harvey's (1985) model of built environment in the structures of relations between primary, secondary and tertiary circuits of capital
 Source: Healey, 1991

Structural models would be helpful in understanding the struggles on land ownership among gecekondu dwellers, state, house-builders and the society. On the other hand these models discount the role of agency in the process and do not enable to discuss the role of specific contextual or locational factors varying in time and space.

The second group of models on the other hand are composed of structure-agency models (based on the work of Giddens); structures of provision models (developed by Ball) and institutional models (developed by Healey). What they share in common that they attempt to build a bridge between structure and agency and try to reflect the multi actor and multi dimensional character of urban (re)development processes which the first group of models failed to provide to a large extent.

One of the models of this group is structures of provision models. Some of the main points of Ball's (1998) structures of provision methodologies theory are;

1. no dichotomy exists between agency and structure and the network of organisations and markets in a particular type of building provision is the 'structure' of that provision.
2. organisations, markets and the constraints and rules in which they operate and conduits of market relations determine the nature of markets while markets affect the nature of organisations by forcing them to change over time.
3. each type of building provision is unique because each is associated with historically specific institutional and other social relations. therefore a 'universal explanation' of development process is not possible; i.e. different countries have different structures of provision. Since, historically contingent nature of structures of provision creates difficulty in a priori defining them and deciding when to use them; the approach has been rarely used empirically although received support in literature.
4. market pressures, tastes, technological changes, policies and strategies of organisations change structures of provision continuously.
5. Structures of provision is not a complete theory in itself but a methodological theory about how to examine institutions and their roles. Other theories are needed to address the problems defined in the particular study.

Figure 6 interprets the use of this model in owner-occupied housing provision developed by Ball (1986). The 'structures of provision model' undertakes the production and consumption of buildings as not only a physical process of creating and transferring to occupiers but also a social process dominated by economic interests. This approach avoids ignoring institutional and other

structures within which the process takes place as well as the social agencies engaged in these structures (Gore and Nicholson, 1991).

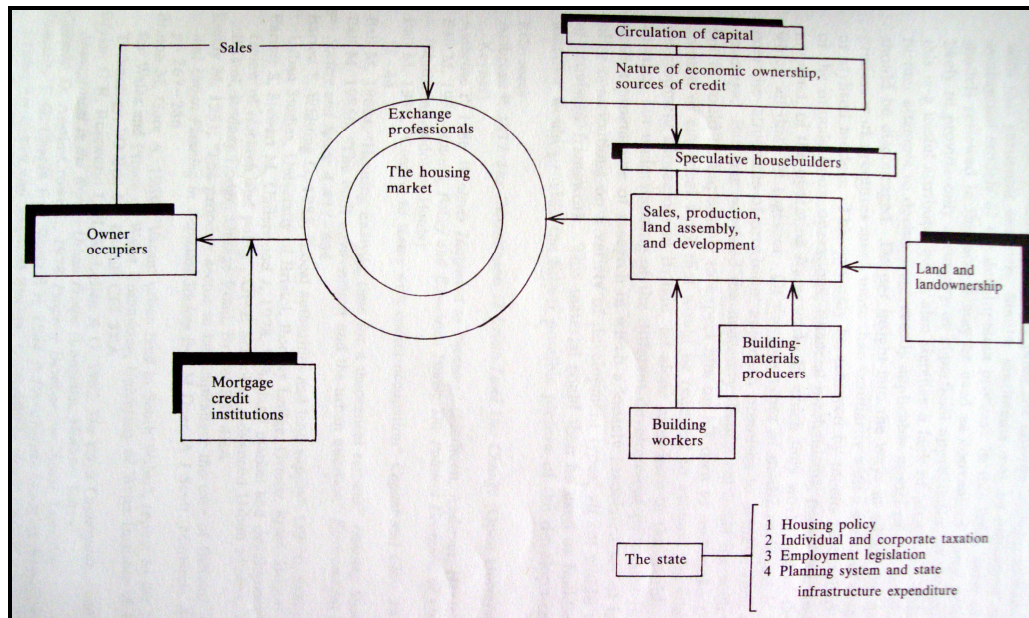


Figure 6: Ball's (1986) model of structures of provision in owner-occupied housing
 Source: Gore and Nicholson (1991)

Ball's structures of provision model would be helpful in analysing urban transformation processes for it allows including both institutional and structural factors and related actors. On the other hand, the model focuses a particular sector of housing provision. While all other sited models would also be helpful in studying specific dimensions of the problem defined; following the literature stressing the importance of studying property markets and the relevance of institutional approaches in understanding urban change, this thesis will attempt to understand 'urban transformation' from an institutionalist framework of property markets through the model developed by Patsy Healey in 1991.

Healey (1991) herself makes a review of available models in her paper. According to Healey (1991) while each model has its own contributions, none of them fully address the possible forms and dynamics of development process. She suggests that an institutional perspective building on Marxist economics to penetrate the agency relations of the development process through acknowledging the interrelation of structuring dynamics and the active

constitution of agents of their interests and strategies. Correspondingly, one of the most powerful statements in institutional approaches in studying development processes comes from Patsy Healey's work. In her paper 'An institutional model of the development process', Healey (1992) explicates that a model is needed that explains why a certain development takes place in a particular place and at a particular time and how this is structured by changes in the economic system and the institutional context.

Healey (1991) proposes a descriptive institutional model of the development process, "which takes account of the complexity of the events and agencies involved in the process and the diversity of forms the process may take under different conditions" (Healey, 1992, p.33). She introduces a model, which combines the understanding of structuring forces within the tradition of urban political economy with an appreciation of the detail of the social relations surrounding events in the development process. This approach suggests an analysis of interaction between agents (actors) in urban development, the economic development process and the socio-economic structure governing their decisions. In this model, "development process" is defined as "the transformation of the physical form, bundle of rights, and material and symbolic value of land and buildings from one state to another, through the effort of agents with interests and purposes in acquiring and using resources, operating rules and applying and developing ideas and values". The model involves four levels (see Figure 7);

1. (a description of) the events which constitute the process, and the agencies which undertake them,
2. (an identification of) the roles played in the process and the power relations between them
3. (an assessment) of the strategies and interests which shape these roles and the way these are shaped by resources rules and ideas and
4. (The construction of theories about) the nature of production systems and regulation, of ideology and of the relations between them.

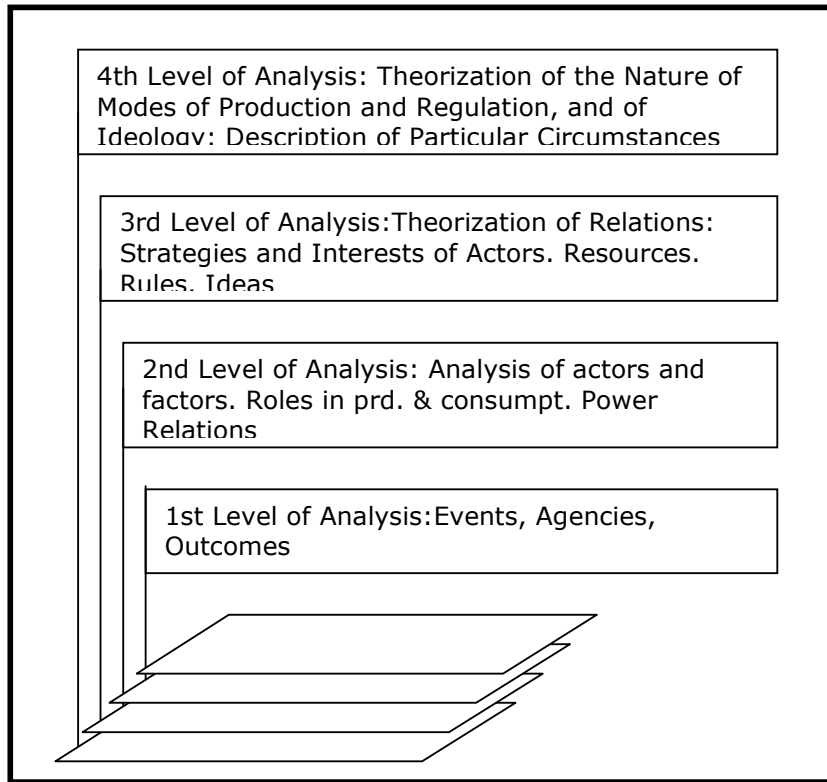


Figure 7: Layers of Healey's Model

1st Level of Analysis: Describing the Development Process in Operation:

The first level in the model is defined as a mapping exercise describing the events in the production process of a development project and identifying the agencies involved and the outcomes produced. This level combines the Input-Output Approach of a policy- analysis model with an economic model of a production Process.

2nd Level of Analysis: Analysis of Agencies Involved: Analysis of the agencies involved with reference to their roles in consumption and production processes of development and the power relations between agencies of both producers and consumers. In the model, roles in production include;

1. Rights in Land and Buildings:
 - controller of ownership/rights
 - controller of use/ development rights
2. Labour:
 - physical production of labour

- organizational labour
3. Capital:
 - family savings and personal wealth
 - production capital
 - commercial capital
 - finance capital
 - public subsidy
 - plant and machinery

On the other hand roles in consumption involve;

1. Material Values
 - in production process
 - in consumption process
 - in investment process
2. Property Rights
 - owners of property
 - leasehold/ tenants of property
 - mortgagor of property
3. Guardian of Environmental Quality

3rd Level of Analysis: Theorization of Social Relations (in terms of what governed the way different roles are played and relationships developed): the third level of analyses involves the assessment of the strategies and interests of actors, in order to identify what governed the way different roles are played and relationships developed. Furthermore, the resources, rules and ideas governing the development process are examined.

The classification of roles in the 2nd level remains lacking in terms of understanding 'interests'. A specific agent may have more than one role and these roles may conflict. Agents actively constitute their interests as they perform and develop their roles in practice.

Healey (1991) proposes the analytical use of 'resources' and 'rules' as originated from Giddens' (1984) structuration theory as the critical link between structure and agency as allocative (resources) - authoritative (rules) bases of power in society. According to Healey (1991) ideas would be another link that ideas used

in defining and developing a project within the context of the prevailing rules and resources (Healey and Barrett, 1990).

4th Level of Analysis: Theorization of the Nature of Modes of Production and Regulation, and of Ideology: Theorization - of the nature of modes of production and regulation, of ideology and of the relations between them - and description of the particular societal circumstances. Social relations are expressed in the prevailing mode of production, mode of regulation and ideology of the society.

According to Healey (1992), the intentions and promises of the model are as follows;

1. The model avoids context dependence; that is it can be implemented in any development process of any project with any location, any scale, any function under any political regime, economic or political circumstances, etc.
2. The model explains social relations and general tendencies of agencies with reference to macro-economic and political considerations.
3. The model takes account of spatial and temporal variations.
4. The model should allow the analysis of whether particular driving dynamics produce distinctive patterns of agency relations.
5. the model helps to understand whether these have particular effects on the built environment such as on what is built, how is built or for whom it is built.

Healey and Barrett (1990) argues that establishing a middle-range link between structure and agency could be possible through relating the construction of roles and strategy and interests of agencies to the material resources, institutional rules and organizing ideas which agents either implicitly or explicitly acknowledge. Rydin (2003) explains that Healey draws on ideas from Giddens' structuration theory and Habermas' communicative action theory and places them together with the institutional economics of geographers Amin and Thrift (1995)⁷ who emphasize the web of social relations, the networks linking actors and organisations and the institutional capacity of a place, that is the quality of the collection of relational networks in a place.

⁷ Amin, A and Thrift, N. (eds) (1995) *Globalisation, Institutions and Regional Development in Europe*, Oxford in Rydin: p.82

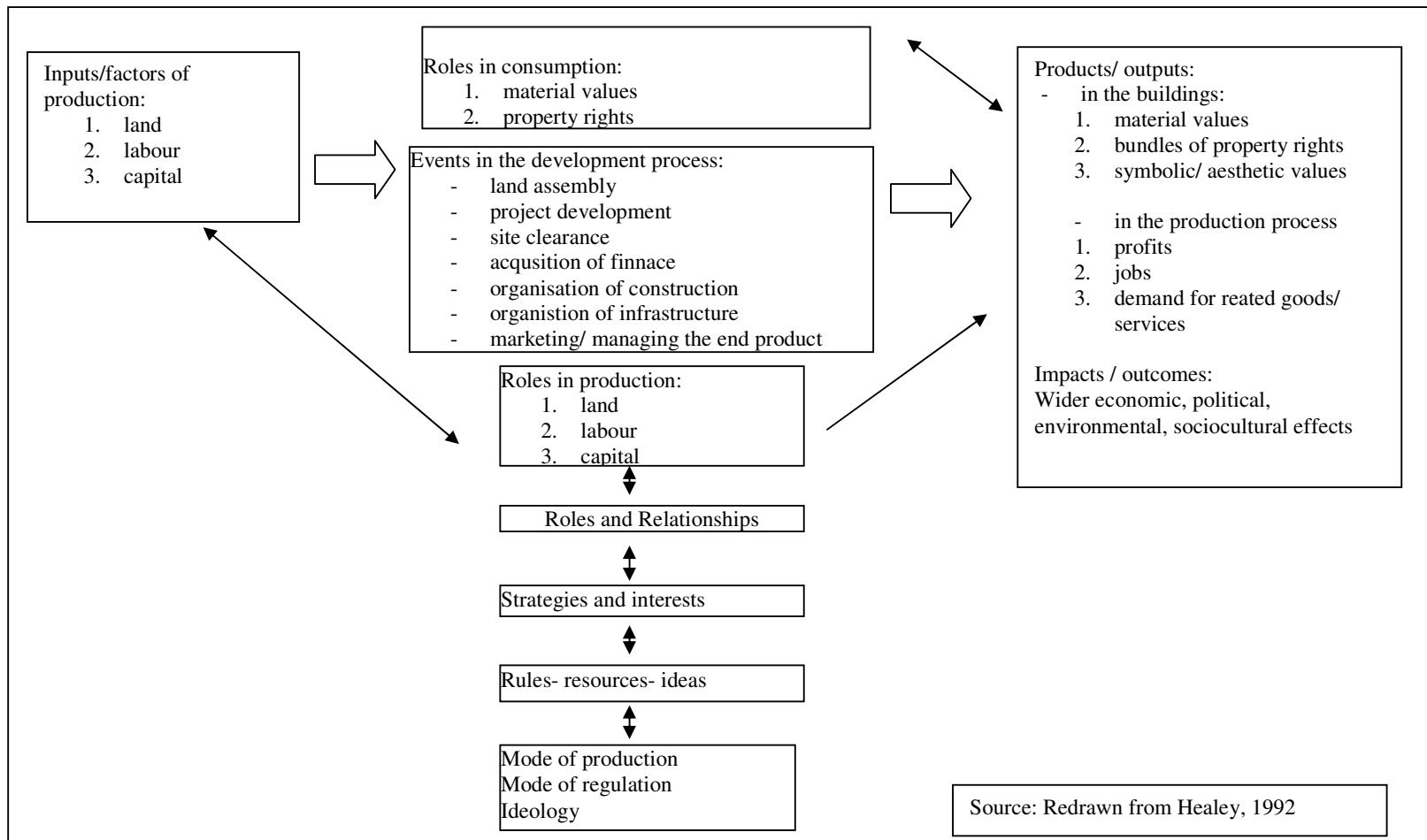


Figure 8: A model of Elements of the Development Process, Healey (1992)

However, Krabben and Lambooy (1993) argue that Healey's model falls short on two important points. First, they criticise that Healey's model do not consider locational differences although Healey stresses that a model of the property development process should take account of spatial variation. They argue that questions such as 'Why do some areas become run-down and other revitalised?' or 'How can differences in property prices and rent levels between locations are explained?' cannot be answered by Healey's model fails short to study locational differences in property development. Hence, Krabben and Lambooy (1993) propose locational characteristics including the quality of the location as a fifth element to Healey's model.

Secondly, according to Krabben and Lambooy, in her model Healey neglects the element of time. Healey uses the concept; 'institutional rules'-which governs the way material resources are used (especially rules governing ownership and control over resources) - as a static element. According to Krabben and Lambooy (1993) this notion is too limited that institutional context as a structured set of norms and values influencing the organisation of firms and markets should be conceptualised as a complex and dynamic factor. The model should consider changes such as in the composition of actors; power relations between these actors and innovations and the introduction of new technologies throughout time.

According to Krabben and Lambooy (1993) the process of institutional change is important in understanding the property development process. They argue that at least three different levels of changes in the institutional context are linked with property development and spatial restructuring processes;

1. Innovations and the introduction of new technologies in production processes may result in a new organisational structure of firms.
2. The demand for specific types of property may be changed.
3. Regarding the supply of property, organisational changes also directly influence the structure of the property development industry.

Major criticisms of Ball (1998) on Healey's model are;

- attention is directed to the agency side of the dualism
- limiting the range of actors involved needs some criteria but it is implicit rather than explicit in the model

- models claims to be universally applicable but historical groundedness of institutions makes it hard to be universal
- the structure agency dichotomy needs some exogenous determinants to be separated from each other, otherwise explanations off agencies might collapse back into structural issues
- it is not clear how the model deals with change; with the dynamic nature of the elements of analyses

Hooper, (1992) (cited in Guy and Hennebery, 2000);

- the tension between claiming to be a grand theory and focus on local specificity is unsolved
- Danger that 'institutions' might be only conceived as a link between structure and agency.

Guy and Hennebery, 2000;

- Model is more based on political economy than mainstream economy; therefore empirical applicability is low which is also acknowledged by Healey.
- As Healey emphasizes the social over the economic, the local over the regional or national and agency over structure, these should be rebalanced

Healey's model can also criticized along the explanation approach to the development process for two more aspects. First, although the model decomposes the development process into different levels of analyses according to key factors of the process; it fails to address the relationships such as cause-affect relations or interactions between the elements of the model. Moreover, secondly, the consequences and implications of development is not included in the analysis, although the model claims to be a model of 'process'.

2.6. Adjusted Institutional Model for Studying the Current Research Subject:

The model developed by Healey is adjusted according to a critical review of its promises, criticisms from the present and other authors and to adequacy of our research problem. First, following the criticism of Krabben and Lambooy, since

location and locational factors have determining affects particularly in the attractiveness of investment urban transformation (Şenyapılı and Türel, 1996) and in planning and in development in general, locational characteristics should be analysed as a distinguished step of analyses from what Healey calls 'description of particular circumstances'. Here we can make the point of decomposition according to particular circumstances related to 'time' and particular circumstances according to 'place'. So in our adjusted model, we will discuss the particular circumstances according to 'place' in 'locational / spatial characteristics' as a fifth level of analysis (Figure 9). On the other hand the 'institutional model' will also be employed in the next chapter for the analysis of urban transformation at Turkey level with the four-level model since a general urban transformation policy and practice rather than a location- specific process will be analysed.

Second point of our adjustment comes from relations between the levels of analysis. Healey's model decomposes the development process into different levels of analyses according to key factors of the process. However, the model fails to address the relationships such as cause-affect relations or interactions. Thus I have adjusted the model so as to reflect these relationships. Moreover, we consider the urban transformation process as including the impacts of transformation, as well. The development processes are complex processes including several interactions, feedbacks and mutual relations, thus Figure 10 represents our final adjustments in the model.

Third major adjustment derives from the criticism to the model which concerns time by Krabben and Lambooy (1993). In essence the concern of time could be already reflected in Healey's model in 'description of particular circumstances' (related to time) for a point of time, but cannot give a dynamic analyses as Krabben and Lambooy criticize. We can schematise the possible analyses of the dynamic character of each level of analysis as in Figure 11. Each critical date along the timeline in Figure 11 allows a distinct analysis consisting of the four levelled model each. By this way, possible changes in ideology, strategies, interests, technology or legislation can be reflected in the analyses. Returning back to our 'dynamic character' problem we can still represent this model on a time-scale, like in figure 11 where each step of analyses considers the unique historical, economical, sociological, cultural and institutional characteristics of the snapshot of time selected.

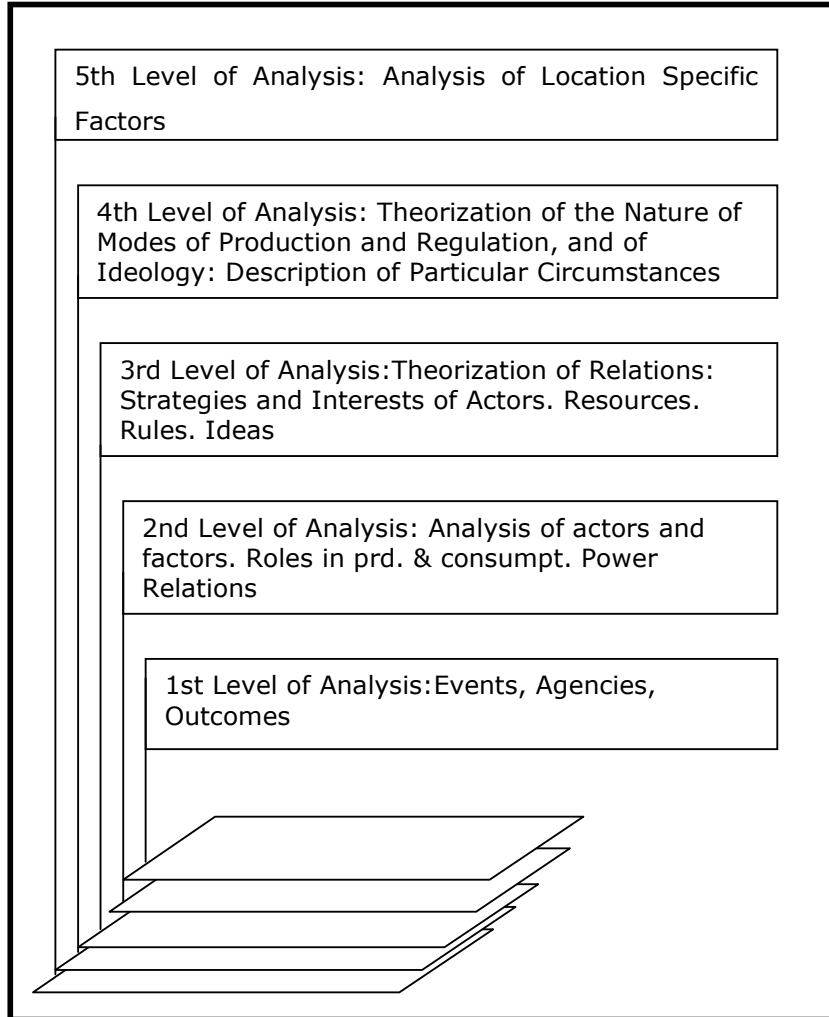


Figure 9: Adding a 5th Layer to Healey's Model:

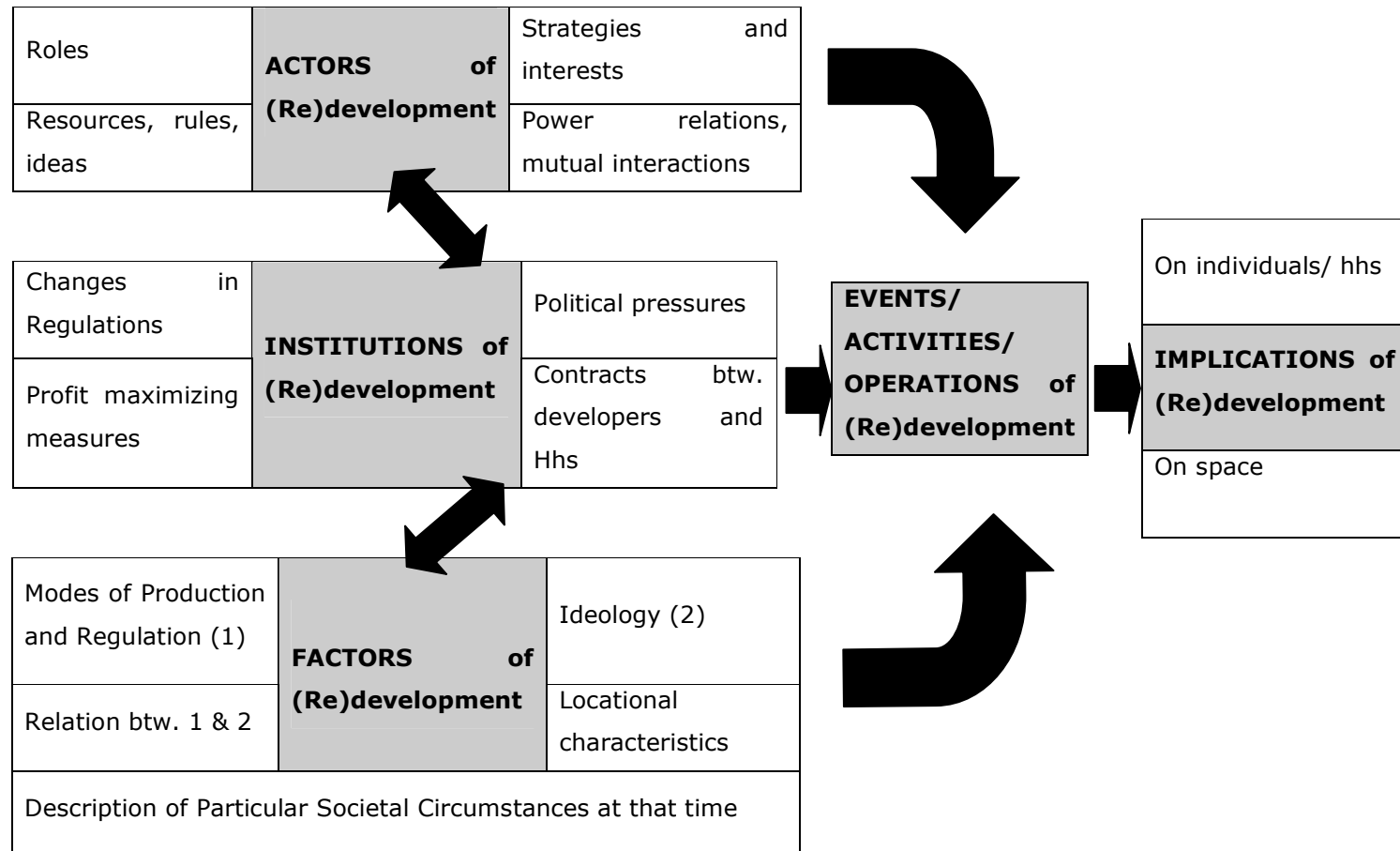


Figure 10: Final Adjusted Model in a Cause- Effect Format (A Snapshot in time of Figure 8)

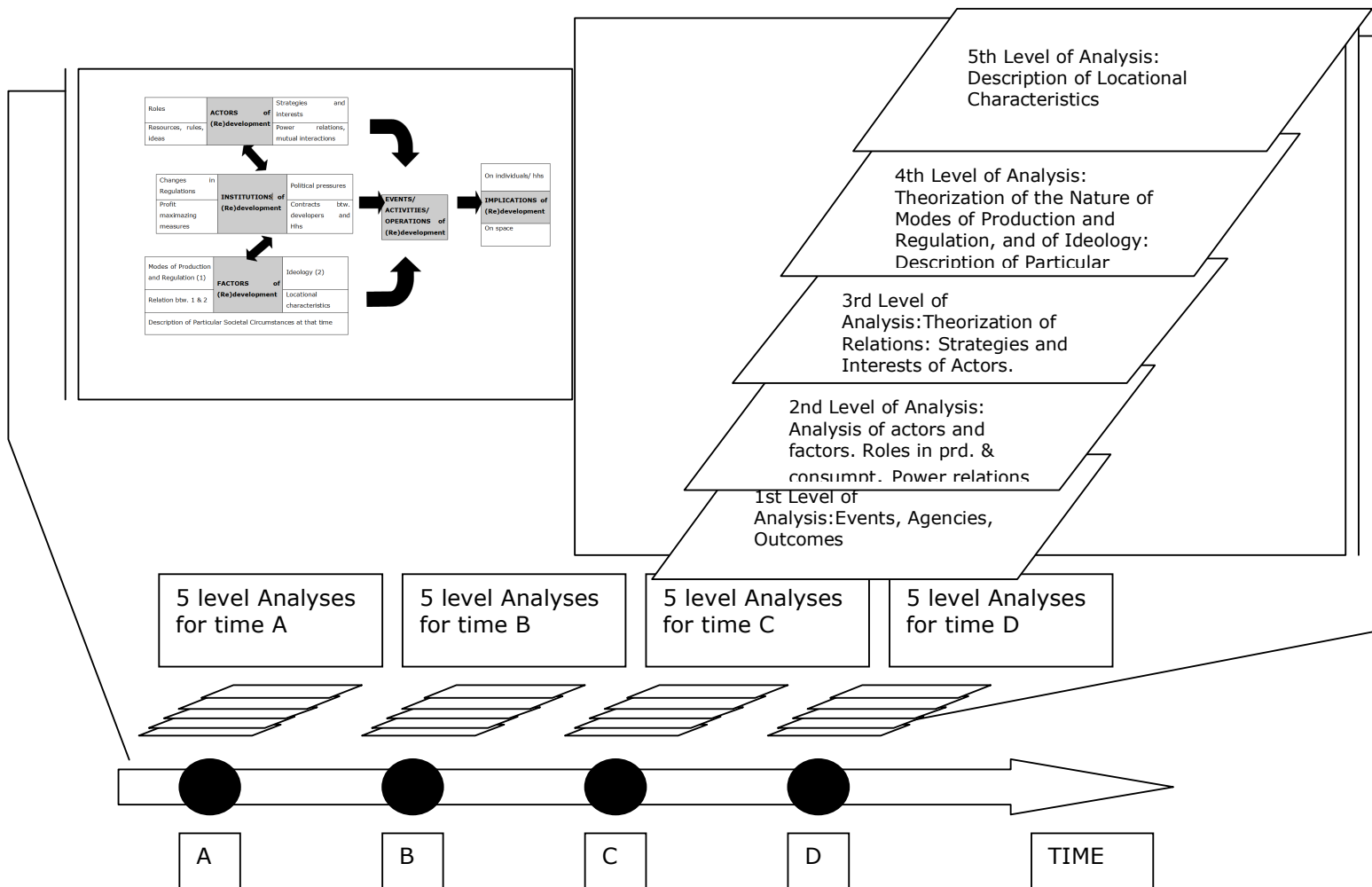


Figure 11: A model, which is responsive to the historical dynamics

2.6.1. Promises and Limitations/ Shortcomings of the Adjusted Model:

The institutional model developed here to study urban transformation process first allows us to understand the diversity of actors involved and develop an understanding of their roles, resources, ideas, power relations and strategies.

The model provides us to understand the critical links between agency and structure through an understanding of these roles, power relations and strategies; i.e.: how the accumulation of ideas, interests and strategies links to ideologies and that links to modes of regulation and how that frames and constitutes the economic and political environment and so on.

The model equips us to understand how the implications of transformation are consequences of various factors and their interactions; rather than a consequence of a limited number of actors and their activities such as the planner, the state, the private sector or the elites alone.

The model helps us to understand that it is the changes in the institutional environment, which creates changes in the implications, and that the changes in institutional environment is a consequence of interactions among several factors.

One of the critical tasks in the model developed is the selection of the dates to analyse each point on time. For the same development process we can produce a variety of different analyses depending on the selection of different bundles of dates. The decision of what dates to select remains as a subjective choice to the analyses maker, but also allows a flexibility to vary in the analyses. The multi-temporal characteristics of the model allows us to understand the dynamic character of actors and factors; such as how the diversity of actors change by time, how their interests and strategies change, how certain groups strategies frame other groups behaviour in time or how changes in technology might influence the society.

As a model, it still preserves a certain level of simplification and idealisation since although its focus is on interactions and continuums rather than oppositions it still have some categorisations for the aim of simplicity in the demonstration of all these actors and factors.

The model enables us to use different sets of concepts and theorizations from various theoretical approaches; such as Marxist and neo-classical at the same time.

Finally, the model intends to provide anyone who would benefit knowing the process i.e. planners, policy makers, community leaders or activists or an ordinary citizen to help develop more efficient strategies through available routes or paths by making the big picture clearer.

2.7. Conclusion

Chapter II has set conceptual, contextual and theoretical frameworks of urban transformation. This chapter first demonstrated the meaning of informality, informal economy, and informal housing; then discussed how similar or different are the informal property markets with reference to formal property markets. The study on previous research demonstrated the intrinsic structure of formal and informal structures. Not only because the history of informality is older than the formal as far as the built environment is concerned; but also it is usually very difficult to distinguish what is formal and what is not. The previous research also explains that informal housing markets work in conjunction with formal markets and do not differentiate very much in various aspects. Then, the basic concepts and terminology of urban redevelopment have been studied. The literature review makes it apparent that the production and use of concepts follow an historical pattern where we can trace out the shifts of contextual and political circumstances and lessons learned from previous experiences. Where the first practices are limited to a 'clearance' approach to solve the problems of deterioration and decay, the policy and practices evolved by time where social, cultural and economic considerations are taken in a more integrated approach such as in 'urban regeneration' policy and practices. It is also possible to trace out that the tendencies have evolved from more state-led approaches into more entrepreneur forms of intervention where private sector initiatives are more dominant.

The chapter has also searched for a theoretical framework in which the study of urban redevelopment could be studied with appropriate tools, approaches and concepts. This study chooses to define and develop itself within institutionalist approaches where social outcomes are explained as a result of both broad

structural processes and active involvement of agents through the mutual interaction of the two. Considering that these variables and interactions between them are dynamic, the analysis should be responsive to changes over time, which necessitates developing a historical perspective. Considering that these variables and interactions between them might also be context/ location specific, the analysis should also be responsive to location. Although the institutionalist approaches have not been widely implemented in urban planning and geography research, it appears to be the most promising approach for this study. Institutional perspective is suggested to be the best of alternative theoretical approaches to study the current research subject following the work of many scholars of that school such as Healey and Barret, 1990; Healey, 1991; Krabben and Lambooy, 1993 and Ball, 1998. That is, constraints placed on planning and development activity by economic processes will be analyzed while at the same time considering the possible influences of individual or collective actors or institutions on policy and impacts. Consequently, the players in the development processes might be considered as both the subject of implications of structural factors and urban transformation as well as having impacts on the transformation process and outcomes.

'The institutional model of development' developed by Healey (1991) is chosen as a relevant way of analysis for the study of urban transformation. Moreover, taking account the criticisms addresses to that model, certain adjustment have been made in the model so as to reflect the needs of the research questions defined. The first adjustment is the inclusion of locational characteristics as an additional level of analysis; the second one is setting the model within an historical perspective, third one is to restructure the model into a cause- effect relationship where implications of (re)development processes are also included in the analyses. The next chapter will decompose the major elements of the model.

CHAPTER III

DECOMPOSING THE ELEMENTS of AN INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION PROCESSES

The previous chapter developed an institutional model for studying production and transformation of urban space based on Patsy Healey's model. This chapter will decompose this model into its basic elements; namely;

- the constituent inputs (factors and actors) of urban transformation,
- events/ operations of urban transformation,
- the implications/outputs of urban transformation.

3.1. Constituent Inputs of Urban Transformation: An analysis of Factors and Actors

3.1.1. Actors/ Agencies/ Players/ Institutions/ Organisations:

While describing the development process in operation in urban transformation processes, we will first begin with the description of actors/ agencies/ players/ organisations, and institutions. With reference to the Healey's model, we will analyse them considering their roles in production and consumption, their power relations, strategies, interests, resources, rules and ideas.

Housing activities can be classified into three sets of operations; planning, construction and management, and three sets of actors including users (popular sector), suppliers (private and commercial sector) and regulators (Burgess, 1982). These sets of actors have varying kinds of interests; for instance for users use-values are primary, profit maximization predominate for private sector and for government maintenance of public order may c come first (Burgess, 1982).

In urban development literature, there are several terms used in order to define the human factor as acting in the production, consumption and management of urban space; 'actors', 'agents', 'players', 'agency'. All these terms might refer to organised bodies such as organisations as well as to unorganised bodies such as individual residents or Hhs or institutions such as planning. Bassett and Short (1980) defines institutions, organizations and individuals as 'agents' of the development process. Form (1954) identifies the main agencies of the land market and gives a brief account of characteristics of each and differences among each other (Table 4).

Table 4: The Main Social Congeries or Organizational Complexes Dominating the Land Market

Real Estate & Building Business	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They know more about the land market - They interact with all other urban interests which are concerned with land use
Larger Industries, Business and Utilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - They consume greatest quantities of land - They purchase the largest and most strategic parcels - Unknowingly their locational decisions set the pattern of land use for other economic or non-economic organizations
Individual Home Owners & Other Small Consumers of Land	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Their position is tangential to the structure - Most of their decision on where to buy, when to buy and what land to buy are fitted into a administered land market - The social characteristic of the consumers, their economic power, degree of organization, and relations to other segments of the community help to explain the role they play in the land market
Local Government Agencies	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Their relations to other groups in the community vary with political currents - Unlike other organizations, they are both consumers of land and mediators of conflicting interests. - They not only acquire land for private and public pressures, they are also called upon to resolve conflicts between different types of land consumers. - They try to fulfil a city plan, which sets the expected pattern for the city.

Source: Compiled from Form, 1954

Since it would be unpractical to deal with actors separately, categorisations are necessary. In doing so, several groupings of these agents are possible. We can categorize the agents in terms of their sectors they act within. For instance, there are agents in the private sector (for profit), there are agents within the governmental structure (both central and local) and there is the non-profit/voluntary sector. Moreover, there might be also sectorally 'hybrid' bodies of development activity such as public- private partnerships. We can categorize agents as either organized or unorganised/ uninstitutionalised which includes individuals or individual households. We can also categorize the agents in terms of their roles; these agents could be either in production side or consumption side. Another categorisation criterion might be along their formality; we can talk about informal and formal institutions and organisations. We can categorize them also according to the scale/ scope they function; such as they might have agendas and actions in Hh, neighbourhood, city, and region or state levels.

The following sections include the agency/actors/players and institutions of urban transformation in the following categorisation;

- Private sector (builders and developers)
- Public Sector (central and local authorities)
- Households
- Planning/ planners/ plans
- Market
- Property market

3.1.1.1. Private sector:

If development activities are concerned, there is more than one unique type of agent within the private sector. The most common actors include builders, developers, real-estate agents, property consultants, property marketers and managers, mortgage institutions and insurance companies.

First, financial institutions play a crucial role in production of housing. For many households, it is not possible to pay for the purchase of their housing by cash in advance, for many construction companies it is not possible to afford the full costs of construction either. With the help of mortgage institutions, households

are enabled to become homeowners without immediately paying the full cost of production in advance and firms can start construction without providing the equity to meet the full costs of land, construction and management. Financial institutions might take a number of functions. That might be formal or informal and might be in different scales such as;

- Insurance companies,
- Subsidiaries of major merchant banks,
- Small back-street moneylenders.

There are also other actors, which have roles in exchange of properties such as;

- Real-estate agents,
- Valuation Experts,
- Solicitors,
- Decorating and repair companies

However, we can think of the most important agent on the production side of housing as the developer and/ or builder. In most cases, especially larger construction companies perform both functions, however; it is still possible to make a distinction between developers and builders. Builder constructs the building and developer assembles land, obtains planning permissions, finances construction, obtains planning permission and arranges the sale of the product (Bassett and Short, 1980). The decisions made by the builder/ developer have important implications for the location, style, quality and cost of housing.

The main problem statement of this dissertation is directly related with the private sector (builders and developers in particular) activities; many of the informal settlements remaining untransformed although the improvement and redevelopment plans suggest a transformation in these areas. The model of transformation in these plans relies on private sector investment with public sector's role limited to providing infrastructure. Thus, if the areas remain untransformed, this means they are unattractive for developers and thus they are disinvested or underinvested although they are envisioned to be transformed by development plans. Therefore understanding the behaviour and investment criteria of the private sector is particularly important for this study. Moreover, the second problem statement is that in most transformed neighbourhoods, the built environment still lacks sufficient physical quality and standards. The builders have a strong effect on the quality of built environment. Since both

problems address developers' behaviour, decisions and activities, it is helpful to study the behaviour of developers in urban transformation.

In the literature there are studies, which refer both to the perceptions of developers, and the investment behaviour of developers. The proceeding parts will review the theoretical and empirical studies on the motives, perceptions, interests and investment criteria of developers.

3.1.1.1. Investment Behaviour of Private Sector in the Property Market

According to Hartigay and Yu (1993), the study of investment in general and property investment in particular has traditionally been regarded as of an art rather than as science. This is particularly because investors and analyst rely on experience, subjective judgment and intuition for their portfolio activity decision-making. In the decision-making literature the investment decision is conceptualised as "the commitment of resources in anticipation of future returns" (Hartigay and Yu, 1993).

Hartigay and Yu (1993) position the decision within the general economic and political climate; including different information media such as historic returns, forecasts, market databases and information about individual investment opportunities. The strategic level involves the decision itself, focusing on the selection of investment media, and the tactical level involves the selection and management of individual properties (Table 5). Hartigay and Yu (1993) explain the investment decision-making process as;

- Definition of objectives and specific goals
- Search for a set of alternative investment projects which promise to achieve these goals and objectives
- Evaluate, compare and rank alternatives in terms of risk and return
- Choose the most satisfactory alternative
- At a later date, evaluate consequences of the decisions taken earlier, draw conclusions, and revise goals and criteria.

Table 5: Classification of Investment Decisions

Decision	Strategic	Tactical
Selection	Selection of investment media	Selection of sector and individual securities
Allocation	Allocate funds amongst selected media	Allocate funds amongst sectors and securities
Timing	Switching funds between investment media	Acquisition and disposal of individual securities switch sectors

Source: Hartigay and Yu (1993)

As Bassett and Short, (1980) states the aim of the builders and developers in the private sector is clearly to make profit; thus the profitability criterion is the guiding principle in understanding their activities. Adair et al (2000) emphasize that private sector can also have a social conscience, but the first criteria is profit. Adair et al, (2000) state that the rate of profit that the developers expect to be generated in their urban regeneration investment is around 20%. That is if the profitability expected is below that level the developer may invest elsewhere. They also argue that if the local economy is uplifted, investors' perception for urban regeneration areas would be more positive (Adair et al, 2000).

According to Bassett and Short, (1980) one important aspect is to consider the scale of the builders and developers since they differ in their modes of operations and in the constraints they experience. What characterizes the small-scale builders is that they operate on restricted capital, cannot afford to keep large land banks, and cannot afford speculative land dealings. Thus they usually tend to buy small blocks of land, which have already been granted for planning permission. As they offer the greatest return, they usually restrict their activities to the construction of expensive housing on infill sites.

Large-scale builders described by Bassett and Short, (1980) as building more than 1000 houses per annum are often subsidiaries of a parent company. Since many financial institutions have been increasingly extending their interests to property and land, the largest companies have become interlinked with these financial institutions (Bassett and Short, 1980). Large-scale companies also seek arrangements with building societies to guarantee the availability of mortgages to ensure an effective demand for their production. Their size, resources and institutional connections enable them to pay for large parcels of land and maintain land banks. To raise finance from the stock market, they need the investors' confidence thus they need to maintain the image of growth and

prosperity. They tend to be involved in construction of mass housing in order to reduce costs, maintain dividend repayments and a high turnover of capital. Their decisions certainly have implications on some households. That is, since the large sites are usually found on the periphery of the city, middle and low-income households who seek new housing face with increasing time and length of journey to work (Bassett and Short, 1980).

The medium-size builders on the other hand, have a position between small and large-scale builders. Although they are usually not able to maintain land banks, they usually have networks of contacts with local solicitors and real estate agents thus are able to locate sites on which they might have options to build. They lack the firmer financial basis of the largest companies and cannot afford risky ventures and speculative activities although they need to grow (Harloe, 1974 cited in Bassett and Short, 1980).

The literature on regeneration often points out that the regeneration areas are often considered as risky, low return and uncertain by the private sector (McNamara, 1993, Amin and Thrift, 1995, Adair et al, 1999, Adair et al, 2000, McGreal et al, 2000). In urban regeneration locations often land uses are economically obsolete, structures are derelict, infrastructure is outmoded and contaminated, which all mean increased investment risk and high reclamation costs for potential developers. Thus, from the private-sector perspective, urban regeneration projects may not be attractive. According to Adair et al (2000), the cyclical nature of economic and property cycles explains this to some degree; which can result in the demand for and over-supply of property to vary. According to Adair et al (1999) the lack of private-sector investment in urban regeneration is explained due to a number of factors:

- private sector perceive urban regeneration projects/locations as high risk/low return weak investments
- The private-sector investment in urban regeneration projects is determined by is the anticipated risk-adjusted return and the limited availability of alternative property investment opportunities.
- Investors have decision making parameters specific to urban regeneration investments by seeking higher yields in excess of those achieved in non-urban regeneration projects.

The study of Adair et al (1999), based on the results of a behavioural survey, analyse the motivations of investors considering the pattern of investment activity over the market cycle, reasons for holding an urban regeneration portfolio, and evaluative factors and perspectives concerning the attraction of private finance into urban regeneration. Their survey includes both investors and non-investors of urban regeneration projects. The findings indicate that regeneration initiatives provide a significant cushioning effect however; the ones, which are core influences in investment behaviour, are the market-based factors relating to return and risks. The paper also emphasises that the role of non-finance-based instruments in creating an environment is of more significance than a demand for more public-sector money, in stimulating the flow of private finance into urban regeneration. Non-finance based instruments might be simplification of procedures, clarity in policy, greater flexibility in existing practices and more innovative policy initiatives to react to changing market conditions.

The paper of McGreal et al (2000) on the role of private sector finance in urban regeneration is again depended upon two independent survey cohorts namely private sector companies who invest in urban regeneration and those not investing. In their sample; 51% of companies define themselves as a property development trading company; 27% were property investment companies and other organizations, included institutional investors such as pension funds and insurance companies (6%), banks/ finance houses and property unit trusts. Sampling with 41% of respondents based in London, 10% in Birmingham and 8% each in Manchester and Newcastle, the analysis investigates investment behaviour; motives for holding property investment portfolios and decision-making criteria. It is found that regeneration initiatives comes second to market factors as the primary influences on decision making. In the decision-making process, the perception of the risk/return profile associated with urban regeneration was found significant.

The major findings of this study (McGreal et al, 2000) suggest that;

- Investor behaviour seeks for more secure investments while also willing to diversify their investments into new market sectors and across the regions.

- General market trends affect motives for holding current property portfolios. Primary motive for investors is perceived total return. Perceived security of investment/spreading of risk, diversification benefits through new business opportunities and the availability of an exit strategy are other significant factors.
- The primary factors for evaluation are rental growth (occupier demand), capital appreciation (investor demand), perceived level of risk and quality of the development.
- Regeneration initiatives have secondary influence on decision making, but risk reduction measures such as grant aid, provision of tax breaks, pre-lets, forward funding, rental guarantees, simplified land assembly and basic infrastructure provision are considered as important. Principal mechanisms comprise
- Perception of the quality of the neighbouring environment appears as an important factor which comes second only to value related issues in terms of the decision not to invest in urban regeneration projects,
- Institutional investors (pension funds and insurance companies (6%), banks/ finance houses and property unit trusts), are strongly influenced by perceptions of market performance due to the responsibilities to their client base. Perception of the quality of the neighbouring environment is a major concern to institutional investors since it increases risk. The potential for higher land and construction costs in urban regeneration locations is a concern but is a less significant factor in the decision not to invest.
- Non-investors recognize the ability of grants to facilitate the attraction of private sector finance, but they are considered to be highly bureaucratic and often are not sufficient to compensate the added risk in urban regeneration.
- Fiscal measures are criticized that taxation breaks are not useful since structured inadequately to lever private sector investment. On the other hand, public-private partnerships are considered a more effective way of

delivering development within urban regeneration locations than grant regimes.

- The role of non-finance-based instruments is of more significance than a demand for more public-sector money, in stimulating the flow of private finance into urban regeneration. The most important non-finance based instruments are a guaranteed minimum standard of infrastructure, targeting of initiatives according to the private sector's priorities and commercial requirements, simplified planning procedures, land assembly and contamination remediation, clarity in policy, greater flexibility in existing practices and more innovative policy initiatives to react to changing market conditions.
- Institutional investors have higher thresholds while property investment companies have lower thresholds indicating that potentially they are more open to finance urban regeneration projects.
- Regeneration policy needs to be sensitive, more sophisticated and flexible in order to maximize the involvement of private sector.

Adair et al (2003b), study the property investment performance based on an empirical investigation into the development of a total returns index designed to measure investment performance of property in regeneration areas. The study acknowledges the fact that investors need to know about returns and risks but information on property returns in urban regeneration may not always be available although the prime markets are more transparent and inadequate information might act as a barrier to investment. Results of the study show that over the long-term returns for regeneration property exceed national and local benchmarks, this result is especially significant in the retail sector. Adair et al (2003b), infer that regeneration locations due to the availability of land and subsidy arrangements can particularly be attractive to new retail schemes in the form of shopping centres, retail warehouses and retail-parks.

Another study of Adair et al (2000) is based on focus group discussions with actors involved in the regeneration process. From a qualitative perspective the study is structured and interpreted fewer than four main themes; the rationale for private sector investment in urban regeneration; policy mechanisms to lever

private sector investment; the financing of urban regeneration; and the alleviation of risk. This paper concludes that;

- Maximising return from the capital expended is the rationale of investment in urban regeneration as in any opportunities.
- Public sector funding initiatives such as clarity in procedures, in implementing schemes and the simplified administration of grant-based funding are found useful.
- Many investors find accessing of public sector funds highly bureaucratic and time consuming whereas the private sector is looking for simple and direct procedures.
- Transparency of market data on returns has a positive effect for private sector investment since the developer can demonstrate the financial viability of projects.

3.1.1.2. Public Sector (Central and Local Authorities):

Housing and development are of the sectors that the public sector usually has series of roles, responsibilities and regulations. These regulations might take many forms; some of them might be targeted at protecting consumers and some others at restricting development. Most popular forms of reducing the cost of housing are the ones through providing rent subsidies and subsidizing interests. Lieder states that it is often harder to reduce development costs (Lieder in So and Getzels, 1988, p. 396).

If we consider urban regeneration as the process of reversing economic, social and physical decay and when these conditions reach to a point where market forces alone will not suffice, there emerges the need for the public sector to operate in a facilitating capacity, integral with the private sector's role to stimulate property development and investment. Although it is generally accepted that there is the need for the public sector, the form of public sector intervention, there is controversy on how the intervention is channelled and the respective roles of the private and public sectors.

Carmon (1999) identifies three phases of regeneration policies. All three generations can be identified in the US, the UK and several other European countries, with some differences in the form or time of occurrence.

1. First Generation: the bulldozer-era; the emphasis is on the built environment with a physical deterministic approach
2. Second Generation: neighbourhood rehabilitation; the emphasis is on social problems with a more comprehensive approach
3. Third Generation: revitalization; emphasis is on economic development of inner city areas with a business-like approach

Throughout time, the state's role in regeneration has been modified into initiation and moderation rather than the realization of state-run objective targets by using large-scale support programmes. This tendency is associated by the Conservatives coming into power in the 1979 and a restructuring and renewal of the old industrialised towns. This approach of the 1980s is sometimes cited as a 'privatisation of urban renewal' which is interlinked with political and economic interests (Haase et al, 2003).

Being one of the first countries to industrialise, The United Kingdom was among the first European countries facing these trends of change. Accordingly, the earliest policies to tackle the decline and restructuring of urban areas and the term 'urban regeneration' appears to have its origins in the 1970s British metropolitan planning (Couch et al, 2003). In UK, slum clearance efforts began with the Housing Act of 1956. The war years had emphasized the case for comprehensive planning, involving the redevelopment not just for housing, but all other land uses as well, including industry (Ward, 2004, 152). Many authors have cited that in the UK, the emphases of urban policy have varied, shifting between a focus on the built environment and environmental quality (in the the 1950s and the 1960s), to a social emphasis in the late 1960s, an institutional emphasis in the mid-1970s, and an economic emphasis by the late 1970s. The economic emphasis has remained dominant since then (Ball and Maginn, 2005). Carley (2000) states that the refocusing of urban policy in the 1990s is associated with the shift in emphasis from property-led regeneration towards a broader-based partnership agenda with a focus upon community interest.

As a response to the problems of US cities in post war period, urban renewal came out as a strategy to tackle with the circumstances in inner cities. In USA, those who consider urban renewal as a solution might have varying and sometimes conflicting and incompatible outsets. There are broadly four major arguments, which justify urban renewal; namely economic, cultural, integrationist and social (Marris, 1962);

- The decline of inner city areas most immediately concerns the political and economic interests. When the city is in decline, the city cannot collect enough taxes. Therefore urban renewal has been considered as a tool to provide the higher revenues and prestige to urban areas.
- Others see urban renewal as a strategy to call back the intellectual, sophisticated, artistic, culturally diversified and densely populated city centre.
- From the integrationist point, urban renewal may prevent central city from becoming a ghetto or a residential apartheid.
- Urban renewal have also been considered as an opportunity for tackling the social problems of slums by providing the slum dwellers to live in a more hopeful environment

There are other housing programs in US that are not directly related with urban renewal but tackles with housing issues. These might be introduced at the federal state, city governments. The principal low-income housing programs have been public housing and Section 8 vouchers or certificates (Hartman in Boger and Wegner, 1996). According to studies; by the 1970s, the problem of low income housing shifted from being substandard housing, to the high percentage of income spent on housing. In 1974 section 8 introduced private developers to house the poor with subsidies for new construction, rehabilitation and rent supplements (Dreier, 2006). The voucher program enabled households with a voucher to lease a dwelling (either in a specified complex or in the private sector) paying a portion of the rent which would not exceed 30% of the household's income while the rest of the rent is paid with federal funds. Among other examples, a proposal to end homelessness, in 1987, NAEH (National Alliance to end Homelessness) in ten years emphasizes the importance of integration of mainstream antipoverty programs as well as building infrastructure. (Rosenthal and Foscrinis, 2006).

Governments' approaches to solve the informal housing problem have fluctuated between two extremes; viewing housing either as a human right, or as a commodity like any other (Berner, 2001). Justified on the grounds of legal aspects as well as improvement and beautification of the city, removal of 'centres of crime and health hazards' and more intensive and lucrative use of land in strategic locations, massive demolitions and evictions had been practices in those areas (UNCHS, 1996:245). However this approach is unsustainable as long as relocation sites are rarely provided and evicted people have no other alternative than returning to another informal settlement in the city; sometimes even reoccupying their old area. An example is the Tondo area in Manila where more than 25 years after a large-scale, World-Bank-sponsored resettlement project (Rüland, 1982), squatter housing still persist (Berner, 2001)

Sites-and-services programmes in which infrastructure would be provided by development agencies and national governments have been used as one of the options for shelter programmes however, the volume and persistence of slum and squatter housing areas shifted the policies into upgrading. Although upgrading existing settlements with better services is usually more expensive, it is less likely to result in social disruption such as in moving residents into new Greenfield developments (Lall et al, 2006).

John F. C. Turner's writings were the source of inspiration in The World Bank's slum upgrading approach in the first generation urban development projects during the 1970s and the 1980s. Turner's ideas were based on minimising the role of government, limiting it to providing essential environmental improvements and public services, thereby allowing squatters and/or slum-dwellers to improve gradually their living conditions (Werlin, 1999). This theory also suggests that, as the environment improves, and as long as the slum dwellers are given the security of tenure and access to credit, they will gradually increase the quality of their dwellings and living conditions. The potentially violent or politically troublesome reaction of slum dwellers; the economic costs of removing slum-dwellers from sources of employment; and, the disruption of social or ethnic support systems were other justifications of this approach (Werlin, 1999).

Early evaluations of these projects indicated remarkable success, and also the validity of Turner's theory. The residents, according to evaluations, invested

twice as much in home improvement, as compared with those in similar areas. By the end of the 1980s, the benefits of these slum upgrading efforts has given rise to doubts about Turner's ideas. Werlin (1999) states some of the underlying difficulties such as tenure.

Lall et al (2006) discusses the resettlement versus in situ upgrading options. First, moving slum residents to elsewhere in the city can harm their social networks on which they rely for income and other support. Even if the entire community is moved, dwellers may still lose their access to jobs and services that were available in the old, often more centrally located, informal settlement. Secondly while slum upgrading leads to improved service quality, but the social stigma might persists due to still living in a slum neighbourhood even if the living conditions are improved (Lall et al, 2006). Land titling activities on the other hand can have well-documented beneficial effects; however would be subject to long legal challenges and might encourage selling out to better-off residents and often reward those who illegally occupied land owned by the state or others (Woodruff, 2001) moreover this instrument would only have an impact on reducing the poverty only if complemented by other reforms (Lall et al, 2006).

Zhang and Fang (2003) argue that the housing models with a higher exchange value rather than a higher use value were favoured in the environmental decision making process. They give evidence from China where under Beijing's Old and Dilapidated Housing Redevelopment (ODHR) program, local governments and local State-Owned-Enterprises built growth coalitions to accumulate wealth (exchange value) at the expense of providing local residents with adequate places to live and work (use value).

Zhang and Fang (2003) refer to the John Logan and Harvey Molotch's (1987) 'growth machine' concept regarding it as the most influential analytical frameworks of political economy of urban development in the United State (Jonas and Wilson, 1999). Using this model, Logan and Molotch (1987) theorize that, in a market economy, the space that we inhabit and use every day is not only a human necessity (use value), but also a commodity that generates revenues (exchange value). Land-based elites could gain exchange value at the expense of disadvantaged communities' use value by manipulating real estate development. Some scholars, including Molotch (1999), have identified the

major determinants of whether the model is appropriate to a particular locality. These factors include the treatment of land as a commodity, decentralized land-use power, and local elites' high financial stakes in real estate. (Zhang and Fang, 2003).

With work units and new homebuyers largely bearing the total development costs of the projects, developers like the EDDC began seeing relocation and compensation for original residents not as a responsibility but as a barrier to higher profits. As increasing numbers of displaced residents are now suing the governments and protesting against unfair renewal processes, the residents are treated as opponents rather than partners in the government's plan (Zhang and Fang, 2003).

According to Berner (2001) relocation schemes, social housing, slum upgrading, and sites and services have two related problems: first, they can not match the growing demand and, second, products are unaffordable for low-income households. Land supply and allocation determines housing poverty. As Hardoy and Satterthwaite (1995) state that there is no 'housing gap' but rather a lack of suitable and affordable land for self-help housing.

The interventions of the public sector may affect the society in many ways. They may open up opportunities for some groups while restricting them for others; provide access to housing of certain types and quality in certain locations; modify access to various public facilities and employment opportunities; and redistribute positive and negative externalities (behaviour, status and property value externalities). The end result becomes a complex pattern of costs and benefits affecting a spectrum of housing classes (Bassett and Short, 1980).

Traditionally, the roles of local authorities or local governments have been to support urban regeneration through land reclamation or infrastructure provision. However, recently, the role and functions of participatory and responsive local governments are broadened so as to offer supplementary and complementary means and more democratic approaches to deal with complex problems such as social exclusion and urban decline (Davoudi and Healey, 1995)

Since urban regeneration comprises of social and economic regeneration, private or voluntary agencies are incapable of promoting a much broader based

programme of development and initiatives although they may contribute to enabling urban regeneration. Stoker (1996: 205) states why local governments are capable of integrating resources and actions because they have a depth of knowledge, they have a range of potential instruments available to them and they have a relative permanence which provide a solid base for developing a long term commitment for networked integrated action (Stoker, 1996 cited in Yilaw, 2000; 64). Compared to private companies/ institutions they often command immense resources. On the other hand, they are subjected to a wider range of influences and constraints. Thus Local authorities might have a range of goals and objectives to intervene in housing markets. For these reasons, understanding the decision making process behind public policy is a complicated task (Bassett and Short, 1980).

3.1.1.3. Households/ Residents:

The people and organisations outside the state interact with housing and development sector in a number of ways. They might perform different roles and activities such as; a client applying for permission or authorization or making representations on policy and decisions; by campaigning and through the lobbying tactics of pressure groups; and through the party political system (Rydin, 2003). Households also perform a critical role in the management and maintenance of the produced urban space. Households might be differentiated among each other in terms of ownership factor; for instance they might be homeowners/ landowners or tenants. They might be differentiated also in terms of tenure types such as informal and formal housing occupation.

All kinds of development activity have a relationship with Hhs' interests. Molotch (1976) states that, "any given parcel of land represents an interest and that any given locality is thus an aggregate of land-based interests". That is, each landowner has in mind a certain future for that parcel which is linked with his or her own well-being.

If in a society where land is privately owned and is regarded as a source of revenue and profit, then landowners have some powers to control the supply of housing. It is the landowners' decision to release the land if they consider this action profitable by selling or leasing to builders and developers. The price that a

landowner can obtain for land depends on a number of factors; such as if housing prices are rising landowners may increase the price of land; these kinds of increases may force the developer to economize by increasing the number of houses per unit of land. However, this is not an unlimited power since the developers' demand for land will decrease if their profits are dropping so much. This power also has limitations from the planning regulations and government policies on land and land profits; land might be given planning permission where prices are higher or might be without permission. Moreover, not in all cases can the landowners sell their property to owner-occupiers or to property developers since not all properties are located on sites suitable for redevelopment and only certain inner city areas will be attractive to potential owner-occupiers (Bassett and Short, 1980).

The characteristics of Hhs living in a particular place (neighbourhood, city, and building) might also have certain impacts on that place. For instance higher income groups might better maintain their housing and environs ending up in higher quality of urban life (Merrett, 1982; Little wood and Munro, 1996; Kızıldağ, 2003).

Private rental stock constitutes a major alternative to those households who cannot or prefer not to enter the owner-occupier sector and where public housing sector is not available or accessible. Landlords are faced with a particular pattern of demand from particular types of households as well as a network of financial and governmental constraints (Bassett and Short, 1980).

The public interest in urban renewal is supported by different interests groups in varying ways. For instance municipalities have supported urban renewal programs because these programs helped to increase fiscal resources in inner-city neighbourhoods. Property and retail interests were in favour of urban renewal due to the rejuvenation of CBD and the related conservation of property values. Civic groups supported urban renewal with the hope that the move of high income groups to suburbs could be prevented. And middle class generally supports urban renewal because of the expected aesthetic qualities to be brought by renewal (Wing, 1966 cited in Goldfarb, 1975).

It is not possible to consider Hh perspective on urban redevelopment as a single one. Goldfarb (1975) emphasises that urban renewal might be supported or

rejected due to conflicting objectives by separate groups. He explains that three different groups with three distinct objectives supported early urban renewal programs in the USA. The first group, which is a subgroup of middle class, was supporting renewal to eliminate slums because of the negative spill over effects of slums such as higher crime rates or aesthetically displeasing urban blight. Their objective wasn't about helping the poor, but eliminate spillovers, which had disutility to group members. On the other hand another subgroup of middle class was in favour of urban renewal for aiding poor slum dwellers since they see urban renewal as a mechanism to help the poor. The third subgroup of middle class was in support of renewal because they thought it would improve the city's tax base and like the first group they didn't have the welfare of the poor in their minds. Various groups have various objectives because the costs and effects of urban renewal are not known a priori and are uncertain.

Households might constrain the redevelopment processes, in what the literature calls 'ownership constraints'. This may arise for one of the two reasons. First of all, land might be split into multiple ownerships or the identity of the landowner may even be unknown. Secondly, a passive owner may be unwilling to release land either at all or only on terms and conditions considered unfavourable by any purchaser. Multiple ownerships of even small sites are not an uncommon problem in many urban areas where inability to trace the landowner occurs less frequently. Ownership constraints are more frequently experienced on redevelopment sites and reduce the attraction of inner city locations to developers in comparison with green-field sites on the urban periphery (Adams et al, 1988).

3.1.1.4. Market

Besides actors, institutions are crucial in understanding the constituents of urban redevelopment. As already stated in earlier sections, in institutional economics, 'institutions' are defined as 'the rules of the game' in a society. Development and construction companies, real estate firms and other actors in the development process- like all organizations behave and perform within a framework defined by institutions (Sim et al, 2003).

'Market' as an institution can be considered as a source of influence in perceptions and behaviour of agents and organisations and as constraints and rules set for their actions. Adams (2001) explores the perceptions of owners of potential urban redevelopment sites of the broader economic and political context on their decision-making. The findings of the study suggest that, while owners consider the importance of local contextual factors, they often underestimate the significance of national ones.

3.1.1.4.1. Property Market

In urban renewal and urban development, property and property market have central roles. Property is a physical asset in providing the facilities, a space in which economic functions and other activities are carried out, an asset providing returns in the development and investment markets which in turn are influenced by local demand-supply relationships and dynamics of the occupier markets. Since for the developers urban regeneration sites are perceived as having high investment risks and high reclamation costs, valuation of land is an important consideration (Adair et al, 2003a).

For the investment decision the potential performance of a city's property market is of particular importance at the urban level. The city attracts investment as long as the rental and capital growth is strong. However, Callender and Key (1996) argue that geographic location have a stronger influence than economic performance. The principal barriers to investment in regeneration are perceptions of negative returns (Adair *et al.*, 2005). Adair *et al.* (2002) emphasise that private sector needs to know that returns will be matching with the level of risk taken.

The property market in developing countries may be supposed to show some unique characteristics. Most cities in developing countries have been socially constructed in two interrelated ways that can be theoretically classified as formal and informal. However, it is almost impossible to clearly determine what is formal and informal in these cities, since most housing have a degree of informality; nevertheless, this is the dominant paradigm relating to the urban form in developing cities. Much of the developing country literature on urban land markets focuses on the operation of informal sector. Some authors, such as

Baken and Van der Linden (1993) approach informal land markets as if they are fundamentally different and not amenable to normal economic analysis. Others, such as Gilbert and Ward (1985) and Malpezzi (1994) argue that it would be misleading to consider formal and informal land markets as distinct. However, there are certainly different aspects. Malpezzi (1994) argues that there are costs to informality; relative difficulty to get access to infrastructure, impossibility to use such land or real estate as collateral for mortgage loans.

The market price of squatter dwellings is lower than that of equivalent dwellings with secure land tenure. Berner (2001) believes that the value the informal housing represents, and the indispensable role they play in the urban economy is disguised because of their image as 'slums'.

As many studies, such as Jimenez (1982), suggest that formal tenure is associated with higher asset prices and investment. Jimenez (1984) has found a 58% difference between housing prices in formal and informal sector. The same study finds 18% difference in rents in formal and informal rental stock. Using data from a sample of metro Manila households, Friedman et al (1988) find that an average squatter dwelling would sell for 25% more if it had tenure security. In the same study of Friedman, Jimenez and Mayo (1988), the differences in rents are found as 15% (cited in Kapoor and le Blanc, 2004). Becker and Morrison (1999) argue that this finding can serve for an important policy implication that governments can create wealth for the poor simply by providing secure land tenure. In the study of Friedman et al (1988) older squatter dwellings are valued more highly than newer ones, which are explained as age of the dwelling is presumably negatively correlated with eviction risk (cited in Becker and Morrison, 1999).

3.1.1.5. Planning/ Planners:

In the analysis of agents; we can consider planners and planning organisations (such as planning agencies, authorities, offices) as actors of the development processes as well as we can conceptualise planning as a 'planning institution' with reference to what the term implies in the institutional approaches; that is planning as an institution both covers planners and planning organisations as

well as the 'rules of the game' such as planning legislations, formal and informal relationships between planning bodies, and customs of the profession.

Planning institution has strong connections with the public sector. Rydin, (2003) states that the scope of planning at any particular time will relate to the currently accepted limits to the public sector's role in devising strategies for the physical environment. When social and economic change occurs, the area shaded by the planning umbrella will alter (Rydin, 2003, p2).

Planners' values are not specific to the planner. They are widely held and generally shared. Everyone favours health, happiness, prosperity and justice (Stollman in So and Getzels, 1988). Planning decisions and activities are constrained with a number of normative factors. Cristofano and Foster (1988) categorize them as legal, political, social, economic, fiscal, intergovernmental, aesthetic, environmental and management factors and interlink them with value-laden considerations of the society (See Table 6).

Table 6: The Context of Planning:

Legal	Is it lawful? Can it be done?
Political	Is it acceptable?
Social	Who wins? Who loses?
Economic	What are the costs? What are the benefits?
Fiscal	Where is the money?
Intergovernmental	What agencies are directly responsible?
Aesthetic	What are the community preferences and values?
Environmental	What is the impact?
Management	Who is in charge?
Source: Cristofano SM and Foster WS, eds., Management of Local Public Works (Washington, DC: International City Management Association, 1986) p.75: cited in So and Getzels (1988)	

Forester (1987) explains how planners are constrained by various factors. Their duties are often complex and contradictory since they may seek to serve political officials, legal mandates, professional visions, and the specific requests of citizens' groups, all at the same time. Moreover, they typically work in situations of uncertainty; great imbalances of power; and multiple, ambiguous, and conflicting political goals (Forester, 1987).

Sometimes, planners have to deal with issues which they might have very little impacts. For instance tackling with problems of poverty and the distribution of income lie largely beyond the scope of local planning. However, neighbourhood revitalization and economic development are both concerns of local planners, which are, still related with poverty and distribution issues. It is important for planners to keep in mind that redevelopment, revitalization or development may not benefit everyone. Some kinds of development benefit/ are enjoyed by some residents at the expense of others. Planners can play a significant role in the decision making process by looking carefully at who gains and who loses. Beyond such an analysis, planners of USA for instance have a professional obligation under American Planning association Policy and under the 1981 American Institute of Certified Planners' code of Professional Ethics:

To strive to expand choice and opportunity for all persons, recognizing a special responsibility to plan for the needs of disadvantaged groups and persons, and must urge the alteration policies, institutions and decisions which oppose such needs. (Howe, 1988, p.354).

The effectiveness of this socially responsive role rests first on careful and thorough technical analysis of the needs of different groups or the effects of a proposed project. Because social equity is a politically divisive issue, planners should develop political skills as well as technical expertise. Taking a more political stance doesn't mean generating more conflict but it requires the planner to deal with the fears and concerns of the opponents. This approach is associated with the idea that governments should commit themselves to helping those in need. Rather than act on behalf of various groups, planners should help to empower members of the public, especially the disadvantaged and dependent groups. Their approach should also involve the provision of clear technical information, the exploration of policy alternatives and a conscious effort not to depoliticise legitimately political issues (Howe in So and Getzels, 1988, p.359).

However, "town planning exists to improve the world, not just to understand it" (Taylor, 1998 in Kocabaş, 2005). Thus, for many analysts, normative approach forms the basis of planning identifying the kind of environment that planning should attempt to create and the planning approach that will bring about the necessary change (Taylor, 1998 in Kocabaş, 2005).

While, the social perspective for planning is addressed in some suggested planning approaches such as Davidoff's advocacy planning in the 1960s and equity planning of Krumholz, Rydin (2003) states that planning theory too has a shift towards a more explicit recognition of the significance of institutions in line with developments in economic analysis. Parallel to the institutional approaches in development, 'collaborative planning' theory has merged as an institutional approach. Healey defines collaborative planning as a view of planning which builds up as 'part of processes which both reflect and have the potential to shape the building of relations and discourses, the social and the intellectual capital, through which links are made between networks to address matters of shared concern at the level of neighbourhoods, towns and urban regions' (Healey, 1997, p.61) Collaborative planning focuses on building links between networks, forging new relational capacity and doing so communicatively. Collaborative planning is thus an explicitly normative planning theory that seeks to apply the institutionalist perspective. Planners can identify strategies that could stimulate local economic development, such as institutional capacity building or 'thickening' institutional capacity (Rydin, 2003).

Because of the win-lose character of most of the planning decisions land use planning is one of the most contentious tasks, which a local government deals with. Relationship between professional planners and the councillors who formally take decisions is also important. Planners advise these councillors but they do not directly take the decisions.

Effort among planning academics to develop work supportive of practitioners has shaped the institutional approach and Healey's collaborative planning theory. The work of Forester (1989) 'Planning in the Face of Power' recognizes the constraints under which planners work but argues that they can play a positive role in achieving benefits for the environment and disadvantaged groups by means of 'communicative action' and 'mediated negotiation' (in Rydin, 1998)

Table 7: Character of Collaborative Planning Shaped by Institutional Approach

Definition of planning	Shaping places
View of planners	Enabling collaboration
Process involved	Inclusive argumentation
Relation to the economy	Economics as one source of structuration
Relation to politics	Planning deals with conflict btw. stakeholders
Outcomes	Dependent on contingent relation of factors
Research focus	Locality case studies
Theoretical antecedents	Integrating development of organization theory, radical political economy and urban politics/ sociology
Source: Rydin (2003), p.83	

3.1.2. Theorization of Interrelationships of Actors/Agencies/ Institutions/ Organisations:

Due to the interrelated nature of institutions, some of the relationships between agencies described in the last section have already been addressed in the same section; such as the constraints put by an agency to another; or, impacts of decisions of one agency to another. However, this section will re-emphasize the critical relationships and present a more detailed analysis of the relations between the key agencies of the redevelopment processes. In this section, the relationships between the state and the market; state and households, planning and the market; planning and the state; planning and households in the redevelopment processes will be elaborated. The analyses of social relations will refer to the key factors of the Healey’s model; namely; strategies and interests of actors, resources, rules and ideas. Healey (1991) describes the theorization of social relations as the framework within which how actors reproduce, reinforce and transform the social relations themselves are observed and described.

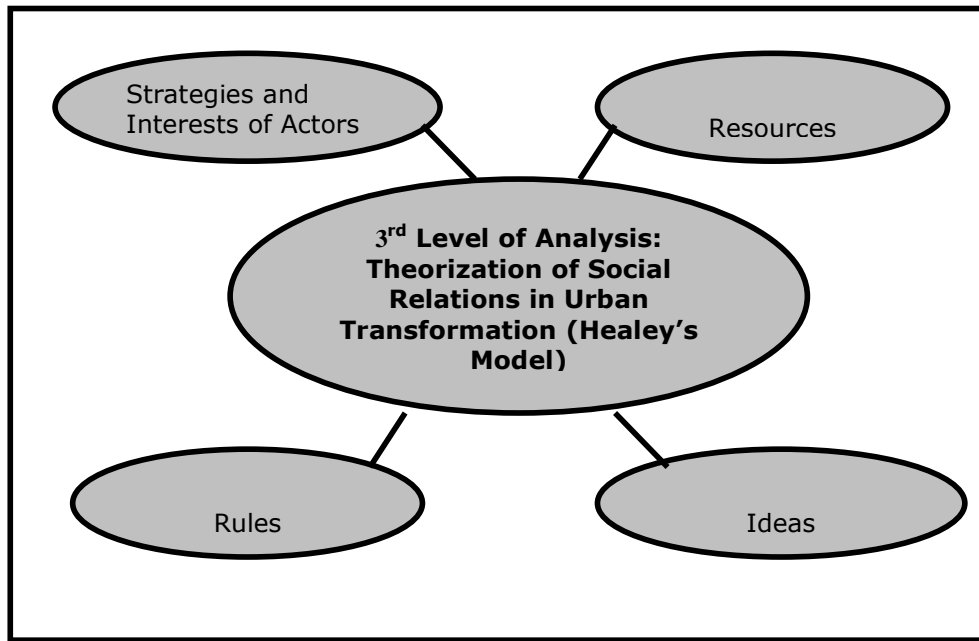


Figure 12: Elements of 3rd Level of Analysis in Healey's Model

3.1.2.1. Relationships between the State and Market in the Redevelopment Process

State and market are two critical institutions to consider in any kind of development and economic activity. In fact, results of analysis with reference to the relationship between them are first dependent on the particular theoretical approach adopted. For instance, in mainstream economics and political economic theorizations; state and market are generally conceptualised as two distinct and contradictory institutions. In institutional approach however, state and market are not considered as opposed forces in constant conflict over the future of land and property. Institutionalism acknowledges that the relations between state and market are far more complex and interests of these two institutions might sometimes conflict and sometimes complement each other.

The level, intensity and form of relations between state and market are also affected by the modes of production and regulation or the type of activity concerned and exposed to changes through time. For instance in an idealized free market economy, state is considered to have almost no interference to the market; on the other hand, in state regulated political regimes, state has a

strong control over the market; and in mixed economy the relationship is in somewhere between the first two modes.

There might be historical explanations of the change in the relationship between state and market to be transformed into different forms. For instance, according to Adams, et al, (2005) the use of the term 'governance' instead of 'governing' can be explained as the replacement of the notion of the dichotomy between 'market and state' with the notion of 'state-market dialectic'. Thornley (1991) argues that the role of the state has recently been re-oriented to support rather than supplement the market in dealing with externalities and in providing a framework for infrastructure development, legal support and public-sector financial provision.

Although variations might exist due to the political regimes and historical context, in all kinds of operation of land and property, the state is a critical actor in many aspects. The state supports the development process, moderates adverse externalities, safeguards social needs and conserves resources and environmental heritage. State intervention in the economy is justified to solve market imperfections, which are often associated with non-competitive markets, externalities and public goods. All kinds of production and consumption activity generate various kinds of social costs such as pollution or deterioration of public utilities; besides private costs such as land, labour, capital. Although these kinds of social costs affect the society and is a burden for the whole economy, state is mostly the only actor to pay for it. Government should regulate the marketing in these cases.

Nevertheless, the concept and practice of urban regeneration itself encapsulates a strong commitment and need of an active role for the state more than any other development or property market activity. The need for urban regeneration describes a condition where market forces are perceived to have failed for reasons such as lack of information, landowner inertia, and land-owner hope valuations, perceived low returns, high transaction costs, risk, externalities and low demand (Adair, 2003a). Moreover urban redevelopment too generates and is exposed to many social costs, externalities and market imperfections that make it irrational to rely solely on private sector and market forces.

The involvement of the state has different forms; for instance; the state might 'intervene', 'regulate' or 'participate' the redevelopment activity. Direct state intervention in the land market might be regarded as a national strategy to facilitate private-sector initiatives. Public-sector intervention in regeneration locations may not only seek to stimulate derelict land or property but may also attempt to create new land uses and sub-markets (Adair, 2003a). In the cases other than direct interventions or investments of the state, the role of state might be limited to providing the regulatory framework or providing social and technical infrastructure.

In urban renewal, government might intervene in the process of urban renewal to reduce the social costs or for the provision or improvement of public infrastructure or public facilities since as Couch (1990) denotes "it is impossible for the market to satisfy all individual needs" (Couch, 1990 p.72-75).

The context of urban regeneration policy has a dual character; on the one hand there is the idea of reversing economic, social and physical decay; and on the other, there is the general perception of private sector investors that urban regeneration projects/locations are carrying more risk than Greenfield sites. Thus in most cases the circumstances reach to a point where market forces alone will not suffice. In such cases, as Adair et al (1999) states, the roles of two different institutions become complementary to each other; the role of the private sector in terms of stimulating property development and investment and the role of the public sector operating in a facilitating capacity. Adair et al (2003) denotes that the use of capital within regeneration raises the question of access to and availability of finance and integral to regeneration is the objective of raising value so that projects can become viable; otherwise regeneration will not be self-sustaining. Adair et al (2003a), highlight that attracting investment and finance into renewal areas have particular difficulties and is frequently reliant on strong public-sector commitment through special incentives or other mechanisms to provide the conditions to lever private-sector activity.

The way in which public sector interventions are channelled and the respective roles of the private and public sectors might be subject of debate. Couch (1990) suggests that there are three major channels for the governments to intervene in urban renewal process;

- i. Setting rules, regulations, or ordinances for urban renewal giving clear guidelines for what can be done and what cannot be done in the process.
- ii. Providing subsidies for compensation, interest free land and re-housing
- iii. Advocating the need for urban renewal by propaganda, creating publicity and persuasion.

On the other hand Healey (1991) suggest another alternative channel for governments; which is 'partnerships'. According to Healey (1991), public authorities became seen as facilitators after the emergence of public-private partnership regime. Healey describes the spirit of public-private partnerships by stating that the public-private partnerships involve public money to "lead the market" and then to "allow the market to lead" (Healey, 1991, p.100). For local authorities, building partnerships is an effective form of incorporating the activities of other agencies such as local or regional offices of central departments, quasi-governmental organisations, private firms, non-profit organisations and community associations.

The dominance of one institution (public and private sectors) over the other might vary according to context or scale of the project. Adair et al (2000) denote that the more extensive the scale of the development, the greater the dependence on private investment.

3.1.2.2. Relationships between Planning and the State (Public Authorities):

The relationship between planning and state encapsulates interrelated relationships between planning and government; between planning and policy and between planning and public/ society. The essence of the relationship between planning and state derives first from the notion that planning is a(n) (for/ interest of) 'public' activity. Planning serves as a tool for to fulfil government's responsibilities on creating housing, liveable cities and employment.

Planning is not a purely technical activity since one of the characteristics of planning is being engaged in resource allocation. Planning allocates resources through altering land values and the spatial pattern of those land values by

development control decisions, which grant or deny planning permission. This distributive impact of planning as Rydin (2003) states would be enough to earn the description of being 'political' besides being technical. By this allocation role, planning becomes strongly related with struggles between different groups over the control of scarce land and the values it represents for direct use and exchange in the market place.

As stated earlier in the actors and institutions section, the local authorities usually tend to be active in regeneration projects since they consider these projects as a strategy of economic development. While they have few direct powers in local economic development, they do have a range of powers through planning such as building control, infrastructure and compulsory purchase to regulate the property market through which they can achieve some of their local economic development goals (Jones, 1996) which also enables them to create (short term) local jobs in the construction industry which are concentrated in less skilled occupations and the un- employed (Hunter, 1985 cited in Jones, 1996). In that case planning serves as a tool for local authorities to achieve their desired goals and objectives.

The relationships within the governmental structure such as the relationships between central and local governments need careful planning and management. For instance, the local governments need to act considering both central government policy and the local conditions. Structure of local housing market is of particular importance and moreover general environmental characteristics such as income distribution and class structure are also important since they affect the income base for public expenditure and shape attitudes towards government intervention. Distinctive local housing market conditions means distinctive local patterns of housing problems and needs, reflecting factors such as city size, age, growth and interaction between sub-markets and the history of past policy interventions. Thus, while some central government initiatives are relevant to the local authority, some others might be less relevant due to the distinctive nature of local housing problems (Bassett and Short, 1980).

Relations between and within different units/ bodies/ offices of government are another type of relationship, which we can consider. Different departments of central or local governmental structure might have different roles to perform in a single development activity with different priorities, interests and authority and

these might conflict with each other. Thus, management or mismanagement of these conflicts might result in success, unsuccess, efficiency or inefficiency and bottlenecks in a development activity and therefore these kinds of relationships need to be carefully examined for a development activity or project.

Historical context is also an important fact to consider in analysing the relations between planning and state. Before the 1980s, planning was considered more as a state dominated activity. Planning privileges were centralized to a larger extent; most of the countries were adopting welfare/ social state and planned economic policies. The decreasing dominance of governments over markets after the 1980s by the adoption of more market-oriented approaches diminished the importance of links between planning and state as well. Planning privileges have become more localized and became a local government activity. Further on, with the impacts of globalisation planning is increasingly becoming a project-based activity while at the same time being more exposed to global forces and 'strategic planning' approaches of upper-scales have become popular. Dreier (1996) emphasizes that this has raised the awareness that local authorities on their own cannot be able to solve the problems of poverty or of urban decay since cities are trapped by the boundaries that will not expand and they are subject to a national and increasingly global economy over which they have no control.

Correspondingly, during the 1990s urban theory has experienced a transformation. According to Nylund (2001), this has been resulted due to first the need to understand the radical changes that the city is currently undergoing economically, physically-functionally, socially and culturally and second due to an awareness that experience based knowledge is insufficient for understanding and analysing the many contradictory tendencies inherent in the process of change.

3.1.2.3. Relationships between Planning and Market:

Planning involves decisions about resources and thus has distributive consequences as discussed in relationships between planning and state. This gives the attributes to planning being 'political' but also being constantly engaged with 'market'. As a public sector activity planning is involved with

market processes though trying to regulate, stimulate, and impose order and structure (Rydin, 2003).

Among the most important strengths of planning in terms of market processes are planning and zoning regulations. These regulations empower planners with the power to release or withhold land for development such as housing or office construction. These decisions have particular consequences for the location of new housing and less obvious implications for the price of housing (Bassett and Short, 1980).

Planning regulations serve as a major factor influencing the socio-economic framework and institutional capacity for property investment. However, it is critical to sustain the right balance between inhibitive control regulations and creating conditions conducive to investment for facilitating and attracting property investment (Keivani, 2001).

The role planning as well as the relationship of planning and market has been affected by restructuring processes. The 1980s are generally referred to as a critical period in history since this period has witnessed a restructuring of economies, institutions and politics. In this period the relationship between planning systems and property markets has also been changed radically. In the 1980s a more entrepreneurial approach became dominant in the planning field (Albrechts, 1991). According to Healey (1989) the planning system has likewise become increasingly more responsive to the priorities of the market, and land and property have become more closely tied to the strategies of the financial sector (Berry & McGreal, 1995).

3.1.2.4. Relationships between Planning, Public Sector and the Society/ Households:

Although other actors have relatively clear roles, objectives and interests; among other actors, the public sector has quite different and sometimes conflicting functions to perform in development processes such as protecting present tax values, acquiring parcels of land for specific public or quasi-public uses, mediating conflicts in land use. For instance, in the case of urban renewal

in informal settlements, the state might perform as a landlord, contractor, developer, regulator and mediator at the same time.

As a public sector activity planning decisions have direct implications on the quality of life through the changes they create on the built environment, ownership rights and rents. Therefore there is a direct relationship between planning and society. All kinds of planning decisions of urban transformation pertaining to the consequences of quality of physical environment, quality of life, and re-distributive impacts are those strong links between planning and society.

Studying the relationship between planning and society; the 'society' cannot be regarded as a homogeneous entity. Different groups or classes might have different levels of relations and their mutual impacts might be different. In their analyses Cheshire and Sheppard (2002) compare the benefits of land use planning, (of environmental amenities provided to residents), and the costs of land use planning (increased land and housing costs from restrictions on the availability of developable land). They examine how the costs and benefits are distributed across income groups and find out that the benefits produced by the planning system appear to be distributed in a way that favours those who are already favoured with higher incomes. Moreover, these benefits are not produced at zero cost. While the distribution of the planning *benefits* is 'regressive' in the sense that it increases inequality, the costs of land use planning is distributed almost the same among different groups, at least within the class of owner-occupiers. Overall the process of land use planning generates very slight reductions in inequality. However, this small reduction in inequality is purchased at a very considerable cost (Cheshire and Sheppard, 2002).

In urban redevelopment process, planning has to undertake additional roles such as sustaining the participation, advocacy and informing the existing residents of the to be redeveloped area. Redevelopment is a particularly important development activity to consider the relationship between societies since as the available experience implies, it can lead to both desirable and undesirable outcomes for the society, which are sometimes irreversible. The social implications of redevelopment will be discussed further in the proceeding sections.

3.1.3. Structural, Contextual and Locational Factors of Urban Transformation

In the literature there is a common dividing line within urban theory represented by the distinction between structurally oriented approaches and action-oriented approaches. Structurally oriented urban theory focuses on understanding the role of cities in the international division of labour, applying an outside perspective on the city. In this perspective uneven development and territorial differences and thus winners and losers are inevitable. Action oriented urban theory, on the other hand tries to understand the city from an inside perspective where the focus is on the actions of individual agents. This perspective links differences with internal forces and tactics used by local actors (Fainstein, 1996, p.110).

During the 20th century, the structuralist view has dominated urban theory. Structuralist approach have been criticized that the explanations often lead to functionalist reductionism. These approaches lead the theoreticians to a simplistic view on causality, which leaves no scope for individuals or groups of individuals to influence the structure and thus the development of society (Nylund, 2001).

Action-oriented urban theory on the other hand has been criticized that it prepares the ground for voluntarism, since they disregard the fact that individuals in their actions are subjected to structural restrictions. Nylund (2001) suggests that the new urban theory, attempts to bridge the gap between the structuralist and an action-oriented approach through, first, a renewed reconsideration of the relation between physical and social space and, second, through introducing a dividing line between space and place.

One of the attempts to bridge this gap is the structuration theory. The basic idea of the structuration theory is the duality of structure. Giddens defines structure as both the medium and the outcome of the practices, which constitute social systems (Giddens, 1981, p.27; Giddens, 1979, p.59-73). Structure is both medium and outcome because structures shape people's practices, but also people's practices constitute and reproduce structures. In other words, structure

is the rules and resources that make social relations possible but at the same time it is the outcome of these social relations. Structure is constituted by individual action, by the recursive character of this action, and at the same time individual actors in the creation of social relations to apply it. This way of thinking necessitates considering human agency and structure not as opposed concepts but they presuppose each other. The two forces (agency and structure) are mutually intertwined and play a critical role in social engineering and social change.

Giddens describes "knowledgeable and enabled human agents" as people who know what they are doing and how to do it and they are capable of putting their structurally formed capacities to work in creative and innovative ways (Giddens, 1981, p.161). If enough people or even a few people act in innovative ways, their action might be powerful enough to transform the structures that gave them the capacity to act. That's why Giddens calls his theory as "the theory of structuration"; emphasizing that "structure" should be regarded as a process rather than a steady constant state (Sewell, 1992).

Structuration is the way that structure and systems are produced and reproduced through the application of structural properties. Giddens explains that studying the structuration of a social system is to study the ways in which that system, is produced and reproduced in interaction through the application of generative rules and resources, and in the context of unintended outcomes, (Giddens, 1979, p. 66).

In our model, we have conceptualised the constituents of urban transformation as "actors of urban transformation" including agents, institutions and organisations; and "factors of urban transformation" including structural/contextual factors of urban transformation such as modes of production and regulation, ideology, customs and societal circumstances and locational factors of urban transformation such as geography, morphology and social and economic characteristics of the locality. This study puts the emphasis on institutions (actors, agents, agencies, organizations and 'rules of the game') and how institutions constrain and are being constrained by each other as well as by structural forces and the end result produced. The structural forces will be discussed here from this perspective. In other words, with a Giddensian terminology, structure will be explained with reference to agency.

Healey calls this level of analysis as Theorization of the Nature of Modes of Production and Regulation, and of Ideology. She suggests the components of this level as;

- Modes of Production and Regulation (1)
- Ideology (2)
- Relation between 1 & 2
- Description of Particular Societal Circumstances

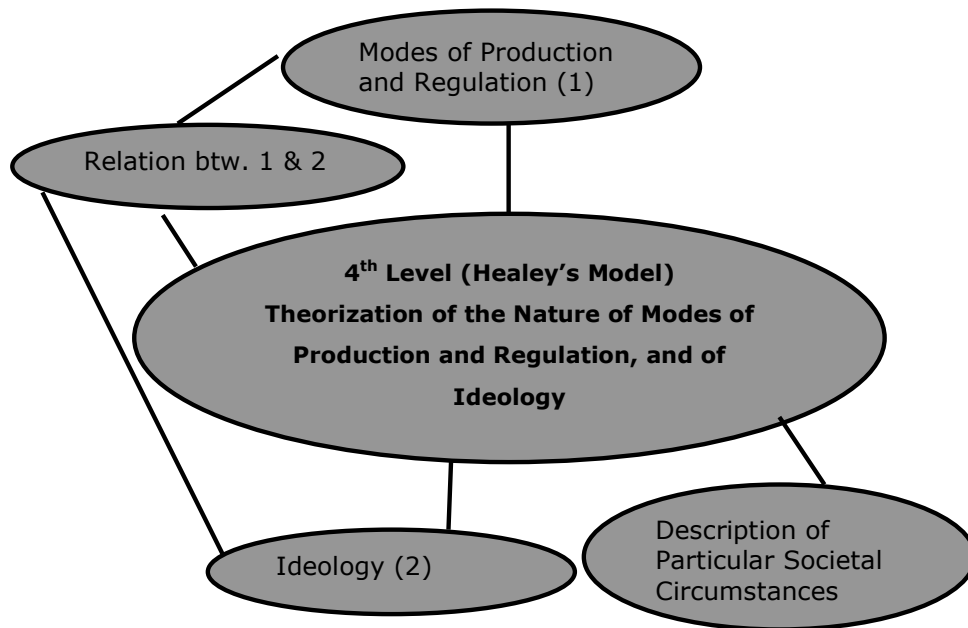


Figure 13: Elements of 4th Level of Analysis in Healey's Model

Source: Interpreted and visualised from Healey (1990)

However, in our adjusted model, we have categorized "Description of Particular Societal Circumstances" as a distinct level of analyses which consists of two components in itself; spatial circumstances and temporal circumstances. These two components are the ones, which make the analyses time and place specific. Thus they will be included in our analyses in "the institutional analyses of urban transformation in Şentepe" in the next chapter. Here we will discuss structural factors in terms of; Modes of Production and Regulation (1), Ideology (2) and Relation between 1 & 2 all with reference to impacts on/ by agency factors.

3.1.3.1. Modes of production and regulation:

The term 'mode of production' usually is used to refer "a particular combination of the economic structure with a political and ideological 'superstructure' and which is conducive to the smooth operation and reproduction of the productive system" (Ward and Macoloo, 1992). Mode of production and regulation are conceptualised as 'structural factors' of the model of urban transformation since these modes constrain, enable or determine the actions and behaviour of actors of urban transformation. Different modes of production might not only lead to the involvement of distinct sets and combinations of actors and thus roles, interests and strategies and therefore different socio-political constructions of space production processes, but also lead to different quality and typologies of housing as an end-product.

Burgess, (1982) identifies two distinct modes of housing production;

- Industrialized mode of housing production
- Petty-commodity type of housing production
 - Manufactured mode
 - Self-help/ Artisanal mode

Burgess (1982) emphasizes that these modes of production could not be conceptualised as isolated and dual structures; rather they function in a total system with dominance and dependence relations which also vary in time and space. The industrial mode of production dominates the housing sector with its operations defining the limits and functions of other modes. The relationships between actors such as landowners, financiers, workers and middlemen are established through the general conditions of the market rather than patron-client relationships (Burgess, 1982). On the other hand petty-commodity mode of production cheapens the reproduction costs of those working in industrial mode and directly provides undervalued and unpaid goods and services to the dominant industrial mode (Ward and Macoloo, 1992).

Generally structural dynamics of mode of production is analysed within the Marxist economic tradition while as Healey and Barrett (1990) states the neo-classical approach has so far failed to address structure, agency and their

relations directly, since these are absorbed as assumptions into the theoretical parameters of the approach.

The modes of production are intertwined with modes of regulation which in the most general sense might be identified as capitalist and socialist modes of production. On the other hand, for development activities it is possible to recognize various modes of regulation. These modes of regulation are characterized by a range of institutions from classical legal instruments to softer forms of steering the economy and society through incentives, exemptions or participative practices at various forms and levels.

An important contribution in analysing the role of property production in the relations of a capitalist economy comes from Harvey (1985). He borrows the idea of Marx's circuits of capital to describe three interrelated circuits; first the primary circuit which is production circuit then the secondary circuit where the capital flows into fixed assets and consumption assets and in the third circuit the capital flows into science, technology and social expenditures. Through the framework of circuits of capital, Harvey (1982) explains that the dynamics of the mode of production drive the processes through which the built environment is produced. Harvey describes paths of capital flow and resources as the primary factor through which agents are bound into structural relations while at the same time emphasizing the spatial and temporal specificities of these processes. In his analysis, he emphasizes the links between the production (land and property for use), finance capital (land and property for investment) and the state (public policy) in driving investment, disinvestments, development and abandonment of built fabric (Healey, 1991, p.234).

According to Harvey (1989) the shift from Fordist to post-Fordist modes of industrial production leads to changes in planning. The restructuring occurred in terms of the transformation of Fordist mode of economic development of the 1960s and the 1970s based on an international spatial division of labour in the industrial sector and on regulatory state intervention, into a new more competitive market based economy (Albrechts, 1991; Harvey, 1989). Many authors note that the approach to urban renewal has also been changed radically since the 1980s (Healey and Barrett, 1990, Lichfield, 1992; Carmon, 1999, Roberts and Sykes, 2000). Since the 1980s, the tendency of urban policy has been urban regeneration through private sector property development and more

entrepreneurial approaches became dominant (Healey and Barrett, 1990) in a world where cities compete for investment, jobs, tax base, visitors, state subsidies, visibility and prestige (Keating and de Frantz, 2004) .

3.1.3.2. Ideology, Power, Discourse:

It is also possible to read urban transformation through the lenses of discourse and ideology. Castells (1997) argues that the renewal practices in Paris have been implemented with the aim of intensifying the importance of the city in international capitalism seems to be more prior than the expressed aim for the community, and mentions about the protests held by the mostly Algerian ethnic background communities.

The concept of structure as resources is also related to power. Giddens analyses power in two ways; first as relations of autonomy and dependence between actors who drawn upon and reproduce structural properties of domination (Giddens, 1981, p. 29) and second as the domination of parties which take advantage of the resources (Giddens, 1979, p. 69). The dominion of human beings over the material world (allocative resources) and over the social world (authoritative resources) constitutes the structural properties of domination (Giddens, 1981:91-97). Power is central in social systems since it is central to human action's transformative capacity (Giddens, 1981:29).

Foucault (1980) calls attention to the key role of knowledge in modern power relations: discourse transmits and produces power; it reinforces it. Social relations of power enclose discourses. According to Foucault (1980) knowledge is produced by those who decide what is true. Therefore the 'truth' is constructed socially within asymmetrical social relations shaped by the dominating discourses. Harvey (1996) states that produced urban space reflect in part the ideology of dominant groups and organizations and in part market forces.

3.2. Events/ Operations of Urban Transformation:

Through continuous interaction of constituent actors and factors of urban transformation contribute to the generation of various events of urban transformation. The sequence of events in a development process includes all

main phases; for instance Healey (1992) gives the event sequence of development of formal housing as;

- land comes forward,
- finance comes forward,
- land is subdivided into plots,
- subdivided plots are allocated to builders or occupiers,
- services are provided,
- buildings are constructed,
- buildings are allocated to occupiers.

On the other hand, the event sequence in the informal sector is almost just the reverse of formal housing. Provision of services in the informal sector comes after everything else whereas allocation (possession/ invasion) of land and buildings comes before everything else. A typical event sequence in the informal sector is as follows (Healey, 1992);

- land is invaded,
- land is subdivided,
- subdivision is allocated to occupiers,
- buildings are constructed,
- services are provided.

Events and sequence of events might change from any development project to another. Administrative differences of cities might alter the events and sequence of events since the actors, organisation schemes and approval process may change. In an urban redevelopment process a typical sequence of events might be as follows;

- a redevelopment plan/ project is prepared
- right- holder households are determined and negotiated with
- house builders come forward
- developers make agreements with landlords
- house builders get construction permits
- demolish and construction works are carried out
- services are provided
- occupancy permits are taken
- buildings are re-allocated to occupiers according to agreements

- surplus units are sold by house builders to new occupiers

3.3. Implications/ Outputs Urban Transformation

The last element of the urban transformation model describes the implications or consequences of factors, actions of actors and events of urban transformation. Like any other development, urban transformation, too have certain implications on distribution of welfare, local economic development, demand and supply in property markets, employment, social fabric of neighbourhood and social inclusion or exclusion consequences for households besides more obvious physical implications such as design, density and quality of built environment. In fact, it is the first generation urban renewal programs in US and Europe that have launched the debate on the implications of planning and development.

The complexity of urban transformation compared to other kinds of development activity stems from the fact that functional, structural, social and economical changes occur in an already built environment, not a Greenfield. This brings both social concerns such as the existing population to consider in every kinds of decision taking place and physical concerns such as infrastructure. Existing infrastructure of all kinds such as fresh water, transportation network and utilities, sewage system, educational, cultural or health facilities may not be compatible with the new structure and thus may be in need to be changed, substituted, supplemented with new or more infrastructure. Moreover, the social fabric of the neighbourhood might not be compatible with the new environment produced. In some cases, urban transformation totally and intentionally excludes the existing population. Different projects might have contradictory results such as upgrade in welfare and quality of life, increased employment opportunities or forced or voluntary dislocation, relocation or social exclusion of existing residents.

Goldfarb, (1975) summarizes the outcomes in terms of both costs and benefits of these early urban renewal programs:

- Early urban renewal practices have been found out to be tearing down many more dwelling units than it builds

- It has been recognized that the new built environment might not be sustainable and remain as 'new'. The complexity of problems in the renewed area can lead to deterioration even to a point that the renewed environment is as bad as or worse than the old;"
- It has been recognized that households forced to relocate due to the demolition of their old dwelling have to bear with large costs;
- The high costs experienced by dislocatees indicates that new methods of renewal should be introduced to lessen those costs. The best way to lessen these costs would be not to displace them or displace only temporally and therefore rehabilitation of existing units have come as an idea as an alternative option, besides increasing allowances to dislocatees, and helping them to find new units.;
- Some critics noticed that urban renewal sometimes seemed to function as "poor removal" or "Negro removal." This raised a series of questions about policy and practice. Where did the displaced poor households move? Where new units should be placed if one-for-one replacement is the target? Should new low income housing be placed in suburbs to avoid white suburbs and black central cities dichotomy? (Goldfarb, 1975)

The next sections will include a discussion of the implications of urban transformation in two interrelated aspects; first group are implications on physical and economic space including economic implications on property markets and local economy and physical implications on the built environment. The second group is the implications on households/ citizens and society and thus social space. These two groups are interrelated not only because (social) space is a (social) product as the notion of Le Febvre implies, but also human agency are affected and restricted by changes in space while modifying and adjusting places like the 'socio-spatial dialectic' of Soja (1980) emphasizes (Knox& Pinch, 2000). Space is considered as a component of production process of space. According to Le Febvre, changes in society is reflected on changes on space as it is a product of the society. To change the social production mode, space can be recognized as a factor.

If we conceptualise space in many dimensions like physical space, economic space and social space; the implications on each of these are interrelated with/ embedded in the implications on (and impacts of) individuals and the society. Socio-economic impacts on society especially on the residents of the

transforming area will be evaluated with a special focus for it is one of the main problematic areas of urban transformation explained in the introduction chapter.

3.3.1. Implications on the Property Markets and Local Economic Development

Economic development is defined as the process of creating wealth by mobilising human, physical, natural, and capital resources to produce marketable goods and services (Friedman and Darragh, 1988).

There are several ways which property development and urban redevelopment affect economic development (Chapple, 1995);

- Revitalizing urban areas contribute the local image of the area and quality of life of the residents.
- It may help to accommodate economic restructuring.
- It boosts the construction sector.
- It plays a role in firm expansion and attraction.

Urban transformation might change the prestigiousness of a neighbourhood or a city. Urban transformation might have strong influences on urban economic development of a locality. Several examples suggest that urban transformation intended or managed to change a neighbourhood/ city's fortune through the impacts it has on economic development. Redvelopments such as London Docklands also has been used to promote economic development and increase tax revenues for government or the declining industrial cities of Scotland and Basque country; Glasgow and Bilbao respectively improved their position with culture-led urban regeneration. Art, culture and image became central issues in Glasgow through festivals and art events (Gomez, 1998); the Guggenheim museum project in Bilbao diversified the city into new sources of income and generated new employment opportunities (Baniotopoulou, 2001). The Olympic City project in Barcelona has also been utilized to boost the urban economy, reposition the city in the global tourist market (Gold and Gold, 2008).

The traditional approach to perceive the process of private property development was to understand it as a "passive reflection of the demands of industry, commerce, and households for accommodation (Healey, 1990 in Turok, 1992, p.362) but not as a source of growth (Turok, 1992). After the 1980s however, urban policy has been directed more on the redevelopment of land, buildings,

and physical infrastructure (Turok, 1992). The failure of urban policies of the 1950s and the 1960s has led to search for new options. Recognition of property development to offer the potential to achieve visible results, "changing the appearance if not the underlying characteristics of places" resulted property development to be seen as a relatively simple way of attracting private investment. The idea relied on the hope that improvement in physical environment would somehow bring about a general improvement in economic conditions within their areas (Turok, 1992; 363).

According to Winnick (1961), urban redevelopment changes the locale of investment rather than inducing new investment. The use of the tool of eminent domain enables municipalities to acquire sites of various sizes and therefore create an environment with maximum market potential.

3.3.2. Socio- Economic Implications on Residents

While studying the physical implications of urban redevelopment such as implications on the quality, quantity and variety of built environment produced is relatively easy to handle; predicting, analysing, measuring, monitoring and controlling the implications of redevelopment on individuals and society is a rather difficult task. The implications of a development activity are very much related with the targets put before the planning and implementation of the project. Moreover, it should be noted that different contexts in different countries or cities might lead to different results. The question of whether should the policies be aimed at places, such as inner cities and depressed rural areas, or at people have been a major source of intellectual debate among economists and policy makers since the 1960s (Boger and Wegner, 1996).

For instance, Winnick (1996) argues against programs aimed at places and positions himself as in favour of programs aimed at people. According to him, aiding places is an inefficient way since it usually creates conditions which some of the groups such as higher income would receive some of the benefits at the expense of others (Boger and Wegner, 1996, p.145). Scholars favouring place-based policies on the other hand justify their view emphasizing the benefits created such as the sense of place, agglomeration economies and public infrastructure are geographically fixed assets, with returns that are at least in part 'public goods' (Boger and Wegner, 1996, p.145).

According to Howe (1988) social and physical planning has been institutionally and professionally quite separate. Physical planning is isolated from social concerns and planning utmost considers the social implications of land use and economic development decisions. Howe (1988) describes a social perspective as a perspective "focusing primarily on the diversity of needs within a community and concerning particularly with the equity or distributional implications of planning" (Howe, 1988, p.330). The purpose of social planning is not only to discover the distributional impacts but also to help reduce impacts, which would be disadvantageous for some groups. Thus social planning "is not neutral but openly and inheritedly normative" (Howe, 1988, p.330).

Urban redevelopment raises important concerns for individuals' and the community's physical and psychological well-being. Urban transformation may impose great impacts to people's lives by affecting how they live, work and entertain themselves and on the community as a whole by affecting the sense of belonging, cultural norms and identity. Urban redevelopment can either adopt one of the two strategies; either re-accommodating the original residents on the same site after renewal or relocating the residents by transferring to another part of the city. Relocation is more likely to occur in housing projects of large-scale where relocatees are transferred into isolated environments where distance to the city centre is high with limited access to facilities like schools, health services and employment.

The first urban transformation practices had drawn the attention on the improvement of physical environment in slum areas. For instance slum clearance efforts beginning by the Housing Act of 1956 in UK where war years had emphasized the case for comprehensive planning, involving the redevelopment not just for housing, but all other land uses as well, including industry (Ward, 2004, 152). Large scale comprehensive re-development programmes managed by local municipalities demolished slums and replaced them by municipally owned and managed housing called social housing, designed with new schools, public open space, and other community facilities.

On the other hand urban transformation has been criticised for its implications in many aspects. the post-war period's inner-city regeneration activities typically result in the neighbourhood status to rapidly improve and property values rapidly rise at the same time while mostly the residents were influenced

negatively (Carmon 1999: 154). Also Kujath (1988) argues that regeneration of the core city improves lives of some of the urban residents, while the others have to bear the burdens. Integrating the whole population into these processes seems hardly possible (Kujath (1988), cited in Haese et al, 2003).

According to Howe (1988), it was the urban renewal and highway construction boom, which first made the planners, be aware of the social impacts of planning in USA in the 1950s. While both programs reflected the national policy to promote economic development; both required land to be cleared in densely populated central cities and the most adversely affected were those of low-income and often minority people (So and Getzels, 1988, p.348).

Parallel with the variety of arguments for the justification of urban renewal which were already cited as economic, cultural, integrationist and social; the success of urban renewal might be a debatable issue from the outset you have or the criteria you imply. From the economic, tax-base perspective, urban renewal practices were usually successful, but from the social perspective it does not contribute to social welfare. Many authors criticize urban renewal in terms of the social outcomes it created.

After urban renewal, when middle class people move into refurbished and renewed inner city neighbourhoods they accomplish some of the urban revitalization that planners struggle to generate; the city tax base increases, the multiplier affect of more affluent households improves the economic condition of the city and the demand for some kinds of welfare-related services goes down. On the other hand, low-income residents who can no longer afford to live there must go somewhere (Howe in So and Getzels, 1988, p.353).

So and Getzels (1988) point out that 'urban renewal' consisted of totally clearing vast inner city areas and building acres of public housing, in the end turned out to be socially disastrous. Although planners and public officials are pleased to see declining areas renewed on a private basis, the purchase of housing by upper income groups tends to displace lower income residents, which usually is referred as gentrification.

Between 1940s and the 1960s USA's public investment in housing was in its peak. These early examples of urban renewal programmes displaced many people from various ethnicities and were characterized by a top-down design.

Land was seen as an economic value only. As a result of the demands of the post war era, the renewal of the slum housing were frequently replaced by shopping centres, office buildings, and cultural and entertainment centres. Relatively less number of housing units was produced but the target population was mostly from higher socio-economic status. Correspondingly, the first usage of the term 'gentrification' occurred in the 1960s by a sociologist Glass. By renewal, not only what is destroyed but what is created by renewal was mostly problematic too. In those few cases where new residential neighbourhoods were built for the poor, the physical environment usually consisted of inhuman multi-storey blocks which were considered to be unfit for family life in those countries.

Marris, (1962) indicates even in the early stages of urban renewal practice that by 1960, the number of displaced families was about 85.000 by urban renewal projects in just under 200 cities of USA. These displaced households were mostly the poorest and mostly black- coloured population. Information about the families relocated comes from relocation authorities published reports, but usually incomplete and sometimes conflicting. Not all families use relocation services so their fate is unknown. Although the authorities are required by law to ensure decent, safe and sanitary housing at a reasonable rent; no conditions put for decent, safe and sanitary neighbourhood, or that the new dwelling to be better than the old. Marris (1962) declares that according to researches, between 15 to 50 per cent of these families moved to a still substandard housing similar to those they have moved and mostly on the fringes of the renewal project and which may rapidly degenerate. So families might have move to a similar dwelling but might have to pay higher rent. In such cases, although the authorities consider renewal successful, from households' point of view they are worse off (Marris, 1962).

While some of the relocated families were encouraged to move to better housing, most of them had to tackle with the social, psychological and economic problems of relocation. Relocation often destroyed the informal pattern of mutual help, tolerance developed in the old community and most of the established channels of aid by agencies. And since the slum dwellers are mostly the most recent comers to the city, integration problem might be widened instead of solved (Marris, 1962).

For the population, displacement means social and emotional costs as well as financial. Urban renewal often leads to the broken up urban communities and the original residents might lose the social network that they once enjoyed. According to studies, especially the most vulnerable portion of the population such as young children and the elderly are found out to face with serious psychological trauma since displacement from familiar locations might bring out important changes in lifestyle, which might require long-term readjustment. The loss of contact with a familiar environment to which people have developed strong emotional attachments might occur not only when they are displaced but also when familiar environments are radically changed by revitalizing activities (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981 in Broudehau, 1994). Almost all kinds of urban transformation activity result in new tenants and owners to move in the area and this also raises concerns of social integration. Among all kinds of social implications of urban transformation, the most widespread argument and concept in the literature is 'gentrification'.

3.3.2.1. Gentrification Theories

The first use of the term 'gentrification' might be traced back to the 1960s to the sociologist Ruth Glass. Glass (1964) uses the term in order to describe the middle and upper income classes to purchase dwellings from poorer households and construction of new and luxury housing instead and thus changing the social character of London's working class neighbourhoods (Smith, 1996).

Marcuse (1985) defines gentrification by opposing the term to abandonment. While abandonment results from demand declining to zero; gentrification results from high and increasing demand. Abandonment arises from decline in property values, gentrification arise from a rapid increase. Abandonment results from population loss accompanied by declining income levels of the remaining population, resulting in a "decline in effective demand" for lower-quality units. Gentrification results from a "return-to-the-city" movement accompanied by an increase in effective demand for higher quality units near the downtown. Nevertheless Marcuse (1985) highlights that these two processes might occur simultaneously side-by-side (Marcuse, 1985, p.197)

Günay (2009) suggests calling the process 'regentrification' rather than 'gentrification' since the 'gentry' is in a sense claiming back their former

territory. He explains, decentralization-centralization and succession-invasion processes happen in the city due to the mobility of social classes and when decentralization of high classes occurs, more inferior groups move to these areas and therefore later on in the gentrification process, "the once higher class housing areas are again occupied by higher classes" (Günay, 2009, p. 149).

Gentrification has become a popular and at the same time a controversial concept ever since in sociology as well as in geography and urban policy and planning. Several explanations of gentrification have been proposed based on demographic change, housing market dynamics, urban amenities, changes in the economic base, socio-cultural values, gender and origins and preferences of gentrifiers. Two major explanatory schools have emerged in the study of gentrification. The first group favours a more structuralist and Marxist approach and can be categorized within production-side theories. They emphasize the primacy of structural change in the formation of gentrification. For instance, Smith (1986) emphasizes the importance of changing investment patterns and land values. Ley (1988) discusses the changing employment structure and Williams (1978) emphasize institutional investment patterns (Lyons, 1996). The second group on the other hand adopts consumption-side theories and they consider gentrifiers themselves as of particular importance in understanding gentrification, their argument relies on the primacy of consumer choice and household preferences and life style.

As one of the pioneers of structuralist approaches, Smith explains gentrification as an economic process resulting from fluctuating relationships between capital investments and the production of urban space. Smith (1986) relates gentrification with the concept of 'rent gap'. The term is used to refer the difference in a site's actual value and its potential value at its 'best use'. This higher and better use can be sustained by rehabilitation of existing structures, complete redevelopment or by other transformations in the existing uses or structures (Smith, 1987). When the rent gap is sufficiently wide, real estate developers, landlords, and other people with interests in the site identify this difference as an economic opportunity on which to capitalize perceiving the potential profit to be derived from re-investing in the area and redeveloping the site for a new population. Such redevelopment closes the rent gap, leading to higher rents, mortgages, and lease rates affordable for the new comers, but

usually not for the original working-poor residents and thus, these households move outward from the inner city (Smith 1987).

Marcuse (1985) interprets gentrification as well as abandonment processes as a reflection of a long-term process of changing economy of the central city. Marcuse (1985) explains that the first aspect of this process is the shift from manufacturing to services, which results in a decline for demand for unskilled, blue-collar labour, and thus this class' rent paying ability diminishes. Second aspect is that increasing professionalization and concentration of management and technical functions leads to higher-income demand for housing. Spatial consequences of these trends are reflected in housing market in central cities where the market is increasingly more available and accessible for high income while less available for the low-income. This polarization of the economy is reflected in polarization of neighbourhoods; abandonment and gentrification.

Ley (1994) on the other hand posits a consumption- side approach. Ley explains gentrification as a natural process of increased professional employment in the central business district, and the creative sub-class's desire for city living. According to him the first stage gentrifiers are a creative class of artists, teachers, and cultural administrators who economically prepare the site for further stages of gentrification. When artists move into these dwellings, they usually make significant improvements to their spaces, and their surrounding. Then, landlords become aware that their properties are more valuable, increase the rents and thus increasingly more high socio-economic status households move to the neighbourhood while existing tenants move out since rents are no longer affordable for them.

These two major approaches are both not restricted to any one discipline and the debate on both sides has come to focus on the need for integration of the two approaches (Lyons, 1996). Several authors criticize the one-side approach of all these theories and suggest the need for more integrated approaches in studying gentrification (Zukin, 1987, Hamnett, 1991, Clark, 1994, Lyons, 1996). Zukin (1987) for instance, search for ways to integrate cultural and economic analysis in the study of gentrification. Hamnett (1991) tries to integrate Ley's social restructuring thesis with Smith's rent gap theory. Clark (1994) suggests linking complementary approaches in our understanding of gentrification and Lyons (1996) attempts to build the gap between structure and agency.

Smith (1979) posits gentrification as the major 'leading-edges' of contemporary metropolitan restructuring of the 1970s and the 1980s similar to that suburbanization and inner city decline comprised the leading edges of urban restructuring in the the 1950s and the 1960s. Smith describes this process as a partial reversal of previous trends since gentrification slows or reverses inner city middle class population loss and housing decay. According to him, gentrification, like the previous suburbanization trend of the former era, highlights the importance of capital switching between different sectors of the economy and different parts of the city.

Although the studies adopt various theoretical approaches and are from various disciplines, certain dimensions occur commonly among the different definitions. First, particular patterns of socio-economic change are endemic and central to gentrification, which makes socio-economic change through migration as the shared and defining characteristic of gentrification. It has been widely argued and documented that result of invasion is mostly displacement of original residents.

Marcuse (1985) links the displacement of the poor with restructuring of business locations as well as residential restructuring brought by changing economic patterns. When the expansion of business and commercial uses require more space, residential areas "must give way to business and what residential areas remain or are built, higher income households are wanted and lower income households not". The city government wants to protect property and thus tax values and the speculative real estate industry also follow the same patterns.

Marcuse (1985) states that displacement affects not only those who are actually displaced at any given moment. He explains that when a family observes a dramatic change in their neighbourhood; when their friends are leaving the neighbourhood, their familiar stores are closed and new ones, which address a different consumer profile, start to take place or when changes in public facilities and transportation patterns are making the area less liveable for them, they feel a 'pressure of displacement' and they move as soon as they can although there is no obligatory displacement.

Widely documented characteristics of gentrifying neighbourhoods are (Lyons, 1996; Freeman, 2005);

- central city neighbourhoods populated with low-income households
- an increase in investment and upgrading of devalued property which was previously 'filtered down' and disinvested
- upgrading is usually accompanied by a change of tenure
- in movers are mostly different from the existing population in some respects such as household size, age profiles, racial composition or employment status.

According to Freeman (2005), a neighbourhood must meet the following criteria to be considered as gentrifying:

1. "Be located in the central city at the beginning of the intercensal period.
2. Have a median income less than the median (40th percentile) for that metropolitan area at the beginning of the intercensal period.
3. Have a proportion of housing built within the past 20 years lower than the proportion
4. found at the median (40th percentile) for the respective metropolitan area.
5. Have a percentage increase in educational attainment greater than the median
6. increase in educational attainment for that metropolitan area.
7. Have an increase in real housing prices during the intercensal period"

To measure gentrification is a complex task since several of the dimensions described in definitions have a relative nature. For instance, the notion of 'low-income' households who are the original residents of gentrifying neighbourhoods is a relative task since it raises the question of incomes lower than what? Lower relative to the rest of the country? Or lower relative to that central city? The same problem exists in the notion 'affluent', or 'gentry' households. Moreover, are they a higher socio-economic class due to their income, or education or type of profession? There are two central problems associated with the use of income as the criteria; first; income fluctuates throughout time, and although second young artists and professionals often pioneer gentrification; they have relatively low incomes. Therefore, most studies (such as Freeman, 2005) prefer to use education since adults' educational attainment levels are relatively stable and

using education helps to distinguish between upgrading among current residents as opposed to gentrification by outsiders (Clay, 1979 cited in Freeman, 2005).

Another complexity of studying gentrification is about the availability of research subjects. The research tools for tracing out-movers are mostly limited. In order to properly discuss what the social impacts of gentrification are one should know how many persons are displaced, who are they, where do they move and what happens to them? (Howe, 1988).

Freeman and Braconi, (2004) group empirical research of gentrification into three; succession studies, resident surveys and comparison studies. Succession studies, examine how the characteristics of in-movers differ from out-movers. They examine whether individuals moving into a housing unit are of higher economic status than those moving out. Resident surveys are based on asking respondents why they moved from their former residence, and comparison studies use a non-gentrifying neighbourhood to compare the number of disadvantaged household to be displaced.

In his study in inner London, Lyons (1996) found that as gentrification progressed for households upgrading the homeowners' standards of accommodation and access to homeownership becomes economically more difficult within the gentrifying site. Since these are more accessible outside this site, tenants moved to other neighbourhoods where ownership is more accessible and homeowners were able to improve their standards of accommodation by moving elsewhere.

Because gentrification mostly occurs as a result of market processes without the interventions of policies of public sector, the changes in the social structure of population cannot be judged as good or bad. Gentrification was seen as rebirth and reversal of inner city, but at the same time, displacement has received widespread attention in the popular press and has become a concern of many neighbourhood groups, activists and local planners. However, several studies found out that there is usually little empirical evidence of widespread displacement. For instance, in his analysis in US cities, Sumka concludes, while displacement may be a serious problem in some neighbourhoods, there is little support for the existence of a trend or that large numbers of poor households are being affected (Sumka 1979, p.480).

Studies analysing the consequences of urban renewal or gentrification usually emphasize negative effects of forced relocation or displacement (Couch, 1990; Lyons, 1996; Allen, 2000; Atkinson, 2002). These studies emphasize that urban renewal destroy not only housing and physical structures but also social structures. There are physiological costs of displacement and relocation to individuals and families. Negative implications include loss of home, financial burdens, stress and potential loss of social networks (Kleinhans, 2003). Possible benefits of relocation are observed to be hardly counterbalancing the negative implications. Since perceptions, expectations and needs would change during the process and play an important role, it is hard to determine the differences between the pre-relocation and post-relocation situation objectively (Kleinhans, 2003).

On the other hand different households showing different characteristics might be affected in different ways. The most common criterion proposed is 'preparedness' of households to relocation (Fried, 1967; Goetz, 2002; Kleinhans, 2003). In his study Goetz (2002) has compared effects of relocation for involuntarily displaced households and families who voluntarily moved into replacement units in a relocation program in Minneapolis. He found that families forced into relocation report fewer benefits from their moves, compared to voluntarily mobile families due to several factors such as employment, income, poverty, social interaction and neighbourhood satisfaction. Similarly Fried (1967) stated that "pre-relocation evidences of preparedness for change are the most important factors determining post-relocation adjustment-adaptation and tend to dwarf the importance of post-relocation situations and experiences" (Fried, 1967, p. 100 cited in Kleinhans, 2003).

Characteristics of relocates seem to be the explanatory dividing line in the negative versus positive impacts argument. The findings of Fried (1967), Goetz, (2002) and Kleinhans, (2003) imply that on judging the impacts as negative or positive; the extent to which people have already been planning a move and the preparation for change has an important contribution as important as the objective improvements and satisfaction with the former and later housing conditions. In his paper "Displaced but still Moving Upwards in the Housing Career?" Kleinhans (2003) argues that implications of dislocation might be positive as well. Kleinhans (2003) selects two restructuring projects in the cities of Utrecht and The Hague in Netherlands for interviews with movers. He founds

out that while all movers can be considered as displacees, most respondents moved upwards in their housing career as a result of their improved housing conditions.

According to Lyons (1996) the theoretical gap between structure and agency in displacement can be addressed with reference to households of different socio-economic status. He explains that while long distance migration from gentrifying areas is a matter of consumer choice of high status households aiming to satisfy their housing preferences; short distance moves are a characteristic of low status households whose choices are much more limited and constrained in terms of access to employment, housing, services, locally available goods, dependence on neighbouring and family ties and to assistance from local government.

Kleinhans (2003) explains that the reactions to forced relocation depend on four factors;

- The meaning of home for the individual
- Resident's satisfaction with their dwelling
- Certain opportunities and constraints that movers have to deal with regardless of their opinions on the forced relocation.
- Residents' support for and understanding of urban renewal measures that require forced relocation. (If residents agree with forced relocation, they are more prepared for changes, which makes adaptation easier)

Kleinhans (2003) also finds that respondents considered local social ties as relatively unimportant, "which is in line with the literature on the diminishing importance of intra-neighbourhood social interaction and social ties" and the households who move within the same neighbourhood or nearby sites still have the opportunity to enjoy the same ties.

Shill and Nathan's study includes both voluntary (unrelated to gentrification) and involuntary moves among renters in nine gentrifying neighbourhoods. Their most significant findings are (Howe, 1988, p.354);

- Elderly and black people were not disproportionately represented in involuntary group compared to voluntary, but displaced Hhs had lower incomes, less education and more likely to be Hispanic.

- About two thirds of displaced Hhs thinks that their new home were better than the previous although involuntary group were significantly less satisfied.
- 70% of displaced Hhs moved to a nearby neighbourhood or another part of same neighbourhood which enabled them to retain social ties but also increased the likelihood that they might have to move again if gentrification spreads.
- The only groups that were dissatisfied after the move were Hhs with an unemployed member and those that were particularly transient making five or more moves in ten years.

According to Howe (1988) findings of Nathan and Schill should be critically view with their specific context; the neighbourhoods were not cohesive ethnic communities and alternative affordable housing was available. Moreover since the pace of gentrification was slow and gradual, low-income residents had the opportunity to relocate before the price of housing to which they moved was increased.

These findings indicate that the negative impacts of displacement may not be as great as expected. However, "it is clear that vulnerable groups such as unemployed people, transient people and non-traditional Hhs do have problems" (Howe, 1988, p.354).

Henig's study on the other hand, finds the elderly as the most vulnerable group. The elderly population was found out to be more likely to move out of gentrifying neighbourhoods than female-headed or blue-collar Hhs. Since the elder populations are in general less likely to move since they have fewer physical, psychological and financial resources for adapting to changes in their living environments, this is a significance finding (Howe, 1988, p.354).

According to Kleinhans (2003) the top-down decision of urban renewal and the obligatory nature of the move turn personal lives of residents upside down and require high-quality support, assistance and information from authorities. Moreover the first move could be the start of 'chain relocation' if relocatees move to comparable dwellings, since there is a risk of relocation in a house that will be restructured in a few years time (Kleinhans. 2003). According to Kleinhans (2003) "constructing and offering attractive relocation options within the same

neighbourhood are a successful strategy to enable housing career possibilities” (Kleinhans. 2003, p.495).

While most of the studies focus on displacement and its effect on the tenants of the gentrifying area; in his empirical study in inner Malmö, Sweden, Clark (1988) studies the behaviour of owners in the gentrifying site. He found that when there is a development activity in an area, owners expect to capitalize both the actual ground rent and also a share of the higher potential rent, which will be realized by the developer buying the site, so the rent gap narrows progressively throughout the process of gentrification (cited in Lyons, 1996). This leads an increase in the land prices on sites, which have not yet been redeveloped. In other words, land owners in gentrifying areas receive a share of the profits of gentrification thus have an interest in actively promoting the process (Hamnett and Randolph, 1986 cited in Lyons, 1996).

While gentrification is mostly discussed and observed in the formal but declined neighbourhoods in the North American and European context; the succession invasion process also occurs in the informal housing stock in the developing countries not only in the form of urban renewal, but also with rehabilitation or simply acquisition of dwellings. The availability of more wealthy groups in informal settlements could help the development of infrastructure in the settlement. However, poorer household might not compete with middle income within the wider informal land market for plot acquisition, bargaining and timing of occupation and therefore might be negatively affected which might deepen the conditions of poverty in the poorest quality areas (Thirkell, 1996). According to Thirkell (1996), although these processes create a concern for leading to displacement of poor families who then need to settle elsewhere which might perpetuate squatter housing; the behaviour of poor families of selling their dwellings and moving elsewhere could be considered as an inevitable process within any market since people prefer to liquidate their precious resource into cash; a rule also applying to their lands (Thirkell, 1996). The valorisation and marketability of squatter land means money not only for those selling the property but also agents involved in land purchase and sale (Thirkell, 1996) or for developers purchasing and rebuilding and selling the dwellings in the site.

Gentrification has become a divisive issue for planners because it is interwoven with both the desire to revitalize city centres and the obligation to be responsive

to the needs of vulnerable groups. According to Howe (1988) for a planner to balance of costs and benefits is a matter of ideology or values. Howe states that a choice must be made if gentrification is viewed as a zero-sum game; but the real challenge to planners is try to prevent gentrification from being zero sum game. Analyses of social impact assessment can be useful tools since they help to identify the needs of the people likely to be displaced. If gentrification is accompanied by housing disinvestments and abandonment, this can result in a rapid reduce in the supply of low-income housing. Thus, Howe, (1988), argues being responsive to the need for low-income housing is central to the solution of the problem of displacement (Howe, 1988, p.354).

Howe also points out that planning for groups that may be displaced is likely to produce less responsive solutions than planning with them. The experience with urban renewal in the 1950s indicates that planners and project sponsors are most responsive when the affected groups are organized and active on their own behalf (Howe, 1988, p.354).

3.4. Conclusion

This chapter have decomposed the model developed in the previous chapter for studying production and transformation of urban space into its basic elements; namely, the constituents (factors and actors) of urban transformation, events of urban transformation and lastly, the implications of urban transformation.

The constituents of the model were discussed under the light of various theoretical and empirical studies and encompassed a variety of approaches; such as neo-Marxist, structuralist, institutionailst, neo-classist, behaviouralist, production-side, consumption-side approaches.

Actors and relationship between actors; contextual and structural factors and relationships between factors and relationships between actors and factors were studied since the combination of all these determine the urban transformation processes and its implications. Since the implications of a development activity is the most appropriate factor to judge and understand the process; implications of urban transformation on local economic development, on physical well-being of built environment and on the households were studied in detail.

Several points deserve to highlight in all these theoretical efforts and findings of various scholars;

1. State is a critical actor in whatever mode of production or regulation and whatever scale of urban transformation activity is concerned; but involvement of the state might take different forms and levels.
2. There are four channels for governments to get involved in transformation processes;
 - Setting rules, regulations, or ordinances
 - Providing subsidies for compensation, interest free land and re-housing
 - Advocating the need for urban renewal by propaganda, creating publicity and persuasion. (Couch, 1990)
 - Forming 'partnerships' (Healey, 1991)
3. Private sector initiative has become more dominant in urban transformation especially after the 1980s as a consequence of social and economic restructuring (Healey and Barrett, 1990, Albrechts, 1991, Haase et al, 2003).
4. The regeneration areas are often considered as risky, low return and uncertain by the private sector (McNamara, 1993, Amin and Thrift, 1995, Adair et al, 1999, Adair et al, 2000, McGreal et al, 2000).
5. Developers consider potentially higher costs of land and construction in urban regeneration areas, but it is relatively an unimportant factor in the decision not to invest (McGreal et al, 2000).
6. Profitability criterion is the guiding principle in understanding the activities of the builders and developers (Bassett and Short, 1980, Adair et al, 1999; McGreal, 2000). Social conscience comes second to profit (Adair et al, 2000).
7. Criteria other than profitability in order to invest include (McGreal et al, 2000);
 - Perceived security of investment,

Diversification benefits through new business opportunities the
availability of an exit strategy
Perception of the quality of the neighbouring environment

8. Facilitating the attraction of private sector finance through grants can facilitate the attraction however; according to many investors accessing of public sector funds are highly bureaucratic, time consuming and insufficient to offset the added risk whereas the private sector is in need for simple and direct procedures. (Adair et al, 1999; McGreal, 2000).
9. The role of non-finance-based instruments is of more significance than a demand for more public-sector money, in stimulating the flow of private finance into urban regeneration. The most important non-finance based instruments are (Adair et al, 1999; McGreal, 2000);
 - a. A guaranteed minimum standard of infrastructure,
 - b. Risk reduction measures
 - c. Targeting of initiatives according to the private sector's priorities and commercial requirements,
 - d. Simplified planning procedures, land assembly and contamination remediation,
 - e. Clarity in policy,
 - f. Greater flexibility in existing practices and
 - g. More innovative policy initiatives to react to changing market conditions
 - h. Availability of market data on returns
10. Strengthened local economy leads urban regeneration areas to be more positively perceived for investment by the developers (Adair et al, 2000).
11. Property development companies favour partnerships rather than grant regimes from governments (McGreal et al, 2000).
12. Small scale builders tend to invest in inner city areas, while large scale builders in the periphery
13. Local authorities consider urban renewal as a tool for local economic development (Jones, 1996).

14. Households may be constrained by the property market conditions but also they put constraints on other actors; however forms of tenure and class factors have an important role in their power.
15. Neighbourhood revitalization and economic development are concerns of planners; however, they are still related with poverty and distribution issues, which are to be considered by governments (Howe, 1988).
16. Redistributive impact of planning decisions for urban transformation makes planning a 'political' and 'market-related' activity (Rydin, 2003).
17. Ideologies might be the driving force for urban transformation such as Castells (1997) argues that the renewal practices in Paris have been implemented with the aim of intensifying the importance of the city in international capitalism seems to be more prior than the expressed aim for the community.
18. Urban transformation has impacts not only on physical space, but also economic space and social space.
19. Urban transformation affects economic development through revitalizing urban areas, which contribute the local image of the area and quality of life of the residents.
20. Displacement and gentrification effects of urban transformation have been widely documented.
21. The first move could be the start of 'chain relocation' if relocatees move to comparable dwellings, since there is a risk of relocation in a dwelling to be restructured in the following years (Kleinhans, 2003).
22. Implications of dislocation might be positive as well; in some cases improved housing conditions of households led them move upwards in their housing career (Kleinhans, 2003).

23. Since owners in gentrifying areas obtain a share from the gentrification profits, they have an interest in actively promoting gentrification (Hamnett and Randolph, 1986 cited in Lyons, 1996)
24. Planning with the groups that may be displaced is a more effective way than Planning for them. (Howe, 1988).
25. Planners and project sponsors can be most responsive when the affected groups are organized and active on their own behalf (Howe, 1988).

This chapter studied the elements of urban transformation model, with a review of changes throughout time; for instance the economic, social and urban restructuring of the 1980s was discussed in almost all constituting elements of urban transformation. However the space factor was missing although empirical studies were involved with certain localities, they were interpreted as generalisations for simplification. The next two chapters on the other hand will add the space dimension into the model. The very next chapter will review the Turkish experience on urban transformation until now in order to provide a basis for the study of urban transformation in Şentepe where the empirical research is conducted in the subsequent chapter.

CHAPTER IV

INSTITUTIONAL ANALYSIS OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION of INFORMAL SETTLEMENTS IN TURKEY

The previous four chapters of this study have outlined various aspects of urban transformation including a review of previous studies on urban transformation, which focused on various localities as diverse as cities and neighbourhoods from North America, Latin America, Continental Europe, United Kingdom, or Asia and construction of a conceptual and historical framework for studying urban transformation processes. A critical review of the literature on urban transformation enabled us to take notice that most of the concepts used and terminologies developed come from the Anglo- American experience. As emphasized in our 'Institutional Model of Urban Transformation', contextual, structural and locational factors were positioned as one of the inputs/ constituents of urban transformation. Turkey and the developing countries have a relatively new agenda of urban transformation, which mostly occurred in relation to the wider socio-cultural and politico-economic transformations observed in these societies in the recent decades. Therefore, studying a locality, which is Turkey in our case, necessitates analysing the specific contextual and locational factors of Turkey with reference to urban transformation. This chapter will also discuss these space specific factors, which were missing in the previous chapter along with time-specific ones. The chapter will begin with describing the contextual factors of emergence, evolution and lastly transformation of informal settlements; and the later sections of the chapter will study the 'elements' of the 'Institutional Model of Urban Transformation' elaborated in Chapter III; this time, with reference to Turkey and with reference to years between 1950 and the 2000s. This analysis will demonstrate a 'general' process of urban transformation practice in Turkey, with no specific focus on a locality (neighbourhood or a city);

nevertheless the analysis is aimed at to serve as the theoretical, contextual and historical basis of the analysis of the case study elaborated in Chapter V.

4.1. Designating the Critical Points along the Timeline through a Brief Contextual History of Informal Housing in Turkey

Since the elements of any institutional analysis are dynamic; we should approach them along specific periods or stages selected as to reflect the major changes experienced. Şengül (2003) divides Turkish urban experience into three distinct phases: the urbanization of the state in the context of nation-state formation during 1923-1950; the urbanisation of labour power in the context of rapid migration from rural areas in 1950-1980; and finally the urbanisation of capital in the context of globalisation after the 1980s. This study will analyze the history of urbanization and evolution and transformation of informal housing with a periodisation starting from the 1950s with reference to the five layers of analysis (Figure 14, 15). Through a literature survey, it has been decided that for the research problem of this study the critical points in the timeline in the institutional analysis would be the 1950s, the 1960s, the 1980s and the 2000s. The brief history of informal housing in Turkey will demonstrate why these dates are critical differentiating the context and agenda of urban development in Turkey.

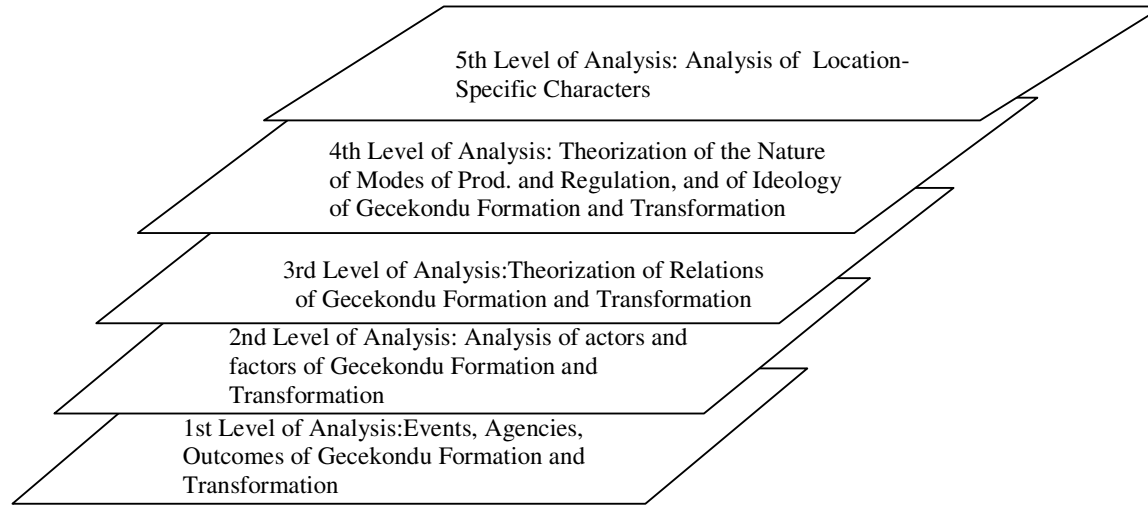


Figure 14: Layers of Analysis of the Model for Urban Transformation of Gecekondu Housing in Turkey

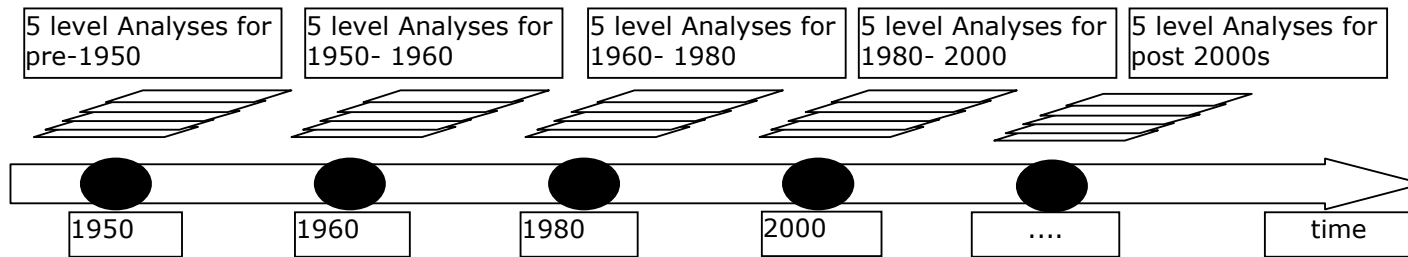


Figure 15: Critical Points in the Timeline for the Analysis of Urban Transformation of Gecekondu Housing

4.1.1. 1950- 1960:

In this period, a number of contextual factors lead to the emergence of the first generation gecekondu settlements in Turkey. At the end of 1940s, Turkey switched from the single-party regime into a multiparty political system. The elected new government adopted liberal economic policies and aimed industrialisation through importing foreign technology and capital as a tool for integration of the national economy into the capitalist world economy. This has resulted in a number of structural and political transformations in the society. Agriculture was one of those sectors where structural interventions were applied. For the aim of integration of agricultural sector into the market, the Marshall Plan⁸ has been put into effect, which introduced the intensive use of tractors, fertilisers, irrigation systems and new agricultural products. However, these technological improvements resulted in unemployment of many working peasants in the rural areas and this population then started to migrate into the cities to find jobs. However, the cities and the housing stock of the cities were not ready to match the needs of these newcomers. Thus, in the late 1940s and early the 1950s, the migrants to cities, built shanty houses for themselves in and around the city at geographically undesirable sites nevertheless still paying regard to proximity to their jobs. These first generation gecekondu of 1950 were houses built by the rural migrants themselves on the public (meaning owned by the Undersecretariat of Treasury) land and functioned as immediate response to the need for shelter.

4.1.2. 1960- 1980:

In the 1960s, the country faced with a military intervention. The government afterwards has replaced the liberal economic approach of the previous government by a planned economy, which preferred import substitution and state intervention in the market. Gecekondu population has gained different economic function in this new economic set up, in which the national private sector needed consumers in order to compete in the international markets. Thus

⁸ The Marshall Plan, officially named as the European Recovery Program of the United States was in effect during 1947–51, aiming to rebuild and create a stronger economic foundation for the countries of Europe.

the gecekondu population in the cities have become seen not only as labour for the industry but also as consumers in the domestic market (Erman, 2004). This new role of the gecekondu population in the economy, led the governments pass the first Gecekondu Act in 1966 (Law No. 775), which was first to legally recognise the presence of gecekondu. The act presented measures to cope with the 'gecekondu problem' through prevention, upgrading and clearance depending on the characteristics of the settlements. In those areas which are considered to be prone to squatter formation, the act proposed prevention of further gecekondu formation; in those gecekondu settlements, which were considered to be in relatively good condition the policy was determined as upgrading such as by bringing infrastructure and services; and lastly in those others which were in profoundly poor and inhabitable conditions, the act suggested clearance by demolishing. As a result, starting in the late 1960s, these 'shantytowns' turned into low-density residential neighbourhoods with some infrastructure and some services (Erman, 2004). However, the population was still rapidly increasing in cities and 1970 economic crisis increased unemployment and discontent and this gecekondu legislation could not eliminate the housing problem, squatter settlements remained to be seen as an alternative solution for the new comers and for those who are at the bottom of the economic ladder. However, the new emerging squatters of the 1970s have become distinct from the previous period. Işık (1996, 791) notes that these 'second generation squatters' depict a transition from use value to exchange value since first generation of squatters were aimed at satisfying the housing need of those migrated to cities and constructed with the aim of 'use' while after the 1970s squatter housing have become commercialized.

4.1.3. the 1980s- the 2000s:

The period starting from the 1980s is considered with common consent as the start of a new era in the country marked by an initially economic and consequently political, cultural, social and spatial transition by many scholars. It is generally accepted that, it was the economic crisis of the 1970s that led the world to undergo a deep transformation. This transformation is depicted through three interrelated channels; first as the transition from fordist to post-fordist modes of production, second a transition from the national developmentalist to neoliberal capitalist modes of regulation and third the transition from modernism to post-modernism. The theorizing and conceptualizing efforts of economic

restructuring of the new global economy introduce the terms of "dual city" (Mollenkopf and Castells, 1992), the "spatial mismatch" (Fainstein, 1987, 2001; Kain, 1992, 2004), and the "disappearing", or the "vanishing middle" of the "social polarization" (Sassen, 1991), each stressing a highly uneven and polarized employment structure and social segregation. At the one end, there are the social groups of new wealth consisting of high-level professionals working in the finance sector, multinational firms and specialized services and at the other end a larger group of low-income, casual low-skilled, low-paid, informal, part-time or temporary labour classes. Although historically cities have always been polarization between the rich and the poor to certain extent, what is unique to the 'global city' is that the new rich are connected to the globalized and liberalized economy (Akpınar, 2008). The extreme inequality is reflected in urban space in the form of social segregation.

Like many other European countries; during the 1980s, governments adopting neo-liberal policies came into power in Turkey. After the the 1980s, the country witnessed structural changes resulted by the efforts to join the global economy and transitioning to a liberal economy, promotion of domestic export industries, and the encouragement of foreign investment instead of import substitution policy of the earlier period. These changes redefined the different social groups and their position in the society as well (Eraydın and Armatlı-Köroğlu, 2005, 271). Tekeli (1991) classifies post-1980 period as a transition from the city of petty capitalists to the city of corporate capitalists. According to Sengül (2003) post-1980 period of Turkish urbanization is defined as "urbanization of capital". After the 1980s, migration to large cities, unemployment rates and hence social discontent increased in Turkish cities. Meanwhile, government had passed several *gecekondu* laws each banning for further construction while regularizing existing squatter housing. The Building Amnesty Law (Law No. 2981) enacted in 1984, made it possible to make redevelopment plans for squatter housing settlements, suggesting a plot-by-plot demolishing and reconstruction of housing by the private sector according to the development rights and constraints introduced by the plans. Improvement and Redevelopment plans enabled the *gecekondu*s, which are at favourable locations to be converted into apartment buildings of up to 4 storeys through the build and sell mechanism together with upgrading of infrastructure. The once-owner-occupied/owner-built *gecekondu*s have been replaced by multi-storey apartment buildings in which the owner of the *gecekondu* land owned several flats due to the exchange of land with

dwelling units built. However, this mechanism could only work in places, which have locational advantages since for others construction investment may not be profitable for the developer due to low housing prices in those settlements or in those areas where ownership problems create bottlenecks for redevelopment.

At the end of the 1980s, transformation through “transformation projects” emerged as an alternative model for those areas, which couldn’t be transformed by improvement and redevelopment plans. Dikmen Valley Transformation Project in 1989, Portakal Çiçeği Valley Project in 1992 and Geçak Project in 1995 were the pioneers of this model. While in the ‘improvement plan’ model, the surplus generated by redevelopment was shared by owners of gecekondur housing and speculative house builders; in the model of transformation through “transformation projects” private resources generated through self-financing projects and the surplus created is shared by a number of stakeholders, such as local governments, private project company, owners of gecekondur housing, owners of land and city residents (Türker-Devecigil, 2005). Like improvement plan model, transformation projects too, used extra development rights as the driving factor. This model has been usually preferred for strategic areas of a whole city that are either considered to be prone to gecekondur formation, or that are considered as inhabitable due to inappropriate geophysical conditions such as flood zones, land slide areas (Türker-Devecigil, 2005).

4.1.4. The post 2000s:

Despite there was already a transition since the 1980s; a fully neo-liberal system was not instituted in Turkey until the economic crisis in 2001 (Cizre and Yeldan, 2005). In the previous periods, a relatively gradual privatization and commodification of land where privatization was covertly, incompletely and slowly occurred; however after globalisation and neo-liberal trends, the public land too has finally become a commodity (Keyder, 2005) even to the point that new legislations enabled the sale of public land to private persons, moreover this time not with the aim of making the market work, but for the fiscal needs of the state. After the major accumulation crisis of 2001 the government restructured the governance of land and housing market leaving behind the previous populist approach (Kuyucu and Ünsal, 2010).

While originally urban informality was located primarily on public land and practiced on public space, the new era also witnessed "privatization of informality" (Roy and Al Sayyad, 2004, 4). Commodification of informal land and housing markets since the 1980s accelerated in the 2000s due to liberalization and pressures it creates. Once built in the geographically undesirable areas on the outer skirts of cities, the squatter housing settlements have become inner-city areas with the expansion and sprawl of cities. Due to the populist policies in land and housing markets of the previous era, slum and squatter areas in inner cities couldn't be fully exploited in the capitalist mechanisms although they offer a huge potential of rent due to their location. Instead of housing the lowest socio-economic strata of the population, these areas became highly potential for the demands of the affluent classes such as development of gentrified neighbourhoods, large shopping malls, luxury hotels and marinas, tower residences, offices for multi-national companies.

In this era, social polarization trends have become more profound and visible in the spatial dimension. While the poverty has been concentrated in slums and informal settlements; high and middle-income classes demanded bigger homes and more and more of them day by day rushed into luxury residences, gentrified neighbourhoods and wealthy enclaves or gated communities in new suburban districts reflecting affluent lifestyles (Ayata, 2002). At the same time, trends of suburbanisation and urban sprawl resulted in a complex urban environment where once rigidly and clearly defined boundaries became blurring and hard to define such as what is urban and what is rural, what is urban, suburban, exurban or conurban (Scott, et al., 2001, 8-9).

As a result of the functional changes in land uses, social and spatial mobility of classes and consequently changes in value of land due to recent economic and global trends, 'Urban Transformation Projects' became the focus of urban politics, construction sector, urbanites and urban planning more than ever in the 2000s. This has been reflected in the legislations that several laws have been passed directly or indirectly referring to urban transformation. The public sector has started to be directly related with urban transformation especially the central government institution Housing Development Administration more than during any time in the Turkish urban development history.

4.2. Implementation of the Institutional Model in the Analysis of Urban Development and Transformation of Informal Housing in Turkey

This section of the thesis will make an overall analysis of urban transformation after the 1950s through an institutional framework.

4.2.1. Analysis of Actors and Factors between the 1950s and the 2000s

Main actors within constraining factors of urban transformation have been described with reference to their roles, interests, strategies and powers in the previous chapter. The current chapter will analyse these actors in the case of Turkey. The following actors, institutions, factors and relationships will be studied;

- public sector (local and central authorities and planning institutions)
- private sector (developers and builders)
- households (gecekondu households and general societal structure)
- (informal) property market
- relationship between planning, government and society
- modes of production
- modes of regulation and ideology

Moreover, it should be acknowledged that these roles, interests, strategies and powers of actors are dynamic rather than static and thus the critical points in the timeline for analyses which are the 1950s, 1960, the 1980s and the 2000s will be referred within the discussions of each actor.

4.2.1.1. Public Sector (between the 1950s and the 2000s):

In the previous chapter, while analysing the elements of the institutional model, the regulations of the public sector in housing and development were outlined as regulations targeted either at protecting consumers (i.e. rent subsidies, subsidizing interests) or at restricting development besides direct provision of

housing for rental or homeownership which are all roles taken for the solution of market imperfections. It was highlighted that urban transformation by definition calls for a profound need for an active role of the public sector more than any other development activity since it is characterized by conditions where market forces alone cannot suffice. Since urban regeneration sites are found unattractive and risky for the private sector, public sector should have different measures for these kinds of areas.

In fact, we can argue that the formation of informal housing is not the result of low share of the public sector in housing provision; but it is the result of low volume of affordable housing production. Hart (1969) explains that while welfare societies produced affordable housing for migrants from rural areas to cities, in poor countries like India the need is responded by camps on streets or in Turkey by 'geceköndü'. Once formed, these settlements still require support from the public sector for upgrading or redevelopment. Türel (1985) states that studies on projects and programmes aiming to organize self-help house building as a planned activity or to upgrade existing housing in many developing countries have shown that any significant improvement in the process would require big subsidies from governments. However, governments in developing countries would not be able to meet such needs since the priority is given to the capital accumulation and the economic policies in response to the conditions of economic crisis (Türel, 1985, 7).

According to the 57th article of the Turkish constitution titled 'right of housing', the state is supposed to take the measures for the provision of housing compatible with environment and characteristics of cities and to underpin mass housing enterprises. If we analyse the role of the public sector in the production of housing in Turkey, first we observe that provision of housing is dominated by the private sector. Table 8 demonstrates the share of sectors in housing provision according to construction permits; between 2009 and 2011 the share of public sector is between 8-10% whereas almost 85% of housing dwellings are produced by private sector. Table 9 shows the share of public and private sectors in fixed capital investments on housing which are between 3-5% and 95-98% respectively after the year 2003.

Table 8: The Share Sectors in Housing Provision According to Construction Permits

Shares of Sectors in Housing Provision								
year	dwellings							
	state		private		cooperative		total	
	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%
2009	53515	10,37	430797	83,45	31917	6,18	516 29	100
2010	81891	8,98	775909	85,11	53872	5,91	911672	100
2011	52568	8,18	576627	89,68	13777	2,14	642972	100

Source: Turkstat Statistics, 2012

Table 9: The Share of Public and Private Sectors in Fixed Capital Investments on Housing

Current prices of indicated years (million TL)										
	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011(1)	2012(2)
Public	181	175	406	457	504	572	561	715	947	1.233
Private	5749	8027	11141	14511	19552	12370	10632	27.969	34.235	37.914
% Share										
	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011(1)	2012(2)
Public	3	2	4	3	3	4	5	2	3	3
Private	97	98	96	97	97	96	95	98	97	97

(1): 2011 Realization Estimate, (2): 2012 Program

Source: General Economic Targets And Investments, SPO, 2012, 2011, 2010, 2009, 2008, 2007, 2006, 2005

The role and attitudes of governments have been evolved through different policy and agendas through our historical analysis from the 1950s to more recent dates. When the first squatters emerged at the end of 1930s and increased due to migration since the 1950s, they remained as one of the major housing issues for the state to generate effective policies since then. First, the squatters were seen as the source of social ills and clearance of informal housing was seen as the appropriate strategy. It is after the 1950s where housing first became a major problem since the existing institutions and provision channels couldn't meet the need due to increased urbanization rates. However, clearance and construction of social housing couldn't be possible since the number of migrants was increasing rapidly. Thus, this approach was later followed by a series of amnesty laws, which legalized the existing gecekondu neighbourhoods in order to solve the dual structure in the cities. Ministry of Development and Settlement (İmar İskan Bakanlığı) was established in 1958 and took over the responsibilities for housing and urbanization.

The basic characteristic of the 1960s is transition into a 'Planned Period'. The State Planning Organisation has started to prepare five year development plans indicating the main problems and objectives for economic development which directly and indirectly refer to housing and development tasks. The first five year plan referred to the gecekondu problem and suggested solutions which also formed the basis of the first Gecekondu Act numbered 775 in 1965. However gecekondu continued to increase in number in the planned period too. In 1963 with law numbered 327 it was first suggested that gecekondu settlements should be entitled with urban municipal services (Keleş, 2002).

In 1985 Urban Development Law (No. 3194) was enacted. The law restructured the centralized planning system to a decentralized structure. By this law, local governments were given greater authority for the preparation and implementation of urban development plans. Local governments in a sense gained autonomy against the central government in preparation and approval of plans. They also gained planning tools which can be used to satisfy local demands in urban development. In Turkey, starting from the 1990s, project-based local plans became the dominant practice of local and central governments instead of comprehensive plans considering the whole city.

The 1980s witnessed several other changes in the housing and development policy and thus in the role and functions of the public sector. A channel of the state for housing policies has been on financial assistance through credits. This became possible first with the introduction of a central public institution named Housing Development Administration in 1984 by the law numbered 2983. (Before that, Social Security Fund was giving credits since 1963 continued until 1984). Secondly, law numbered 2985 was enacted in the same year named Mass Housing Law established Mass Housing Fund. Thus the mass housing authority which is known as Housing Development Administration (HDA⁹) was established as a credit giving institution and soon became the largest housing finance agency in the country (Buğra, 1998). As a public sector and central government institution HDA underwent several transformations since it was first established as a credit giving institution for housing. Several legislations have been enacted for defining new roles, and authorities to HDA, which will be elaborated in detail in the modes of regulation section of this chapter. The fund aimed to provide affordable credits to developers and construction firms investing in housing projects and to individuals and households as well who are aiming for homeownership with limited capital resources. The share of cooperatives in housing provision increased due to the credits of HDA after the 1980s. Correspondingly encouraging housing provision through credit supply to cooperatives became the major state policy. Emlak Bank and HDA projects have lead urban sprawl since these projects need cheap and large amounts of land, which can only be provided outside the cities. Between 1984 and 1996; 17% of all authorised housing has been given credits by the HDA credits. Between 1996–2002 this figure has been 11,7%. The fall in the figure has been due to diminish of HDA funds¹⁰. However, most of the housing credits supplied by the HDA financed to build housing for middle-income groups. This is in parallel with Miraftab's (1997) interpretation that experiences from different parts of the world have shown that incentives for private sector developers aimed at the production of low-cost housing have often resulted in construction of dwellings which are not affordable for the poor, but are more likely to respond the demands of the low-middle classes. On the other hand, it is again low-income homeowners who provide low-cost rental accommodation for other lower income households (Miraftab, 1997, 317).

⁹ Turkish name and abbreviation of the organisation is Toplu Konut İdaresi (TOKİ)

¹⁰ speech of Erdoğan BAYRAKTAR in TÜRK KONUT 20th General Meeting, 7 April, 2005

In addition to credit supply, the HDA has also been involved in producing housing which is sold to households who are not homeowners by favourable repayment schemes (Türel 1996, 797). After 1989 with changes in regulations, the government has tried to reorient the activities of the HDA towards the housing needs of the underprivileged groups, especially the *gecekondu* population (Buğra, 1998, 309). Very recently HDA has taken over the responsibilities of the Ministry of Public Works in *gecekondu* areas defined by the *Gecekondu Law*. Despite the adoption of neo-liberal policies, by the year 2003 the central government has been directly involved in urban transformation and production of housing through large-scale projects undertaken by the HDA.

By 2007, the government passed the Mortgage Law (Numbered 5582). The law was presented as a tool for affordable housing policy as it was advertised with the slogan of "being a homeowner as if paying rent". However, the high interest rates and lack of financial support by the government makes it impossible to own a house within this system not only for the poor households but also for even the lower-middle income (Akpınar, 2008).

Municipality and Greater Municipality Laws enacted in 2004 and 2005 respectively, defined municipalities as the responsible actor in urban transformation. Like it is also the case in Turkey, local authorities usually tend to be active in transformation projects since they can use them in order to achieve local economic development or economic gains for they have higher level of powers in the development sector and relatively lower range of powers in local economic development. Two major reasons lie behind the attractiveness of *gecekondus* for redevelopment; first there are legal ambiguities in their property regimes and second they are perceived as centres of crime, blight and decay. Thus urban transformation projects are presented as a way to fix these socioeconomic problems as well as to legalise the property structure (Kuyucu and Ünsal, 2010). However, Weber (2002) explains that state policies in redevelopment have been reoriented after neoliberalisation. States have become more entwined in the global financial markets with the expectation of short-term returns from subsidized property investments. The outcome of this attitude in redevelopment is to distancing themselves from those parts of the city where redevelopment needs are high but probability of private investment and value extraction is low and where the expected turnover would be only in the long run.

By June 2011, Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation was established with law numbered 6223, by restructuring and renaming the previous Ministry of Public Works and Settlement. By the most recent legislative changes in May 2012 which is the Urban Transformation Law for Areas with Disaster Risk, (Law Numbered 6306) HDA has become the key actor in urban transformation projects in all over the country since most of the administrative, regulative and planning authorities related to urban transformation were transferred to the HDA and Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation.

4.2.1.2. Private Sector (between the 1950s and the 2000s):

The construction sector has always been referred as the locomotive of Turkish economy for it creates demand for at least 200 sub sectors¹¹. The building industry employs an average of 1,1 million labour which is 5,3% of the total employment covering both skilled and unskilled labour¹².

In the authorised sector, the dominant type of developers in the housing markets has been small-capital house builders until 1980. In the absence of state subsidies, these small-capital builders managed to survive in the market with limited capital resources through build-and-sell mechanisms, which were the most common model, used in the market (Uzun, 2005). High rates of inflation, high demand for housing and the availability of cheap labour enabled the builder-sellers to earn reasonable profits in this business. In the built-sell mechanism, the developer enjoys the benefit of minimizing the required amount of start-up capital since they do not have to pay for land in advance. Build-and-sell type of housing production method is based on a kind of contract between landlord and developer. This contract is carried out by giving the landowner a share between 30 and 60% of the new constructed building as the price of land. This share varies according to the location of the land (Tekeli, 1982). The units that are not the shares of the landowner or sold before construction are sold after construction at the current market price (Uzun, 2005). Builders may sell their share of flats during construction if the need for operating capital arises. This system has been settled and accelerated by the 1965 Flat Ownership law which enabled each dwelling in a building with multiple units to be sold to

¹¹ State Planning Organisation, (2011) 9th Development Plan Sepecial Expertise on Construction Sector Report

¹² 2005 figures in 9th Development Plan of SPO

individual owners responding to the needs of middle classes who aim to become homeowners.

The build-and-sell process lost its speed in the authorized sector with the economic conditions in the early 1980s. However, by the mid-1980s, the build and sell model was modified for *gecekondu* settlements through the implementation of improvement and redevelopment plans (Türker-Devecigil, 2005). These developers functioned in especially the most accessible locations of such neighbourhoods, transforming the existing stock in exchange for a few apartments, which they obtained and eventually sold for profit. The first wave of transformation through redevelopment plans was also realized by small-capital builders like the authorised sector before the 1980s , since the industrial capitalists or corporate capitalists at that time preferred to operate within the industrial sector due to high rates of profits in that sector so that housing sector was not attractive (Işık, 1996, 795).

After the 1980s the anti-inflationary policies large-capital firms, aiming to invest in housing have come to the construction scene. Increasingly more fractions of capitalist classes became interested in the housing sector due to the problems and limitations of export-oriented growth model in the industrial sector. Development and transformation investments were also found profitable (Balaban, 2008, 4). According to Türel (1995, 13) some of large firms, that have undertaken contract works in house building became experienced and accumulated capital, entered into speculative house building sector after 1984. These large construction firms have also introduced more advanced construction technologies to the housing sector. By the 1990s, with increasing demand in urban land markets and large-capital firms became the key actors in shaping the built environment by building housing estates that would answer the needs of middle and high-income groups, composed of luxuries dwellings of multi-storey apartments or villas. Şahin (2007, 123) discusses a major difference between demands by petty-builders and larger construction firms. While large firms demanded changes in plans in order to achieve changes in building type and environmental design for the aim of creating more prestigious housing environments to attract higher income groups such as middle classes which they can sell their housing at higher prices; petty builders tried to increase their profits by demanding increases in construction rights such as number of storeys.

Since the end of the 1980s, some of the unauthorized built areas of city centres have been started to be transformed into prestigious areas by large-scale urban renewal projects. Areas which couldn't be transformed with the improvement plans due to reasons such as low rent; shared ownership and economic insufficiency of the inhabitants, have begun to be transformed by urban transformation projects. The big capital also started large redevelopment projects such as old industrial zones, waterfronts, squatter settlements or inner-city slums, mostly through direct state action (Kuyucu and Ünsal, 2010). By the 2000s regeneration projects in conjunction of public and private sectors have been triggered. Urban transformation projects have brought new concepts like public-private partnerships and public participation and high-rise blocks with multi-storeys and housing environments with much green spaces and social services (Dündar, 2001). In this period suburban developments have taken place as well as development in inner city areas.

4.2.1.3. Households (between the 1950s and the 2000s):

Households are one of the main actors in urban transformation processes. Especially the transformation of residential areas has fundamental effects on the resident households in the area. Moreover, households impose impacts on the transformation process as well. As it is not possible for other actors such as the private sector, it is also not possible to consider households as a single category of actors. Households might differ in terms of their tenure status, income, education levels, cultural values and lifestyles and consequently in terms of their interests, expectations and power in development processes.

The dual structure of the built environment in terms of formally and informally constructed areas also depicts itself in the household structure and society as well. This structure requires several dimensions to consider in studying households in urban transformation in Turkey. First, in order to study and control urban transformation in the informal stock, one should know about the specific characteristics of households in that stock; moreover, integration of these households to the social and economic life in cities either before or after transformation constitutes another dimension. Lastly impacts of these households on the transformation process and results and how transformation affects them is another dimension to be analysed.

Several studies have been carried out on the characteristics of gecekondu populations (Yasa, 1970, Karpaz, 1976, Şenyapılı, 2004). Karpaz (1976) found out that the gecekondu people maintain their country fellowman relationships after they came to city too and they develop strategies through these relationships to integrate to the city and they can manage to sustain a social life similar to the social life in their villages. Unemployment rates in gecekondu neighbourhoods are higher than the rest of the city and unskilled (%30-40) and informal sector (%25-35) jobs predominate (Yalçınan & Erbaş, 2003). Majority of those who are employed work without any form of social security. Informal economic activities are diverse such as street vending to black-market transactions, from construction to in-house workshops (Yalçınan & Erbaş, 2003).

Tekeli (1971) states that gecekondu is not just a development (imar) problem but should be considered as a problem of class, transformation in spatial organization and construction processes. He mentions that gecekondu population is not homogeneous in terms of their interests and responses to various problems. According to Tekeli, the understanding of various groups of interest and the process of formation and evolution of gecekondu settlements and its consequences on the urban form should be the basis of the decisions and attitudes of the planner (cited in Eraydın, 2003).

Keyder (2005) explains that as long as the city continued expanding, inclusion practices of gecekondu populations showed a progress. This expansion allowed immigrants who made illegal appropriations to be included in the sharing of urban rent- which according to Boratav (1995) is the most important tool for the urban masses to stay appeased during economic liberalization and the declining labour incomes of the 1980s (cited in Keyder, 2005). Keyder (2005) also observes a hierarchy between earlier and newer immigrants that the earlier immigrants have better positions in the hierarchy both in material terms of housing and within the established social and economic networks.

Within the society in general, integration of and attitudes to gecekondu population differed from their first existence in cities. According to Tekeli (2006) the Turkish intellectuals failed to acknowledge 'gecekondu' from their 'modernization project' point of view, expecting them to return to their villages. According to Şenyapılı (2004) when they first arrived to big cities, "the migrant

labour was 'marginal' in economic space, 'unwanted' in social space, and therefore failed to receive 'acceptance' in physical space". It was George Kessler who first takes a different perspective by explaining that the *gecekondu* population is successful and managed to achieve what the government's could not in his article in 1949 (cited in Tekeli, 2006). Moreover, the negative attitude towards migrants changed due to the new economic model of the 1950s, when credit and surplus value were invested in urban areas, the construction sector flourished, and rising of urban commercial markets resulted in need for cheap labour. Thus the migrants turned from 'marginal' to 'functional' and gained acceptance in the urban space by political support of the authorities (Şenyapılı, 2004).

The *gecekondu* households have an impact on cities and other residents in of economic, cultural and political terms. According to Erman (2001) it was the 1980s and the 1990s when the society have realised that rural migrants/*gecekondu* residents have a strong impact in shaping the ways of life and sets of values in the city life even if they are different for the urban elites'. Even if they move to apartments or people rapidly change their economic stratum in a higher level, they preserve much of their own culture. Transformation of *gecekondu* housing into apartment buildings through improvement and redevelopment plans triggered strengthening of classes deriving urban land rent. These groups; namely the *gecekondu* residents and petty builders according to Şahin (2007) also increased their influence on local politics.

Another aspect of differentiation between households is income. Unequal distribution of income in Turkey has been widely documented since the first income distribution survey conducted in 1963 by State Planning Organisation. While declining trend in inequalities to a certain extend as observed between 1968 and 1987 this trend reversed again after 1987 (Table 10). Within the 20% income quintiles, while the lowest income group takes around % 5; the highest income group takes almost half of the total income according to 1987, 1994, 2002 statistics of Turkstat. After 2003, the situation improves to a certain extent and the gini coefficient showing the level of inequality started to diminish. The high levels of inequality results in completely differing segments of the population varying in tastes, preferences, life styles, needs, obligations and so on. As a number of researchers proposed, this can create dissatisfaction,

vandalism and urban crime. Under these circumstances in the spatial sphere, while low-income groups increasingly perceive themselves as suffering from injustice, and deprived from amenities and commodities living in their slums and squatters; the highest income groups increasingly perceive them as threatening and try to segregate themselves to 'gated communities'; estates with security and walls distant from the city where they not only come across but also totally forget and ignore the existence of each other.

Housing, besides being a basic human right, has important meanings for families. However cost of housing to families is high. Of all other consumption costs of households in Turkey, costs of housing and rent constitute the largest share (25.9% in 2005; 27.2% in 2006; 28.9% in 2007; 29.1% in 2008) (2005, 2006, 2008 Household Income Consumption Surveys, Turkstat). Moreover the figure is similar in every income group (see table 11). The ratio of homeowners is 59,82¹³% in Turkey.

In Turkey, housing finance is not sufficiently institutionalised and most segments of the society lack sufficient income to use credits from institutional housing finance organisations which are commercial banks in Turkey. On the other hand, builder-seller type contractors usually produce housing on land, which they purchase or take over from landlord as an exchange to flats to be produced. However, purchasing housing with that method is only appropriate for middle and upper income groups in the absence of affordable mortgage credits¹⁴.

The cost of land in all housing and settlement cost is as high as 25-30% (Figure 16). Immigrants are obliged to start from the bottom of the social and economic ladder and work their way up. To do this they need inexpensive housing and suitable jobs neither of which is easy to find. In the Turkish informal housing experience, by settling on public land, the rural immigrants were able to reduce or totally abandon the land costs and by adopting self-help methods for construction they managed to reduce labour costs and by using relatively low quality material they were able to reduce capital costs of production. Furthermore they managed to reduce transportation cost by being in the vicinity to their jobs.

¹³ Turkstat 2000 Census Survey, urban population

¹⁴ State Planning Organisation, 2007, 8th Report of Special Expertise in Housing

Table 10: Income Distribution in Turkey between Years 1963- 2005

Hh % Quintiles	1963 (a)	1968 (b)	1973 (c)	1978 (d)	1983 (e)	1986 (f)	1987 (g)	1994 (h)	2002 (i)	2003 (j)	2004 (k)	2005 (l)
Lowest 20%	4,5	3	3,5	2,9	2,7	3,9	5,2	4,9	5,3	6	6	6,1
2nd 20%	8,5	7	8	7,4	7	8,4	9,6	8,6	9,8	10,3	10,7	11,1
3rd 20%	11,5	10	12,5	13	12,6	12,6	14,1	12,6	14	14,5	15,2	15,8
4th 20%	18,5	20	19,5	22,1	21,9	19,2	21,2	19	20,8	20,9	21,9	22,6
Highest 20%	57	60	56,5	54,7	55,8	55,9	49,9	54,9	50,1	48,3	46,2	44,4
Gini Coefficient	0,55	0,56	0,51	0,51	0,52	0,5	0,43	0,49	0,44	0,42	0,4	0,38

Source: SPO Income Distribution Special Expertise Report, 2007

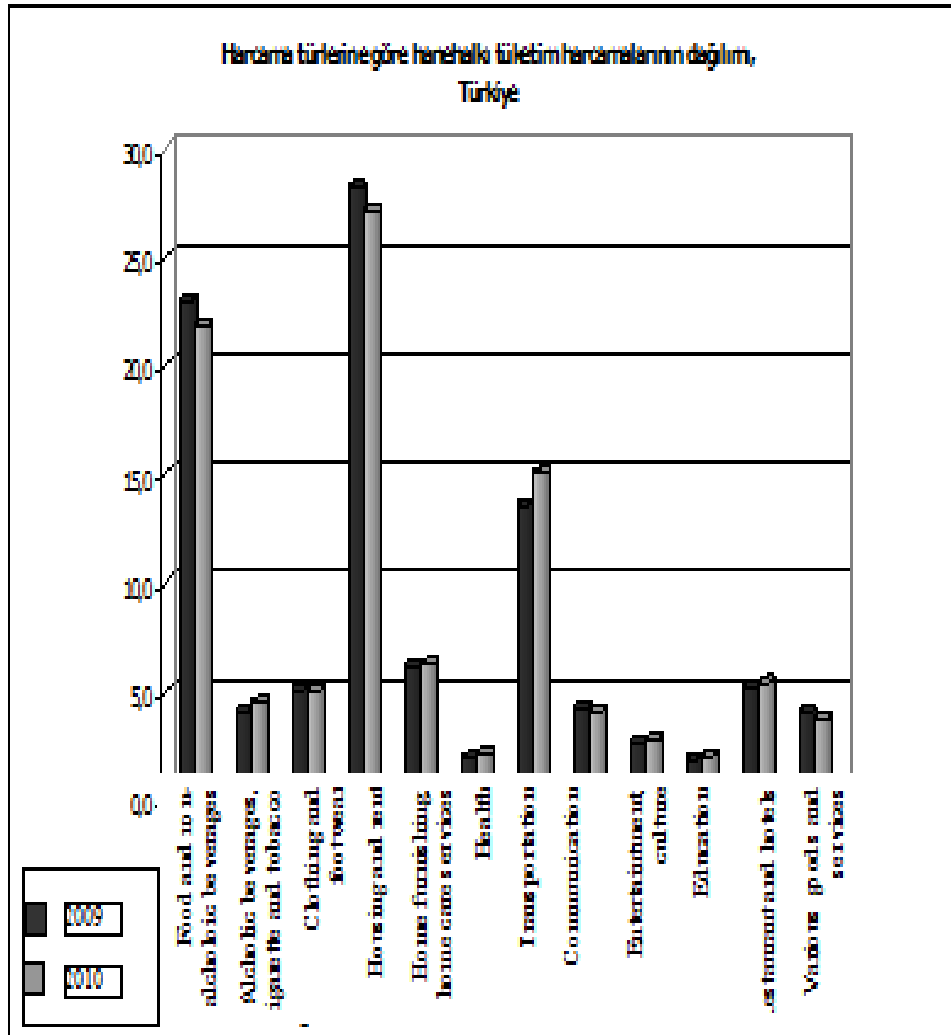


Figure 16: Distribution of Household Expenditures 2009- 2010

Source: TURKSTAT, 2010 (translated by the author), URL:
<http://www.tuik.gov.tr/PreHaberBultenleri.do?id=8565>

Table 11: Distribution of monthly consumption expenditures of households by expenditure types According to Income Quintiles 2009-2010, Turkey (vertical %)

Expenditure types	Household Income Quintiles in %											
	Total		<div style="display: flex; justify-content: space-between; align-items: center;"> <i>Having the lowest share from total income</i> → <i>Having the highest share from total income</i> </div>									
			1st %20		2nd %20		3rd %20		4th %20		5th %20	
2009	2010	2009	2010	2009	2010	2009	2010	2009	2010	2009	2010	
Total	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0	100,0
Food and non-alcoholic beverages	23,0	21,9	34,0	31,9	28,4	26,8	25,4	24,1	22,5	21,2	17,4	16,7
Alcoholic beverages, cigarette	4,1	4,5	5,5	5,6	4,7	5,4	4,7	5,1	4,1	4,5	3,3	3,6
Clothing and foot wear	5,1	5,1	4,4	4,1	4,5	4,4	4,7	5,0	4,8	5,1	5,8	5,6
Housing and rent	28,2	27,1	29,7	31,9	31,7	30,6	30,5	29,4	28,6	26,6	25,3	23,8
Furniture, house appliances	6,2	6,3	5,1	5,2	6,0	5,6	6,2	6,2	6,1	6,2	6,5	6,9
Health	1,9	2,1	2,2	2,3	2,1	2,1	1,6	2,1	1,9	2,1	1,9	2,1
Transportation	13,6	15,1	7,5	7,5	9,2	10,3	11,3	12,1	13,9	16,1	17,7	19,6
Communication	4,2	4,1	3,5	3,4	3,7	3,8	4,0	4,1	4,5	4,3	4,6	4,2
Entertainment and culture	2,6	2,8	1,6	1,4	1,6	2,3	2,2	2,2	2,8	2,6	3,3	3,7
Educational services	1,9	2,0	0,7	0,8	0,7	0,9	1,2	1,2	1,6	1,7	3,1	3,4
Restaurant, food services, hotels	5,2	5,4	3,1	3,5	4,1	4,6	4,7	5,4	5,3	5,4	6,2	6,2
Various goods and services	4,1	3,7	2,9	2,6	3,3	3,3	3,5	3,0	4,1	4,4	4,8	4,2
The minimum average monthly income of the group (Million TL)	-	-	-	-	815	917	1226	1334	1713	1844	2499	2686
The maximum average monthly income of the group (Million TL)	-	-	815	917	1226	1334	1713	1844	2499	2686	-	-

In a residential area redevelopment, studying the household structure is a complex task. For simplification it is possible to consider the main categories of households in a transformation process as gecekondu owners and tenants, later-purchasers, tenants of new stock and other households of the city. The transformation of informal housing not only effects gecekondu households, but also has an impact for the society at large for at least for three reasons;

- since more housing units are produced in a transformation area, new households move to the transformed neighbourhoods which were living elsewhere,
- the transformation of the informal stock effects the quality and prestige of the whole city,
- Creation of large number of housing in the formal stock thus changes the supply and demand for formal and informal housing markets.

The urban transformation projects witnessed several resistance movements from the existing population of gecekondu areas. In many cases these people have been organised under neighbourhood associations. These resistance movements hardly managed to ban the projects, however, they still managed to change the implementation in a number of ways. Kuyucu and Ünsal, (2010) give two urban renewal examples from Istanbul; Başibüyük where none of the members of the resident group are the formal owners and Tarlabası, which is a formal/ legal settlement. Their comparative analysis revealed that formal neighbourhoods could show a greater resistance in defending their property rights; nevertheless the resistance in Başibüyük too resulted in some changes in the implementation of the project. Kuyucu and Ünsal, (2010) notes that the outcomes are never predetermined but largely depending on local dynamics and power constellations shaped by micro-level interactions between state authorities, developers and residents.

4.2.1.4. Property Markets (of Informal Housing) in Turkey:

Since ownership right have an untouchable character and since individuals and the society highly appreciate land and housing, institutions of land and housing market become crucial for the society. When we mention 'housing or property markets' as an institution, what we mean is not a unified entity such as a firm or state; but is a series of formal and informal rules, specializations, agreements

and relationship networks which altogether form up the creation, use and trade of the built environment. Moreover we can define a number of institutions within this institution. Whether we talk about formal or informal housing and property markets, a number of formal and informal institutions can be defined;

- Formal institutions;
 - o ownership rights and how these are protected
 - o taxes and regulation of trade of properties
 - o restrictions on the use, function or the development rights of properties through planning and other legislations
 - o rules and regulations for compulsory purchase
- Informal Institutions;
 - o unwritten agreements
 - o expectations on the role of public and private sectors
 - o relations based on trust
 - o relationship networks

The transformation of informal residential areas necessitates considering the dynamics of both informal and formal housing markets. Although informal institutions are also encapsulated in formal property markets; informal rules and actors have a relatively higher impact in informal property markets, which regulate the system as formal rules and institutions. Thus whether or not to treat informal housing markets as a distinct entity is a question of interest of this study. Much of the developing country literature on urban land markets focuses on the operation of informal sector. Some authors, such as Baken and Van der Linden (1993) approach informal land markets as if they are fundamentally different and not amenable to normal economic analysis. Others, such as Gilbert and Ward (1985) and Malpezzi (1994) argue that it would be misleading to stress the distinctiveness of the formal and informal land markets (Malpezzi, 1999).

Since the 1970s, as gecekondü housing became commercialized it can be considered as a sub-market of the general housing market since gecekondus or gecekondü land are acquired and constructed totally for commercial purposes or for their 'exchange value' by earlier immigrants, mafia and petty constructors in illegal ways. The number of unauthorized housing in the first three big cities of Turkey is around two million (8th Development Plan, SPO) which is a huge market of its own. According to Buğra (1998) the increase of the amount of

tenants in gecekondu settlements can serve as an indicator of this commercialization process. State Planning Organization's research conducted in 1991 found out that tenancy rate in squatter housing is 24.3% in the overall country, the same rate is 32.67% for Istanbul, 28.50% for Ankara, 27.70% for Izmir (cited in Buğra 1998, 311). Moreover, the public land is no more the sole source for land but illegally subdivided and sold lands provided a second channel for informal housing. The same research of SPO found out that the share of gecekondu owners who purchased the land from a person who initially appropriated it is 56.22% in Istanbul, 51.58% in Ankara and 47.58% in İzmir in 1991 or from a relative or real estate agent by 19.20% in Istanbul, 9.48% in Ankara and 15.45% in İzmir (cited in Buğra 1998, 311). The stock has also been subjected to many transfers among different income groups or newcomers to the city. Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2001) point out that previous occupants of gecekondus are often now 'landlords' of the gecekondus in the Sultanbeyli district of Istanbul which means that over time they have improved their position and move out from the squatter housing which is to be replaced by others coming to cities.

One of the key factors is the 'price' of housing. The market price of squatter dwellings is lower than that of equivalent dwellings with secure land tenure. Using data from a sample of metro Manila households, Friedman et al (1988) find that an average squatter dwelling would sell for 23% more if it had tenure security (Becker and Morrison, 1999). Becker and Morrison (1999) argue that this finding can serve for an important policy implication that governments can create wealth for the poor simply by providing secure land tenure. In the study of Friedman et al (1988) older squatter dwellings are valued more than newer ones, which are explained as presumably age of the dwelling is negatively correlated with eviction risk.

Due to the increases in urban land prices and the inadequate response by the governments in terms of supply of residential plots through formal ways; titled property became unaffordable not only for the urban poor households but also increasingly less attractive for the middle-income classes throughout African, Asian and Latin American countries (Thirkell, 1996). However, once recognized as the settlements of the urban poor, the unauthorized housing areas have also witnessed an increase in land and housing prices. Thirkell, (1996) points out the process of "downward raiding" that in expanding cities, middle-income households often buy the informal or squatter housing dwellings of poorer

households where supply of affordable land is not sufficient. This means that social groups are recently more diverse in many cities (Thirkell, 1996). Increasingly more middle-income groups are becoming associated with the informal housing (Thirkell, 1996). The social composition of inhabitants and thus the physical environment of informal housing areas not only change by sales and transfers of individual dwellings or plots, but recently they are increasingly more subjected to fundamental transformations with 'transformation projects' which originate the priority of urban policy and urban land markets of today's cities.

Urban transformation in informal housing sites might differ in a number of ways in terms of their effects on their residents since the process also involves a 'formalisation' or 'legalisation'. Lanjouw and Levy, (2002) explains that there are two ways in which conferring formal rights might increase the welfare of squatter households; by increasing households' security from eviction or boundary disputes and by reducing the transfer insecurity associated with transactions undertaken in an environment where all rights are informal. This transfer uncertainty not only limits the household' ability to sell, but also limits a bank's ability to repossess the property which lowers the value of property as a collateral asset (Lanjouw and Levy, 2002).

4.2.1.5. Relationships between Planning, Governments and the Society

According to Şahin (2007), beginning with early 1990's, planners started to loose ground, and local politicians, mayors, municipal councillors became more influential than ever in urban planning process. Clientelistic relations emerged in which the large capital holders, realizing large housing settlements at the fringe of cities establish close cooperation with the municipality, municipal bureaucracy, the politicians and high level bureaucrats. Thus urban land rent became a source of political power at local level. Şahin (2007) explains that as mayors emerged as new influential actors, local political sphere become separated from the central political sphere. The politician at the central level does not have the chance of utilizing any policy, strategy or change in legislation to establish relations with the rent-seekers compared to the opportunity of the politician at the local level who has the power of defining directly the building rights of any area.

David Smith who is the director of Affordable Housing Institute explains that since the population in cities of Turkey continues to grow, the market mechanism will not be able to produce enough affordable housing since land prices will continue to increase with the increase of population and thus demand. According to Smith (2008), for high quality affordable housing state should be involved in the process. This may not necessarily mean allowances, financial costs or income redistribution; but might mean supplementing or steering the private sector (GYODER, 2008).

It was highlighted in the previous chapter that while interventions of the public sector may open up opportunities for some groups they could restrict some others. These might mean providing access to housing of certain types and quality in certain locations; modifying access to various public facilities and employment opportunities; and redistributing positive and negative externalities. In Turkey, amnesty laws favoured some groups of the society and served as a redistributive mechanism and mobility in social classes. Not only had the low-income groups used their political power, middle and upper income groups also generated political and speculative pressures on planning and regulations such as the case in Bosphorus in Istanbul where the 'historical site' protected by legal regulations had been filled up with luxurious housing banning the construction restraints (Salman and Kuban, 2006).

Since improvements in city services are tied to electoral patronage, illegality of settlements and the need for urban services and legal tenure creates potentials for political manipulation. Miraftab, (1997) exemplifies from the Latin American experience that for constituency-building interventions in the informal housing area for low-cost home ownership is a preferred strategy for the governments rather than creating new affordable rental housing (Miraftab, 1997, 303). In Turkey, too the amnesty laws and improvement plans served the same purpose and after few elections, *squatter* areas have been transformed into settlements of multi-storey apartment blocks or low-rise *gecekondu* dwellings with infrastructure where the households could enjoy not only a security of tenure due to legalisations and given title deeds or *tapu tahsis belgesi* but also a share from the urban rent in most cases.

Başlevent and Dayıoğlu, (2005) depicts that urban rent is redistributed through valuable property rights served as a redistribution of income and they argue that

without such a mechanism the inequalities in income in the country would be much more. Housing acts as a safety valve for poor population. Buğra, (1998), calls this as the "moral economy housing" where the exchange mechanism of urban rent has functioned on the consent of both, the state and the society.

There are two types of urban rent created in the urban economy; first arises from producing urban development land (arsa) from agricultural land (arazi) and giving development rights; the second arises from creating entrance barriers for certain urban service areas. Every local administration program includes a program of redistributing these rents even if it is openly indicated (Tekeli, 2000). Redistribution of these rents creates patron- client relationships in the urban politics. Tekeli (2000, 49) sites four superiorities of distributing urban rent instead of distributing directly the resources of the state by the politicians;

- since no direct transfer occurs from the states budget and since the rent is generated by the urbanites, the legitimacy can be more easily maintained within market economy and ownership rights
- it is not possible to calculate the limits of resources
- it is not easy to calculate how much different groups win or loose, so that a variety of groups support these policies
- property owners get the highest rents, however the system gives the flexibility for those who are not owners to appropriate public land and by legalisation they enter the system too and get shares from the rent so that patron- client relationships may last without objections from any class.

Although clearance, upgrading and prevention were defined as three major policies of the state in the first gecekondu act 775; the governments usually 'tolerated' this 'illegal' housing, accepting it as an alternative housing provision. Yönder (1982) suggests three reasons for the governmental tolerance in this process (cited in Türel, 1985);

- the share of the housing cost within the wage is reduced so that industrial wages can be kept down,
- the cost of housing provision to the state is reduced
- patron-client relationship between squatters and government provide for political stability and popular support

According to Yalçınan and Erbaş (2003) the state turned a blind eye to informality for at least four major reasons;

- the government was benefiting from the process itself and preventing the formation of a working class like the ones in western societies,
- the government needed strong businessmen capable of undertaking further investments, thus allowed the private sector to exploit this labour force, to create a strong business class capable in turn of creating new jobs via new investments would be possible.
- these bribes of the governments were believed sufficient to stop a possible social explosion.
- In the mid 1960s, almost 50% of the populations of big cities were living in informal housing areas. Thus it was hardly possible for a government to provide enough alternative housing for this population.

Nevertheless, the middle classes were disgusted by the amnesty of 1981 in the year 1984, so that the governments could not issue any other amnesties since then. According to Boratav (2003, 153) the state's attitude after the 1980s by improvement plans and amnesties is a result of the need for masses in cities who would not oppose the injustice created on income distribution. However this populist approach came to an end by the 2000s. The interests and influence of new powerful actors such as large developers, real estate investment trusts and various state agencies have been determining in this change of attitude (Kuyucu and Ünsal, 2010). Enforcement of private property rights and prevalence of exchange rights over use rights became the dominant approach. Gecekondu and slum areas which are incompletely integrated into capitalist circuits during the populist era have become attractive for large transformation projects. Since these projects are risky due to need for big start-up investments such as demolishing and solving legal disputes and future returns are uncertain, private capital usually demands the involvement of public agencies in order to mitigate risk (Miraftab, 2004). The discourse of these new powerful groups for gecekondu settlements became just the same when their first appearance at the end of 1940s: 'source of social ills'. By the 2000s, by the representatives of central authorities in Turkey, gecekondu areas are presented as sources of social ills and transformation of them are linked with economic development. In 2007, the president of Mass Housing Authority declares that;

"... We are producing 285.000 new housing units by urban transformation and 150.000 of them are (about to) finish... Currently, gecekondu is one of the most important two or three problems of Turkey

and without solving this problem it is not possible to think about (economic) development. It is acknowledged that the source of terror, drugs, deviant approaches to state; psychological problems, lack of education and health problems are rooted in gecekondu and irregular settlements. Turkey should certainly get rid of unauthorized and earthquake- inresistant buildings”¹⁵

Turkish prime minister, during a speech delivered at the Mass Housing Agency in 2006, referred to Urban Transformation Projects as surgical tools that can remove the “tumours that have surrounded our cities”¹⁶. In the same speech, the Turkish prime minister defines informal housing as an 'offence to citizenship right' rather than a 'citizenship right'¹⁷

In a daily newspaper, terror specialist Ali Nihat Özcan states that a research of Istanbul police showed that members of theft and drug gangs and terrorist groups reside in squatter areas. These terrorists provoke people for resistance to urban transformation¹⁸.

4.2.1.6. Structural and Contextual Factors: Modes of Production and Regulation

Besides the influences and determining roles of several actors in the urban transformation experience in Turkey, several contextual and structural factors should be mentioned in the analysis. Besides locational factors some of which actors do not have the ability to change, these factors include some of the institutions which in fact are created by the agency. For instance, local actors can only partially influence legislation, modes of production such as level of technologies and the general conditions of the labour market as well and global and economic factors while at the same time they are affected by them. The following sections will discuss the effects of mode of production and regulation on the formation and transformation of informal settlements in Turkey.

¹⁵ 13 November 2007, <http://www.mimdap.org/w/?p=2114>; (url accessed: 03.05.2009)

¹⁶ *Radikal*, 09 April 2006.

¹⁷ <http://www.arkitera.com/h8253-sehri-ur-gibi-sardilar-niye-zavalli-oluyorlar.html>; url accessed: 03.05.2009

¹⁸ *Zaman*, 18 May 2008

Şenyapılı (1978) defines gecekondu within a capitalization model based on limited capital, simple technologies and cheap labour; rather than defining it as a marginal sector problem. The gecekondu settlements provide cheap and mobile labour for the system; help to close the gaps in the market due to low levels of industrialization, organization and specialization by providing home-craft production, small-scale trade and services. The evolution of gecekondu settlements is closely related with the evolution of migrants in the economic sphere. (cited in Eraydın, 2003)

Şengül (2002) explains gecekondu within a capital accumulation framework. While Keynesian policies became dominant after the World War I where the states had to steer investments for surplus capital generated in the developed countries, the developing countries had to manage to develop with a limited capital. Thus for developed countries there was available resources to transfer into the second circuit of Harvey's model which is investments on built environment. Developing countries on the other hand had to use limited amounts of capital for industrialization. However during the same era developing countries faced with high rates of urbanization thus high need for urban services and housing for urban population. Inadequacy of the state to invest in these areas led informal solutions where the community had to build their own housing.

According to Şengül (2002) after the 1980s, neo-liberal policies affected the urban area through two channels in the world; the state stepped back from provision of urban services and retreated from rental and unemployment assistance. In the urban areas these policies led polarisation and segregation where upper income groups left inner cities and moved to suburbs and inner city areas housed gecekondu population and relatively declining middle income classes. the dichotomy between apartment and gecekondu housing has been diverted into the dichotomy between inner cities and upper income suburbs (Şengül, 2002).

Urban transformation in Turkey is a result of changes taking place not only in the physical structure but also in the social and economic structure of the society as well (Türel, et al, 2005). Türel et al (2005) define the indicators that have an impact on change or transformation as,

- contextual elements (economic policies, demographic change),
- socio-economic structure (types of housing supply work-labour relationship),
- organisation/implementation structure (distribution of authority, planning implementations, political and legal regulations) and
- the physical morphology/structure (urban macro form, industry, housing, transportation and the city centre).

Şenyapılı (1992) states that since the income and employment opportunities of these classes are limited even after transformation and living in apartments this population led economically disintegrated with other parts of cities (cited in Eraydın, 2003). Tekeli (2003, 3) explains urban transformation within an urban rent framework. He explains that changes in the value of land within the city create unrealised potential rents which create a pressure for transformation.

Since the 1990s and triggered in the 2000s, the transformation of unauthorized housing in Turkey can be considered as an adjustment of these settlements in terms of the rationalities of new economic conditions. Thus, the transformation can be seen as;

- Transforming these once-poorly-built structures into a more qualified settlements compatible with the new capacity of the society
- The pressure of rising land prices which makes it irrational to keep those kind of settlements at low levels of capital investment
- The pressure of global economy, that 'slum' areas should not be a feature of competitive cities

The neo-liberal regimes represent a definite shift from Keynesian welfare approaches and in this new setup local governments too undertake more entrepreneurial roles either by directly acting within the market or through partnerships with private actors (Miraftab, 2004; Weber, 2002). Forming partnerships emerged as an alternative also in Turkey. Many recent transformation projects rely on public-private partnership models where local authorities work as partner of private firms.

4.4.1.7. Modes of Regulation: Legislative Framework of Urban Transformation in Turkey

The development and transformation of informal settlements have been regularized through a number of legislations in the form of amnesty laws and changes in the institutional structure. The first law for unauthorized housing was an Amnesty Law enacted in 1948. In 1959 the second law allowing municipalities to allocate land for public housing was issued. However, these were not sufficient to stop spreading of informal housing produced by the growing number of new emigrants moving into the cities. Between 1948 and 1988, 12 amnesty laws were enacted; a further 13th was cancelled due to the 1999 Marmara Earthquake. These are Law Numbered 5218 (year 1948), Law Numbered 5228 (1948), Law Numbered 5431 (1949), Law Numbered 6188 (1953), Law Numbered 7367 (1959), Law Numbered 775 (1966), Law Numbered 1990 (1976), Law Numbered 2085 (1983), Law Numbered 2981 (1984), Law Numbered 3290 (1986), Law Numbered 3366 (1987), Law Numbered 3414 (1988).

First amnesties included limitations such as conditions put on the year of construction each warning that no further gecekondu formation would be tolerated and avoid a general amnesty which will legitimize gecekondu as a provision channel. However, the law numbered 775 dated 1966 was the first one to accept the gecekondu phenomenon and based on the approach that gecekondu housing would be subjected to special regulations apart from the development law (Tekeli, 2000).

The Gecekondu Law, which was enacted in 1966, proposed to;

- improve those existing gecekondu settlements which were considered to be in relatively good condition such as by bringing infrastructure and services and supplying credits to householders for house renovations,
- demolish and relocate gecekondu residents to new housing areas from the gecekondu areas where improvement was prohibitive or the area is considered to be uninhabitable,
- Develop low-cost dwellings to avoid further gecekondu formation; building apartments for low-income households on long term low-interest mortgages, construction of core-houses with loans for completion, allocation of serviced sites and prepared building projects and provision of sites and credits to cooperatives.

The Compulsory Purchase Law Numbered 2942 and dated 1983 stated that all public and private property would be subject to compulsory purchase. The law enabled the municipalities to implement projects concerning protection, transformation, intensive development, and public and/or private investments sustaining the criteria that the municipality should make the payments within 5 years.

Before the 1980s, the policy of the governments did not go beyond enacting development amnesty laws serving to legalize the existing *gecekondu* stock. However, by the 1980s, structural changes in the metropolitan management and the urban planning system lead to a new approach to the *gecekondu* areas. The Improvement and Development Law (Law Numbered 2981, year 1984) was the first one to introduce the concept of "transformation" of *gecekondu* areas. The difference of this law from the previous amnesty laws is that it aims not only legalizing the *gecekondu* land but also by improvement plans allowing for higher density construction similar to formal housing areas (Türker-Devecigil, 2005). It also differs from earlier legislations in terms of creating a self-financing system for the improvement of these settlements and covering not only *gecekondus* but also other unauthorized structures (Türel, 1985). While the former legislations aimed to prevent the construction of new *gecekondus* and legalize the existing ones, what is distinctive in law numbered 2981 is that it aims to bring a spatial 'transformation' in *gecekondu* areas (Şenyapılı and Türel, 1996). It suggests the publicly owned land will be sold to their occupants wherever possible and payments have to be made within four years. Area is transformed by rapid demolition of existing structures and unifying and the subdivision of irregular parcels to create a new parcelation each allowing construction of four-storey apartment houses.

While the *Gecekondu* Law basically aims to improve existing *gecekondu* stock conserving the existing development pattern, the Law Numbered 2981 seeks to reformulate the land ownership structure, transforming *gecekondu* land into authorized urban land by providing development rights to owners or users of land through improvement plans (Şenyapılı, 1996; Leitmann & Baharoglu, 1999). By the law numbered 2981, it became possible to provide a legal document (*tapu tahsis belgesi*) for *gecekondu* dwellings by certain procedures. Although not being a formal title deed, these documents gave the *gecekondu*

owners, who were provided with these documents a right-holder status in the area that would be redeveloped by improvement plans (Türker-Devecigil, 2005). The Act 2981 aimed at a simultaneous upgrading of all squatter settlements in the country, rather than of particular project areas. Provision of secure tenure and public services to the settlement according to an improvement plan was expected to increase the demand for the settlement where the developers would find it profitable to convert gecekondus into high-rise apartments, paying for land through an exchange of a number of flats to be produced. The rising land rents would be a tool for redistributing rental income in the urban areas and thus existing squatter population would benefit from this process (Türel, 1985).

We can also consider a difference in the mode of production between the two models suggested by the two legislations; that is while the law numbered 775 suggested an artisanal mode of production, 2981 brings out a manufactural production and later 'transformation projects' of late the 1980s bring industrial mode of production.

Another law enacted in 1984 is the Mass Housing Law (Numbered 2985) which rendered the Mass Housing Authority as the biggest housing finance agency of the country with the aim of dealing with the housing finance problem of middle and lower-middle income groups. Development Law 3194 enacted in 1985 suggested a decentralized planning system giving local governments greater authority for the preparation, approval and implementation of urban development plans.

By the 2000s, a group of new legislation was enacted by the parliament. Balaban (2008, 193) has carried out a survey of legislation enacted by the Turkish Grand National Assembly between 2002-2007 and found out that 973 laws were passed and 78 of them (8% in total) were directly related to different aspects of urban built environment such as planning system, urban development controls, housing, land policy, development legislation, etc. Although 78 laws concerning the production of built environment were approved by the General Assembly, 63 of them were signed by the President and came into effect.

The first legislation enacted in 2004 (Criminal Code Law Numbered 5237), displays the new attitude to informal housing construction, which for the first time, defines construction of informal housing as a criminal offence to be

punished by two to five years prison sentence. Later, an amendment law (No. 5377) concerning the Criminal Code Law was enacted on July 2005. This new law concluded that the new provisions exempt buildings constructed before 12 October 2004 from sanctions and penalties.

Another legislation is the Law of Urban Transformation Project for the Northern Entrance of Ankara (No. 5104) in year 2004. It is a special law for that it is aimed at regulating a specific unauthorized settlement in the form of an urban transformation project planned in the Northern Entrance of Ankara. The municipality advertised the project as upgrading the image and prestige of Ankara for it is the area which connects the Esenboğa Airport to the city through which the first comers to the city get their first impressions on the city. In the rationale of law no 5104, the aim of the law is defined as upgrading the physical condition and environmental image and thus creating a healthier settlement pattern and an upgrade in quality of life in the Northern Entrance of Ankara. For preparation of urban design projects, application procedures for construction were defined and construction of housing and infrastructure HDA and Greater Municipality of Ankara were authorized by the law. The law proposed a physical transformation and lack any economic and social transformation schemes.

Another law passed is The Law for Greater City Municipalities (No: 5216) in 2004, and this law authorized the greater city municipalities in the implementation of urban transformation and development projects. First, article 7c states that the authorities of municipalities defined by the 775 Gecekondu Law are transferred to Greater City municipalities. Secondly, article 7e of the law indicates that greater city municipalities would use the authorities of municipalities cited in the 69th and 73rd articles of the Municipality Law 5393.

The Municipality Law (No: 5393) enacted in 2005 also referred to urban transformation. In articles 69 and 73, the Municipality Law defines the criteria for a transformation project as being within the municipal or adjacent area boundaries and having at least 50.000m² area. However it does not define any criteria for deciding the level of obsolescence or blight and does not mention any institution or profession to decide it.

In the year 2003, the Law numbered 4966 was enacted which suggested changes in the roles of HDA. The law abolished The Undersecretariat of Housing.

Thus HDA became the sole public institution for housing in the country. The law authorised HDA to take over the public lands of the Treasury at no costs. MHA was also authorized to give credits for improvement of rural architecture, transformation of squatter areas, preservation and restoration of historical and local architecture and giving interest subsidies for such projects.

Another law numbered 5162 enacted in 2004 enabled the HDA to form partnerships with private construction companies and to involve in the construction and selling of houses for profit; to expropriate urban land to construct housing projects; and developing and implementing *gecekondu* transformation projects. It could determine the value of squatter dwellings of the 'rightful owners' in these kinds of projects. HDA was also authorized to make plans at all scales within *gecekondu* transformation areas as well as for the land in the ownership of public institutions with a condition that the plans would not damage the integrity of environment and development.

Between 2003 and 2008, 65 808 239 square metres of land have been transferred to the HDA, as ownership of 46.921.000 square metres comes from the treasury, 793.239 square metres from private property (Radikal, 27 May 2008). HDA has produced 419.284 dwellings between 2003-2009 (HDA 2003-2010 Action Report, 18 April 2010). One of the most important changes by legislation concerning the HDA has been enacting the law numbered 5609 in the year 2007. By this law several duties of the Ministry of Public Works and Resettlement previously given by the law numbered 775, have been transferred to the HDA. By this law, HDA has been defined as the sole authority for plan preparation and approval for squatter housing transformation.

An important legislation related to urban transformation has been the law concerning Protection and Renewal of Dilapidated Historical and Cultural Properties (Law No: 5366, dated 16.6.2005). Although the enactment process started within a process of preparation of an 'Urban Transformation Law', the legislation was passed as the law addressing to a more specific type of urban transformation with a focus on historical sites. District municipalities were authorised to implement regeneration projects in 'derelict' and 'obsolescent' areas within protection zones.

In year 2007, by law numbered 5609, several duties of the Ministry of Public Works and Resettlement previously given by the law numbered 775, have been transferred to the HDA.

The most recent legislation regarding urban transformation on the other hand had been the law numbered 6306 named "Urban Transformation Law for Areas with Disaster Risks" passed by the government in 16 May 2012. The law proposes detecting the buildings which are not compatible with disaster risks (areas with high risk will be determined by the council of ministers and buildings with high risk will be determined by municipalities). The households will be given 3 months to demolish their buildings, if a household does not obey the decision, the government will demolish after a second written notice within an extra one month. Two- third of the households within the same 'flat ownership' scheme will have the authority to decide whether to sell or reconstruct a building on the site.

Throughout a series of changes in legislations between the 1950s and the 2000s, to summarize, the current situation for tools in legislation for defining authorities and declaration of areas as an "urban transformation area" are;

- Areas with Improvement and Redevelopment Plans
- 'Renewal areas' declared by The Law Concerning Protection and Renewal of Dilapidated Historical and Cultural Properties (Law No: 5366)
- 'Urban transformation areas' declared by the 73rd article of the Municipality Law (No: 5393)
- 'Urban transformation areas' declared by 'special laws' such as Northern Entrance of Ankara Urban Transformation Law (5104, 04.03.2004) or Haydarpaşa Law (5234, 17.09.2004)
- 'Urban transformation areas' declared by law numbered 6306 to be renewed due to disaster risks

4.2.2. Description of Events and Activities Taking Place in Urban Development and Transformation processes in Informal Housing During the 1950- 2000 Period

As mentioned previously two main models of urban transformation have been observed in the Turkish urban transformation experience on informal housing;

- transformation through market processes relying on Improvement and Redevelopment Plans
- transformation through "transformation projects"

The validity and sequence of events taking place in both models and each specific redevelopment practice could highly differentiate from each other. Transformation through market processes is a typical build-sell model modified for gecekondu areas. This approach aims to transform gecekondu areas through market incentives by the improvement plans. It operates using the increased development rights in the plot level to build apartment blocks. Improvement plans serve to provide development rights to be shared between the gecekondu owners and speculative house builders. Some additions to the development rights may be granted if builders are not interested in producing housing with the existing development rights. In this model, settlement pattern of the gecekondu are reorganized through an improvement plan similar to the ones in authorized areas where new apartment blocks are constructed. Each gecekondu owner is given a share in one of the created plots to be allocated between the gecekondu owners and the speculative house builder (Şenyapılı, 1996; Tekeli, 1982).

While in the 'improvement plan' model, the surplus generated by redevelopment was shared by owners of gecekondu housing and speculative house builders; in the model of transformation through "transformation projects" private resources generated through self-financing projects and the surplus created is shared by a number of stakeholders, such as local governments, private project company, owners of gecekondu housing, owners of land and city residents (Türker-Devecigil, 2005) Transformation projects also use extra development rights as the driving force as in the improvement plan model. However, the new developments do not take place in a parcel level as it does in the improvement plan model, so the urban environment created is likely to have more open spaces and better environmental quality compared to the other model. The

additional urban rents created by extra development rights are used to accomplish the financial sustainability of the project. This model is usually preferred for strategic areas of a city that are prone to gecekondu invasion, and for areas that are designated as inhabitable due to unsuitable physical conditions (flood zones, land slide areas). Gecekondu inhabitants of such areas might still expect to transform their dwellings with the first model (Türker-Devecigil, 2005).

Transformation through “transformation projects” is a model adopted as an alternative to transformation through market mechanisms. The best known examples are the Dikmen Valley, Portakal Çiçeği and GEÇAK Projects. Although the first examples of urban transformation projects were undertaken by municipality and private sector partnerships, recent changes in the HDA’s roles and authorities led to undertaking many projects by HDA or HDA- private sector partnerships. Figure 17 shows the event sequence of an urban transformation project by HDA; and Figure 18 by redevelopment plans.

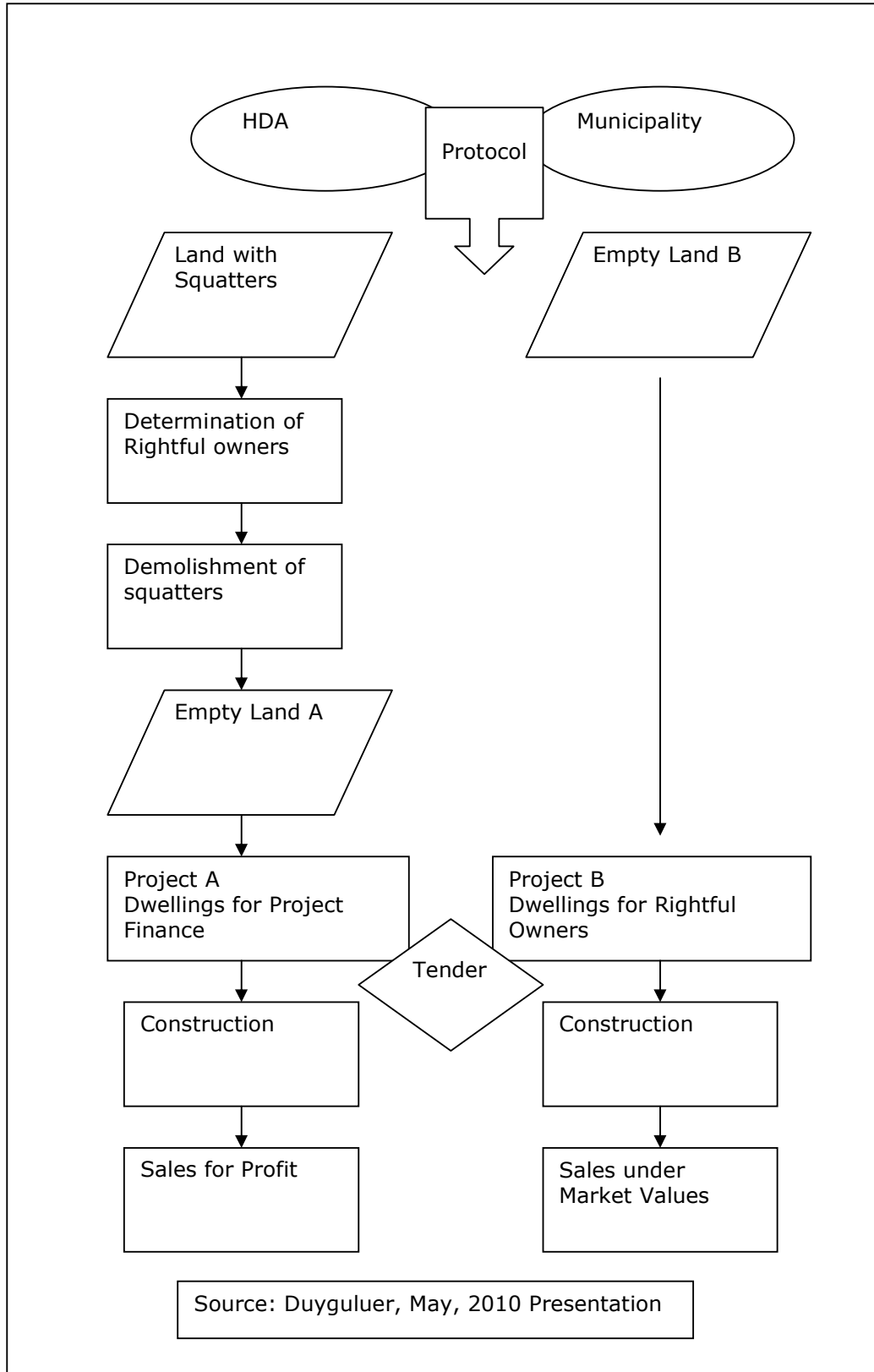


Figure 17: The Event Sequence in an Urban Transformation by HDA

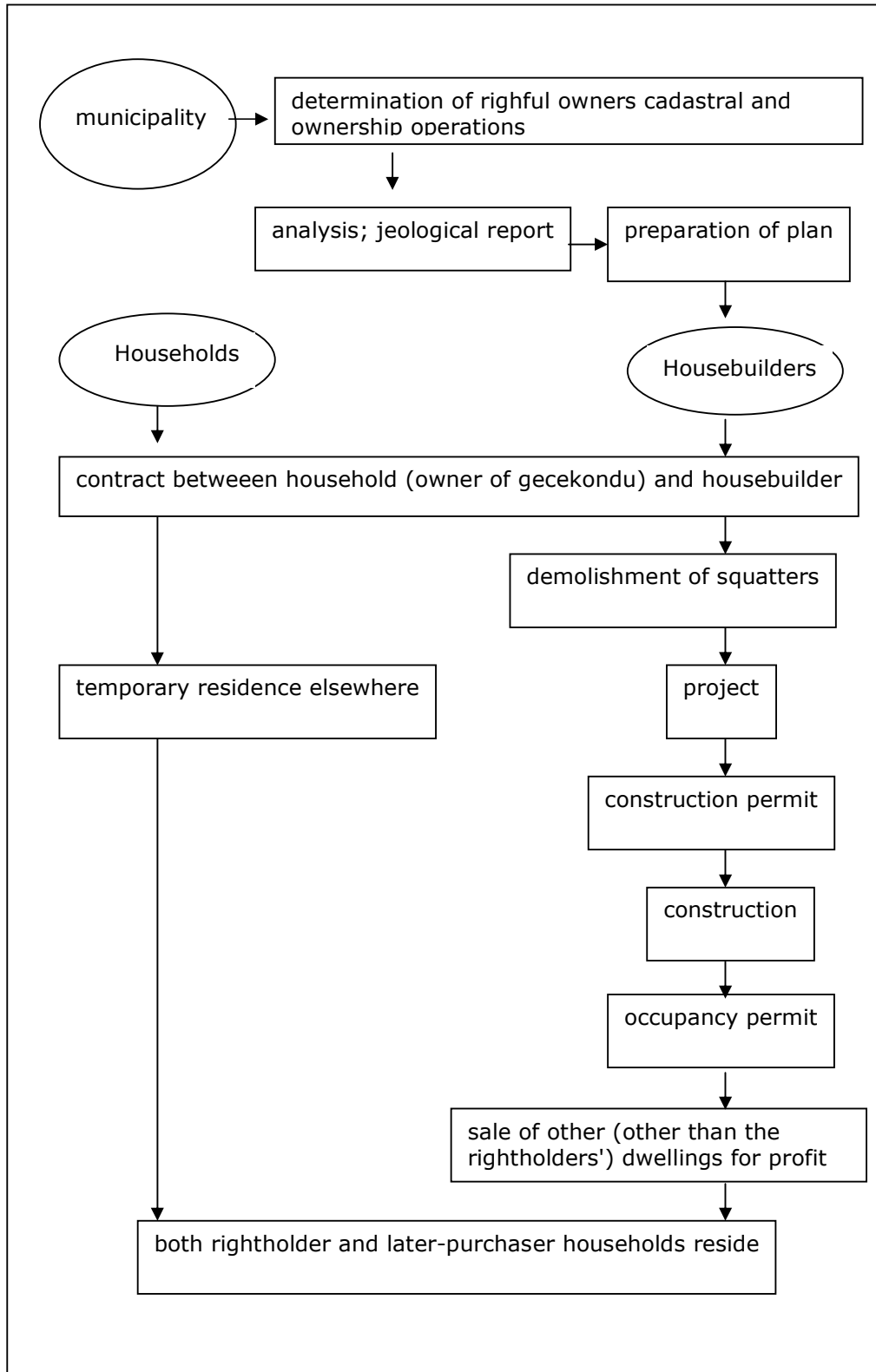


Figure 18: The Event Sequence in an Urban Transformation by Improvement and Redevelopment Plan

4.2.3. Implications of the Urban Development and Transformation Experience in Informal Housing on Hhs and Space

Although gecekondu settlements are not homogeneous and stereotype in terms of construction processes, socio-economic profile of inhabitants or accessibility to basic services, most of the gecekondu areas share similar environmental, social, cultural and economic problems. In those areas generally there is lack of measures in risk mitigation, environmental balance is deteriorated, urban services are not adequately provided; socio-cultural services are inadequate and there are social exclusion problems of the gecekondu residents. The report of special expertise on urbanisation of the 9th Development Plan of SPO defines the problems of gecekondu and the transformed gecekondu areas as;

- The settlements, which are within the boundaries of water basins, natural or historical sites, coastal lines, meadow fields, forests.
- The settlements, which are in the peripheries of metropolitan areas and industrial cities
- The settlements, which are prone to disasters
- The settlements, which are rehabilitated with improvement plans but are dense and not aesthetically pleasant.
- Speculation and acquisition of capital gains by certain strong groups and most of the occupants are tenants in redeveloped areas
- High unemployment and crime rates in irregular housing in peripheries
- Instruments for housing acquisition such as mortgage credits cannot be used by migrant groups
- Amnesty initiatives by governments for invaded forest areas which are defined as 2B referring to the related legislation.

Transformation of those settlements on the other hand aims to solve these problems while creating a totally new environment. Urban transformation manages to solve the legal ambiguities and thus the risk of eviction and provides security of tenure for the inhabitants. Moreover, the stock is upgraded in terms of quality and quantity. However, transformation is not without problems. For instance the increasing speculation drives high-rise and high-density developments, and this can diminish the potential quality of environment. Moreover, to promote transformation within a limited amount of land and capital

resources and difficulty of reaching consensus among several landowners turns out that several compromises would be made in terms of development rights and constraints which may create over-densified living environments with infrastructure problems.

Both redevelopment plans and transformation projects have aimed at bringing a number of benefits to the cities and their residents in general as well as to gecekondu settlements and gecekondu residents. Among these expected benefits, we can cite: regularization and granting ownership and tenure rights, increase in amenities of housing, creation of regular, safe, healthy housing environs, integration of residents to the cities and urban life, upgrading in city image and neighbourhood prestige. These plans and projects have also usually emphasized principles of sustainability and participation. However, recent research and observations on policy and practices applied until now have proven us that most of the transformed areas and the transformation process itself might be as problematic as the informal settlements themselves. These problems can be summarized and categorized as follows;

1. Many informal settlements remain untransformed since they are unattractive for developers and thus disinvested or underinvested although they are envisioned to be transformed by development plans.
2. In most transformed neighbourhoods, the built environment still lacks sufficient physical quality and standards.
3. In most transformed neighbourhoods, unintended changes might be observed in social composition; such as gentrification.
4. The socio-economic implications of transformation give rise to ethical debates and social discontent within various sections/ classes of the society.

This quadriology depicts how the problems of urban transformation in unauthorized housing settlements in Turkey are complicated and how physical, economical and social problems are intertwined.

The first problem stems from the disparity of the development capacity between and within regions/ localities/ neighbourhoods and the inability of available institutional tools to cope with these disparities. Current redevelopment legislation and thus plans are based on a 'template' of renewal which suggest

prescribed schemes such as particular number of storeys or particular size of lots to be implemented everywhere without considering the locational characteristics and variation. As a result, although for various areas improvement and redevelopment plans have been prepared which foresee transformation; in some areas it is not sufficient to create enough profit to fulfil the developers' and households' expectations. While in some areas spontaneous transformation activity occurs at a rapid pace, whereas some others remain disinvested in the absence of intervention or directly investment by the local or central authorities. The success of transformation of *gecekondu* areas with the redevelopment plan model is dependent on the location of the dwellings. The redistributed income could not reach most of the *gecekondu* owners since the regularized development would also follow the locational preferences of the population. Thus, the improvement of some of the *gecekondus* still relies on self-help (Türel, 1985). While some of the *gecekondu* areas have locational advantages thus have high land values and are attractive for investment of private house-builders; some other *gecekondu* areas might not have these advantages. Therefore there are both examples of areas which could be transformed by this model and areas which could not. Şenyapılı (1996) distinguishes three channels in the process of transformation according to the Improvement and Redevelopment Law numbered 2981 since 1984, which first introduced the concept of "transformation" in *gecekondu* areas in the Turkish legislation (Şenyapılı, 1996: 16,19);

a. In the most advantageously located *gecekondu* areas close to city centres, transformations occur into large scale, high-rise prestigious residential neighbourhoods by large development firms.

b. Although not located as the first group, but still advantageously located, like being accessible to major roads, being near to prestigious residential areas or urban recreation areas transformations take place within "build-and-sell" model by small-scale developers into small-scale, four- to five-storey family dwellings.

c. In *gecekondu* areas that are not so advantageously located, the owners themselves attempted to transform their *gecekondus* into small-scale family apartment houses with their own savings or preferred to wait for

the land rent to increase to the levels that would attract small-scale build-and-sellers (Şenyapılı, 1996: 16, 19).

The locations which belong to the item 'c' in that categorization are those which mostly remain disinvested or underinvested areas. These areas, which are usually the most inaccessible, having low rent levels, excluded and depredated parts of the cities, remain untransformed and problematic areas. For instance, in Şentepe Neighbourhood of Ankara, only 10-15% of the building stock has been transformed according to the improvement plans prepared between 1984-1989, and the rest remained as squatter housing according to the established figures of the Municipality of Yenimahalle.¹⁹

The second problem of low physical quality and standards in the new built environment produced, is associated with the lower standards in Improvement Plans compared to Development Plans. The Amnesty Law 2981 gives the flexibility to improvement plans not to fulfil the service standards of development plans regulated by the Development Law No 3194. The two major problems of the improvement plan model are that it generates too much increase in construction density of the area and that it has a limited capacity to transform the gecekondu areas which are not advantageously located (Türker-Devecigil, 2005). Thus, the development characteristics in those transformed areas are usually at lower standards compared to those regularly built housing environments; they have higher densities and lower levels of provision of social and technical infrastructure. In order to obtain additional shares from the increasing rent, potential social infrastructure such as green areas and socio-cultural services occupy minimum shares in the land use, which cause low quality living environs. Improvement plans accelerated this process rather than prevent it (Şenyapılı, 1998: 312). A typical image of most of the transformation areas are 4 to 5 storey apartment buildings, which are very close to each other with limited social and technical infrastructure (Figure 19). Considering that the transformation of these newly created and legalized neighbourhoods would be more difficult than transforming the gecekondu settlements, this would create future challenges for our cities and for the planning profession.

¹⁹ Şentepe Transformation and Improvement Project Explanatory Report, 2004



Figure 19: Apartment Blocks Built by Redevelopment of Gecekondu Housing

The third group of problems are associated with the social dimensions of urban transformation practices. Various studies of redevelopment practices in the world as well as in Turkey have shown us that, they might result in changes in the entire social composition of the transformed neighbourhoods (Uzun, 2003; Görk, 2002; Türker-Devecigil, 2003; Dündar, 2005). The households that are relocated elsewhere face accelerated social and economic problems in that neighbourhood as well (Erman, 2011).

In some cases, urban transformation might lead to a mobility of some social classes. The stock has subjected to many social transformations concerning different income groups or new comers to the city. Işık and Pınarcıoğlu (2001) point out that previous occupants of gecekondu are often now 'landlords' of the gecekondu in the Sultanbeyli district of Istanbul which means that over time they have improved their position and move out from the squatter housing which is to be replaced by others coming to cities. Although in some cases, this can be supposed to be a natural process rather than a problem in itself, some of the inhabitants, mostly some vulnerable groups such as those poor living in poverty and tenants may suffer from the lack of complementary policies for relocation or dislocation.

According to Kuyucu and Ünsal (2010) the urban transformation projects mainly aim at demographic as well as physical upgrading rather than to improve the living conditions of the existing inhabitants of the area, thus the process results in property transfer and displacement. Dündar (2001) indicates that this process damages the social fabric of the settlement since neighbourhood relations and mutual support mechanisms are lost.

Considering the socio-economic outcomes and effects of transformation, while in some cases most of the residents of gecekondu areas have been satisfied by the proposals and (possible) outcomes of the projects; there have been cases where the residents' expectations and offered benefits in transformation projects may not overlap and this would result in dissatisfaction and local protests. Until now, many gecekondu residents were organized under neighbourhood associations to resist, protest and change the projects. The problem has been discussed by academic scholars as well as instigated urban activist movements and generated interest in daily politics and media.

The fourth and last group of concerns is ethical problems, which are very much related with the third one. They have primarily two different forms, which might seem to be contradictory to each other;

- the argument which claims that housing right of the poor are being grasped by evictions and relocations.
- the argument which claims informal and illegal ways of behaviour are rewarded by rent transfers from those who cannot own a house, instead of punishment for invading land.

The first one emphasises immoral implications of seeking rental income for some sections of the society (i.e. developers, middle class) at the expense of the housing rights of vulnerable/underrepresented groups (i.e. poor, ethnic minorities, less educated). While the transformation projects are introduced as tools for increasing the quality of life of the residents, the process may end up by decreasing the quality of life of reaching to a point of being disposed for some residents. Among them are the residents who are not considered as right-holders due to their lack of legal statements such as title deeds (i.e. those gecekondu owners who had constructed their dwellings after 10th November 1986) or the residents who are tenants in the area or the residents who cannot afford the associated costs of transformation such as extra payments for construction, rental payments during construction or increased living, management and maintenance costs after transformation.

The latter ethical debate on the other hand, is related with the construction privileges given to gecekondu owners and emphasises that the gecekondu residents who become better off by transformation especially by redevelopment

plans are able to enjoy high selling price and rental incomes for their properties. In various cases, the gecekondü residents may end up with owning more than one dwelling after transformation; which creates them an extra rental income as well as creating a convenient housing to live. Compared to the families either of low or middle income, who had chosen to live as tenants in the rental stock since they cannot afford homeownership in the legal housing stock instead of building a gecekondü, after transformation gecekondü families have benefited far more at the end of the day since they obtain a legally registered housing unit which they couldn't afford otherwise (Taşan, 1996). In her study, Taşan (1996) shows the impossibility of 'homeownership' for a family in rented accommodation in the formal housing stock compared to gecekondü residents in the same period. This brings out a discontent in the sections of the society other than the advantageous gecekondü residents, criticizing that illegal behaviour is rewarded, but legal behaviour is not. Consequently this creates hostility between different sections of the society; for instance, the 'middle-class' might refer the gecekondü residents as degenerated and immoral²⁰.

4.3. Conclusion

This chapter evaluated the political, economic and social structuring forces as well as the active involvement of actors with emphasis to their roles, interests, strategies and resources in the formation, change and transformation of gecekondü settlements in Turkey. The institutional model of development was used as a template for the analysis of formation and evolution of gecekondü settlements within an institutionalist and historical perspective with critical turning points of the 1950s, the 1960s, the 1980s and the 2000s. Literature review on the almost six decades of gecekondü settlements helped us understand that gecekondü is a phenomenon where economic interests of various sections of the society, economic and political interests of local and central governments and unavailability of alternative options of affordable housing and rent seeking behaviour of individuals paved the way for the creation of so much gecekondü settlements in large cities of Turkey today. Similar relationships of actors such as small-capital house builders, low and middle

²⁰ For instance, in 29.01.2009 Oray Eğin writes that gecekondü residents and middle-classes do not share the same values; while these are immoral for middle-class, he writes gecekondü people are accustomed with deforcement of others' property or aspiring others' possessions (Akşam, 29.01.09).

income households, large construction firms, and multinational finance companies, local and central authorities generated a stream of urban redevelopment practices and transformation projects realized mostly in gecekondu areas. Primary producer of housing has always been the private sector in Turkey and this is also the case in producing housing through urban redevelopment. Nevertheless, after the year 2000s, the state adopted a more active role in urban redevelopment and redevelopment has been undertaken as a more centralised, nonetheless more project-based activity.

According to the analysis, a set of four problems dominates the redevelopment practices in the country; first, problem of disinvestment leading to untransformed gecekondu settlements; second, the problem of physical quality which results partly from the lower standards of social and technical infrastructure in improvement and redevelopment plans lack of urban design and partly from the relatively lower production technology and materials used by small-capital house builders; third, the problems regarding social and economic well-being of existing residents such as dislocated households, integration problems of relocated households or between existing and later-purchaser households; fourth the ethical problems associated with the social and economic problems such as the dislocation leading to threat the right for housing but also the existing residents who reach homeownership of even multiple dwellings relatively easier than in formal sector so that the process might reward illegal behaviour.

The next chapter will present the empirical study of this research. The empirical study will evaluate the transformation of informal settlements in terms of renewal and redevelopment practices taking place in Şentepe since the 1980s.

CHAPTER V

CASE STUDY: ŞENTEPE: A TWO TIER ATTEMPT TO TRANSFORM A NEIGHBOURHOOD

The theoretical research presented in the previous chapters provided a conceptual, contextual and theoretical framework for studying urban transformation and the case study. Moreover, in chapter IV, the general urban transformation experience of unauthorised housing in Turkey has been analysed within an institutionalist framework. On the other hand, this empirical chapter is devoted to include both time and space dimensions into this institutional analyses for a more profound understanding through case studies based primarily on a household surveys carried out in Şentepe and Dikmen where currently urban transformation is taking place.

The analysis to be demonstrated in this chapter is inclusive of another analysis in itself. The framing analysis will be a theoretical analysis developed in the theoretical chapters which was built on the work of Patsy Healey (1991) and configured according to help better fit the research's concerns. This configured model will be used as a template for analysis of urban transformation in the selected case study area of Şentepe Neighbourhood; therefore will analyse the transformation processes within an institutional model where both impacts on and of transformation on and by the actors/ agents/ players, with a specific focus on the impacts of the residents will be included.

The second analysis included within the framing analysis on the other hand, will be an empirical analysis focusing more on the households' perspective and implications of the transformation process based on a case study of transformation in informal housing in Şentepe Neighbourhood of Ankara. In that part, the main body of analysis will be built on a household survey conducted to

help getting a better understanding of urban transformation from the households' point of view. To judge and compare the significance of the findings of Şentepe, a complementary survey in Dikmen is used for comparing purposes. The results of the household surveys will also be supported by semi-structured interviews with developers in Şentepe. Moreover, meetings with mukhtars²¹ and municipality officers of both neighbourhoods complemented the case study. Both theoretical and empirical analyses will be supported by archive work of plans, projects, reports and literature survey of previous empirical and theoretical research.

5.1. Integrating Institutional and Empirical Approaches in Analysis of Urban Transformation in Şentepe

The methodological aim of this case study chapter is to integrate institutional analyses with an empirical study. In this part, Şentepe Urban Transformation Project (ŞTP) will be analysed with an institutionalist approach within the framework developed in the theoretical chapters by getting use of the available historical, empirical, statistical and local knowledge and information about the area. As has been discussed in previous chapters, institutional analysis enables examining urban transformation process through its actors, factors and implications with reference to time and space specific characteristics of the selected case study area. Empirical research on the other hand, ensures gaining quantitative and qualitative information by means of direct observation and investigation on samples.

To study the urban transformation in Şentepe, first the neighbourhood and the transformation processes will be studied according to the 'institutional model of urban transformation' template developed in the theoretical chapters. That is, the transformation process will be first studied in terms of actors and relationships between actors, and the contextual, locational, structural factors bounded with the area; the events and lastly the implications of the process. A bundle of different sources of data and information will be used during this analysis; the reports and records of the Municipality of Yenimahalle are one of the important sources of information; previous conducted research on the area is

²¹ Mukhtar: The elected head of a neighbourhood within a city. Neighbourhood is not a unit of local governments (municipalities) in the Turkish administrative system but the smallest elected unit of the central government at the local level.

another source. Moreover, empirical studies conducted for this dissertation provides the most important source of data on the household, dwelling and neighbourhood characteristics and attitudes and influences of households on transformation and impacts of transformation on households.

In line with institutional approach, urban transformation in Şentepe will be studied with the following elements;

- Actors and institutions of transformation
 - o their roles in production and consumption
 - o their strategies and interests
 - o their resources, rules and ideas
 - o power relations , mutual interactions among each other

- Factors of urban transformation in Şentepe;
 - o Modes of Production and Regulation (1)
 - o Ideology (2)
 - o Relation btw. 1 & 2
 - o Description of Particular Societal Circumstances
 - o Locational characteristics

- Events of urban transformation in Şentepe;
 - o analyses
 - o planning
 - o implementation phases
 - o demolishing
 - o construction
 - o residence

- Implications of urban transformation in Şentepe will be studied;
 - o implications on Hhs
 - o implications on space

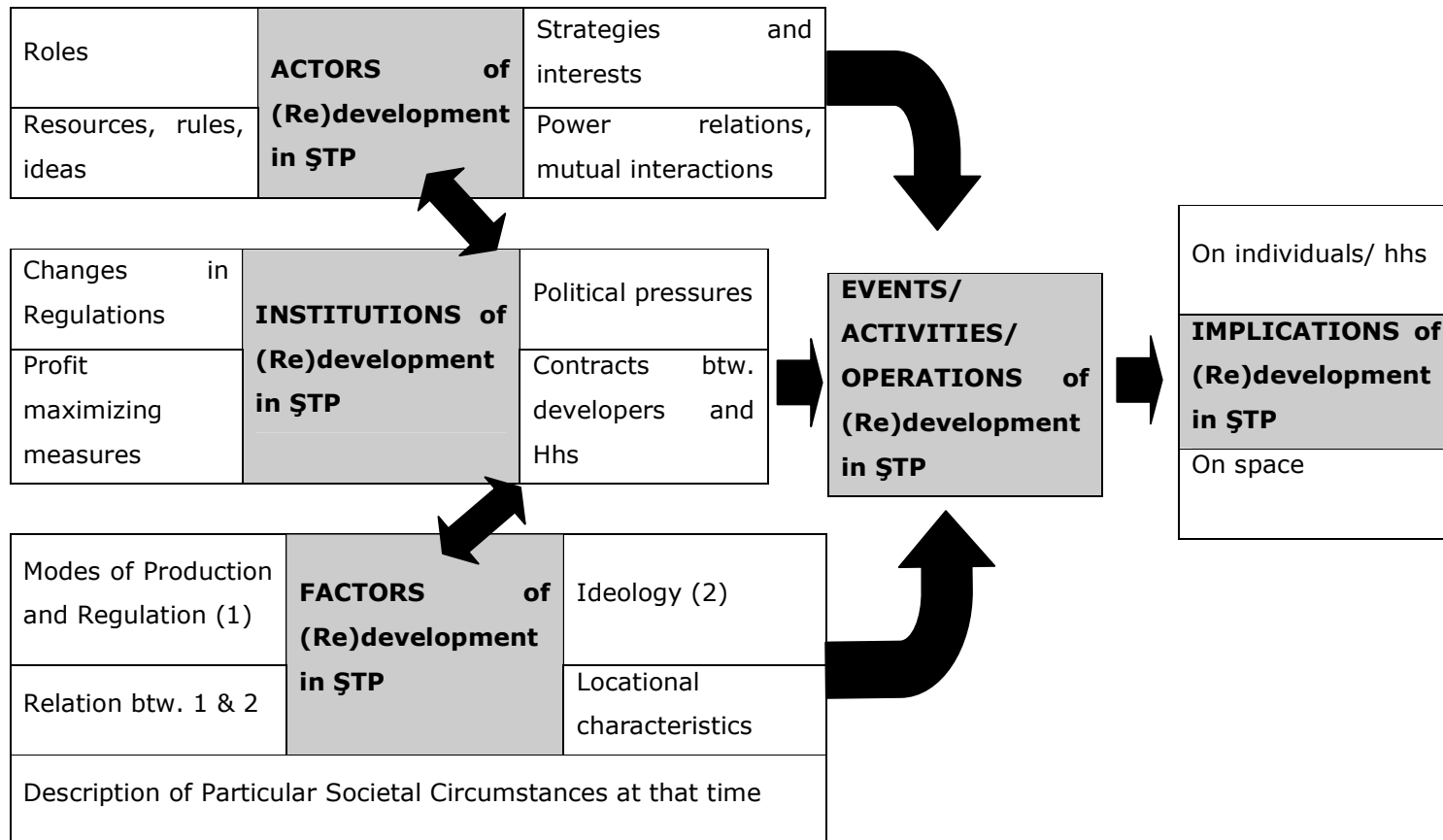


Figure 20: Institutional Analysis Template for Şentepe Transformation Project

The core of the empirical analyses on the other hand, is designed as a household survey. Like other urban transformation processes, the transformation in the case study area Şentepe is effected by both policy and non-policy factors and by both policy-maker and non-policy maker actors. Households in this process are one of the most critical actors in urban housing transformation processes besides developers/ house builders and local and central authorities. Households are at the core and target of the plans and projects, as they are directly affected by the changes in quality of life and socio-economic well-being which is created by the plan. Actually, the performance and success of Şentepe Transformation Project, like any development activity is expected to reveal itself through the implications on space (physical, social and economic space) and correspondingly on the habitants of this space. The urban development experience in Turkey until now also indicates that households can affect development policy and practices to a large extent through their political power as voters. In transformation of unauthorized urban housing stock in Turkey, the general perception of how resident households are effected depicts a controversial and contradictory picture; that is; the households are either seen to be effected by the process as both victims of the process (i.e. the dislocated or evicted households) or conceived as beneficiaries and even rentiers (i.e. once in-need-of-shelter illegal occupier becomes property rich after the transformation process ends). In the previous chapters it was highlighted that different contexts, models or practices of urban transformation might lead to different outputs between these two cited extreme results.

Apart from being an empirical analysis of its own, empirical data gathered by the household survey will be included in this institutional analysis at various levels. Collecting empirical data on the case study area strengthens the analyses in a number of ways;

First, while analysing actors of urban transformation, empirical data gathered by the survey will help to deepen our understanding on Hhs; which is one of the key actors referred but rarely studied in theory. Studying households gives clues about the potentials and problems of the area which have important implications on developing appropriate policies.

Secondly, since the survey includes questions about preferences and attitudes about transformation and activities of the municipality and developers, and also on planning decisions, the survey also gives empirical data about the effects and effectiveness of activities of actors and institutions other than households and their relationships with households.

Third, the survey gives valuable and detailed data on the neighbourhood level about the characteristics of the housing stock such as building age, quality, price and tenure all of which are hard to find in national statistics.

Fourth, the survey gives information about the implications of the process which enables us to discuss the success, effectiveness and problems of urban transformation in the area.

5.2. Selection Rationale and Description of the Case Study Area

The major study of investigation of this study is selected as Şentepe Urban Transformation Project area. Şentepe Neighbourhood is located within the boundaries of Yenimahalle District of Ankara (Figure 21, 22). Adjacent to the Yenimahalle District, the centrally located District of Çankaya encloses the second and comparative case study area; Dikmen (Figure 21, 22).

Şentepe is chosen as a case for a number of reasons, mainly;

- In the history of Şentepe, the municipality has attempted to transform neighbourhood by two different models of transformation (by redevelopment plans in the 1980s and by transformation projects in the 2000s) which enable to discuss both of these models.
- While the first of these attempts was not successful to trigger transformation, the second attempt has been more effective, and studying the reasons of this could be useful to develop tools for other underinvested areas of unauthorized housing
- urban transformation according to the project has started by 2005 and still ongoing, thus it is possible to study different household categories altogether; the gecekondü households whose dwellings are about to be

transformed, households who do not like to transform as well as households in the transformed stock and later- purchasers in the area.

Actually, the most important rationale for selection of the case study area Şentepe is related with the first problem category of transformation of unauthorised housing (problem 1: some areas remain disinvested even if the plan proposes to transform). For Şentepe neighbourhood, a 1/5000 scale Master Plan (named Şentepe Gecekondu Bölgesine Ait Nazım İmar Planı) was prepared in 1984; and between 1986- 1989, improvement plans of 11 phases have been put into practice according to the Law numbered 2981²² which was put into effect in 1984. However, according to the established figures of the Municipality of Yenimahalle in which the neighbourhood of Şentepe is located, only 10-15% of the building stock had been transformed in the neighbourhood according to these improvement plans, and the rest remained still as squatter housing (Municipality of Yenimahalle Explanation Report, 2004). Then in 2004, the municipality came up with a new plan in which a new approach was brought into the agenda. By considering the reasons of the inefficacy of the former improvement plans and also considering the recent changes in the spatial and economic structures and the property market in both local and national levels, the municipality proposed a new project. The municipality of Yenimahalle has also made some institutional changes in order to ease the procedures for developers²³. As the hypotheses of the thesis is planning and administrative authorities can overcome some of the problems through some planning and institutional arrangements in the transformation process even if they lack strong financial resources, Şentepe Neighbourhood in Ankara is selected as a case study area in order to discuss the relevancy of this hypothesis.

Research by making empirical studies on a case, produces both outputs that are specific to the case which is unique and outputs which can be generalized. Since in Şentepe is a single project of its own; some of the results might be specific to that neighbourhood which cannot be generalized to all transformation sites. Some of the results elaborated from the surveys would require comparisons or

22 The name of the Law is "Procedures to be applied to Buildings not Conforming to Reconstruction and Squatter Housing Legislation and Modification of an Article of Law No.6785".

23 For instance, the municipality has announced that the period for obtaining construction permits, which lasted for months before has been reduced to a maximum of 20 days; over 40 documents to be filled has been diminished to 17; and for those who applied before 31.08.2006, no service fees would be charged from the developers (Municipality of Yenimahalle).

verifications in order to judge whether a certain result is unique to the neighbourhood or can be generalized for other similar transformation processes. Moreover since the transformation process is still ongoing in Şentepe, interpretation of some of the results of the survey might be misleading for the consequences of transformation have not totally been settled yet. To overcome this problem a complementary research has been conducted in Dikmen (west-side) neighbourhood which has been attempted to be transformed by first improvement plans, then by revision plans as well. Dikmen neighbourhood has been selected as a site where transformation is taking place at a high pace. The site has locational advantages compared to Şentepe and therefore attracts developers.

Şentepe: The first and the main neighbourhood of the case study is Şentepe, which is approximately 12 km far from the central business district (Kızılay) (Figure 22). Şentepe Neighbourhood is bounded to the Municipality of Yenimahalle. On the north, the area is surrounded by Karşıyaka Graveyard; on the east, by the Keçiören district; on the west, by İvedik Organized Industrial Zone (OIZ) and on the south by the regularly constructed parts of Yenimahalle District. Şentepe is established on hills and valleys and its average attitude is about 1200 meters. Therefore it holds some urban landscape opportunities.

The area that is subjected to the urban transformation project consists of 11 quarters of Şentepe Neighbourhood (Figure 23) and has approximately 425 ha of land with a planned population of 160.000 (current population is 87.000 according to SIS, 2000). According to the plan, 14.000 gecekondus are supposed to be demolished and 35.000 new dwellings are supposed to be constructed. Since 2005, the Şentepe Urban Transformation and Rehabilitation Project (Şentepe Kentsel Dönüşüm ve İyileştirme Projesi) is in operation. Although it is called as a transformation project, it is in fact a development plan in terms of its legal basis and relies on the same principals as transformation by improvement and redevelopment plan model. In Şentepe, transformation has been started and currently in practice. Therefore currently both gecekondus and transformed apartment blocks coexist even on the same street or on the same building blocks.

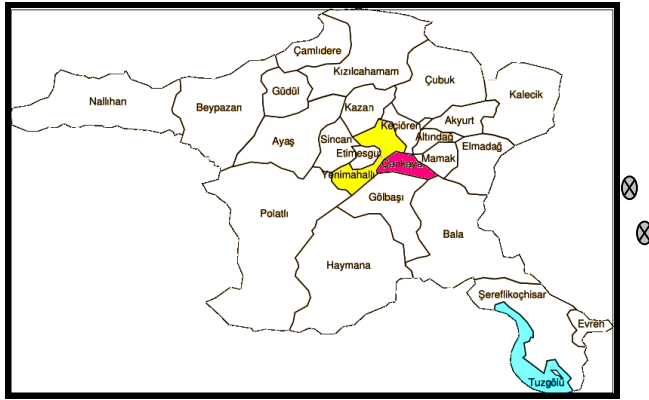


Figure 21: Yenimahalle and Çankaya Among other Districts of Ankara

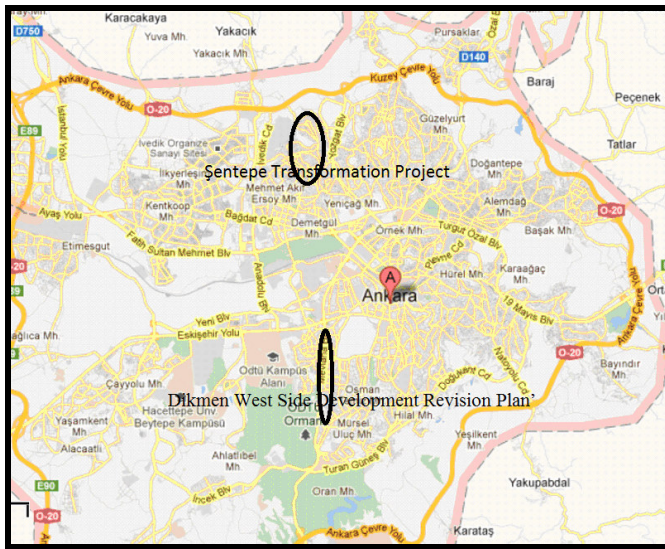


Figure 22: Location of Case Studies; Şentepe and Dikmen

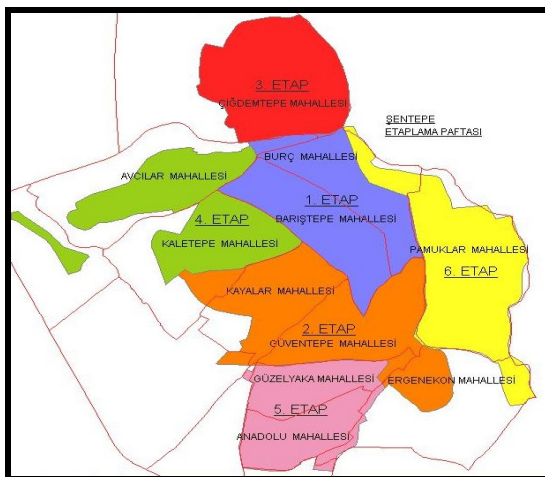


Figure 23: Boundaries and Stages of Şentepe Transformation Project

Dikmen: The second case study area is composed of some of the quarters of the Dikmen neighbourhood. The area of investigation is within the boundaries of the Dikmen West Side Improvement Plan (Year 1995), consisting of Cevizlidere, Gökkuşuğu, Karapınar, Akpınar neighbourhoods (Figure 24). The area is surrounded by, Konya Road in the west, regular and authorized sections of Dikmen Street on the west, and Çetin Emeç Boulevard and authorized sections of Balgat on the north. The area is approximately 9 kms far from the CBD.

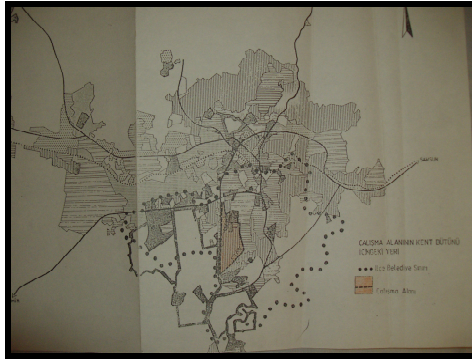


Figure 24: Boundaries of Dikmen West Side Plan in the Map of Ankara

Source: Municipality of Çankaya

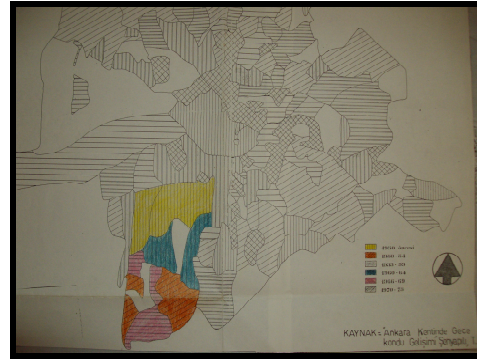


Figure 25: Squatter Formation in Dikmen West Side in Years

Source: Şenyapılı, T. (base from Municipality of Çankaya)

The selected area within the Dikmen neighbourhood falls within the scope of the Improvement Planning Zones as defined in accordance to the law numbered 2805 (Amnesty Law issued in 1983), and since 1987, improvement plans at 1/1000 scale have been prepared for the whole area according to the law numbered 2981²⁴. The area was already a redeveloping site after those plans due to its locational advantages. But there were also sections of the area where redevelopment could not be facilitated since the redevelopment plans of the 1980s were proposing two methods for using development rights for the site. While Balgat, parts of Öveçler, Huzur and parts of Akpınar quarters were proposed to be developed on the development rights given on the plot scale; parts of Öveçler, Cevizlidere, Gökkuşuğu, Ata, parts of Akpınar, Şehit Cengiz Karaca and Şehit Cevdet Özdemir quarters were proposed to be developed according to development rights given at the building block level. However, complaints related with the difficulties in gathering and agreeing on building

²⁴ Document 'About Dikmen East and West Side Plans' by the Municipality of Çankaya

block level and also condensed built environment in those areas that were transformed according to the plans which were regarded as executing a bad-image for the city entrance led the Municipality to revise the plan in 616 ha of land and Thus 'Dikmen West Side Development Revision Plan' was prepared by Çankaya Municipality²⁵. However the Greater Municipality did not approve the plan on the account that the plans should be prepared in accordance to the Master Plan of the Municipality of Greater Ankara at the 1/5000 scale which was tendered in 1992 for preparation. The Master Plan was approved in 06.10.1994 and put into effect in 1995. Between 1994- 1995 all kinds of development activity were banned in those areas which were considered to be affected by the decisions of the Master Plan until revisions were made and approved. The revision plans were revised again according to the Master Plan and were approved by the Municipality of Çankaya in 08.09.1995 by decision number 227 and by the Municipality of Greater Ankara on 03.11.1995²⁶. Three major changes effecting development conditions were related with permission of porches on the back facade that 1,50 meters are not included in calculation of development rights the secondly, maximum height of buildings were increased from four storeys to five storeys (h_{max} from 12,5m to 15,5 and Floor Area Ratio from 1,60 to 1,80)²⁷ and lastly if there is a demand for construction on the building block level, the development rights could be increased by 10%²⁸. Especially the latter change was aimed at solving the blockages in the redevelopment of the area. Currently, the area is being transformed by this revised development plan. Most of the buildings have been transformed to a large extent, apart from a few gecekondü houses.

5.3. Survey Design and Description of the Questionnaire

The empirical study aimed at investigating the process and implications of urban transformation practice in Şentepe through household surveys. The Hh surveys aim to find out;

- Attitudes, preferences, expectations and drawbacks of Hhs and effects of these on the transformation of unauthorized housing
- Impacts of urban transformation of unauthorized housing on Hhs.

²⁵ ibid

²⁶ ibid

²⁷ ibid.

²⁸ ibid.

- How the first two items are affected by improvement and transformation plans, by interventions and interpositions of authorities as well as by other institutional regulations if available.
- How is the performance of 'Şentepe Transformation Project' with reference to the problem set that was defined in chapter IV.

The survey was carried out between 25th and 30th December 2007. The number of households which housing questionnaires have been applied is 160 and 59 in Şentepe and Dikmen, respectively. Based on a sample plan (Table 12), the questionnaire surveys have been undertaken both in unauthorised (gecekondu) stock and transformed authorised apartment blocks in Şentepe and in the transformed authorised apartment blocks in Dikmen.

As seen from the table, households living in apartments in Şentepe fall into two categories, first, the households who obtained their dwellings through transformation (who were formerly gecekondu owners in the site) which will be referred as 'ex-gecekondu owners', 'right-holder households' or 'initial homeowners of flats' in the rest of the analysis; and secondly, the households who have purchased their dwellings in the site after transformation, which will be referred as 'later-purchasers' and both categories were included in the research. Both tenant and owner-occupier households in gecekondu as well as in the apartment housing have been interviewed in Şentepe.

By 2007, in Şentepe there were approximately 25 apartment buildings and 800 flats, that Hhs have moved. A total of 80 questionnaires were undertaken in the apartment stock corresponding to a 1/100 sample size. Considering the total population of Şentepe (pop= 87.093, Hh size= 4.1, number of Hhs= 21.242) 160 questionnaires in total represent 7/1000 sample size)

Table 12: Sample Plan of the Questionnaire Survey in Şentepe

Household Categories	Freq.	%
Home-owners living in squatters	30	18,8
Tenants living in squatters	10	6,3
Home owners in flats constructed before 2005 gaining the flat from being a right-holder	40	25,0
Home owners in flats constructed before 2005 by purchasing the flat after transformation	10	6,3
Tenants in flats constructed before 2005	10	6,3
Home owners in flats constructed after 2005 gaining the flat from being a right-holder	40	25,0
Home owners in flats constructed after 2005 by purchasing the flat after transformation	10	6,3
Tenants in flats	10	6,3
Total	160	100,0

In Dikmen, 59 questionnaires were responded. Unlike Şentepe, apart from a few gecekondü houses, the area is consisted mostly of apartment blocks on plots where previously occupied by gecekondü houses. Correspondingly only the homeowner Hhs living in transformed authorised apartment blocks were included in the survey in Dikmen.

Like Şentepe, in Dikmen, sampled dwellers of flats fall into two categories, those who obtained their dwellings through transformation (who were formerly gecekondü owners in the site) and the households who have purchased their dwelling in the site after transformation. A total of 45 households are from the first category and 14 from the latter (Table 13). The population in the surveyed area in Dikmen is approximately 50.000 and therefore 59 surveys represent Sample represent 1/1000 of the population.

Table 13: Sample Plan of the Questionnaire Survey in Dikmen

Homeowner Household Categories	Freq.	%
Homeowners gaining the flat due to their right holder status for their gecekondü	45	76,3
Home owners of flats purchased after the transformation	14	23,7
Total	59	100,0

The Şentepe questionnaire consists of eight and Dikmen questionnaire consist of four sections depending on the variety of household types included in the survey. The interviewee were first asked in Section A on a number of questions regarding the demographic, social and economic characteristics of household, such as Hh size, education level and occupation of family members, car ownership and income. In Section B the questionnaire investigated the stock characteristics in Şentepe and Dikmen. The interviewee were asked a number of questions regarding the age of the building, availability of housing amenities and purchasing price of the dwellings.

The most essential section of the survey is concerned with attitudes, preferences and impacts of transformation. In this part, the questionnaires have been organized in six sections each intending to investigate attitudes, preferences and impacts of transformation on six distinct categories of households in Şentepe. These categories are;

1. homeowners in squatters (responded Section C in the Şentepe questionnaire)
2. tenants of squatters (responded Section D in the Şentepe questionnaire)
3. Hhs who made contract with developers for transformation of their gecekondus according to the Şentepe Transformation Plan, but demolishing their gecekondus and construction of new building haven't started yet (responded Section E in the Şentepe questionnaire)
4. Hhs whose gecekondü houses have been transformed according to Improvement Plans or Şentepe Transformation Plan (responded Section F in the Şentepe questionnaire)

5. Hhs who purchased their houses after transformation (responded Section G in the Şentepe questionnaire)
6. Hhs who are tenants of the apartment stock (responded Section H in the Şentepe questionnaire)

For Dikmen, the questionnaires have been organized in two sections for two categories of households of flats;

1. homeowners of flats who gained their flats through their right-holder status of gecekondus (responded Section C in the Dikmen questionnaire)
2. homeowners who purchased their flats after transformation (responded Section D in the Dikmen questionnaire)

Empirical analyses of Şentepe will be compared with the results of Dikmen wherever possible. Besides household surveys, complementary research has been carried in the form of semi-structured interviews with developers investing in the area, non-structured interviews with mukhtars of the quarters and municipality officials in order to get a deeper understanding of the roles, interests and expectations of other actors. Certain statistical data such as number of construction permits and information on the planning process have been gathered from the municipalities. Several residents in the area shared their experiences as well in spontaneous interviews on casual visits to the area which also provided important insights on the households' view, experiences, problems, satisfactions and expectations.

5.4. Research Questions and Hypothesis

The case study area Şentepe is an urban transformation site which has been tried to be transformed through two different approaches. The latter approach which is Şentepe Urban Transformation Project seems to overcome the bottlenecks of transformation of the first approach which uses the tool of urban redevelopment plans. Therefore, the differences of the project and strategies associated with the project should have an impact on the process as a whole as well as the outcomes. In that regard the case study aims to find out answers to the following research questions;

1. Whether or not the ŞTP manage to facilitate urban transformation and how?

2. Whether or not ŞTP created/avoided social and ethical problems and how?

On the other hand as a part of a broader analysis of urban transformation practices in Turkey, several research questions can be presented. In the light of the institutional analyses developed in chapter II, the research questions in the introduction chapter is revisited considering the empirical study of the Şentepe Transformation Project as follows;

1. Which factors and actors affect urban transformation process in Şentepe?

To what extent the related municipalities shape these processes?

To what extent do planners shape these processes?

To what extent do residents shape this process?

To what extent do developers shape this process?

To what extent economic and political environment shapes the process?

What are the bottlenecks of urban transformation?

Why does the transformation works in one place but not in the other?

What is the opportunity space of action for each actor?

(Opportunities+constraints)

2. In what ways transformation process in Şentepe affects/ constrains the actors and space?

Does it bring forth high quality living environments for households and community?

Does it trigger gentrification?

Does it compensate for the lack of affordable housing options for the poor?

Does it lead to wealth redistribution?

Does it provoke societal discontent?

Who loses? Who benefits?

3. Which strategies of planners (planning institutions) and local authorities are effective in helping urban transformation and meeting its objectives/ create sustainable and liveable cities for all?

What roles should planning profession take over in urban transformation?

What are the scope and the limits of planners' role in urban transformation?

Currently Turkey has a relatively new, nevertheless rich number of urban transformation practices since the 1980s. This experience makes it possible to evaluate efficiency of different planning approaches and policy options. In the light of the institutional analyses, Şentepe Transformation Project will be evaluated according to the defined problems. As analysed in the previous chapter, institutional analysis of urban transformation in informal housing in Turkey has provided us with four main problem categories observed in urban transformation areas;

1. Many informal settlements remain untransformed since they are unattractive for developers and thus disinvested or underinvested although they are envisioned to be transformed by development plans.
2. In most transformed neighbourhoods, the built environment still lack sufficient physical quality and standards.
3. In most transformed neighbourhoods, unintended changes might be observed in social composition as well; such as gentrification.
4. The socio-economic implications of transformation give rise to ethical debates and social discontent within various sections/ classes of the society.

These multi-dimensional set of problems led to a controversial debate on urban transformation of unauthorized housing. Academicians, development/ construction/ real estate professionals and investors either oppose or advocate urban transformation. Those who favour transformation usually refer the undesirable characteristics of unauthorised settlements and approach urban transformation as a cure developed by planning and administrative authorities for these characteristics. Those who oppose urban transformation, on the other hand perceive planning and administrative authorities as either 'useless' since they fall short in tackling the above mentioned problems; or criticize them for inevitably being just the implementers of financial powers or being prone to and subordinated by political manipulation of certain groups who would get certain benefits by transformation who are not necessarily the existing residents of transformed areas or those who are in need for financial assistance and protection.

Throughout these analysing efforts the following three main hypotheses and associated sub-hypothesis will be tested;

Main H1: There are available policy options and regulatory tools including planning for local and central authorities and planning institutions to overcome most of the bottlenecks and problems of transformation with their political and regulative power/ resources even they lack of sufficient financial power/ resources.

H1.1: Private sector investment in prospective regeneration areas would be levered by the state by regulating the regeneration market in terms of minimizing investment risk of the developer, providing information and services that generate positive externalities and easing procedures in order to attract and lever.

H1.2: Institutional regulations considering the unique socio-economic, spatial and physical characteristics of the area are expected to preserve the existing population in the area.

H1.3: The local authorities might facilitate urban transformation through their practices targeting households such as; enabling participation by meetings which are informative as well as seeking for inquiry from households, reflecting the preferences of households on plans and keeping paperwork and process simple as most of the residents are low educated.

Main H2: The perception, interests and expectations of related agencies and economic structural forces have a determining impact on the transformation process.

H2.1: Gecekondu owners are in favour of urban transformation

H2.2: The hesitant owners create a bottleneck in the process.

H2.3: Developers are not attracted in urban transformation projects

H2.4: Wider socio-economic conditions and trends effect urban transformation investment decision and behaviour.

Main H3: Transformation creates both winners and losers among current residents and among the whole society.

H3.1: Transformation processes bring a number of improvements to the existing residents in terms of monetary gains as in well as housing and environmental living conditions.

H3.2: Transformation processes serve to transfer and redistribute welfare to wider/ other sectors of the society in the urban areas of Turkey.

H3.3: The transformation of squatters lead to increases in the land and dwelling prices at different levels as related to the location of the transformed area.

H3.4: Transformation processes might create a redistribution of social classes in the urban space or gentrification.

H3.5: Initial owners would not adapt to the new environment and there would be socio-cultural problems between new comers and initial owners.

H3.6: Interests of the tenant households of transformed housing are not safeguarded in transformation plans and projects.

Since 2004 when the new project was put into practice, the area seems to be transformed in a high pace which is even recognizable with a first glance. Therefore the implementation of the project seems to solve at least one of the four problems explained. Thus, studying this case would give us clues for other areas and other projects suffering from the disinvestment problem.

Since this second attempt by the municipality to transform the neighbourhood involves an analyses for the failure of previous improvement plans and offers more technical and social infrastructure and proposes to use some infrastructural investments such as a large urban park as a mechanism to attract new investments from the private sector, the area is expected to be of higher physical quality compared to the living environs created by improvement plans. This would solve the second problem category at least to a certain extent.

Moreover, since the project relies on plot by plot renewal by the private sector although it is called a 'transformation project', there is a gradual transformation where all the gecekondu are not demolished once at a time. Thus we can expect that households can adapt themselves to the process more easily and they would be relatively more flexible in their decisions on when to transform and move from their dwellings. Again since we know from our previous research that transformation by redevelopment plans create less 'radically changed' housing environs, than those transformed by transformation projects, the transformation in Şentepe is expected to create less social problems such as gentrification and dislocation which was formulated as our third problem category. Finally creating less social problems would lead us to expect creating less ethical problems which is our fourth problem category.

5.5. Demonstration of Institutional- Empirical Analysis of Urban Transformation in Şentepe

In the theoretical chapters, it was highlighted that a historical perspective might not be the core of our institutional model but is integral to the institutional analysis since the constituents (actors and factors/ structure and agency) are dynamic throughout time. Therefore in studying the transformation of Şentepe neighbourhood, the critical points in the transformation history should first be underlined. This study suggests that since Şentepe neighbourhood holds a unique characteristic of being attempted to be transformed two times by the municipality in the 1980s and the 2000s, these dates will be referred as two distinct phases in our institutional analysis. Since the first squatter settlements in Şentepe emerged around the 1960s, this period will also be studied as the background and contextual setting for transformation in Şentepe. As outlined in theoretical chapters, the institutional analyses will include analysis of actors and their relationships, contextual, locational and structural factors and implications of urban transformation. The following sections will discuss respectively;

- the Context: the 1960s; Emergence of First Gecekondu in Şentepe
- the 1980s; 1st Phase of Urban Transformation in Şentepe
- the 2000s; 2nd Phase of Urban Transformation in Şentepe

5.5.1. the 1960s; Emergence of First Gecekondus in Şentepe: the Context

In the 1960s, there was no urban transformation taking place in Şentepe. However, this period will be studied briefly for it sets up the context for the current characteristics of the neighbourhood and for the first gecekondu in the neighbourhood emerged during this period.

According to the information provided by the elder population living in Şentepe, the first comers moved to the neighbourhood in the second half of the 1950s. On casual visits to the neighbourhood, residents explained that those first-comers were mostly from nearby cities of Ankara. The information on the history of Şentepe is very limited for it has not been very much studied and documented neither by academic studies or any local studies of interests. However, a closer look to the history of Ankara during the 1960s could maintain us with important information on Şentepe neighbourhood too.

Even if Turkey did not enter to the World War II, 1940s were years when there were economic bottlenecks for the country which reflected itself also in the spatial sphere. There were limited financial resources for production and maintenance of urban space. While the city centre of Ankara began to move to the south as Yenışehir neighbourhood, low cost housing by some low income projects like Yenimahalle were put into practice. However, the projects were not successful to eliminate the squatter problem.

Ankara entered the 1960s with a high population growth rate (Table 14). Ankara faced with a four times more of Turkey's population increase and two times more of Turkey's urbanization rates between 1935 and 1965. In 1935 Ankara's population was 122.000. In 1954, the third plan for Ankara (Yücel- Uybadin Plan)²⁹ was prepared as they won the competition. Parallel to the Jansen Plan, Yücel- Uybadin plan intended north-south and east- west axes, conserving valleys and water courses in order to maintain the natural air flow of the city. The plan was projecting a 750.000 population for the year 2000, however when the plan was put into practice in 1957 the population already became 600.000 and then 965.000 in 1965. Cooperative housing in the peripheries and clearance and rebuilding (redevelopment) efforts due to increasing land prices in the

²⁹ Previous plans for Ankara are; 1924 Lörcher, 1932 Jansen Plans

central areas were the channels to produce housing for increasing population. Flat Ownership law accelerated housing production for medium income families, enabling producing more than one independent unit within the same plot in the form of apartment buildings. Moreover, even Yücel- Uybadin plan was proposing a density even less than Jansen plan, by the 1/5000 Master Plan of Zonal Building Heights in 1968 and by several local development plans (mevzi imar planı); densities of the Jansen plan was changed radically and number of storeys were increased by 2 to 3 fold and thus ended up with a more dense urban environment through build-and-sell or demolish-rebuild and sell mechanisms. Since the beginning of the 1960s, Kızılay started to emerge as an alternative to the old city centre Ulus. In the 1970s there has become a specialization among these two centres. In these years, Yeni, Büyük, Ata and Demir industry districts, furniture estate and OSTİM were established (Türksoy, 1999).

A Master Plan Bureau was established in 1969 and remained in effect in Ankara until 1983. the main concern of the bureau was planning new development areas of the city. The bureau prepared 'Ankara 1990 Plan' , adopting a strategy to develop through the western corridor proposing large housing and industrial areas. Some developments also took place on the south, most notably establishment of OR-AN.

Table 14: Total Population Rates of Population Increase in Ankara for Selected Years

Years	Population	Pop. Increase Rate (‰)
1927	404.581	-
1940	620.965	24,28
1950	819.693	32,85
1960	1.321.380	32,92
1970	2.041.658	43,29
1980	2.854.689	19,82
1985	3.306.327	29,38
1990	3.236.378	21,28
1997	3.631.612	18,58
2000	4.007.860	21,37

Source: Turkstat Statistics

Turkey's very first gecekondu ironically emerged in the new planned capital city Ankara during the 1930s and 1940s. The first gecekondu neighbourhoods were

near to the city centre Ulus (Friedrich Ebert, 1996). Starting from the 1950s squatters in Ankara were no more individual dwellings but have become 'squatter neighbourhoods'. By the the 1960s gecekondu neighbourhoods spreaded through Ankara, mostly on lands of the state; Kale and Altındağ (such as Kendal Zeytinođlu, Serversomuncuođlu, Hürriyet, Özgürlük, Atilla neighbourhoods), Mamak, Yenidođan, Seyanbađları, Cebeci (İncesu, Topraklık neighbourhoods) (Günay, 2009b). By the 1970s gecekondu areas occupied the core of the city that had been within the scope of the Uybadin- Yücel Plan (Figure 26) (Günay, 2009b). Other types of unauthorized housing have also been in practice in Ankara during the 1960s, such as apartment blocks built on illegally subdivided plots in Demetevler within Yenimahalle district.

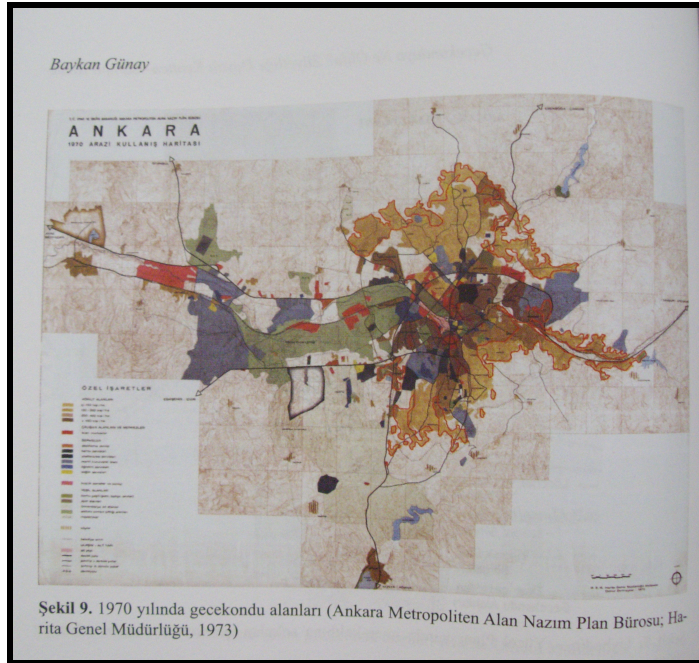


Figure 26: Gecekondu Areas in Ankara by the 1970s
Source: Günay, 2009b

Şentepe neighbourhood is also located within the boundaries of the Yenimahalle District which lies on the north-west development axis of Ankara. Yenimahalle was planned as a new settlement by the 9th mayor of Ankara (Ragıp Tüzün) to cope with the problem of housing need for limited income civil servants and private sector workers that was intensified between 1946 and 1949 in Ankara. Laws Numbered 5218 and 5228 enacted in 1948 forms the basis of land development and house building in Yenimahalle. The first housing was two storey apartment buildings constructed during the 1950s. Yenimahalle had

become a district centre and thus a municipality by 1957. the 1960s' population was around 67.000. At the second half of the 1950s Şentepe started to emerge as a squatter settlement within the district established one by one by those who migrated from nearby cities and villages. The first settling occurred in 1951 in Pamuklar Neighbourhood of Şentepe which is the valley' entrance and the slopes facing southwest which is not within the boundaries of the current transformation Project (but being transformed by a TOKI Project). The first gecekondu in Barıştepe on the other hand took place between 1963-1976 on a terrain topographically smoother than that of Pamuklar (Aksulu, Aykut, 2003). First settlers are those who came to the city in order to find jobs from other cities, towns and villages, mostly nearby Ankara³⁰.

A critical date in the history of Şentepe was 1972; when the visit of the prime minister of the time Süleyman Demirel took place. After the visit during which gecekondu residents explained their complaints and expectations, the prime minister provided that the neighbourhood to be serviced by municipal buses and a freshwater tank would be provided by his next visit. Moreover, a 'gecekondu settlement plan' was prepared indicating layout and widths of the roads. This has created a distinct character for Şentepe among other neighbourhoods; as one mukhtar explains "it is almost as regular as an authorized settlement" (Yaylagül, 2008).

A study conducted on gecekondu of Barıştepe (one of the quarters in Şentepe) indicates that most of the people are self occupiers and owners. If a house is shared by tenants, which is a rare situation in the area; the tenants live at the ground floors whereas the owners live at the upper floors. Immigrants who have moved from the same local area prefer to live as neighbours, (Aksulu and Aykut, 2003). Good neighbour relations, clean air and feeling of pleasure due to living in their own house are stated as the positive points of their living environment by the dwellers (Yeşkep Report, 1997).

³⁰ The first group consists of the districts of Kızılcahamam, Sereflikoçhisar, Beypazarı, Kazan, Bala. The second group are cities of Yozgat, Kırşehir, Çankırı, Sivas, Niğde, the third group comes from inner Black Sea Region such as Çorum and Bolu and fourth group of comers are from Eastern Anatolia especially from Erzurum and Kars (Yaylagül, 2008).



Figure 27 : Squatters and pedestrian steps in Şentepe

Source: Municipality of Yenimahalle, 2005



Figure 28: TV Transmitters just above the dwellings

Source: Municipality of Yenimahalle, 2005



Figure 29: A view from Şentepe's squatters

Source: Municipality of Yenimahalle, 2005

5.5.2. the 1980s; the 1st Phase of Urban Transformation in Şentepe:

As mentioned earlier in the institutional analyses of urban transformation of Turkey, the 1980s is the first time in history for the unauthorised housing stock is intended to be 'transformed' into regular housing by renewal. By the law numbered 2981, enacted in the year 1984, the new gecekondü policy aimed to transform gecekondü areas into apartment housing at higher densities similar to those in nearby formal housing areas. Correspondingly, the first improvement plans had been prepared for Şentepe between 1986- 1989 in a number of phases (Yenimahalle Municipality Explanation Report, 2004).

The following sections will briefly discuss the roles, authorities, interests and power relations of these actors in transformation in Şentepe by improvement plans during the 1980s.

5.5.2.1. Actors and Institutions of Urban Transformation in Şentepe in the 1st Phase of Transformation of the 1980s:

5.5.2.1.1. Municipality in Şentepe During the 1980s:

The 1980s have been an era of change for municipalities in Turkey and in Ankara. First, in 1984, the greater municipalities have been started to be established first in three big cities based on the 127th item of 1982 Constitution and Law Numbered 3030. By 1984, Ankara had five metropolitan district municipalities, one of which is Yenimahalle.

Another important change in terms of planning institutions in Ankara has been the closure of Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Plan Bureau, which was established in 1969. The responsibilities and authorities of this institution have been transferred to the Metropolitan Planning Unit of the Municipality of Greater Ankara. Thus the greater city municipality became the principal authorized institution in terms of directing and managing the growth of the city.

Another change for municipalities was in responsibilities and authorities of municipalities in preparing and approving urban development plans by the enactment of Urban Development Law (No. 3194) in 1985. The centralized

planning system was restructured to a decentralized one by this law. The law gave local governments empowered authorities for the preparation and implementation of urban development plans. Local governments in a sense gained autonomy against the central government in preparation and approval of plans. They also gained new planning tools that can be used to meet local demands in urban development.

Less financial support from central governments since the 1980s lead local governments to a search for self-financing projects. Governments also developed new measures to obtain a share from rents created by redevelopment. Another factor of change had been the competitive cities initiatives of the 1980s, which has led to a search for prestigious projects. As a consequence of these factors, at the end of the 1980s, a new model in urban transformation began to be experienced in Ankara. The Municipality of Çankaya started to be engaged in 'transformation projects' such as Dikmen Valley and Portakal Çiçeği. These projects not only proposed public and private cooperation, but also were based on an approach which accepts private firms established and owned by municipalities as 'partners' of the projects and were based on the principle that projects should be self- financing.

'Dikmen Valley Transformation Project' was the first of this kind of developments. The area falls between Dikmen, Ayrancı and Çankaya districts. The area was designated as green to be conserved between Ayrancı and Çankaya housing districts in the 1957 Yücel-Uybadin Plan. However the valley could not be developed as planned and soon occupied by squatters until 1989 when the Greater Municipality of Ankara introduced the transformation project for the area. The project aimed clearing the squatters, conserving the green, constructing new housing supported by social and commercial facilities through a public private partnership model with the consent of gecekondu dwellers. A development company was established, in which the greater municipality of Ankara, 8 district municipalities in Ankara were partners. Existence of a relatively small number of gecekondu dwellers was an advantage of the Project, in terms of ease in reaching agreements. Unlike the owners of gecekondu dwellings, the tenants living in gecekondus were evicted without any compensation or assistance (Mühürdaroğlu, 2005). According to the field surveys, since 1997, 22% of the title-holders have sold their dwellings in the valley; in 2002, 37% of

all title-holders were renting their dwellings. In 2002, only 38% of the residents in the DVP area were the original title-holders (Türker-Devecigil, 2003).



Figure 30: Dikmen Valley Transformation Project
Source: Uzun (2005)



Figure 31: Dikmen Valley after Urban Transformation
Source: www.panoramio.co (access date 21.06.2010)

In 1989, this project was followed by the “Portakal Çiçeği Valley Transformation Project”. Instead of the common compulsory purchase method, the project adopted the principle of aggregation of all development rights and re-allocating the rights equally after the end of the project with no public budget to be used. All the public and private actors related to the project; gecekondü owners, municipality, entrepreneurs were gathered in one organization named PORTAŞ, that was established in 1991 (Gökbulut, 1995). Gecekondü dwellers participated through a cooperative they established and through meetings with mukhtars, municipality officials and construction company directors. The project aimed to

plan 70% of the area as green to be used for the whole Ankara residents. The gecekondu residents were given choices of barter, construction agreement and sale as compensation for their development rights., land was provided for some of the gecekondu dwellers to built housing in Karapürçek (in Altındağ District). The project has been relatively more successful in terms of the quality of urban environment produced, although the main character of the project has become housing and commerce instead of green which was the aim defined at the beginning. In terms of physical quality, the area has been transformed into very high standards, and the project didn't aim to preserve the existing habitants in the area as they were given new plots in an area about approximately 20 km far away from their gecekondu. Even before the project was finished the land prices near to the valley increased enormously (Gökbulut, 1995).

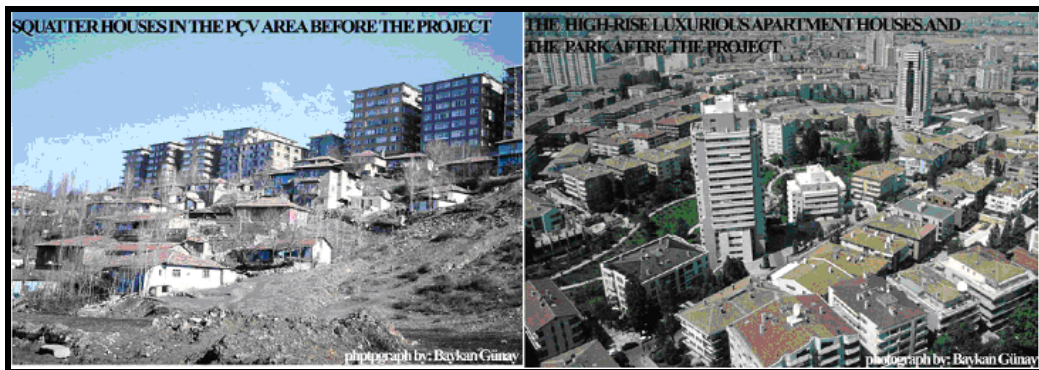


Figure 32: Portakal Cicegi Valley Transformation Project
Source: Uzun (2005)

These two valley projects were followed by the GEÇAK Project in 1995. Of the 9,33 ha project are 57% was in the ownership of municipality of Çankaya, 34% in the Municipality of Greater Ankara and the next 9% in private ownership. The gecekondu dwellers were organized under cooperatives to share the construction area among dwellers. The partners of the project have been defined as the Municipality of Çankaya, gecekondu dwellers and private investors. The role of the municipality was to provide land and organise the gecekondu population as well as preparation of development plans, monitoring the project and acting as a moderator among the company and gecekondu dwellers (Kuzu, 1997). A total of 220 gecekondu with a population of 1200 was projected to increase to 2345 after transformation. About 50% of the area was proposed for construction and 50% for green and recreational area. Each household was given a new apartment and the rest of properties produced would meet the

construction costs and the shares of other participants (İnce, 2006). At the end, the project the area was all transformed to private ownership, land prices in the area have increased and physical quality has been upgraded. It was found out that among 47 families only 8 of them continued to live in the dwellings transformed and gained by GECAK project (Görk, 2002). Some of the remaining 39 families sold their apartment dwellings and gave their shares to their children and some of them purchased dwellings in other neighbourhoods where dwelling prices were lower. And some rented out their apartments, preferring to live in neighbourhoods next to the GECAK project area where rents were lower. Consequently, a new social group has emerged in the area, as some of the gecekondu residents moved out to other neighbourhoods by selling and renting out their new apartment dwellings and new owner-occupiers and tenants moved in (Uzun, 2006).

Despite this new model implemented in Ankara's some gecekondu settlements in the District of Çankaya; in the 1980s Şentepe was intended to be transformed by the 'Transformation by Improvement Plan' Model by the Municipality of Yenimahalle. In 1984 a Master Plan at 1/5000 scale was prepared for Ankara by the Municipality of Greater Ankara. Being a metropolitan district municipality in 1984, between 1986 and 1989, The Municipality of Yenimahalle had consequently prepared and put into practice improvement plans of 11 phases for Şentepe. Until the 2000s, the Municipality of Yenimahalle had not been involved with 'Urban Transformation Projects'.

5.5.2.1.2. Developers in Şentepe in the 1980s:

Urban transformation by improvement plan model relies on the developers' decision on whether or not to invest for replacing squatter housing by new dwellings. Within the limits defined by improvement plans, developers get use of the available development rights to construct new buildings. In the late 1980's, squatter areas that were planned for redevelopment started to be profitable for small-capital house-builders, while large construction firms later involved in building of luxurious housing for middle income groups in these areas. However, in Şentepe plot sizes proposed by improvement plans were too small, that new construction could hardly be possible under those conditions (Explanation Report of Municipality of Yenimahalle). Moreover neither the Şentepe neighbourhood nor

neighbouring districts and neighbourhoods did not have any important commercial, cultural or administrative attraction nodes which could increase the demand for housing in Şentepe. Thus only some small-capital developers some of which are already living in Şentepe's squatter housing areas³¹ demolished existing structures and constructed four storey apartment buildings, which consist of 75-85 m2 apartment units. Due to capital and technological limitations of these developers these buildings are characterized by low to moderate quality construction materials and workmanship, as well as a particular style of facades (with mosaics) reflecting the preferences of the residents of the neighbourhood in that era (Figure 33). However, the transformation realized according to these redevelopment plans could only reach 10- 15% of the total gecekondu stock within the planned area. Most of the transformations realized had been in Barıştepe and Burç Neighbourhoods which have more commercial facilities, due to being on the main transportation axes leading to the CBD of Ankara.



Figure 33: Transformed Apartments of the 1980s with Mosaic Facades
Source: Municipality of Yenimahalle



Figure 34: the 1980s Transformations in the Front, the 2000s in the Back
Source: Personal Archive, 10.10.2010

³¹ information gathered from developers and mukhtars

If the literature is remembered on the investment behaviour of private sector in urban regeneration indicating that (Adair et al, 2000, McGreal et al, 2000);

- The private sector investors have a similar decision-making rationale in urban regeneration as in other investment opportunities, which are based on maximising return from the capital expended.
- They seek for secure investments
- Perception of the quality of the neighbouring environment effects investment decision
- Rather than demanding public sector money, investors seek for non-finance-based instruments to stimulate the flow of private finance into urban regeneration. These are; a guaranteed minimum standard of infrastructure, targeting of initiatives according to the private sector' s priorities and commercial requirements, simplified planning procedures, land assembly and contamination remediation, clarity in policy, greater flexibility in existing practices and more innovative policy initiatives to react to changing market conditions.

An interviewee from a construction company has explained that they have been involved in urban redevelopment according to the redevelopment plans of the 1980s in Şentepe as well as according to the current transformation project. According to this interviewee, previous plans were proposing very small plots which made it hard to redevelop and can be the reason behind why other construction companies were not interested in the area. All companies interviewed commented that it was not profitable enough to invest according to the previous redevelopment plan, since plot sizes were small and prestige of the neighbourhood was low and could not attract middle and upper income purchasers. According to the developers, in the 1980s, quality of the neighbouring environment was also perceived as low to consider their investment as secure and profitable. Moreover, the developers mention that in the 1980s, no significant policies and instruments were implemented by the public sector to attract private developers.

5.5.2.1.3. Gecekondu Owners in Şentepe in the 1980s:

By the 1980s, the improvement and redevelopment plans not only enabled the gecekondu owners in Şentepe to legalize their homeownership status but also created an opportunity for their dwellings to be transformed into apartment blocks. This transformation was expected to end up higher quality dwellings in terms of building technology, material, workmanship and functionality. This transformation would also end up with monetary gains to the gecekondu owner besides the developer since the surplus generated by the development rights is to be shared among the two actors. However, transformation has not been realized as expected despite these advantages to the gecekondu owners.

The household survey questioned reasons for this failure from households' view. Two types of households have been considered in search for this question. First, gecekondu homeowners in the sample are those who did not transform their dwellings either by improvement plans or by the transformation project. Second category related to this task is the initial owners of flats which are ex-gecekondu owners who transformed their dwelling by the transformation project although they did/ could not transform their dwellings by improvement plans.

The survey questioned gecekondu owners for the reasons of not transforming their gecekondus. According to the results of the survey (Table 15), among the first three reasons that squatter owner Hhs not transforming their squatters according to the improvement plans or the transformation projects, first comes "we couldn't afford costs" by 58,7%, then "we couldn't agree with the developer in appropriate conditions" by 13% and "the developers were not interested since our land was small" by 10.9% (the interviewees could chose more than one option in that question).

Table 15: Reasons for Not Transforming Their Gecekondus (Gecekondus Owners Survey)

Reasons for Not Transforming Their Gecekondus (gecekondus owners survey)	Code	Count	% of Responses	% of Cases
Would not afford the costs	1	27	58,7	90,0
Would be in financial lost if gecekondus were demolished	2	3	6,5	10,0
Multiple families in one plot would not get enough number of dwellings after transf.	3	1	2,2	3,3
we couldn't agree with the developer in appropriate conditions	4	6	13,0	20,0
the developers were not interested since our land was small	5	5	10,9	16,7
Disputes with other right holders in the same plot	6	1	2,2	3,3
Would prefer to live in a detached house within gardens	7	2	4,3	6,7
The municipality expropriated to make green area	8	1	2,2	3,3
Total responses		46	100,0	153,3
130 missing cases; 30 valid cases				

In the survey, initial owners of flats that were built in accordance to the Şentepe Transformation Project were asked for why they did not transform their squatters (according to the improvement plans) before this project. Among the responses, in the first place "we couldn't afford costs" by 25,3%, "we would be in financial lost" by 22,7% and 21,3% "we couldn't agree with the developer in appropriate conditions" were mentioned (Table 16).

Table 16: Reasons for Not Transforming Their Gecekondus before Şentepe Transformation Plan (2005)

Reasons for Not Transforming Their Gecekondus before ŞTP (initial homeowners survey)	Code	Count	% of Responses	% of Cases
Would not afford the costs	1	19	25,3	32,2
Would be in financial lost if gecekondu were demolished	2	17	22,7	28,8
we couldn't agree with the developer in appropriate conditions	3	16	21,3	27,1
Developers were not interested	4	3	4,0	5,1
Disputes with other right holders in the same plot	5	7	9,3	11,9
The plot was not suitable to make an apartment building	6	1	1,3	1,7
Did not know we had such a right/opportunity	7	5	6,7	8,5
Would prefer to live in a detached house within gardens	8	7	9,3	11,9
Total responses		75	100,0	127,1
Şentepe, 101 missing cases; 59 valid cases				

According to the information gathered from mukhtars and residents most of the gecekondu houses were transformed either by the families themselves or by a relative or a fellow countrymen or acquaintances. Of 21 cases which have been transformed according to redevelopment plans in Şentepe in the 1980s in the household survey conducted, 3 of them indicated that individuals from the household had worked in construction of their new apartments.

5.5.2.1.4. Planning in Şentepe in the 1980s:

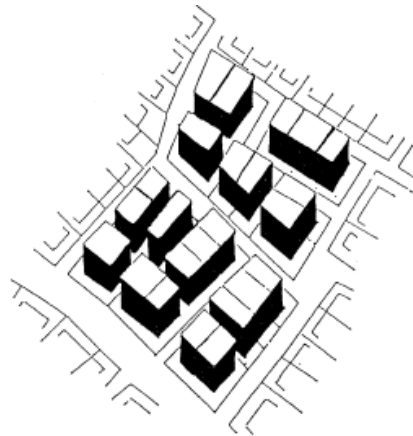
In 1982, 'Ankara 1990 Master Plan' prepared by the Ankara Master Plan Bureau was approved by the Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement. While Lörcher and Jansen plans shaped the core of Ankara, this plan attempted to develop the urban fringe (Günay, 2006), mainly along the western corridor of Ankara. Sincan

gecekondu prevention zone, Batıkent and Çayyolu projects had been the major developments of that era.

In the 1980s, Şentepe was attempted to be redeveloped by improvement and redevelopment plans. These plans gave new development rights to the gecekondu settlement within the limits defined in the Act Numbered 2981. According to these plans, each right holder was given a maximum of 400 meter square of land and each plot could have a four storey building. The improvement plans of Şentepe as elsewhere included no specific considerations for characteristics of Şentepe or the inhabitants of Şentepe, but attempted to implement a template plan shaping basic development rights and basic arrangements for roads and other uses. However, the plans aimed the large portions of squatter settlement to be transformed gradually in time according to the needs, preparedness and resources of households, as well as the demand for investment by small-capital house builders.



Settlement pattern of gecekondu



Settlement pattern of improvement plans

Figure 35: Proposed Change in Settlement Pattern by Improvement Plans

Source: YESKEP Report, 1997 Municipality of Yenimahalle

5.5.2.1.5. Locational Characteristics, Property Markets and Character of Housing Stock in Şentepe in the 1980s:

The outstanding new developments in Ankara in the 1980s included Batıkent housing project and developments along the Eskişehir road. Through the collaborative efforts of the Municipality of Ankara and Kent Koop, Batıkent has become a large housing development site in the 1980s. On the other hand,

Çayyolu- Ümitköy Projects on the southwest corridor and through 'the New Settlements Project' on the expropriated land on the north-west corridor around Eryaman- Susuz, the city expanded through west, south-west and northwest directions (Türksoy, 1999).

In the planning history of Ankara, north and south of the city have always been the place of residence for different socio-economical sections of the society divided by the railway of Istanbul- Ankara- Anadolu axes. Administrative units and housing for those administrative classes coming from Istanbul had been constructed in the south after being the capital city and this decision determined this differentiation afterwards. While most of the low and middle income groups have been living in the northern districts, high and middle-high income groups chose to live in the south of Ankara (Şenyapılı, 2006:218). Şentepe located on the north of the railway does not appear to be a major focus of attraction for housing development according to this interpretation.

Although the 1980s were years when the ratio of tenants in the gecekondu stock was increasing, Şentepe has been a settlement where in most of the owners (or possessors without having deed) live. However, some of the gecekondu dwellings had been started to be transformed. Aksulu and Aykut, (2003) explain the factors underlying the (*demolish*)-build-and sell mechanism in Şentepe as;

- Generally a corrupt construction, structural deficiency and lack of hygienic conditions due to building in short time.
- Speculative tendencies/ rent expectations by *gecekondu* owners which function as deterrent for improvement and have a role in line with the legal laxity, which has a political context.



Figure 36: Location of Şentepe in Ankara's Main Development Axes

Base map Source: Şenyapılı, 2006

5.5.2.1.6. Legislations in Şentepe in the 1980s:

The legislations referring to the urban transformation, urban development and built environment have already been explained in previous chapters and sections. However, there was no special legislation that could be applied to the study area during the 1980s. A summary of legislations introduced during the 1980s is given in Table 17.

5.5.2.2. Events/ Activities of Urban Transformation in Şentepe in the 1980s

The urban transformation experience in Şentepe during the end of the 1980s depicted a typical content and sequence of a 'transformation by improvement plan' model as summarized in Figure 37. However, only 10-15% of the informal housing stock in Şentepe could undergo along this process. Therefore, in Şentepe, in the 1980s, the event sequence demonstrated in the figure was blocked just after the preparation of improvement and redevelopment plan by the municipality. The site preserved its squatter settlement character.

Table 17 : Summary of Major Changes in Legislations Related to Urban Development in the 1980s

Year	Number	Name of Legislation	Content, Aims and Outputs
1983	2942	Compulsory Purchase Law	- all public and private property would be subject to compulsory purchase - enabled the municipalities to implement projects concerning protection, transformation, intensive development, and public and/or private investments provided that the municipality should make the payments within 5 years
1984	3030	Greater Municipality Law	- Greater municipality of Ankara was established
1984	2981	Procedures to be applied to Buildings not Conforming to Reconstruction and Squatter Housing Legislation and Modification of an Article of Law No.6785".	- suggested redevelopment instead of upgrading - aimed to achieve "rapid" transformation on a "mass scale" in gecekondu settlements (Şenyapılı and Türel, 1996, 13). - not only legalizes land holdings and buildings but also allows the owners to built up to 4 storey apartment blocks on regularized plots. - departure from Development Law for gecekondu settlements. - introduced an 'improvement plan' concept with different standards - Renewal through market processes, infrastructure provision by the governments.
1984	2985	Mass Housing Law	- defined the Housing Development Administration as the biggest housing finance agency of the country with the aim of dealing with the housing finance problem of middle and lower-middle income groups.
1985	3194	Development Law	- Plan preparation, approval and control authorities were passed to local governments

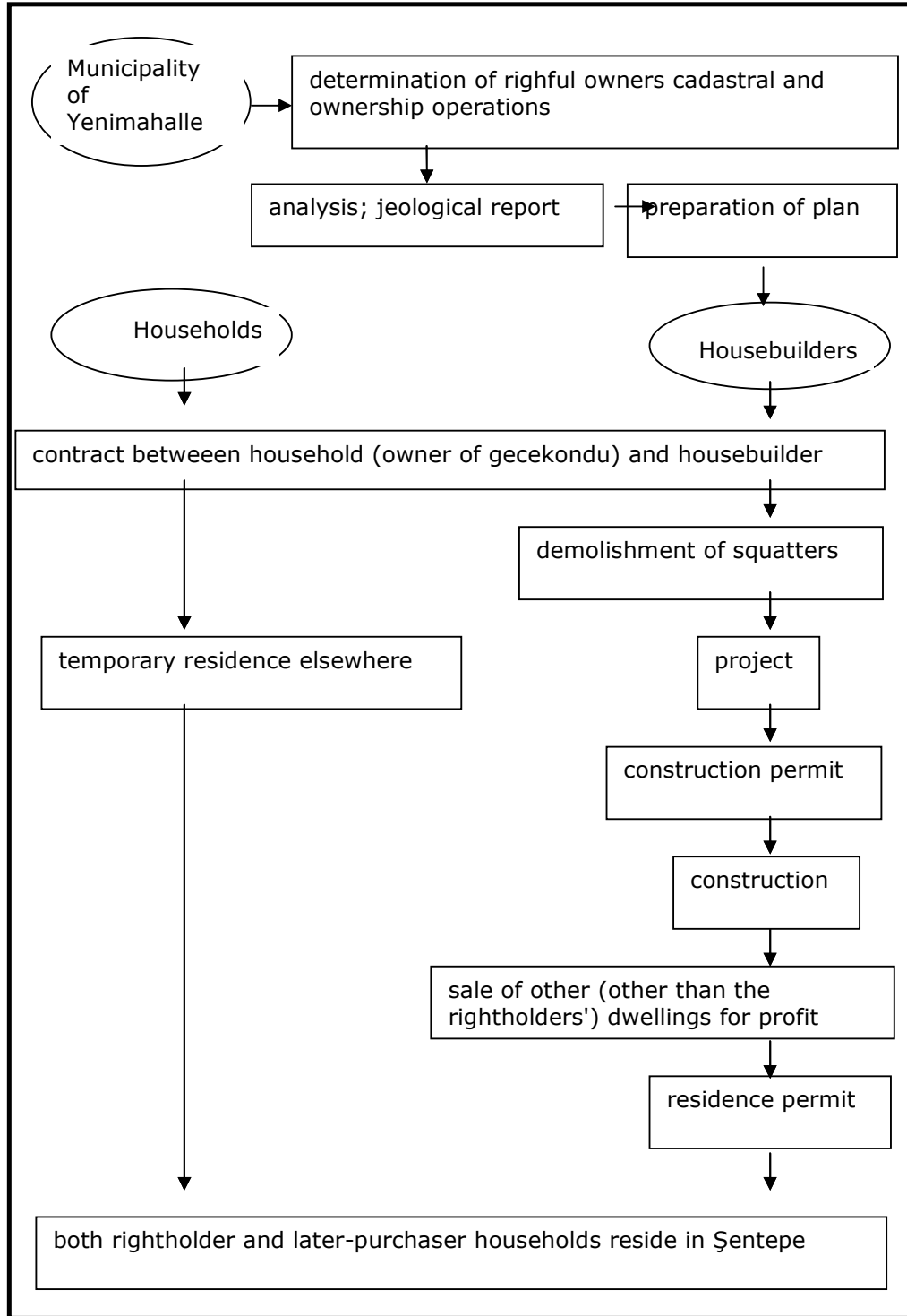


Figure 37: The Event Sequence in Urban Transformation by Improvement and (Re)development Plan in Şentepe

5.5.2.3. Implications of Transformation of Şentepe in the 1980s:

Although the realised transformations according to the improvement plans in Şentepe were limited to 10- 15%, improvement plans still have strong implications in the area. First, having a security of tenure and regularization, the resident households of squatters could make projections about the future on their housing. Even if the demand from developers to invest in the area was very low, increased development rights led the households either to transform with their own personal efforts or created a hope for the future to make agreements with builders which would enable them to get new dwelling(s).

The study of Municipality of Yenimahalle came up with four main problems about the area after the improvement plans (Explanation Report, 2004);

- Highly limited number of transformations have been realised which consists of only 10-15% of the total squatter stock.
- Şentepe is near to the city centre and the neighbouring districts are highly developed and therefore there is an investment demand in the area but small plot sizes in improvement plans disable potential development
- The proposed green areas, commercial areas and social facilities are insufficient in improvement plans
- Some of the proposed roads in improvement plans could not be realised due to high slopes

The transformation in the area has led to low physical quality buildings due to size constraints of plots as well as financial, technical and material constraints of small-capital builders. In some cases, these builders are the families themselves or a relative or a fellow countrymen or acquaintances whose primary profession is not development or construction facilities at all. This brings poorly designed and engineered structures meeting only the minimum construction licence criterion while making economically the best of development rights given by the plan.

On the other hand the most important change brought out by improvement plans is still improvement in infrastructure. Even if the proposed level of

infrastructure supply was very low according to the standards (Table 18), the plans still upgraded the squatter housing neighbourhoods by new roads, parks, schools, electricity, fresh water and sewage.



Figure 38: A transformed apartment block in a small plot according to Improvement plans of the 1980s

Source: Municipality of Yenimahalle, 2005



Figure 39: Apartments under the level of roads

Source: Municipality of Yenimahalle



Figure 40: Apartments under the level of roads

Source: Personal Archive,
10.10.2010

Table 18: Difference between standards and proposed areas of facilities by improvement plans in Şentepe

Function	Proposed by Redev. Plan			Proposed by Legislation		Difference (B-A)
	Number	Area (ha) (A)	Ratio %	m ² / person	Area (ha)* (B)	Area (ha)
Housing	685	241	55,53			
Commerce- housing	20	4,9	1,12	1,1	18,7	9,4
Commerce	12	2,3	0,52			
Commerc. recreation	2	2,1	0,48			
Primary Educ.	16	9,3	2,14	4,5	76,5	67,2
Secondary Educ.	3	6,2	1,43	3	51	44,8
Kindergarten	4	1	0,23	1	17	16
Socio- cult. fact.	1	0,1	0,02	2,5	42,5	42,4
Health	5	1	0,23	4	68	67
Religious fact.	23	2,6	0,6	0,5	8,5	5,9
Community educ.	1	0,09	0,02	0,4	6,8	6,71
Green area	408	34,9	8	10	170	134,9
Sports	1	0,2	0,04			
Muncpl. Serv. area	7	1,4	0,32			
Bazaar/ market	3	0,7	0,16			
Water depot	1	0,1	0,02			
Police station	1	0,09	0,02			
TRT	1	0,5	0,11			
Roads		126	29,01			
Total	1194	434	100			

Source: ŞTP Report Explanation Municipality of Yenimahalle, 2004

5.5.3. the 2000s; 2nd Phase of Urban Transformation in Şentepe:

At the beginning of the 2000s, Şentepe still had a landscape of a typical squatter settlement with only a few transformed apartment buildings almost solely on the main streets despite the improvement and redevelopment plans. Therefore, the municipality first carried out a study to discover the possible reasons of this unsuccess in the first attempt of urban transformation. According to the report of the municipality, the area couldn't be transformed for a number of reasons;

- First the plot sizes proposed by previous plans were not suitable for appropriate development as they have disadvantages for those households who are sharing right holders status in these plots.
- Second there were no projects to provide a 'start-up' for transformation.
- Third, these plans lacked sufficient infrastructure with respect to standards in terms of quantity in roads, green areas and social facilities.
- Fourth, some of the proposed roads in the plan could not be constructed due to high slopes in the area (Explanation Report of Şentepe Urban Transformation Project, Municipality of Yenimahalle, 2004).

Since the first attempt to transform the Şentepe neighbourhood had not been successful, the Municipality of Yenimahalle attempted to transform Şentepe for a second time. In 2004, the municipality prepared a project called 'Şentepe Urban Transformation Project' and put into practice by 2005.

5.5.3.1. Actors of Urban Transformation in the 2nd Phase of Transformation of the 2000s

The following sections will study the three major actors of urban transformation in Şentepe; public sector, households and developers after 2004 with reference to their roles, power, interests and strategies in the process of 'Şentepe Transformation Project'.

5.5.3.1.1. Yenimahalle Municipality in the 2000s:

By the year 2000s, Yenimahalle is among the 18 central districts of Ankara and the population of Yenimahalle District have reached to 534.109 in the centre and 553.344 including villages. By the year 2010 population of Yenimahalle is 648.160³². A total of 64 neighbourhoods are located in Yenimahalle.

As seen from map (Figure 41) the District of Yenimahalle encompasses two locationally distinct and separated parts. The first part in the northeast consists of Demetevler, Şentepe, Karşıyaka and Yahyalar neighbourhoods. The second part in the southwest consists of more recent settlements of Ankara's south-eastern corridor like Ümitköy, Çayyolu, and Konutkent. While this second part in the southwest houses more commonly upper-middle and high income households; Batıkent, Demetevler and the centre of Yenimahalle are middle income neighbourhoods; Şentepe, Karşıyaka and Yahyalar, on the other hand, consists of low and low-middle income families.

By 2007 the district of Yenimahalle has become the 3rd most populated district of Ankara. After the 2000s, the Municipality of Yenimahalle has first been involved with transformation projects. Besides the Şentepe Urban Transformation Project, the Municipality of Yenimahalle currently carries out other transformation projects such as M. Akif Ersoy Neighbourhood Urban Transformation Project or Pamuklar Urban Transformation Project (with HDA).

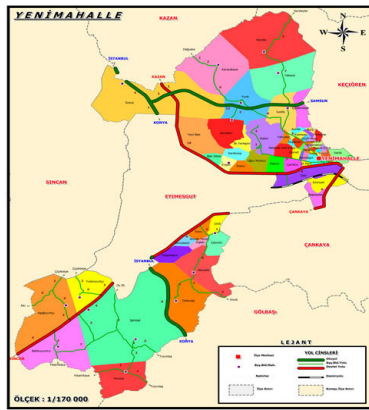


Figure 41: Official Map District of Yenimahalle

Map Source: url: <http://www.ankara.gov.tr/Portal.asp?X=ILC25>, accessed at 14.02.2010

³² Turstat,2010, Adress Based Population Census Results, Publication No: 3509

Actually, the basic actor of urban transformation in Şentepe after 2004 is the municipality since the municipality ended up the lack of development activity in the area. The first operation of the municipality had been investigating the failure of redevelopment according to improvement and redevelopment plans which were in practice in almost 20 years. The study ended up with the following results (Municipality of Yenimahalle ŞTP Explanation Report, 2004);

- Plot sizes proposed by improvement plans were too small
- No important commercial, cultural or administrative attraction nodes were available which could increase the demand for housing in the neighbourhood
- The proposed green areas, commercial areas and social facilities were insufficient in improvement plans
- Some of the proposed roads in improvement plans could not be realised due to high slopes

According to the information gathered from the municipality officials, in the light of this analysis, this time the municipality adopted a number of strategies (Table 19);

- First, the second plan of urban transformation was called and announced as a 'Transformation Project', since the recent transformation projects produced large scale, higher quality dwellings and environs enabling the developers to get high returns. In other words, the municipality aimed to attract the private sector investment to the neighbourhood, by first getting help of the 'profitability' image of transformation projects.
- The second strategy of the municipality has been enabling the developers to get use of positive externalities; that is the municipality decided to make some investments such as a large urban park which would increase the image of the district in a positive way. This would again help to increase the profitability of the neighbourhood for the private sector.

- Third, in terms of the content of the new plan, the municipality also decided to increase all kinds of social infrastructure such as education, recreation and social facilities which were lacking in the previous plan.
- Fourth, the municipality decided to ease some of the procedures for builders in terms of various paper works to be carried out in the municipality when a builder decides to invest in the area.

The first three strategies targeted the existing households in the area as well as house builders, as they create a positive prospect in their minds about what they would achieve in terms of a new living environment after transformation. Several meetings were arranged by the municipality with existing households getting also the help of mukhtars to inform and encourage the residents to urban transformation. In that way the municipality aimed to target both of the other two major actors; developers and households, in the transformation process in order to achieve the plan's transformation objective. The types of strategies employed by the municipality are summarized in Table 19. More details on the planning decisions of the project will be given in the proceeding section "Planning in the Şentepe Transformation Project". The relationship between actors, their interests and strategies are visualised in Figure 42.

Table 19: Types of Strategies Employed by the Municipality of Yenimahalle in Şentepe Urban Transformation Project

Type of Strategy	Changes in Planning and land use decisions	Minimizing Transaction costs	Enabling participation	Creating positive externalities	Guaranteeing a min Infrastructure
Strategies changing 'rules of the game'	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • prepared development plan instead of redevelopment plan • increased plot sizes • rearranged the road network and building block pattern so as to provide larger plots enabling larger size of dwelling units • increased development rights enabling more than four storey construction • additional development rights for redevelopment at building block level 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • institutional changes in order to ease the procedures for house-builders, i.e. number of paperwork diminished • fee exemptions for specific conditions for satisfying house-builders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • meetings with residents to inform as well as to ask opinions or easing or mediating issues of households with house-builders 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • flagship investments which will be all financed and carried out by the municipality such as a large urban park which might create a positive externality effect • announcing the plan as a 'transformation project' 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • increased the amount of social and technical infrastructure employing 'development plan' standards instead of 'redevelopment plan'

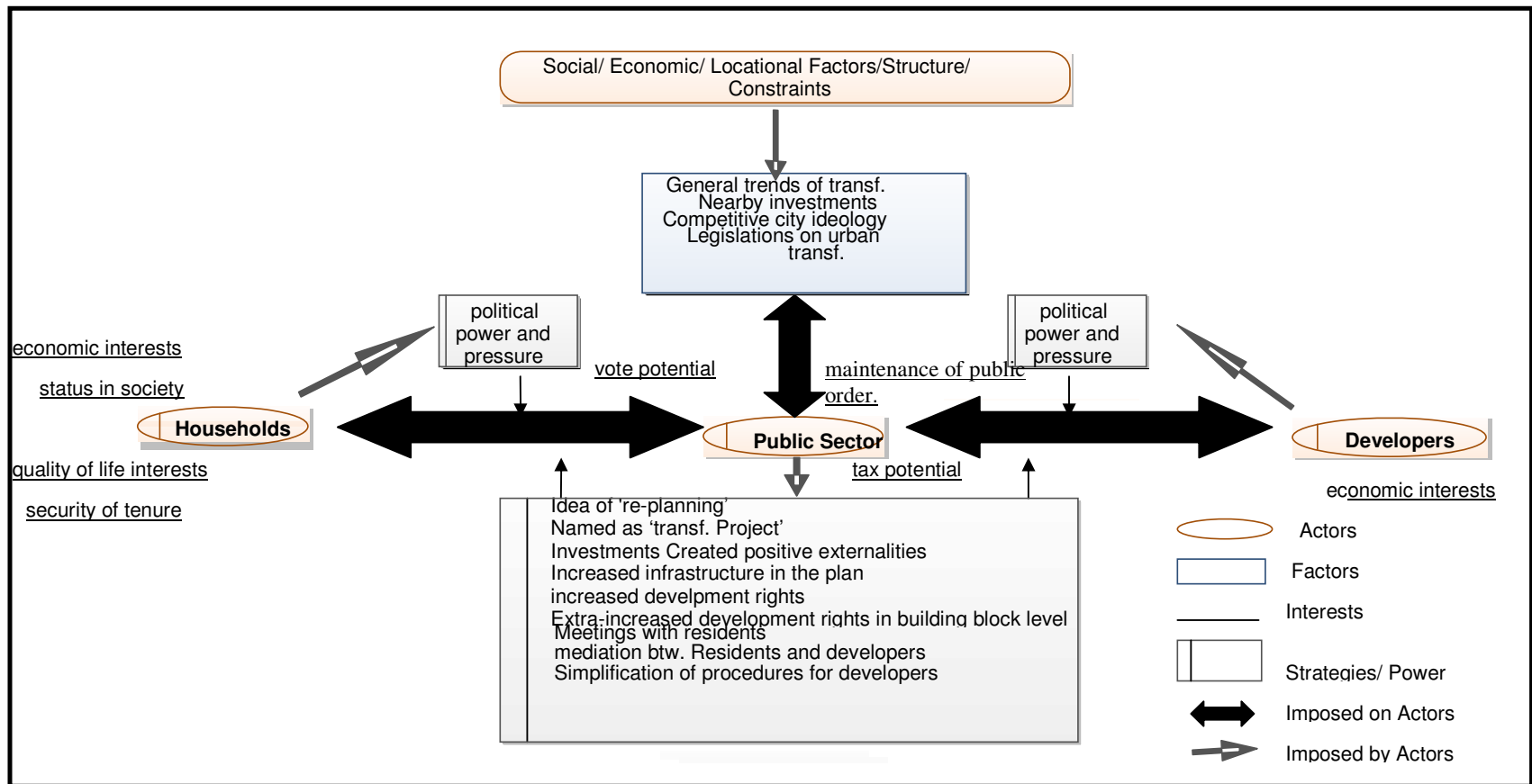


Figure 42: Institutional Analysis of ŞTP Process (Partial); Actors of ŞTP, Their Strategies, Actions and Relationships

5.5.3.1.2. Mukhtars³³ in the 2000s:

In Turkey, mukhtars are the smallest unit of central administration at the local level which is a 'quarter'. The administrative body in the villages are also called mukhtars; however mukhtars of neighbourhoods are relatively less authorised units in terms of administration. Mukhtars of quarters' primary duties are related with registration of residents' changes of demographic characteristics and addresses. Nevertheless since mukhtars are the most accessible administrative authority for many households in the unauthorised neighbourhoods due to both physical proximity to the dwellings and since they have voted for the election of mukhtars most of whom they already know from their neighbourhood and family or friendship bonds. Therefore families living in these neighbourhoods consult and request for any demands or problems they face either related by central or local authorities to the mukhtars as a first step. Municipalities and developers also refer mukhtars for notifying their activities, managing disputes, to make inquiries about attitudes of households. Thus mukhtars act as a communication, mediation and a negotiation channel among all critical actors of urban transformation. In Şentepe Transformation Project, there are 11 neighbourhoods and mukhtars most of whom play an active role in the transformation process according to the conducted interviews with mukhtars.

5.5.3.1.3. Developers in the 2000s:

The model of urban transformation in Şentepe relies on private sector investments for demolishing and construction of new dwellings. Therefore, attracting developers to the area is a core strategy for the success of the project. The 2000's Ankara is a very dynamic market in terms of development and construction most of which included transformation of unauthorised housing.

A number of interviews were made with developers in order to understand urban transformation in Şentepe from their perspective³⁴. The interviewee shared their experiences in the area; their observations, complaints, expectations and

³³ Mukhtar: The elected head of a neighbourhood within a city. Neighbourhood is not a unit of local governments (municipalities) in the Turkish administrative system but the smallest elected unit of the central government at the local level.

³⁴ A total of 5 interviews have been made with various construction company representatives investing in ŞTP area.

preferences. Several similar expectations and problems were cited through these interviews.

According to the interviews, the share of gecekondü landowner as the value of land in the constructed apartment block is about 40%. The interviewee indicated that they have also undertaken redevelopment activities in other parts of Ankara such as Balgat or Dikmen where this ratio increases up to 50%, since land and housing prices are higher in those neighbourhoods.

An interviewee from a construction company has explained that they have been involved in both urban redevelopment according to the redevelopment plans of the 1980s in Şentepe and as well as in the current transformation project. According to this interviewee, the current projects have more opportunities for a developer since previous plans proposed very small plots which made it hard to redevelop and can be the reason of why other construction companies were not interested in the area. The interviewee also indicated that they have got used of the additional development rights given in case of redevelopment on building block level which they appreciated and found very useful.

The interviewed developers explained that transformation projects are of no difference from new development for themselves as long as they have similar profits. However they also cited a number of problems they faced during their redevelopment activities in the Şentepe transformation project;

1. infrastructural problems
2. disputes with gecekondü landowners
3. inefficiency of the municipality in problem solving and easing the procedures

According to the interviews; for developers, the most common dissatisfaction about investing and constructing in Şentepe has been the infrastructural problems. Since the infrastructure such as electricity was suitable for a few number of gecekondü housing, this infrastructure created problems for a denser urban environment at the beginning of construction works; so that the interviewed development company had to establish three transformation stations by themselves including all kinds of paperwork for getting authorization from the responsible authority. The construction companies also criticized the transformation plan of the municipality in terms of the road scheme which they

find insufficient. They emphasized that since the project proposes 35000 new dwellings to be constructed, major changes and additions rather than small scale- arrangements have to be made in the road widths and network.

Another one is on disputes or agreement difficulties with gecekondü owners. A representative from a construction company complains that solving these agreement problems lasted almost a year and so that they had to wait for a long time before they could start construction. This interviewee told that if they had known that this would be so difficult they would not invest here. General opinion of the developers is that although municipal authority tries to act as a mediator between developers and gecekondü owners, they are hardly successful in doing so. On the other hand, another interviewee told that they face with disputes with land owners, not only in redevelopment areas but also in new development areas, thus is not a problem unique for redevelopment.

Although one of the highlighted features of the transformation project by the municipality has been easing the procedures; an interviewee had complaints about time delays in paperwork and operation of the municipality. An interviewee from a company complained that it took a lot of time for the municipality to give building licences (occupancy permits), so that they could not give title deeds to the purchasers in due time.

However, although they are facing with problems the construction companies indicate that their projects are still profitable and they think that if the transformation would not be done, the people could be urbanites while still living in gecekondü houses. The interviewee told that they observed hardly any new comers from other parts of the city preferred purchasing dwellings from Şentepe. The ones who prefer are those middle income households who cannot afford to live in Çayyolu and work in MİT or Aselsan, which are near to Şentepe or relatively more affluent households living in other parts of the city who have relatives and friends in Şentepe.

5.5.3.1.4. Households in the 2000s:

Households are critical in Şentepe Transformation project for two main reasons; first the transformation project aims at increasing the quality of housing and

environs, thus quality of life of households since they will benefit from any improvements; secondly since the Şentepe Transformation Project relies on the household's decision to transform when a developer comes up with an offer to construct a new building on the gecekondü plot, households determine the realization and pace of transformation. Thus, attitudes of households for transformation are critical in the process.

As elsewhere, households are neither institutionalised bodies nor organised and homogenous structures in Şentepe. Thus, they are the little-known and hard to study actors of the transformation processes. Improvements in housing can be those which are considered universally as improvement but also there might be some others who rely on household's attitudes, preferences and life styles. In other words, an improvement for a household or community may be an unimprovement for another. Certain households and communities might prefer one characteristic to another, such as decisions between apartment or detached house, mixed or single uses, vividness or serenity. That's why planning for Şentepe should take the preferences of existing households into account.

The household survey carried out within the scope of this thesis enabled this study to investigate some of the aspects of households' demographic and tenure characteristics, interests, attitudes, expectations, limitations, drawbacks and interventions in terms of urban transformation. In the following sections, first socio-economic and demographic characteristics of households such as Hh size, education level and occupation of family members, car ownership and income will be studied. The interviewee were also asked about Hh characteristics in terms of housing tenure including moving date to the dwelling, possession of other dwellings and land ownership status of current and other dwellings. Lastly they were asked about their attitudes, preferences about urban transformation and how transformation has changed their quality of life and economic well-being. First, the results of socio economic and demographic characteristics will be presented followed by Hh characteristics in terms of housing tenure. Results of Hhs' attitudes, preferences and impacts of transformation will be presented in the proceeding elements of the institutional model, such as relationship between actors and implications of transformation. The results of the Dikmen survey will be used as a tool for comparison for Şentepe neighbourhood. A more detailed discussion of implications of transformation on households will later be given in the section of 'implications of Şentepe Transformation Project'.

5.5.3.1.4.1. Socio-economic and demographic characteristics of Hhs in Şentepe and Dikmen:

According to the results of the survey, in Şentepe, the Hh size varies between 1 and 6. While single person Hhs occupy 5,6% of the stock in Şentepe; the largest Hh size is 6, which constitutes another 5,6% share in the overall distribution (Table 20). The average household (Hh) size is found as 3,39 (Table 21) in Şentepe according to the results of the survey (3.23 in gecekondü dwellings and 3.45 in flats, in Table 21). Hh size in Dikmen is between 1 and 8. 10% of the stock is occupied by one single person and the largest Hh size is 8 constituting 1.69% of the stock. In Dikmen the average household size is observed as 3,05 (Table 21)³⁵.

Table20: Frequency Distribution of Hh Size in Şentepe and Dikmen

Hh size	Şentepe		Dikmen		
	Frequency	Percent	Hh size	Frequency	Percent
1 person	9	5,63	1 person	6	10,17
2 person	34	21,25	2 person	16	27,12
3 person	43	26,88	3 person	16	27,12
4 person	42	26,25	4 person	15	25,42
5 person	23	14,38	5 person	4	6,78
6 person	9	5,63	6 person	1	1,69
8 person	-	-	8 person	1	1,69
Total	160	100,00	Total	59	100,00

Table 21: Average Hh Size in Şentepe and Dikmen

Hh size	Şentepe					Dikmen				
	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Dev.	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Dev.
	160	1	6	3,39	1,28	59	1	8	3,05	1,35

³⁵ Avarage Hh size is 4,18 in urban areas in Turkey (SIS, 2000)

Table 22: Percent Distribution of Hh Size According to Hh Categories in Şentepe and Dikmen

Hh size	Şentepe						Dikmen			
	Squatter Homeowner	Squatter Tenant	Flat- initial homeowner	flat- later purch.	Flat tenant	Total	Hh size	Flat- initial homeowner	Flat- later purch.	Total
1 person	13,33		5,00		5,00	5,63	1 person	11,11	7,14	10,17
2 person	26,67	20,00	23,75	20,00	5,00	21,25	2 person	22,22	42,86	27,12
3 person	16,67	30,00	31,25	30,00	20,00	26,88	3 person	31,11	14,29	27,12
4 person	26,67	30,00	25,00	20,00	35,00	26,25	4 person	26,67	21,43	25,42
5 person	10,00	20,00	10,00	30,00	20,00	14,38	5 person	6,67	7,14	6,78
6 person	6,67		5,00		15,00	5,63	6 person	2,22		1,69
8 person	-	-	-	-	-	-	8 person	-	7,14	1,69
Total	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100	Total	100,00	100,00	100,00

As seen from the Table 23, in Şentepe, only 3.25 per cent of the household heads are graduates of a university whereas this figure rises up to %19,64 in Dikmen.

Table 23: Level of Education of Household Heads in Şentepe and Dikmen

EDUCATION LEVELS Of Hh Head	Şentepe		Dikmen	
	frequency	Percent	frequency	Percent
No school and no literacy	1	0,65	1	1,79
No school but literate	1	0,65	1	1,79
Primary School	44	28,57	12	21,43
Secondary School	57	37,01	16	28,57
High school	46	29,87	15	26,79
University	5	3,25	11	19,64
Total	154	100	56	100

The education of spouse of Hh heads is even lower than household head in Şentepe (Table 24); 13,6% of all cases (4,08% non-literate, 9,52% literate) are not graduated from any school at all and there are no university graduates among spouses in all Şentepe. In Dikmen, the level of education figures of spouses is relatively higher than Şentepe. Among spouses of Hh Heads in Dikmen, 14% are university graduates. In Şentepe education level figures of Hh Heads (mostly supposed to be males) and spouses (females) are much more differentiated from each other. Differentiation between male and female population in terms of education levels in favour of male population can be evaluated as a more rural character of the population.

Table 24: Level of Education of Spouse of Household Head in Şentepe and Dikmen

EDUCATION LEVELS of Spouse of HhH	Şentepe		Dikmen	
	Freq.	Percent	Freq.	Percent
No school and no literacy	6	4,08	5	9,6
No school but literate	14	9,52	2	3,8
Primary School	67	45,58	19	37
Secondary School	32	21,77	9	17
High school	28	19,05	10	19
University			7	14
Total	147	100	52	100

When we look into the sectoral occupation in Şentepe, 82% of the interviewee Hh Heads work in services, and 18% are working in the industrial sector (Figure 43). Among occupational position of HhH, the highest share is of self-employed category (35.6%), then comes retired (33.1%). 2,5% of all interviewee is unemployed (Figure 44). In Dikmen, 94.9% of the interviewee Hh heads work in the services sector, 5.1% is working in the industrial sector (Figure 45). The highest share is of retired category (40.7%) among occupational position of HhH, then comes self-employed (27.1%). 2,5% of all interviewee is unemployed (Figure 45).

While 93.4% of HhH spouses are housewives in Şentepe. In Dikmen, 73.6% of spouses are housewives, and then comes the 11.3% office worker- civil servant category. Although unemployment rates in household heads are the same in both neighbourhoods; less women work in Şentepe.

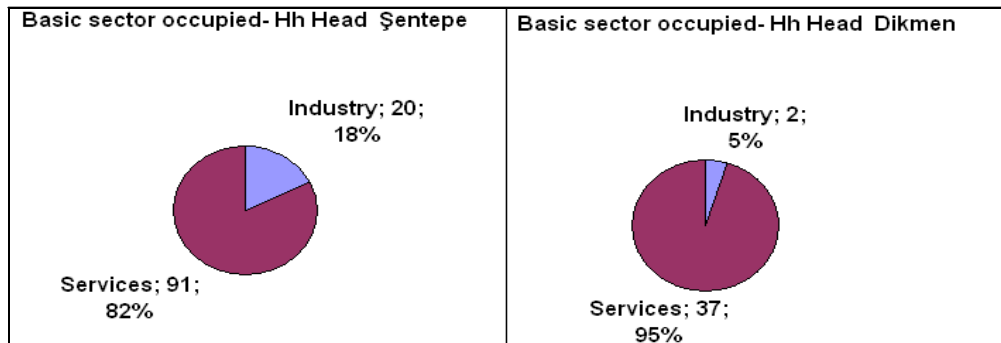


Figure 43: Frequency and Percent Distribution of Basic Sector Occupied (Hh Heads) in Şentepe and Dikmen

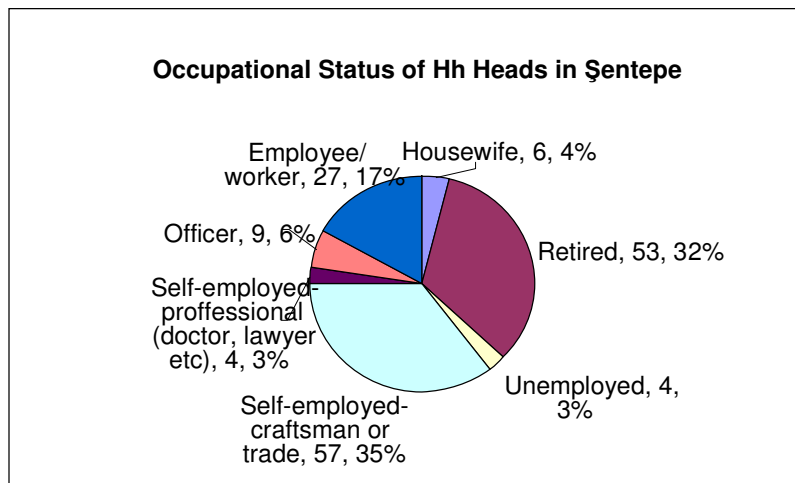


Figure 44: Frequency and Percent Distribution of Occupational Status of Hh Heads in Şentepe

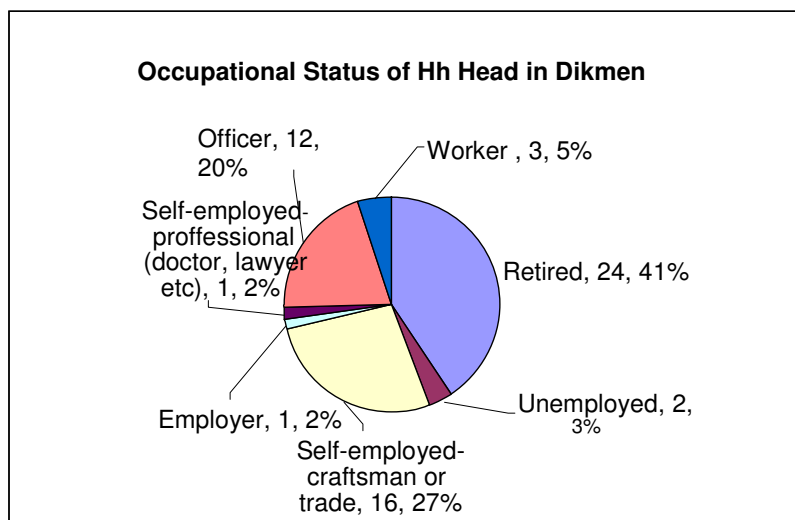


Figure 45: Frequency and Percent Distribution of Occupational Status of Hh Heads in Dikmen

In Şentepe, the average income of households considering the salary and rent yields has been found as 1023 TL (Table 25). Average monthly total income in Dikmen is 21,7% more than Şentepe. The minimum average monthly income in Şentepe is of tenants; gecekondu tenants by 720,00, then comes flat tenants by 862,50 TL. The difference between initial homeowners in apartments (ex-gecekondu owners) and later-purchasers in Şentepe is 9,9% (in favour of later-purchasers); the same figure for Dikmen 85,9% indicating a more differentiated new population in Dikmen.

Table 25: Average Monthly Total Hh Income in Şentepe and Dikmen

Dwelling type- rightholdership-tenancy	Monthly Total Hh Income in TL					
	Şentepe			Dikmen		
	Mean	N	Std. Dev.	Mean	N	Std. Dev.
Squatter homeowner	868,33	30,00	442,66	-	-	-
Squatter tenant	720,00	10,00	193,22	-	-	-
initial homeown. of flat	1112,03	79,00	738,29	1029,07	43,00	346,62
later purchaser of flat	1222,50	20,00	464,10	1914,29	14,00	455,07
Flat tenant	862,50	20,00	480,37	-	-	-
Total	1023,90	159,00	619,23	1246,49	57,00	534,76

Not only the demographic characteristics of Hhs but also tenure characteristics are of importance in understanding the Hhs' character. Questions in the survey regarding tenure characteristics include homeownership status in current and previous dwellings, length of stay in current and previous dwellings and neighbourhoods, legal status of current, previous, their other currently possessed (if applicable) dwellings.

5.5.3.1.4.2. Housing Tenure Characteristics of Hhs in Şentepe and Dikmen:

According to the survey in Şentepe, the year since households live in their dwelling varies between 1970 and 2007 (1970- 2004 for gecekondu dwellers; 1980- 2007 for flats). Gecekondu residents in Şentepe have been living in their house for 24,48 years on the average and flat dwellers have been living for 4,84 years on the average (Table 26). Most of the gecekondu Hhs (25%) have

moved to their house between 1970- 1984; most of the Hhs living in flats has moved to their flats after 2005.

In Dikmen, the year since households live in their dwelling varies between 1992 and 2005 (Table 26); Hhs live in their house on the average of 10,5 years (Table 27).

The year since households live in the same neighbourhood varies between 1970 and 2003 in Şentepe for gecekondü homeowners, 1975-2004 for gecekondü tenants; 1954-2007 for flat owners and 1960-2005 for flat tenants. The year since households live in the same neighbourhood varies between 1948 and 2005 in Dikmen. Gecekondü residents have been living in the neighbourhood for 25 years on the average and flat dwellers for 22 years. As seen from both tables, the figures of living in the neighbourhood is not as much differentiated as figures in living in the same dwelling between flat and gecekondü dwellers, which gives a clue that most of the flat dwellers (both house owners and tenants of flats) are the once gecekondü dwellers in the same neighbourhood (Table 27). Nevertheless flat tenants have longer length of stay in the same neighbourhood than later –purchasers of flats.

Table 26: Average Length of Time since Moving to the Current Dwelling in Şentepe and Dikmen

Dwelling type	Şentepe						Dikmen						
	Moving date to the dwelling			Length of stay in the dwelling (years)			Moving date to the dwelling			Length of stay in the dwelling (years)			
	N	Min.	Max.	Mean	Min.	Max.	N	Min.	Max.	Mean	Min.	Max.	Std. Dev.
squatter	40	1970	2004	24,48	4	38							
flat	119	1980	2007	4,84	1	28	59	1992	2005	10,5	3	16	3,18
Total	159	1970	2007	8,86	1	38	59	1992	2005	10,5	3	16	3,18

Table 27: Average Values of Length of Staying in their Current Neighbourhood in Şentepe and Dikmen

Hh Categories	Şentepe							Dikmen						
	The year since you have been living in this neighbourhood?				How long- been living in this neighbourhood?			The year since you have been living in this neighbourhood?				How long- been living in this neighbourhood?		
	N	Min.	Max.	Std. Dev.	Mean	Min.	Max.	N	Min.	Max.	Std. Dev.	Mean	Min.	Max.
Squatter homeowner	30	1970	2003	6,73	28,30	5	38							
Squatter tenant	10	1975	2004	8,49	16,50	4	33							
Flat- initial owner	78	1954	2006	12,20	25,37	2	54	45	1948	1990	9,60	30,09	18	60
Flat- later purchaser	20	1963	2007	13,48	12,95	1	45	14	1969	2005	10,63	12,43	3	39
Flat tenant	20	1960	2005	13,30	18,15	3	48							
Total	158	1954	2007	12,48	22,88	1	54	59	1948	2005	12,35	25,90	3	60

The households were asked whether they own/possess any dwellings, other than the dwelling they are now living in. In Şentepe, 6,7% of the gecekondü homeowners responded as they have dwelling(s) other than the house they are now living (Table 28). Of all household categories the highest values in availability of other dwelling(s) is in initial flat owner category by 21,25%. This figure is even higher than the value in later- purchaser owners of flats who have higher incomes, which takes the value of 10%. Since the figure is lower for gecekondü owners (6.67%), the high values in ex-gecekondü owners can be evaluated as they have gained more than one dwelling after transformation. While none of the gecekondü tenants have another dwelling; 20% of tenants of flats have dwelling(s) other than the house they are now living, which takes a higher value from even later-purchaser flat owners (60% of these dwellings are gecekondü, 20% shared ownership and 20% authorized flat). In the overall sample the Hhs who has dwelling(s) other than the dwelling they are now living constitutes 15.63% of the sample. 76% of these households possess one more dwelling other than the current dwelling. The number of dwellings possessed does not go far from 2 for tenants; on the other hand it takes the values up to 12 for ex-gecekondü flat owners which is too high if not coded wrongly in the survey (Table 29).

In Şentepe, 50% of these "other dwellings" are in the same building that the Hh live. According to the ex-gecekondü owner Hhs' responses, 73.7% of their 'other dwellings' are in the same building, 5.3% are in the same quarter, 10,5% are in the same neighbourhood (Şentepe), none of these are in other neighbourhoods of Ankara and 5,3% are in other cities and 5,3% are in the village (Table 30). The high figures in 'in the same building' category leads us to the conclusion that those dwellings were gained by transformation. In fact, none of the later-purchaser Hhs has (an) other dwelling(s) in the same building (Table 31). However, 50% of them have other dwelling(s) in other quarters within Şentepe. The other 50% are in other neighbourhoods/ districts of Ankara. Interestingly, 20% of the dwellings of flat tenants are in the same quarter and 40% are in other quarters of Şentepe. 60% of these flats of tenants are gecekondü (40% unauthorized and 20% legalized), 20% are authorized flats and 20% are shared ownership.

Table 28: Frequency Distribution of Possession of Dwelling(s) other than they are living in Şentepe and Dikmen

Do you or anyone in your Hh have any other dwellings possessed other than the dwelling you are now living?												
Hh Categories	Şentepe						Dikmen					
	No		Yes		Total		No		Yes		Total	
	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%
Squatter homeowner	28	93,33	2	6,67	30	100						
Squatter tenant	10	100,00			10	100						
Flat- initial owner	63	78,75	17	21,25	80	100	40	88,89	5	11,11	45	100
Flat- later purchaser	18	90,00	2	10,00	20	100	11	78,57	3	21,43	14	100
Flat tenant	16	80,00	4	20,00	20	100						
Total	135	84,38	25	15,63	160	100	51	86,44	8	13,56	59	100

Table 29: Freq. Distribution of Number of Dwelling(s) possessed other than the House they are living in Şentepe

Şentepe	Number of Dwelling(s) Possessed other than the House they are living											
	1		2		3		5		12		Total	
Hh Categories	freq.	%	freq.	%	Freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%
Squatter homeowner	2	100,00									2	100
Flat- initial owner	12	70,59	1	5,88	2	11,76	1	5,88	1	5,88	17	100
Flat- later purchaser	2	100,00									2	100
Flat tenant	3	75,00	1	25,00							4	100
Total	19	76,00	2	8,00	2	8,00	1	4,00	1	4,00	25	100

Table 30: Where are the Dwelling(s) possessed other than the House they are living in Şentepe

Location of Other Dwelling(s) Possessed	count	% of Responses	% of Cases
in this building	14	50,0	56,0
in this quarter	3	10,7	12,0
in this neighbourhood	5	17,9	20,0
in other neighb. of Ankara	4	14,3	16,0
in another city	1	3,6	4,0
in our village	1	3,6	4,0
total responses	28	100,0	112,0
Şentepe- initial owners' survey, 135 missing cases; 25 valid cases			

Table 31: Where are the Dwelling(s) possessed other than the House they are living According to Hh Categories in Şentepe

Location of othergecekondu possessed dwelling(s) owner		initial flat owner	later purchaser flat	tenant of flat	row total
in this building	Freq.	0	14	0	14
	%	0,00	73,70	0,00	50,00
in this quarter	Freq.	1	1	0	3
	%	50,00	5,30	0,00	10,70
in this neighbourhood	Freq.	0	2	1	5
	%	0,00	10,50	50,00	17,90
in other neighb. of Ankara	Freq.	1	0	1	4
	%	50,00	0,00	50,00	14,30
in another city	Freq.	0	1	0	1
	%	0,00	5,30	0,00	3,60
in the village	Freq.	0	1	0	1
	%	0,00	5,30	0,00	3,60
column total	Freq.	2	19	2	28
	%	7,10	67,90	7,10	100,00

Hhs were also asked for the land-ownership status of these 'other dwellings'. In Şentepe, 66,7% of the dwelling(s) of ex-gecekondu owners is observed as owning authorised flats (Table 32). Among other dwelling(s) owned by later-

purchasers 50% are previously gecekondü houses, which were regularized by amnesty laws, and 50% are authorized flats. Among 40% of the dwelling(s) of tenant Hhs in flats are gecekondü dwellings (Table 33). This means that unauthorized housing is of a common practice also among both tenant and later-purchaser households of flats.

Table 32: Land Ownership Status of the Dwelling(s) of Initial Owners possessed other than the House they are living in Şentepe

Dwelling category	Count	% of Responses	% of Cases
unauthorized squatter	3	11,1	12
squatter with a title deed	5	18,5	20
unauthorized flat	3	11,1	12
authorized flat	15	55,6	60
flat on land with shared ownership	1	3,7	4
total responses	27	100	108
Şentepe, 135 missing cases, 25 valid cases			

Table 33: Land Ownership Status of the Dwelling(s) possessed other than the Dwelling they are living According to Hh Categories in Şentepe

Land of the dwelling legal category		gckndü owner	initial flat owner	later purch. flat	tenant of flat	row total
		freq	freq	freq	freq	freq
unauthorized squatter	freq	0	1	0	2	3
	%	0	5,6	0	40	11,1
squatter with a title deed	freq	1	2	1	1	5
	%	50	11,1	50	20	18,5
unauthorized flat	freq	0	3	0	0	3
	%	0	16,7	0	0	11,1
authorized flat	freq	1	12	1	1	15
	%	50	66,7	50	20	55,6
Flat- shared ownshp. land	freq	0	0	0	1	1
	%	0	0	0	20	3,7
column total	freq	2	18	2	5	27
	%	7,4	66,7	7,4	18,5	100
Percents and totals based on responses						
Şentepe, 25 valid cases, 135 missing cases						

Among these 'other dwellings' of gecekondü owners, ex-gecekondü owners, flat owners and tenants in Şentepe; 50% are given for rental (Table 34). Among gecekondü Hhs' dwelling(s), the other 50% is given to relatives without charging any rent. Among ex-gecekondü Hhs' dwelling(s), 35% are given to relatives without charging any rent. On the other hand later-purchaser Hhs have given 100% of their other dwelling(s) for rental (Table 34).

Table 34: How do you use of Dwelling(s) Possessed other than the House you are living According to Hh Categories in Şentepe

Type of use		gecekondü owner	initial flat owner	later p. flat	tenant of flat	row total
rented out	freq	1	10	2	2	15
	%	50	50	100	50	53,6
use as seasonal/ vacational	freq	0	1	0	0	1
	%	0	5	0	0	3,6
friend/ relative lives with no rent	freq	1	7	0	2	10
	%	50	35	0	50	35,7
not used/ left idle	freq	0	2	0	0	2
	%	0	10	0	0	7,1
column total	freq	2	20	2	4	28
	%	7,1	71,4	7,1	14,3	100
Percents and totals based on responses						
Şentepe, 24 valid cases, 136 missing cases						

In Dikmen, 13.56% of the Hhs own dwelling(s) other than the dwelling they are now living; 11.11% of ex-gecekondü owners and 21.43% of "later-purchasers" have dwelling(s) other than the house they are now living. 66.7% have 1 dwelling and 33.3% have 2 dwellings (Table 35). Among the dwelling(s) of ex-gecekondü owners, 40% are in the same building and another 40% are in the same neighbourhood, 20% are in other neighbourhoods of Ankara (Table 36). Like in Şentepe, the figures for 'in the same building' are high for ex-gecekondü owners due to the dwellings gained by transformation. On the other hand, none

of the 'other dwelling(s)' of later-purchaser Hhs are in the same building, in the same quarter or in Dikmen, none of them are in the village either. 66.67% of these are in other neighbourhoods of Ankara and 33.33% are in other cities.

Table 35: Frequency Distribution of Number of Dwelling(s) possessed other than the House they are living in Dikmen

Hh Categories- Dikmen	Number of Dwelling(s) Possessed other than the House they are living					
	1		2		Total	
	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%
Flat- initial homeowner	3	75,00	1	25,00	4	100
Flat- later purchaser	1	50,00	1	50,00	2	100
Total	4	66,67	2	33,33	6	100

Table 36: Location of the Dwelling(s) possessed other than the Dwelling they are living According to Hh Categories in Dikmen

Location of the Dwelling(s) Possessed other than the Dwelling they are living According to Hh Categories in Dikmen	Flat- initial owner		Flat- later purchaser		Total	
	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%
in this building	2	40,00	-	-	2	25,00
In this neighbourhood	2	40,00	-	-	2	25,00
In another district of Ankara	1	20,00	2	66,67	3	37,50
In another city	-	-	1	33,33	1	12,50
Total	5	100,00	3	100,0	8	100,00

Among the 'other dwellings' of both ex-gecekondu owners and later-purchasers of Dikmen, none of them are gecekondu dwellings; 80% of the ex-gecekondu owners' dwellings and 66,67% of the later-purchasers' dwellings are authorized flats. 20% of the ex-gecekondu owners' dwellings are shared title deed and 33.33% of later-purchasers' dwellings are authorized detached houses (Table 37).

Table 37: Land Ownership Status of the Dwelling(s) possessed other than the Dwelling they are living in Dikmen

Land Ownership Status of the Dwelling(s) Possessed other than the House they are living in Dikmen	Flat- initial owner		Flat- later purchaser		Total	
	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%
Authorized flat	4	80,00	2	66,67	6	75,00
Authorized house	-	-	1	33,33	1	12,50
Shared Ownership	1	20,00	-	-	1	12,50
Total	5	100,00	3	100,00	8	100,00

In Dikmen, 100% of the other dwellings of ex-gecekondu owners and 33,33% of the later purchasers' are let for rental; 33,33% of later purchasers' dwellings are given to relatives without charging any rents and the last 33,33% are used by the Hhs themselves either periodically or seasonally (Table 38).

Table 38: How do you get use of the Dwelling(s) Possessed other than the House you are living in Dikmen

The way to get use of the Dwelling(s) Possessed other than the House you are living in Dikmen	Initial homeowner of flats		Later purchasers of flats		Total	
	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%
in rent	5	100,00	1	33,33	6	75,00
Relative/ friend lives with no rent	-	-	1	33,33	1	12,50
Use ourselves	-	-	1	33,33	1	12,50
Total	5	100,00	3	100,00	8	100,00

5.5.3.1.5. Planning in the Şentepe Transformation Project:

The planning process in Şentepe has been started by the Municipality of Yenimahalle adopting an innovative approach for facilitating urban transformation. The project developed by the municipality is characterised by four major strategies;

- Calling and announcing the plan as a 'Transformation Project', since the recent transformation projects produced large scale, higher quality dwellings and environs enabling the developers to get high returns. In other words, the municipality aimed to attract the private sector investment to the neighbourhood, by first getting help of the 'profitability' image of transformation projects.
- Enabling the developers to get use of positive externalities; that is the municipality decided to make some investments such as a large urban park which would increase the image of the district in a positive way. This would again help to increase the profitability of the neighbourhood for the private sector.
- Increasing all kinds of social infrastructure such as education, recreation and social facilities which were lacking in the previous plan.
- Easing some of the procedures for builders in terms of various paper works to be carried out in the municipality when a builder decides to invest in the area.

With these four major strategies, The Municipality of Yenimahalle organized a team of nine city planners for the preparation of the plan for the Şentepe Transformation Project.

The project aimed at increasing the quality of life in Şentepe through rehabilitation and renewal efforts and planning the neighbourhood as an attraction centre in terms of economic, social and cultural facilities while preserving the green within ecological approaches (Explanation Report, 2004). The described targets of the project are as follows;

Transportation:

- strengthening transport connections of the area
- rearranging the transportation network according to increasing population and topography
- Determining the roads to be closed according to infrastructure and planning data.

Commerce:

- sustaining sufficient commercial areas to serve the Şentepe and neighbouring districts
- planning new commercial areas to attract population in neighbouring districts

Housing:

- developing alternative housing typologies (terrace houses, multi-storey row houses) appropriate for the topography
- realising flagship housing projects in chosen pilot areas to encourage households and developers
- developing innovative approaches and methods for urban transformation
- adopting participative and collaborative approaches

Social structure:

- sustaining sufficient social facilities for the planned population
- conserving natural valleys as green areas wherever possible and sustaining active use of green areas

Since Şentepe is situated on one of the highest hills of Ankara with an altitude of 1200m, transportation and accessibility is one of the concerns of the plan (Figure 46) . The neighbourhood has two types of accessibility problems; accessibility of the neighbourhood from outside of the neighbourhood and accessibility within the neighbourhood especially to the neighbourhood centre and other new facilities proposed by the transformation project such as the TV tower (Figure 48), recreational areas (Figure 49) and commercial areas have been handled. Currently many roads are rehabilitated or widened. Main collector and distributor roads such as, Seval and Güventepe Avenues were given priority in the planning scheme (İveyinat, 2008).

The planning area within Şentepe had a population of 87.093 by the year 2000 according to Turkstat data. The project consists of six stages (Figure 50). The first stage, a business- trade area is planned in Burç and Barıştepe neighbourhoods. The second stage covers Kayalar, Güventepe and Ergenekon neighbourhoods and planned as to support trade functions in the first stage with cultural and recreational areas such as the special project area; the TV tower.

Third, fourth and fifth stages consist primarily of housing functions. Pamuklar neighbourhood which has a boundary with Keçiören is planned to be transformed by HDA as the 6th stage to be designed as recreational and housing functions.

The infrastructural facilities of the Şentepe Transformation Project area will be provided by Greater Municipality of Ankara, TEDAŞ, EGO, ASKİ and private sector TELEKOM (İveynat, 2008). While the roads over the width of 12 m will be constructed by the Greater City Municipality, the roads narrower than 12 m. will be built by the Yenimahalle Municipality. Social infrastructure proposed by the plan including all kinds of schools, health centres, open public spaces, parks, green recreational areas, playgrounds, and sport fields and social facilities will be financed by the related institution (Figure 51). For instance, Ministry of Education will finance schools, Ministry of Health will finance health centres. Open public spaces and cultural centres and parks, green recreational areas, playgrounds, and sport fields under the size of 3 hectares will be constructed by the Municipality of Yenimahalle, those facilities over 3 hectares will be provided by the Greater City Municipality (İveynat, 2008).

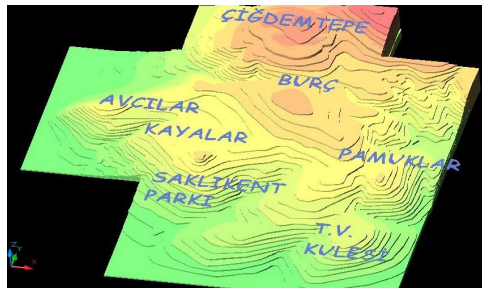


Figure 46: Topography of the Site

Source: Şentepe Transformation Project Explanation Report, 2004



Figure 47: Examples of Design of Housing Areas

Source: Municipality of Yenimahalle, 2004, Explanation Report

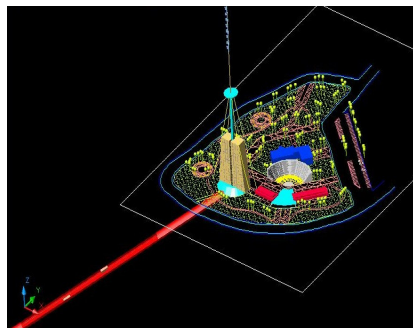


Figure 48: Design of Project of TV Tower in the 2nd Stage

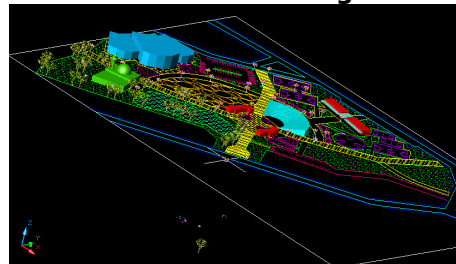


Figure 49: Design of Saklıkent Park in the 2nd Stage

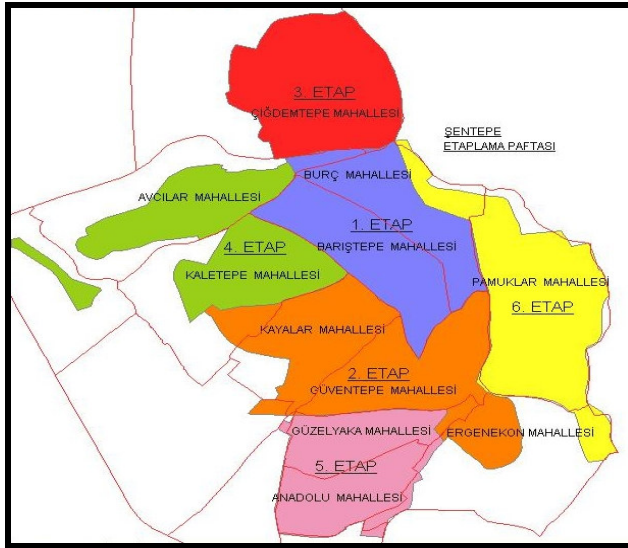


Figure 50: Stages of Şentepe Transformation Project

Source: Şentepe Transformation Project Explanation Report, 2004

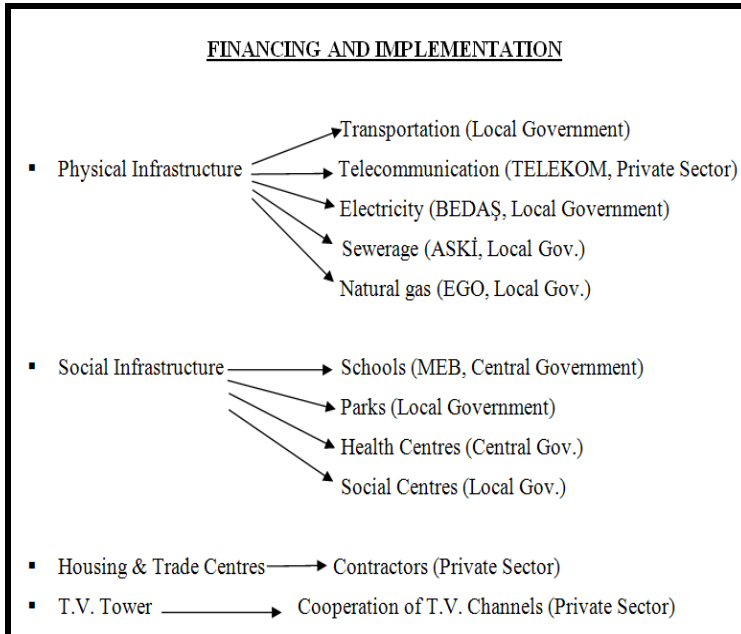


Figure 51: Responsible Institutions for Financing and Implementation of Facilities

Source: İveynat, 2008

Şentepe Transformation Project has chosen to increase development rights in the area with a free building height which gives certain flexibility in terms of architectural design of apartment buildings. Minimum plot size was defined as

750m² and the plan gave more development right for larger plot sizes³⁶. By the increase in plot sizes, the plan also enabled the increase of the minimum size of the dwellings from 90m² to 125m² to create a more comfortable living environment for the dwellers.

Understanding the character of housing market is also essential according to the institutional approach in studying urban transformation. The following sections will analyse the property market in Şentepe.

5.5.3.1.6. Locational Characteristics, Housing Market and the Characteristics of the Housing Stock in Şentepe in the 2000s:

During the 2000s, the city of Ankara has been encompassing many transformations. By the 2000s, Ankara has been expanded up to İmrahor Valley on the east, Temelli on the west, Gölbaşı on the south and Esenboğa on the north. Most of the areas within these boundaries are either planned and authorized or regularized through improvement and redevelopment plans (Figure 52).



Figure 52: Neighborhoods which have improvement plans in Ankara by 1997

Source: Sat, 2007

³⁶ Plot Sizes and Floor Area Ratios (emsal) according to Şentepe Transformation Project:

750-1000 m² → 1.98

1000-1500 m² → 2.07

1500-2000 m² → 2.16

2000+ Coefficient → 2.25

Height_{maximum} → Free

As in this development scheme of Ankara, there are currently two housing markets in Şentepe; the market of squatters which have a potential value as land for construction of apartment blocks rather than their use value; and the market of newly constructed regular apartments. First one serves as 'land' for house builders for construction while the dwelling unit on the land has no commercial value. Through build-and-sell mechanisms the house-builder pays no money in advance for this land but guarantees that a certain share from the dwellings to be constructed to be given to the gecekondu owners by a contract. By construction of new apartment buildings and allocation of a certain share of dwellings to the associated right-holders (gecekondu owners), the remaining dwellings constitute a new housing market to be sold by the house builder to the new purchasers.

Some of the locational characteristics of Şentepe in the 2000s have been diverged from that of the 1980s. For instance, the changes in surrounding areas had impacts on Şentepe as well. Those include the construction of new shopping malls and shopping centres like Metro and Antares which are located in Keçiören District and approximately two kilometres away from the southern boundary of Şentepe project. Eastern neighbour Keçiören District also encloses many urban transformation projects of various scales (Northern Entrance of Ankara Project also is located within Keçiören and Altındağ Districts). Moreover, the dwelling unit of the Prime Minister of Turkey has been moved to Keçiören District in 2003 which accelerated all kinds of infrastructural investments in the area and increased the prestigiousness of the neighbourhood and the other northern neighbourhoods of Ankara as well. Nevertheless Şentepe Neighbourhood still do not have strong relationships with the city centre and other major commercial and business areas for it is loosely connected by transportation routes and services. On the contrary the other case study Dikmen is not only closer to the city centre than Şentepe, but also closer to other commercial and business uses of the city as well as to new emerging prestigious neighbourhoods of Ankara.

In the survey the stock characteristics in Şentepe and Dikmen were investigated by questions related to the dwellings of households. The interviewee were asked on a number of questions regarding the age of the building, availability of housing amenities, rental and purchasing price of the dwellings.

One of the hypotheses of the study indicates that the transformation of squatters should lead to increases in the land and dwelling prices at different levels as related to the location of the transformed area (H3.3). According to the results of the survey, in Şentepe, the mean value of the declared today's purchasing price of squatter dwellings is 86.285 TL (between 15.000 and 400.000) and 82.900 TL (10.000 to 200.000 TL) of flats (Table 39). The purchasing price of gecekondü dwellings seem to be higher than flats although they are poorer in terms of legal status, amenities and building quality as presented above. This is due to the expectations of Hhs in terms of rents due to transformation. In other words the price of land has increased in the area due to the transformation project. While the value of the building is low but the share of land as well as land price is high for gecekondü dwellings; it is the opposite for flats. Therefore, these prices of gecekondü houses might be evaluated as not the price of the dwelling unit; but rather as the price of the gecekondü land with their potential to built apartment blocks on those with more than one dwelling units. In Dikmen, the mean value of the declared dwellings today purchasing price is 146.852 TL (between 10000 and 220000TL). The purchasing price for flats in Dikmen is approximately 77% higher than the purchasing price for flats in Şentepe.

In Şentepe, the mean of rents declared is 247 TL in squatter dwellings and 367 TL in flats (Table 40). On the other hand, average monthly rent for flats in Dikmen is 639 TL, which is 74% higher than the value for flats in Şentepe. There has been a 48,5% increase in rents after transformation in Şentepe. This can be considered as a positive effect on the standards and image of the site and thus for ex-gecekondü owners. On the other hand this also suggests an improvement in the quality of the dwellings in the rental stock but also rise in rents, which the gecekondü tenants would not afford to move.

Table 39: Mean Value of Assessed Selling Prices in Şentepe and Dikmen

Dwelling type	Current Assessed Selling Price of Your Dwelling (Your approximate valuation)									
	Şentepe					Dikmen				
	Mean	N	Min.	Max.	Std. Dev.	Mean	N	Min.	Max.	Std. Dev.
squatter	86285,71	35	15000	400000	68977,22	-	-	-	-	-
flat	82900,90	111	10000	200000	27197,91	146852	54	100000	220000	27374,01
Total	83712,33	146	10000	400000	40974,5	146852	54	100000	220000	27374,01

Table 40: Mean Values of Monthly Rents in Şentepe and Dikmen

Dwelling type	Current Monthly Rental Price of Your Dwelling (Your approximate valuation)									
	Şentepe					Dikmen				
	N	Mean	Min.	Max.	Std. Dev.	N	Mean	Min.	Max.	Std. Dev.
squatter	34	247,2	100	400	76,0	-	-	-	-	-
flat	104	367,5	200	500	65,0	54	638,9	350	1000	132,0
Total	138	337,9	100	500	85,3	54	638,9	350	1000	132,0

According to the results of the survey, the year of construction of buildings varies between 1965 to 1986 for squatters³⁷ and 1982 to 2007 for flats in Şentepe. All the gecekondü dwellings were constructed in 1986 or before.

On the other hand, average age of buildings in the sample is approximately 11 years in Dikmen. In Dikmen, the year of construction of buildings varies between 1992 and 2005. All the dwellings of later purchaser Hhs have been constructed after 1995.

In Şentepe, 56.7% of squatter housing has been built on the land of Treasury, 33.3% of squatter housing was built on the Hh's own property, and 10% of them had shared title deeds (Table 41).

Table 41: Frequency Distribution of the Type of Land Ownership at the Time of Construction of Gecekondus in Şentepe

Land ownership Status of Gecekondü	Freq.	Percent
Land of the treasury	17,00	56,67
Private property of ours	10,00	33,33
Shared ownership	3,00	10,00
Total	30,00	100,00

In Şentepe, 60% of squatter houses have 3 rooms, apart from kitchen, bathroom and storeroom and 81.2% of the flats have 4 rooms. While gecekondü houses have 5 rooms at maximum; the maximum number of rooms in flats is 7. While gecekondü houses have minimum 2 rooms, flats have 3. In Dikmen, 50.8% of the dwellings have 4 rooms apart from kitchen, bathroom and storeroom and 47.5% of them have 3 rooms. Minimum and maximum number of rooms is 2 to 4.

Considering housing amenities in Şentepe, 2.5% of the gecekondü dwellings have declared that they do not have a bathroom in their houses and 0.8 % in flats. 5% of the gecekondü dwellings have declared they do not have a toilet in their houses. 100% of the dwellings have a sewage system. In Dikmen, 100%

³⁷ The first comers to Şentepe have moved to the site at the end of the second half of 1960s (information from Mukhtar of Çiğdemtepe in 2007)

of the dwellings have a sewage system; have a bathroom and toilet in their house.

In Şentepe, 37.5% of flats have a covered garage in their apartments and 33.3% of them have open parking places in their apartments. In Dikmen, 28.8% of flats have a covered garage in their apartments and 39.0% of them have open parking places in their apartments.

Wood/coal stoves are used in 97.5% of gecekondü houses in Şentepe for heating purposes and 64,7% of apartment flats use combi boilers. In Dikmen, 85.3% of households use kombi for heating purposes; there are no wood/coal stoves at all.

5.5.3.1.7. Legislation for Transformation in Şentepe in the 2000s:

The current project in Şentepe is announced by the Yenimahalle Municipality as 'Şentepe Urban Transformation Project'. However, it is a development plan prepared according to the Law numbered 3194 (Urban Development Law), which gives local governments an authority for the preparation and implementation of urban development plans. The new plan had to satisfy higher standards as defined in the urban development legislation. The summary of major changes in legislation is given in Table 42.

Table 42 : Summary of Major Changes in Legislations Related to Urban Development in the 2000s

Year	Number	Name of Legislation	Content, Aims and Outputs
2003	4966		abolished The Undersecretariat of Housing, HDA became the sole public institution for housing; to take over the lands of the Treasury at no costs; to give credits for improvement of rural architecture, transformation of squatter areas, preservation and restoration of historical and local architecture and giving interest subsidies.
2004	5237	Criminal Code Law	defines construction of informal housing as a criminal offence to be punished by two to five years prison sentence.
2004	5104	The Law of Urban Transformation Project for the Northern Entrance of Ankara	special law aimed at regulating the transformation of Northern Entrance of Ankara in the form of an urban transformation project. For preparation of urban design projects, application procedures for construction and construction of housing and infrastructure HDA and Greater Municipality of Ankara were authorized by the law.
2004	5162		enabled the HDA to form partnerships with private companies and to involve in the construction and selling of houses for profit; to expropriate urban land to construct housing projects; and developing and implementing <i>gecekond</i> transformation projects.
2004	5216	The Law for Greater City Municipalities	the authorities of municipalities defined by 775 Gecekond Law are transferred to Greater City municipalities. Greater city municipalities would use the authorities of municipalities cited in the 69 th and 73 rd articles of the Municipality Law 5393.
2004	5273		Land Office which was a unit of Ministry of Public Works and Resettlement was abolished and authorities were transferred to HDA

Table 42 (continued)

2005	5364	the law concerning Protection and Renewal of Dilapidated Historical and Cultural Properties	District municipalities were authorised to implement regeneration projects in 'derelict' and 'obsolescent' areas within protection zones.
2005	5377		Amendment; concerning the Criminal Code Law the new provisions exempt buildings constructed before 12 October 2004 from sanctions and penalties.
2005	5393	The Municipality Law	defines the criteria for a transformation project as being within the municipal or adjacent area boundaries and having at least 50.000m ² area.
2006	5492		2006 fee exemptions and exceptional simplifications and exemptions for HDA in getting building licences from the municipalities
2007	5609		duties of the Ministry of Public Works and Resettlement previously given by the law numbered 775, have been transferred to the HDA as the sole authority for plan preparation and approval for squatter housing transformation.
2008	5793		authorized HDA to make plans at all scales within gecekondur transformation areas, land under HDA ownership and those determined as mass housing areas by provinces as long as plans would not damage the integrity of environment and development
2012	6306	Urban Transformation Law for Areas with Disaster Risks	The law proposes detecting the buildings which are not compatible with disaster risks. The households will be given 3 months to demolish their buildings.

5.5.3.1.8. Relationships between Actors and Institutions:

The survey questioned whether the municipality and mukhtars assisted households through the transformation process. According to the results of the survey, the municipality and mukhtars are observed to give assistance and incentives in all items surveyed in the questionnaire at varying levels (Table 43). In Şentepe, among 80 respondents of the question, 11 of them (13.75%) have taken the advantage of briefings of mukhtar and/or municipality of Yenimahalle (4 of them from municipality, 9 from mukhtar). 6.3% of Hhs have utilized fee and tax exemptions, 10% of Hhs have benefited from the municipality and mukhtars in mediation between developers, 7.5% of Hhs have made use of mediation of municipality and mukhtar in solving conflicts between other right-holders of neighbouring plots and 8.8% utilized mediatorship of mukhtars through negotiations with the municipality.

Table 43: Did You Get Any Assistance or Incentives from Mukhtar and the Municipality in Şentepe

Did You Get Any Assistance Or Incentives for Şentepe Transformation Project? From Mukhtar and the Municipality?	No	Yes	Municipality	Mukhtar
Informative meetings	69	11	4	9
	86,3%	13,8%	5,0	11,3
Exemption from fees or taxes	75	5	5	2
	93,8%	6,3%	6,3	2,5
Mediation between developers and households	72	8	6	5
	90,0%	10,0%	7,5	6,3
Mediation between households on the same plot	74	6	6	3
	92,5%	7,5%	7,5	3,8
Mediation between households and municipality	73	7	-	7
	91,3	8,8	-	8,8

Note: the first four assistance and incentives might be provided by both mukhtars and municipality. Thus the total values of two institutions might be higher than the values in 'Yes'.

In Dikmen, 20% of the Hhs declared that they have utilized briefings of mukhtar and Municipality of Çankaya, 15.6% of Hhs were exempted from some taxes and fees, 28.9% of Hhs made good use of mediation of mukhtars or the municipality for negotiations with developers, 22.2% of Hhs has taken the assistance of either one of the authorities for solving conflicts between other neighbouring plot Hhs (Table 44). Dikmen seems to be more successful in terms of interaction between local authority, mukhtar and households with reference to the figures in Şentepe.

Table 44: Did You Get Use of Any Assistance or Incentives from Mukhtar and Municipality in Dikmen

Did You Get Use Of Any Assistance Or Incentives for Transformation in Dikmen? From Mukhtar and Municipality?	No	Yes	Municipality	Mukhtar
	Informative meetings	36 80,0%	9 20,0%	3 6,7
Exemption from fees or taxes	38 84,4	7 15,6	5 11,1	2 4,4
Mediation between developers and households	32 71,1	13 28,9	5 11,1	8 17,8
Mediation between households on the same plot	35 77,8	10 22,2	3 6,7	7 15,6
Mediation between households and municipality	37 82,2	8 17,8	- -	8 17,8
Note: the first four assistance and incentives might be provided by both mukhtars and municipality. Thus the total values of two institutions might be higher than the values in 'Yes'.				

In Şentepe, the mukhtar and the municipality also appear as a secondary factor in making decision by households to 'transform' their squatters. While 57.5% of the interviewee Hhs have stated that they have taken the decision on their own, after consultation with relatives (18.8%), after consultation with neighbours (16.3%) and spouse (15.0%), mukhtar appears as at the 5th rank by 7.5% on who is the most influential to convince them for transformation. 'My father'

comes later with 5%, my children with 3.8%. The Hhs convinced by the officers of the municipality constitute 2.5%.

Table 45: Who convinced for transformation in Şentepe

Who has convinced you for transformation of your dwelling in Şentepe? (more than one answer is possible)	Freq.	%
Myself	46	57,5
My relatives	15	18,8
My neighbours	13	16,3
My spouse	12	15,0
Mukhtar	6	7,5
My father	4	5,0
My children	3	3,8
Municipal officers	2	2,5
Total	80	100,0
Average Number of Responses: $101/80 = 1,3$		

In Dikmen, municipality is the next important degree factor (26.7%) after the Household heads themselves (64.4%) in deciding to transform their dwellings (Table 46).

Table 46: Who convinced them to transform their gecekondus in Dikmen

Who has convinced you for transformation of your dwelling in Dikmen ? (more than one answer is possible)	Freq.	%
Myself	29	64,4
Municipal officers	12	26,7
My spouse	10	22,2
Mukhtar	10	22,2
My relatives	7	15,6
My neighbours	5	11,1
My father	1	2,2
No response	1	2,2
Total	45	100,0
Average Number of Responses: $75 / 45 = 1.7$		

5.5.3.2. Events of Şentepe Urban Transformation Project

The events and operations associated with the Şentepe Urban Transformation differentiated from the events and operations of transformation by improvement and redevelopment plans to a certain extent due to the interventions of the municipality to facilitate the process. Figure 53 below summarizes the major operations of the process and interventions of the municipality to this process at various levels. These interventions include reducing the 'transaction costs' of the process for households and house builders as well as providing information flow, mediation between house builders and households and other 'leverage' mechanisms for private sector investment such as making infrastructural and construction investments in the area to create positive externalities and increasing development rights considering to fit the profitability criterion of house builders and market.

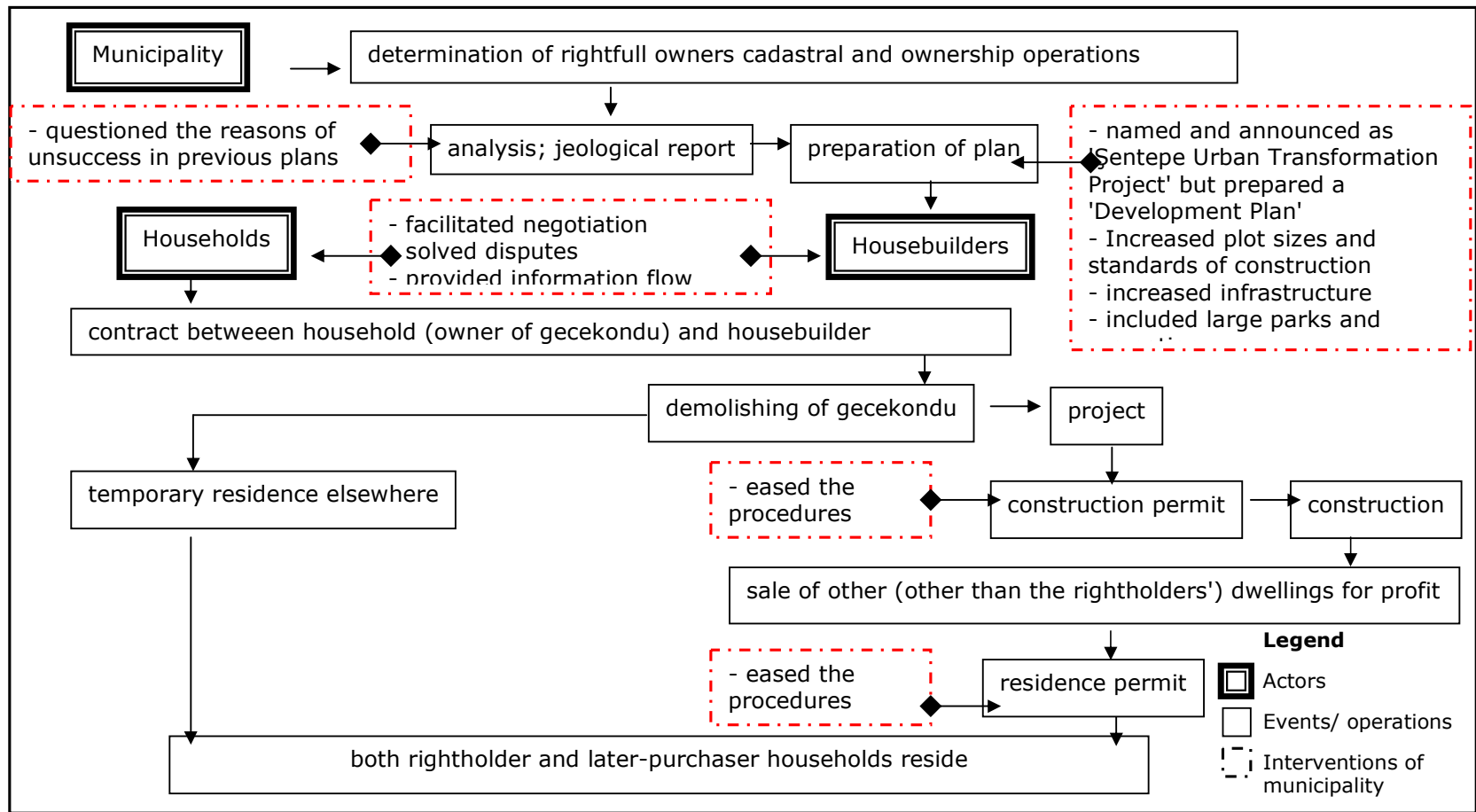


Figure 53: Events of ŞTP and Interventions of the Municipality in the Process

5.5.3.2. Implications of Şentepe Urban Transformation Project:

The most visible outcome of Şentepe Urban Transformation Project is that it could manage to facilitate urban transformation which could not be done before by redevelopment plans. Since Şentepe Urban Transformation Project is still in the implementation process, it is only possible to observe some of the outcomes of this transformation. The project has many consequences on physical, economical and social space. The following sections will view these implications of the project using the results of the survey with reference to the set of problems of four aspects of implications defined in previous chapters as the problems of urban transformation in Turkey.

1. Many informal settlements remain untransformed since they are unattractive for developers and thus disinvested or underinvested although they are envisioned to be transformed by development plans.
2. In most transformed neighbourhoods, the built environment still lacks sufficient physical quality and standards.
3. In most transformed neighbourhoods, unintended changes might be observed in social composition; such as gentrification.
4. The socio-economic implications of transformation give rise to ethical debates and social discontent within various sections/ classes of the society.

Since one of the main hypothesis of the study is that administrative and planning authorities could overcome some of the problems in transformation, the problem set developed in chapter 5 will be discussed as whether or not the transformation policy and practice could overcome these problems.

5.5.3.2.1. 1st Problem: Disinvestment for redevelopment in Şentepe:

The first problem in the institutional analysis was described as;

“Many informal settlements remain untransformed since they are unattractive for developers and thus disinvested or underinvested although they are envisioned to be transformed by development plans”.

Thus, first question to ask in the case study is whether or not the Şentepe Transformation Project has become successful in solving the disinvestment problem. Could Şentepe Urban Transformation Project trigger transformation in the area at a higher pace than the improvement plans of the previous period? Could the project overcome the barriers of investment for private developers? Could the project overcome the barriers of decision for gecekondü dwellers?

First, the number of building permissions since the beginning of the project is a way to observe the pace of transformation. Secondly, attitudes of Hhs whether or not in favour of transformation (gecekondü and apartment dwellers; homeowner and tenant households, initial homeowners (ex-gecekondü owners) and later purchasers) will be studied to project the future pace of urban transformation activities. Following dimensions will be investigated in the light of the survey results;

- are households in the untransformed stock behalf of transformation or not
- If not, why not behalf of transformation
- Why they did not decide to transform their dwellings (currently gecekondü owners and before those transformed by the project)
- Reasons for transforming
- Opinions on and advantages of Şentepe Transformation Project
- Number of dwellings gained after transformation in the transformed stock which affects household's attitudes
- Necessity of any additional payment from Hhs which discourages households
- Time spent for demolishing and construction and availability of rental assistance during this period
- Availability of rental assistance during construction

One of the tasks to investigate for the level of transformation facilities is to look at building permission figures. A total of 403 building licences (construction permits) (8659 dwellings) have been given between 2006- 2010 according to the Municipality of Yenimahalle (see Appendix D). According to the plan, 14.000 gecekondü dwellings are supposed to be demolished and 35.000 new dwellings are supposed to be constructed. Thus, 8659 dwellings constitute %24,74 of the targeted production.



Figure 54: Transformed and untransformed buildings in Şentepe



Figure 56: Transformed apartment buildings according to improvement plans



Figure 55: Untransformed gecekondu in Şentepe



Figure 57: New construction facilities of transformation in Şentepe



Figure 58: New construction facilities of transformation in Şentepe



Figure 60: New construction facilities of transformation in Şentepe



Figure 59: New construction facilities of transformation in Şentepe



Figure 61: Large scale construction facilities of transformation in Şentepe (Çiğdemtepe)



Figure 62: Large scale construction facilities of transformation in Şentepe (Çiğdemtepe Quarter)



Figure 63: New construction facilities of transformation in Şentepe



Figure 64: A Street composed of transformed buildings in Şentepe

Attitudes of Hhs whether or not in favour of transformation would also give clues about the future of pace of transformation since a factor of the decision to transform comes from the homeowner Hhs in case they are convinced by the developers about the possible costs and benefits of transformation. In some cases Hhs are requested to make some payments in order to get a new dwelling from the building that will be constructed; in some others the size of the land that the gecekondü occupies is large enough for the developer, so that the developer needs no additional payment but can give a number of dwelling units as an exchange of land to the gecekondü owner. In some cases Hhs are offered even more than one dwelling. These varying alternatives determine the attitude of homeowner Hhs to transformation. Since different plans might bring different development rights and different levels of infrastructure and facilities thus offer different living environments, the character and decisions of the plan effect the profitability and quality of urban transformation for both developers and Hhs.

One of the hypotheses of the thesis is that the transformation process in squatter housing areas brings a number of improvements in terms of monetary gains as well as housing and environmental living conditions (H2.2). Thus Hhs are expected to be in favour of transformation. In gecekondü houses, the survey has first investigated whether the inhabiting Hhs in gecekondü housing are in favour of transformation or not. In the questionnaire, Hhs were asked if they were in a position to have the choice, would they transform their gecekondü into a flat or they prefer their gecekondü to remain the same.

According to the survey results, a huge difference observed in terms of the propensity for transformation between tenant and homeowner Hhs living in squatters in Şentepe; 86.67% of the squatter owner Hhs have declared that they would prefer their squatters would have been transformed into authorized apartment buildings (Table 47). Among gecekondü tenants on the other hand, 80% of Hhs prefer the gecekondüs not to be transformed into authorized apartment buildings.

Among tenants' who do not prefer transformation 87,5% of reasons are that they wouldn't afford the rents of authorized flats (Table 48) Correspondingly, 80% of squatter tenants declared that if the house they are living is demolished and become an authorized apartment block, they would try to rent another squatter house; 20% of them would rent an authorized flat and whether squatter

housing or flat, the Hhs responded that they would rent in the same neighbourhood (Table 49). One other hypotheses of the study emphasize that none of the transformation policy and practice provides adequate solutions for tenant Hhs (H2.5). The survey results correspondingly indicate that tenant Hhs see themselves in a disadvantageous position in transformation practices, since their interests are not safeguarded.

Table 47: Behalf of transformation or not (Gecekondur Hhs living in Şentepe)

Choice of gecekondur Hhs	Choice of gecekondur owners		Choice of gecekondur tenants	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Prefer to go on living in their squatters	4	13,33	8	80
Prefer their squatters be demolished and to live in apartments	26	86,67	2	20
Total	30	100,00	10	100

Table 48: Why not Behalf of transformation (Gecekondur Tenant Hhs living in Şentepe)

Why not favour of transformation? (gecekondur tenants)	Freq.	Percent
I wouldn't afford the rent of a formal apartment	7	87,5
I prefer to live in 1 storey garden house	1	12,5
Total	8	100

Table 49: What Type of dwelling and where would you rent if transformed (Gecekondur Tenant Hhs living in Şentepe)

What type to rent?	Freq.	%	Where to rent?	Freq.	%
Rent an authorized flat	2	20	In this neighbourhood	2	100
			In another neighbourhood		
			In another city		
Rent a squatter	8	80	In this neighbourhood	8	100
			In another neighbourhood		
			In another city		
Total	10	100	Total	10	100

From 1986 to 1989, several improvement plans were put into practice in Şentepe that were giving development rights for 3 to 4 storey apartment blocks. Thus the current squatters are those who did not get use of these rights. The current gecekondus are those, which are not transformed according to the Şentepe Transformation Project either. According to the results of the survey, among the first three reasons of squatter owner Hhs for not transforming the squatters according to the improvement plans or the transformation projects, first comes “we couldn’t afford costs” by 58,7%, then “we couldn’t agree with the developer in appropriate conditions” by 13% and “the developers were not interested since our land was small” by 10.9% (the interviewees could chose more than one option in that question).

Table 50: Reasons for Not Transforming Their Gecekondus (gecekondus owners survey)

Reasons for Not Transforming Their Gecekondus (gecekondus owners survey)	Code	Count	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
Would not afford the costs	1	27	58,7	90,0
Would be in financial lost if gecekondus were demolished	2	3	6,5	10,0
Multiple families in one plot would not get enough number of dwellings after transf.	3	1	2,2	3,3
we couldn’t agree with the developer in appropriate conditions	4	6	13,0	20,0
the developers were not interested since our land was small	5	5	10,9	16,7
Disputes with other right holders in the same plot	6	1	2,2	3,3
Would prefer to live in a detached house within gardens	7	2	4,3	6,7
The municipality expropriated to make green area	8	1	2,2	3,3
Total responses		46	100,0	153,3
130 missing cases; 30 valid cases				

A similar question were asked to the homeowners of flats, which are transformed through Şentepe Transformation Project; for why they did not transform their squatters (according to the improvement plans) before this project. Again in the first place “we couldn’t afford costs” by 25,3%, “we would be in financial lost” by 22,7% and 21,3% “we couldn’t agree with the developer in appropriate conditions” were mentioned (Table 51).

Table 51: Reasons for Not Transforming Their Gecekondus Before Şentepe Transformation Plan (2005)

Reasons for Not Transforming Their Gecekondus before (initial homeowners survey)	Code	Count	Pct of Responses	Pct of Cases
Would not afford the costs	1	19	25,3	32,2
Would be in financial lost if gecekondu were demolished	2	17	22,7	28,8
we couldn’t agree with the developer in appropriate conditions	3	16	21,3	27,1
Developers were not interested	4	3	4,0	5,1
Disputes with other right holders in the same plot	5	7	9,3	11,9
The plot was not suitable to make an apartment building	6	1	1,3	1,7
Did not know we had such a right/ opportunity	7	5	6,7	8,5
Would prefer to live in a detached house within gardens	8	7	9,3	11,9
Total responses		75	100,0	127,1
Şentepe, 101 missing cases; 59 valid cases				

Policy Implications of these results guide us first for the need of further analysis of availability of special groups in terms of financial need and assistance and need for appropriate policies for these groups. Difficulties in negotiations with the developer may be resulted from two causes; first having too small plots which may not yield the household a right to own an appropriate dwelling without making additional payment which they would not afford, or second, Hhs

may have acquisitive or unrealistic expectations of their potential gains. Developers disinterest in very small and difficult to manage plots also appears as a problem to be solved by institutions such as planning and other regulations to be developed by authorities.

In Şentepe, the interviewee were asked why they choose redevelopment of their dwellings; 78.8% is for higher quality of buildings, 51.3% for regular housing environs and 28.8% for gaining more units of dwellings (Table 52). In Dikmen, 77.8% of the responses are emphasizing the higher building quality of authorized apartment blocks, the option of the question emphasizing that they are afraid of loosing their dwellings with an obligatory demolition is chosen in 73.8% of the responses (Table 53). The option of regular housing environment is chosen by 46.7%, the persuasion of Hhs in neighbouring plots is chosen in 40% and by the motivation of gaining more than one dwelling instead of their squatter is chosen in 22.2% of the responses.

Table 52: Reasons for Transforming Their Gecekondu in Şentepe (Ex-gecekondu Owners Survey)

Why did you prefer to live in an authorized flat by transforming your gecekondu dwelling (More than one answer is possible)- Şentepe Ex-gecekondu Owner (initial flat homeowners) Survey	Freq.	%
For higher building quality of flats	63	78,8
For a more regular housing environs	41	51,3
For the chance to own more than one dwelling	23	28,8
Neighbours in the same/ adjacent plot convinced me to do so	13	16,3
afraid of loosing their dwellings with an obligatory demolition in the future	10	12,5
Total	80	100,0
Average Number of Responses: 150 / 80 = 1.9		

Table 53: Reasons for Transforming Their Gecekondu in Dikmen (Ex-gecekondu Owners Survey)

Why did you prefer to live in an authorized flat by transforming your gecekondu dwelling (More than one answer is possible)- Dikmen Ex-gecekondu Owner (initial flat homeowners) Survey	Freq.	%
For higher building quality of flats	35	77,8
Afraid of loosing their dwellings with an obligatory demolition in the future	33	73,3
For a more regular housing environs	21	46,7
Neighbours in the same/ adjacent plot convinced me to do so	18	40,0
For the chance to own more than one dwelling	10	22,2
Total	45	100,0
Average Number of Responses: 117/ 45 = 2.6		

The households in the survey were asked about their opinions on the Şentepe Transformation Project. Among ex-gecekondu owners 71.2% do not think that the municipality has contributed to increase the advantages of the neighbourhood by the Şentepe Transformation Project. 28.8% thinks the municipality has increased their advantages. Among the responses kinds of advantages enjoyed of those households believing in advantages, 21,1% is referring to the increase in standards of dwellings and neighbourhood, 18,4% refers to increases in the number of storeys, 18,4% refers to the attractiveness created by the announcement of transformation project (Table 55).

Table 54: Opinion on Şentepe Transformation Project (Ex-gecekondu Owners Survey)

Do you think the municipality is creating advantages for Şentepe and Şentepe habitants by Şentepe Transformation Project?	Frequency	Percent
No	42	71,19
Yes	17	28,81
Total	59	100,00

Table 55: What kind of advantages did you get use of Şentepe Transformation Project (Ex-gecekondu Owners Survey)

Advantages created by ŞTP	count	% of responses	% of Cases
# of floors increased with the plan	7	18,4	41,2
the announcement as a 'transformation project' created attractiveness	7	18,4	41,2
number of social and technical infrastructure increased	4	10,5	23,5
additional development right if constructed at building block level	2	5,3	11,8
increase in standards of dwellings and neighbourhood and in prices	8	21,1	47,1
vanished the years' neglectance feeling	4	10,5	23,5
compulsory purchase made considering owner residents	3	7,9	17,6
provision of infrastructure increased	3	7,9	17,6
total responses	38	100	223,5
Şentepe, 143 missing cases, 17 valid cases			

For gecekondu owners, number of dwellings gained after transformation would bring a household in an advantaged or disadvantaged position. In Şentepe, of all the ex gecekondu owners; 61,04% gained one dwelling and 39.96% of the Hhs have gained more than 1 dwelling as compensation of their gecekondu lands (Table 56). Among the Hhs who gained more than 1 dwelling 39% of them give these dwellings for rental, 31.7% have sold these dwellings in Şentepe (Table 57).

Table 56: Number of dwellings taken in return for their gecekondu land in Şentepe

Number of dwellings gained after transformation in Şentepe	Freq.	Percent
1	47	61,04
2	18	23,38
3	9	11,69
4	3	3,89
Total	77	100,00

Table 57: How do you use other dwellings if you get more than one dwelling after transformation in Şentepe (Ex-gecekondu Owners Survey)

type of use	count	% of Responses	% of Cases
rented out	16	39,0	50,0
sold out	13	31,7	40,6
given away to children/ relatives	8	19,5	25,0
friend/ relative lives with no rent	4	9,8	12,5
total responses	41	100,0	128,1
Şentepe, 32 valid cases, 128 missing cases			

The need for making an additional payment to the developers might discourage gecekondu owners from transformation. On the other hand, 92.5% of ex-gecekondu dwellers in Şentepe indicated that they did not need to pay any additional money to the developer (Table 58). The amount of additional payment varies between 5000 to 200000TL (Average= 49000TL).

Table 58: Did you made an additional payment to the developer in Şentepe (Ex-gecekondu Owners Survey)

Did you made an additional payment to the developer in transf. in Şentepe	Freq.	%
No	74	92,5
Yes	6	7,5
Total	80	100

Table 59: Amount of additional payment to the developer in Şentepe (Ex-gecekondu Owners Survey)

Amount of additional payment (TL)	Frequency	Percent
5000	1	20
10000	2	40
20000	1	20
200000	1	20
Total	5	100
Average Add. Payment (TL)= 49000		

The same questions on transformation were also asked in Dikmen questionnaire; 64% of Hhs have declared that they have gained more than one dwelling after transformation. Among Hhs who gained more than 1 dwelling, 100% of them give these dwellings for rental in Dikmen. 91.11% of ex gecekondu dwellers did not need to pay any additional money to the developer.

Table 60: Number of dwellings gained in return for their gecekondu land in Dikmen (Ex-gecekondu Owners Survey)

Number of dwellings gained after transformation	Freq.	Percent
1	36	85,71
2	4	9,52
3	1	2,38
4	1	2,38
Total	42	100,00

Table 61: Did you make an additional payment to the developer in Dikmen (Ex-gecekondu Owners Survey)

Did you make an additional payment to the developer in transf. in Dikmen	Freq.	%
No	41	91,11
Yes	4	8,89
Total	45	100,00

Table 62: Amount of additional payment to the developer in Dikmen (Ex-gecekondü Owners Survey)

Amount of additional payment (TL)	Frequency	Percent
10000	1	25
14000	1	25
20000	1	25
30000	1	25
Total	4	100

The time span for demolishing and construction would bring additional monetary and emotional costs for a household. In Şentepe, the demolishing dates of the squatters vary between 1998 and 2007. Demolishing of gecekondus and rebuilding as apartment buildings lasted for 9 to 36 months (mean=19.16). 98,75% did not take any rental assistance. 61.3% of Hhs in gecekondus lived in rental housing during demolishing and rebuilding of their dwellings, 30% of them lived in a relative's house without paying rent. In 7.5% of Hhs someone from the Hh has worked in construction.

In Dikmen, the demolishing dates of the squatters vary between 1990 and 2004. The demolishing and construction have lasted for 10 to 60 months (mean=25.88); 28.9% of Hhs utilized rental assistance, 76.2% of Hhs lived in rental dwellings in the same neighbourhood. 11.9% lived in a relative's dwelling without paying rent and 11.9% rented a dwelling in other neighbourhoods. Among 6.7% of Hhs, someone from the Hh worked in construction of the new dwelling.

Table 63: Receiving rent assistance or not during demolishing and construction in Şentepe and Dikmen

Rental assistance	Şentepe		Dikmen	
	Frequency	Percent	Frequency	Percent
Yes	1	1,25	13	28,89
No	79	98,75	32	71,11
Total	80	100,00	45	100,00

Table 64: Where did you stay while demolish and construction in Şentepe and Dikmen

Stayed where during construction	Şentepe		Dikmen	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Rented dwg. in the same neighbrhd/ quarter	49	61,25	32	76,19
Stayed in a relative/ friend's dwllng with no rent.	24	30,00	5	11,90
We stayed in one of our other properties	4	5,00		
Rented a dwelling in another part of the city	2	2,50	5	11,90
Stayed in our village	1	1,25		
Total	80	100,00	42	100,00

Other factors might also been effective in triggering transformation in the area such as construction of new shopping malls such as Antares and Metro, the transformation project of HDA in Pamuklar Neighbourhood in Şentepe and general popularity of transformation projects in Ankara.

5.5.3.2.2. 2nd Problem of Implications; Low Physical Quality of Transformed Housing and Environs:

The second problem in the institutional analyses was described as;

“In the most transformed neighbourhoods, the built environment still lacks sufficient physical quality and standards”

Thus Şentepe transformation project will be analysed whether it could bring out higher quality environments (than the existing situation and than the quality provided by the previous plan). Mainly two tasks will be investigated one of which is studied by the survey;

- The quantity of proposed socio-cultural infrastructure by the project for Şentepe
- Satisfaction of households from these facilities and dwellings

Apart from the survey results, observations in the area on physical quality will be included afterwards. Appendix E: (Tables 90 to 94) show the intended amounts of infrastructure to be realized by the municipality according to the plan (Report

of the Municipality of Yenimahalle). Compared to the figures of improvement plans, the project increases the quantity of green and socio-cultural facilities.

To study satisfaction of households from the facilities brought by the transformation project would be another aspect to discuss the physical implications of the project besides, comparing the quantities to the standards defined by legislation. According to the household survey, after transformation in Şentepe, the most appreciated factors in housing and neighbourhood condition appear to be the 'inner arrangement of the dwelling' (91,3%) 'Size of the dwelling' (90% answered as it gets better), and the regularization of buildings (73,8%). The answer as getting worse off only appears in neighbour relations with a ratio of 41.3%. (Table 65).

In Dikmen, the Hhs were asked whether it became better of, worse off or stayed the same by the changes of Improvement Plans in terms of some factors related to their housing and environs. According to this question these attributes are observed to be appreciated mostly as to become better off; infrastructure (88.9%), inner arrangement of dwelling (82,2%), transport infrastructure (82.2%), parking paces, social and cultural facilities, education and health facilities, closeness to city-centre or shopping centres, regular arrangement of buildings, cleanliness of environs, security, mass transport, general municipality services, quality of material and workmanship of dwellings and environs, size of dwelling. Attributes that are evaluated mostly as to become worse off are; green areas, neighbourhood relations (66.7%) and panorama (71.1%). Children's playground and sport facilities were mostly answered as staying the same as before (Table 65).

Table 65: Better off/ Worse off Table for Şentepe

Did the following became better or worse off for you after Şentepe Urban Transformation Project?					
Did the following became better or worse off for you after Şentepe Urban Transformation Project?	Better off	Same	Worse off	No response	Total
Technical infrastructure (water, electricity, sewage)	54	25	1	-	80
	67,5	31,3	1,3	-	100,0
Transportation infr.	21	57	2	-	80
	26,3	71,3	2,5	-	100,0
Parking areas	15	55	10	-	80
	18,8	68,8	12,5	-	100,0
Green areas	5	55	20	-	80
	6,3	68,8	25,0	-	100,0
Children's playground and sports areas	11	50	19	-	80
	13,8	62,5	23,8	-	100,0
Proximity to socio-cultural facilities	6	71	3	-	80
	7,5	88,8	3,8	-	100,0
Proximity to schools and health centres	5	71	1	3	80
	6,3	88,8	1,3	3,8	100,0
Proximity to city centre and shopping malls	4	76	-	-	80
	5,0	95,0	-	-	100,0
Relationships with neighbours	18	29	33	-	80
	22,5	36,3	41,3	-	100,0
Scenery	29	34	17	-	80
	36,3	42,5	21,3	-	100,0
Regular arrangement of buildings	59	17	4	-	80
	73,8	21,3	5,0	-	100,0
Environmental Cleanness (air pollution free, noise free)	35	40	5	-	80
	43,8	50,0	6,3	-	100,0
Security	20	55	4	1	80
	25,0	68,8	5,0	1,3	100,0

Table 65 (continued)

Public transportation	19	61	-	-	80
	23,8	76,3	-	-	100,0
General municipality services	15	50	15	-	80
	18,8	62,5	18,8	-	100,0
Material and workmanship quality of dwelling and environs	40	29	11	-	80
	50,0	36,3	13,8	-	100,0
Size of dwelling	72	6	2	-	80
	90,0	7,5	2,5	-	100,0
Inner arrangement of dwelling	73	7	-	-	80
	91,3	8,8	-	-	100,0

Table 66: Better off/ Worse off Table for Dikmen

Did the following became better or worse off for you after Improvement and Redevelopment Plans in Dikmen?	Better off	Same	Worse off	Total
Technical infrastructure (water, electricity, sewage)	40	4	1	45
	88,9	8,9	2,2	100,0
Transportation infr.	37	7	1	45
	82,2	15,6	2,2	100,0
Parking areas	28	13	4	45
	62,2	28,9	8,9	100,0
Green areas	9	15	21	45
	20,0	33,3	46,7	100,0
Children's playground and sports areas	12	21	12	45
	26,7	46,7	26,7	100,0
Proximity to socio-cultural facilities	22	20	3	45
	48,9	44,4	6,7	100,0
Proximity to schools and health centres	27	16	2	45
	60,0	35,6	4,4	100,0

Table 66 (continued)

Proximity to city centre and shopping malls	26	19	-	45
	57,8	42,2	-	100,0
Relationships with neighbours	5	10	30	45
	11,1	22,2	66,7	100,0
Scenery	5	8	32	45
	11,1	17,8	71,1	100,0
Regular arrangement of buildings	28	14	3	45
	62,2	31,1	6,7	100,0
Environmental Cleanness (air pollution free, noise free)	23	12	10	45
	51,1	26,7	22,2	100,0
Security	21	17	7	45
	46,7	37,8	15,6	100,0
Public transportation	33	12	-	45
	73,3	26,7	-	100,0
General municipality services	34	9	2	45
	75,6	20,0	4,4	100,0
Material and workmanship quality of dwelling and environs	34	8	3	45
	75,6	17,8	6,7	100,0
Size of dwelling	31	11	3	45
	68,9	24,4	6,7	100,0
Inner arrangement of dwelling	37	6	2	45
	82,2	13,3	4,4	100,0

One of the most visible outputs of the transformation process is the coexistence of transformed and untransformed dwellings. This means that the residents of transformed units are living within a new upgraded inner housing; however the neighbourhood still looks like a squatter settlement or a construction site in 2008 after 3years (Figure 65). Since constructions in the area are still ongoing, a certain amount of noise and pollution is common on the streets (Figure 66 to 68).



Figure 65: Coexistence of Transformed and Untransformed Housing in Şentepe



Figure 66: Demolished Dwellings in Şentepe

Another problem in Şentepe is that parks, sports areas and recreational facilities are not completed either by the municipalities or the developers (some of the small parks within the gated housing estates are supposed to be provided by the developer). Some of the transformation has been completed and some households moved in their apartments, while some of the facilities have been supplied (Figure 69) whereas others still lack these facilities. That's why it is possible to see children in the transformed stock to be playing on streets just like in squatter neighbourhoods (Figure 70). Absence of some services also decreases the aesthetic quality of housing environs.

There are currently a variety of new construction at variable housing prices for different income and demands. Some of the large construction firms developed multiple apartment block housing estates with social and sport facilities inside, which even have security guards (Figure 71).



Figure 67: Squatters and refuse materials of demolish and construction are part of the landscape



Figure 68: New constructed buildings and refuse materials of demolish and construction



Figure 70: Children playing on roads



Figure 69: Finished sports areas



Figure 71: A 'gated community' with security guards

On the other hand, another aspect of physical quality of built environment affecting the quality of life is transportation. Currently most of the rehabilitation and widening of roads have been completed. These facilities have increased the accessibility within the neighbourhood. However a common problem cited by both households and developers is the lack of interventions of the plan in terms of accessibility of the neighbourhood with other districts and the city centre of Ankara. The neighbourhood's main connection is only by the roads at its southern part, which causes traffic congestion problem along the Suadiye Avenue up to the centre of Yenimahalle. Although the plan proposes a 160.000 population, the transportation system of the neighbourhood is not compatible with this new load.

Another dimension of physical quality of environs is related to the management and maintenance of housing and environs. In personal meetings with Şentepe gecekondü dwellers, it was understood that monthly payments for maintenance, management and repairs of apartment buildings have been a discouraging factor for urban transformation as well. In Şentepe, among flats, 17,6% of households do not pay any monthly fees for management and maintenance of their building blocks. Since Şentepe houses a number of apartment blocks which do not facilitate the monthly payments, maintenance of the buildings depend on solely voluntary efforts and sensibilities, which in the long run might lead to a decrease in the physical quality of housing environs. On the other hand, 93.2% of the households in Dikmen do pay monthly fees for the management and maintenance of their building blocks.

5.5.3.2.3. 3rd Problem; Negative Social Implications of Transformation:

The third problem was described as;

“In most transformed neighbourhoods, unintended changes might be observed in social composition; such as gentrification³⁸”

³⁸ It should be acknowledged that it could be also considered as a positive effect if it is used as a tool for urban transformation and if adequate supplementary policies are available for less advantaged groups who move elsewhere in the gentrification process

In this part, whether or not the Şentepe Transformation Project could manage to minimize the social costs of transformation such as gentrification, displacement and dislocation will be studied by analysing;

- The differences between existing population and new-comers in;
 - o Education
 - o Income
 - o Car ownership
- A closer look to the characteristics of later-purchasers
 - o Reasons for later purchasers for purchasing in Şentepe
 - o Tenure status in previous dwelling
 - o Land tenure of previous dwelling
 - o Location of previous dwelling
 - o Purchasing date and price of the dwelling in Şentepe
- A closer look at the characteristics of flat tenants
 - o Reasons for renting in Şentepe
 - o Tenure in previous dwelling
 - o Land tenure of previous dwelling
 - o Location of previous dwelling
 - o Renting date and rental price of the dwelling in Şentepe
- Social adaptation problems between newcomers and initial owners
- Location of jobs for gecekondü owners and tenants

Questions regarding the socio-economic and demographic characteristics of households were asked to ex-gecekondü owners, later purchasers and later tenants. Thus, the results of the survey reveal the differences and similarities between the population before and after transformation. Therefore the hypothesis of "Transformation processes might create a redistribution of social classes in the urban space or gentrification" (H2.4) will be tested.

The results of the survey exhibit differences between existing population and new comers in terms of education and income. Table 67 presents the education level (last school graduated) of the household heads (HhH) according to the type of housing and housing tenure status categories in Şentepe. As seen from Table 68, in Şentepe, only 3.25 per cent of the household heads are graduates of a university. In Şentepe, all of the university graduates live in apartment stock and none of them live in squatters (Table 67). Of all university graduates, 60% are later purchaser flat dwellers and 20% are ex-gecekondü owner flat dwellers,

and 20% are flat tenants. Among dwellers of flats, 4.17% are university graduates (Table 68). Table 68 is a comparison table between Şentepe and Dikmen presenting the education levels of Hh Heads in the apartment stock of both neighbourhoods according to the ex-gecekondu owners (those who gained their current flat through their right-holder status of gecekondu) and later-purchasers (those purchased their flat after transformation). As seen from the table the frequency of university graduates between these two flat owner categories varies less in Şentepe than in Dikmen (1,32% and 15% in Şentepe and 6.98% and 61.54% in Dikmen). Nevertheless still showing signs of gentrification in Şentepe too. For the later purchasers in Dikmen, the sum of high school and university graduate figures reaches to almost 85%, which is less than 40% in both categories of Şentepe and among initial flat owners in Dikmen.

According to average number of years of education, the ranking is as follows in Şentepe; later purchasers (9,2 years), apartment tenants (8,5 years), apartment initial owners (8,1), gecekondu tenants (8), gecekondu homeowners (7,5) (Table 70).

The differences between ex-gecekondu owners and later-purchasers can be evaluated as the impacts of transformation on the composition of social structure. Thus the higher figures in Dikmen indicate that social composition of Dikmen is subjected to a much greater change than of Şentepe. In other words, new comers to the transformation area by purchasing flats after transformation in Dikmen are a socio- economically different population in terms of education levels. The distribution might have also been affected due to the fact that demand for ready built flats is greater among university graduates in Dikmen compared to Şentepe. The very general definition of gentrification indicates that in movers are mostly different from the existing population in some respects such as household size, age profiles, racial composition, and type of profession or employment status. Therefore according to education criteria, gentrification is not observed as much in Şentepe compared to Dikmen.

Table 67: Level of Education of Household Heads According to Hh Categories in Şentepe

Level of Education of HhHs of Şentepe	Squatter homeowner		Squatter tenant		Initial flat owner		Later purchaser flat		Flat tenant		Total	
	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%
No school and no literacy	1	3,57									1	0,65
No school but literate					1	1,32					1	0,65
Primary School	8	28,57	3	30,00	23	30,26	4	20,00	6	30,00	44	28,57
Secondary School	13	46,43	4	40,00	25	32,89	8	40,00	7	35,00	57	37,01
High school	6	21,43	3	30,00	26	34,21	5	25,00	6	30,00	46	29,87
University					1	1,32	3	15,00	1	5,00	5	3,25
Total	28	100	10	100	76	100	20	100	20	100	154	100

Table 68: Education Level of Hh Head in the Apartment Stock in Şentepe and Dikmen

Level of Education of HhHs	Şentepe						Dikmen					
	Intl. flat owner		Later purch. flat		Total		Initial flat owner		Later purch. flat		Total	
	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%
No school and no literacy							1	2,33			1	1,79
No school but literate	1	1,32			1	1,04	1	2,33			1	1,79
Primary School	23	30,26	4	20,00	27	28,13	12	27,91			12	21,43
Secondary School	25	32,89	8	40,00	33	34,38	14	32,56	2	15,38	16	28,57
High school	26	34,21	5	25,00	31	32,29	12	27,91	3	23,08	15	26,79
University	1	1,32	3	15,00	4	4,17	3	6,98	8	61,54	11	19,64
Total	76	100	20	100	96	100	43	100	13	100	56	100

Table 69: Average Year of Education of Household Heads according to Hh Categories in Şentepe

Hh Categories	Average year of education		
	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
gecekondu homeowner	7,5	28	2,603417
gecekondu tenant	8	10	2,44949
apt- rightholder homeowner	8,105263	76	2,715776
apt- later purchaser homeowner	9,2	20	3,237933
apt tenant	8,35	20	2,852054
Total	8,162338	154	2,775878

The education of spouse of Hh heads is even lower than household head in Şentepe (Table 70); 13,5% of all cases (4,35% non-literate, 9,78% literate) were not graduated from any school at all and there are no university graduates among spouses in all Hh tenure categories of Şentepe. In Dikmen, the level of education figures of spouses is relatively higher than Şentepe. Among spouses of Hh Heads in Dikmen, 2,6% of ex-gecekondu owners and 46% of later-purchasers are university graduates. In Şentepe education level figures of Hh Heads (mostly supposed to be males) and spouses (females) are much more differentiated from each other. Differentiation between male and female population in terms of education levels in favour of male population can be evaluated as a more traditional character of the population. In Dikmen there is also a discrepancy between ex-gecekondu owners and later-purchasers in terms of level of education of the spouse like there is in the Hh Heads' (for university graduates in spouses the figures are 2.6% and 46% respectively). This again refers to a change in the composition of the population after transformation in Dikmen. On the other hand, the share of secondary and high school graduates of later purchasers are less than of initial owners (19,44% vs. 15% and 25% vs. 20% respectively).

Table 70: Level of Education of HhH Spouse in the Apartment Stock in Şentepe and Dikmen

Level of Education of HhH Spouse	Şentepe						Dikmen					
	Initial flat owner		Later purchaser flat		Total		Initial flat owner		Later purchaser flat		Total	
	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%
No school and no literacy	2	2,78	2	10	4	4,35	5	13		-	5	9,6
No school but literate	9	12,5			9	9,78	2	5,1		-	2	3,8
Primary School	29	40,28	11	55	40	43,48	18	46	1	7,7	19	37
Secondary School	14	19,44	3	15	17	18,48	7	18	2	15	9	17
High school	18	25	4	20	22	23,91	6	15	4	31	10	19
University	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2,6	6	46	7	14
Total	72	100	20	100	92	100	39	100	13	100	52	100

Table 71: Education of Spouse of HhH According to Hh Categories in Şentepe

Level of Education of HhH Spouse	Squatter homeowner	Squatter tenant	Initial flat owner	Later purchaser flat owner	Flat tenant	Total
No school and no literacy	7,69		2,78	10,00		4,08
No school but literate	11,54	20,00	12,50			9,52
Primary School	57,69	30,00	40,28	55,00	47,37	45,58
Secondary School	19,23	20,00	19,44	15,00	42,11	21,77
High school	3,85	30,00	25,00	20,00	10,53	19,05
Total	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00	100,00

Another measure of gentrification is differences in income between the initial population and the newcomers. In Şentepe, the average income of households considering the salary and rent yields has been found as 1023 TL (Table 72). The minimum figure of monthly total income in Şentepe is of gecekondü tenants category by 720 TL and the maximum is of later purchaser flat owners by 1222 TL. In Dikmen, average income of all interviewee households is 1246 YTL (Table 72). While in Şentepe, later purchaser Hhs have an approximately 10% more income than initial flat owners; the difference is approximately 86% in Dikmen (initial flat owners; 1029 TL and later-purchasers; 1914 TL see Table 72). In terms of income the new comers and initial households are not sharply differentiated in Şentepe, but differentiation is great in Dikmen.

Table 72: Average Monthly Total Hh Income in Şentepe and Dikmen

Hh Categories	Monthly Total Hh Income					
	Şentepe			Dikmen		
	Mean	N	Std. Dev.	Mean	N	Std. Dev.
Squatter homeowner	868,33	30,00	442,66	-	-	-
Squatter tenant	720,00	10,00	193,22	-	-	-
Initial homeowner of flat	1112,03	79,00	738,29	1029,07	43,00	346,62
Later purchaser of flat	1222,50	20,00	464,10	1914,29	14,00	455,07
Flat tenant	862,50	20,00	480,37	-	-	-
Total	1023,90	159,00	619,23	1246,49	57,00	534,76

In Şentepe none of the gecekondü tenants have a family car, whereas 52.50% of the flat owners who were once gecekondü owners have a car even higher than the car ownership figures of later- purchasers (45%). Since 34,48% of gecekondü owners have a car, the high figures of initial owners might be explained by monetary gains through urban transformation. Although the car ownership figures in Şentepe for ex-gecekondü flat owners and new comer flat owners do not greatly differentiate, there is a discrepancy between ex-gecekondü flat owners and new comer flat owners in Dikmen by 37,78% in the first category and 71.43% in the latter. These figures for car ownership and income can be evaluated as the socio-economic composition of Hhs in Dikmen is subjected to a much greater change compared to Şentepe.

Table 73: Frequency Distribution of Total Monthly Hh Income in the Apartment Stock in Şentepe and Dikmen

Total Monthly Hh Income	Şentepe						Dikmen					
	Initial flat owner		Later purchaser flat owner		Total		Initial flat owner		Later purchaser flat owner		Total	
	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%
0-400 YTL	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
401-799 YTL	29,0	36,7	3,0	15,0	32	32,3	10,0	23,3	-	-	10,0	17,5
800-1199 YTL	28,0	35,4	9,0	45,0	37	37,4	23,0	53,5	1,0	7,1	24,0	42,1
1200-1599 YTL	8,0	10,1	3,0	15,0	11	11,1	8,0	18,6	2,0	14,3	10,0	17,5
1600-1999 YTL	10,0	12,7	4,0	20,0	14	14,1	1,0	2,3	5,0	35,7	6,0	10,5
2000-2499 YTL	2,0	2,5	1,0	5,0	3	3,0	1,0	2,3	5,0	35,7	6,0	10,5
2500-2999 YTL	1,0	1,3	-	-	1	1,0	-	-	1,0	7,1	1,0	1,8
5000 YTL and over	1,0	1,3	-	-	1	1,0	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	79,0	100,0	20,0	100,0	100	100,0	43,0	100,0	14,0	100,0	57,0	100,0

Households who have purchased their flats after the transformation were asked why they choose to live there. In Şentepe, 35.3% of the responses are for its affordable purchasing prices, and then comes closeness to relatives and friends by 29.4%; 23.5% have answered as they were living in the same neighbourhood before and they got used to living there. In Dikmen on the other hand, the most important factor in purchasing their dwelling from this transformation area is closeness to work by 43.8% of all responses, while this was not one of the first three factors in Şentepe. Affordable housing price is chosen in 18.8% of the responses in Dikmen. Since the availability of relatives and friends is the second most chosen answer in Şentepe, it is possible to conclude that new comers are not only from a similar socio-economic group, but also they are bounded with family and friendship ties to the initial owners.

Table 76: Why did you prefer to purchase from this neighbourhood in Şentepe (Later- purchasers Survey)

Reason of purchase	Count	% of Responses	% of Cases
nearby to friends/ relatives	10	29,4	50,0
nearby to work	3	8,8	15,0
nearby to the schools of children	1	2,9	5,0
affordable prices	12	35,3	60,0
being used to live there	8	23,5	40,0
total responses	34	100,0	170,0
Şentepe, 20 valid cases, 0 missing cases			

Table 77: Why did you prefer to purchase from this neighbourhood in Dikmen (Later- purchasers Survey)

Reason of purchase	count	% of Responses	% of Cases
nearby to friends/ relatives	2	12,5	14,3
nearby to work	7	43,8	50,0
nearby to the schools of children	1	6,3	7,1
affordable prices	3	18,8	21,4
being used to live in that neighbourhood	2	12,5	14,3
inherited from family	1	6,3	7,1
total responses	16	100,0	114,3
Dikmen, 14 valid cases, 0 missing cases			

In Şentepe, 50% of these 'later-purchasers' have stated that the dwelling they lived before coming to their current dwelling was an authorized apartment flat. The other 50% is; 20% squatters built before 1986 and had some legal rights for regularization³⁹ and 15% squatter with a title deed given by the amnesty, 10% shared title (unauthorized subdivided plots) deed and 5% unauthorized gecekondu (Table 78). These figures also indicate a similarity between the new and initial population in Şentepe.

While the percentage was 50 % in Şentepe, 84.6% of the 'later purchaser' Hhs in Dikmen were living in authorized flats before moving their current dwelling, 7.7% were living in squatter housing and 7.7% were living in dwellings with shared title deed. Dikmen is again more differentiated in terms of new comers and initial owners than Şentepe.

Table 78: Land Tenure of Previous Dwelling of Later- Purchaser Hhs in Şentepe and Dikmen

Land Tenure Status of Previous Dwelling	Şentepe		Dikmen	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
Authorized flat	10	50	11	84,62
Unauthorized squatter	1	5	1	7,69
Squatter with title deed by amnesty laws	3	15		
Squatter with Tapu tahsis belgesi⁴⁰	4	20		
Shared ownership	2	10	1	7,69
Total	20	100	13	100,00

These later purchasers are observed to live in Şentepe by 45% before coming to their current dwellings; 10% lived in the same quarter and 45% lived in other districts or neighbourhoods of Ankara. None of them were living in another city or in rural areas.

³⁹ tapu tahsis belgesi

⁴⁰ This document is not a formal title deed, but who were provided with these documents, became a right-holder of the area that would be redeveloped by improvement plans

Different from Şentepe, moving from another city constitutes a large share among 'later purchaser Hhs in Dikmen; 35.7% of these Hhs were living in another city before moving current dwellings, 35.7% were living in other districts/ neighbourhoods of Ankara, 14.3 were living in the same neighbourhood and 14.3% in Dikmen. It appears that flats built by replacing gecekondus in Dikmen are affordable for many newcomers to Ankara.

Table 79: Location of Previous Dwelling of Later- Purchaser Hhs in Şentepe and Dikmen

Location of prev. dwelling of later purchasers	Şentepe		Dikmen	
	Freq.	%	Freq.	%
In the same quarter	2	10	2	14,29
In the same neighbourhood	9	45	2	14,29
In another neighbourhood	9	45	5	35,71
In another city			5	35,71
Total	20	100	14	100,00

In Şentepe, 60% of these Hhs (purchasing after transformation) have purchased their flats in 2005 and after (25% in 2005, 25% in 2006, and 10% in 2007). Purchasing dates are between 1998- 2007. Purchasing price varies between 20.000 to 95.000YTL. In Dikmen, The Hhs have purchased their dwellings between 1995 and 2005. The purchasing price varies between 10.000 to 175.000YTL (Tables 80, 81).

Table 80: Purchasing Price of the Dwellings in Şentepe

Şentepe						
Year of purchase	Month of purchase	Purchasing price (TL)				
		Mean	N	Min.	Max.	Std. Dev.
1998	4	25000,00	1	25000	25000	,
	Total	25000,00	1	25000	25000	,
2002	4	40000,00	1	40000	40000	,
	7	36000,00	2	32000	40000	5656,85
	Total	37333,33	3	32000	40000	4618,80
2003	6	45000,00	1	45000	45000	,
	8	20000,00	1	20000	20000	,
	Total	32500,00	2	20000	45000	17677,67
2004	6	49000,00	2	43000	55000	8485,28
	Total	49000,00	2	43000	55000	8485,28
2005	6	90000,00	1	90000	90000	,
	12	67500,00	2	40000	95000	38890,87
	Not remember	48500,00	2	45000	52000	4949,75
	Total	64400,00	5	40000	95000	26063,38
2006	1	40000,00	1	40000	40000	,
	3	25000,00	1	25000	25000	,
	6	71000,00	1	71000	71000	,
	7	57000,00	2	40000	74000	24041,63
	Total	50000,00	5	25000	74000	21459,26
2007	8	55000,00	1	55000	55000	,
	9	65000,00	1	65000	65000	,
	Total	60000,00	2	55000	65000	7071,07
Total	Total	49600,00	20	20000	95000	20507,77

Table 81: Purchasing Price of the Dwellings in Dikmen

Dikmen						
Year of purchase	Month of purchase	Purchasing price				
		Mean	N	Min.	Max.	Std. Dev.
1995	12	30000,00	1	30000	30000	,
	Total	30000,00	1	30000	30000	,
1997	5	120000,00	1	120000	120000	,
	Total	120000,00	1	120000	120000	,
1999	3	80000,00	1	80000	80000	,
	8	20000,00	1	20000	20000	,
	Total	50000,00	2	20000	80000	42426,41
2000	2	80000,00	1	80000	80000	,
	4	100000,00	1	100000	100000	,
	10	90000,00	1	90000	90000	,
	Total	90000,00	3	80000	100000	10000,00
2002	8	150000,00	2	150000	150000	0,00
	10	100000,00	1	100000	100000	,
	12	10000,00	1	10000	10000	,
	Total	102500,00	4	10000	150000	66017,67
2005	12	175000,00	1	175000	175000	,
	Total	175000,00	1	175000	175000	,
Total	Total	92083,33	12	10000	175000	52719,60

Another category of newcomers is the tenants of apartment stock. In Şentepe, 50% of the tenant Hhs indicated that the reason to choose to live there was the appropriate rents; 45% of them indicated closeness to relatives and friends as another reason, and 45% of the Hhs stated that they were used to live there before.

Table 82: Why did you rent a dwelling in Şentepe (Apartment Tenants Survey)

Reason of rent	count	% of Responses	% of Cases
nearby to friends/ relatives	9	29,0	45,0
being used to live in that neighbourhood	9	29,0	45,0
nearby to work	1	3,2	5,0
nearby to the schools of children	2	6,5	10,0
affordable rents	10	32,3	50,0
total responses	31	100,0	155,0
Şentepe flat-tenants, 20 valid cases, 0 missing cases			

In Şentepe, 80% of the tenant Hhs were again tenants in their previous habitation. 15% were owner-occupiers and 5% were living in a relative's house without paying rent.

Table 83: Tenure of Tenant Hhs in Şentepe in their previous dwelling

Tenure of Tenant Hhs in Şentepe in their previous dwelling	Freq.	%
Tenant	16	80
Homeowner	3	15
Living in a relative's/ friend's dwell. without paying rent	1	5
Total	20	100

In Şentepe, 60% of tenants were living in Şentepe before, 25% were living in the same quarter within Şentepe (a total of 85% were living in Şentepe), and 15% were living in other neighbourhoods/ districts of Ankara. None of them were living in other cities or rural areas.

Table 84: Location of Tenant Hhs in Şentepe in their previous dwelling

Location of Tenant Hhs in Şentepe in their previous dwelling	Freq.	%
In the same quarter	5	25
In the same neighbourhood	12	60
In another neighbourhood	3	15
Total	20	100

The previous dwellings of flat tenants of Şentepe live were 35% gecekondü built before 1986 and had a legal document for regularization, 25% authorized apartment flats, 15% unauthorized squatter and 15% shared title deed, 10% squatters with title deeds given by amnesties.

Table 85: Land Ownership Status of Tenant Hhs' previous dwelling in Şentepe

Legal Status of Şentepe's Tenant Hhs' previous dwelling	Freq.	%
Authorized flat	5	25
Unauthorized squatter	3	15
Squatter with title deed by amnesty law	2	10
Squatter with Tapu tahsis belgesi	7	35
Shared ownership	3	15
Total	20	100

The date of renting the dwelling varies between 2001- 2007 and rents vary between 200 to 500 TL.

Since gentrification (if occurs) might end up most of the gecekondü families to move other parts of the city, they might be facing additional transportation costs if their jobs are in or near Şentepe. In the survey location of work was asked. In Şentepe, 25,77%% of working Hh heads are working in Şentepe (Table 87), the next highest shares are Ostim (15,46%), Ulus (15,46) and Kızılay- Bakanlıklar (13,40%). In Dikmen, 41% of working Household Heads work in Kızılay- Bakanlıklar, and 12.8% work in Balgat (Table 88).

Table 86: Actual Monthly Rents Paid by Tenant Hhs for the Dwellings in Şentepe (Apartment Tenants Survey)

Actual Monthly Rents Paid by Tenant Hhs in Şentepe						
Year of first renting of this dwelling	Month of first renting of this dwelling	Mean (TL)	N	Min	Max	Std. Dev.
2001	8	300,00	1	300	300	,
	Total	300,00	1	300	300	,
2002	11	350,00	1	350	350	,
	Total	350,00	1	350	350	,
2003	4	300,00	1	300	300	,
	12	350,00	1	350	350	,
	Total	325,00	2	300	350	35,36
2004	1	450,00	1	450	450	,
	6	350,00	1	350	350	,
	7	300,00	1	300	300	,
	Total	366,67	3	300	450	76,38
2005	6	250,00	2	200	300	70,71
	8	300,00	1	300	300	,
	12	330,00	1	330	330	,
	Total	282,50	4	200	330	56,79
2006	6	300,00	1	300	300	,
	8	411,67	3	360	500	76,87
	Total	383,75	4	300	500	84,00
2007	3	250,00	1	250	250	,
	5	500,00	1	500	500	,
	Total	375,00	2	250	500	176,78
Total	1	450,00	1	450	450	,
	3	250,00	1	250	250	,
	4	300,00	1	300	300	,
	5	500,00	1	500	500	,
	6	287,50	4	200	350	62,92
	7	300,00	1	300	300	,
	8	367,00	5	300	500	81,82
	11	350,00	1	350	350	,
	12	340,00	2	330	350	14,14
	Total	342,06	17	200	500	80,06

Table 87: Where do you work (Şentepe)

Location of work for All Hh Categories in Şentepe	Frequency	Percent
Şentepe	25,00	25,77
Ulus	15,00	15,46
Ostim	15,00	15,46
Kızılay- Bakanlıklar	13,00	13,40
Yenimahalle	9,00	9,28
İvedik	8,00	8,25
Istanbul yolu	4,00	4,12
Eskişehir yolu	2,00	2,06
varies	2,00	2,06
other	2,00	2,06
Kavaklıdere	1,00	1,03
Sincan	1,00	1,03
Total	97,00	100,00

Table 88: Where do you work (Dikmen)

Location of Work for All Hh Categories in Dikmen	Frequency	Percent
Kızılay- Bakanlıklar	16	41,03
Balgat	5	12,82
Eskişehir yolu	3	7,69
Dikmen	3	7,69
varies	3	7,69
Ulus	2	5,13
Kavaklıdere	1	2,56
Ostim	1	2,56
Demetevler	1	2,56
Kolej	1	2,56
Keçiören	1	2,56
Ovecler	1	2,56
Yüzüncüyıl	1	2,56
Total	39	100,00



Figure 72: Small-scale Commercial Facilities in Gecekondu



Figure 76: Laundry hanged out for drying in balconies
Source: Municipality of Yenimahalle, 2005

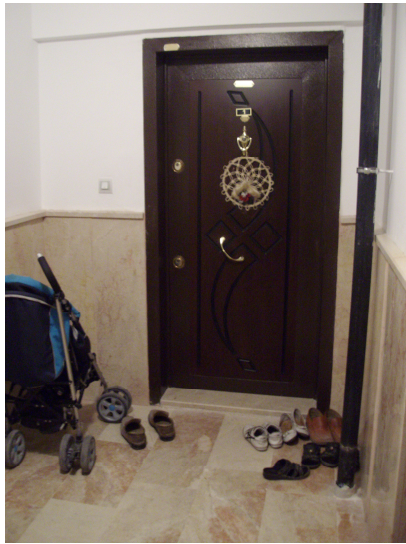


Figure 74: Shoes in the common areas of buildings



Figure 73 : Some of the gecekondu serve as a mini-market (on the wall writes "bakkal")
Source: Municipality of Yenimahalle, 2005

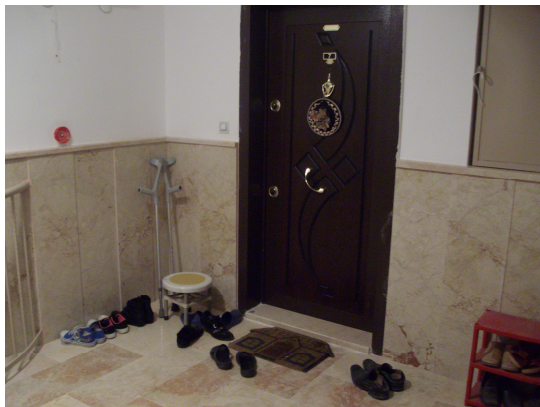


Figure 75: Shoes in the common areas of buildings

Another dimension of social problems is the problems between newcomers and initial owners due to different socio-cultural status, habits and practices. This has been highlighted by both types of residents in the area on casual visits to the neighbourhood. The complaints of newcomers are usually depicted through the habits and lifestyles of initial owners described as uncoordinated to the urban life. One of them is explained as shoes and slippers placed and stored just at the corridor before the entrance doors of the dwellings which are common areas of the apartment blocks. This is mentioned as a common practice among initial homeowners. This habit creates an unpleasant smell and anaesthetic image in the building (Figure 74, 75). Another complaint is about hanged out laundry in balconies which again creates a bad image of the streets (Figure 76).

The results regarding the change socio-economic characteristics of the population indicate a big difference between Şentepe and Dikmen. As both urban transformation schemes proposed by both plans do not comprise any defined policy or strategies regarding this kind change, the reason could be searched in the differences of locational characteristics of the two neighbourhoods. Not only the Dikmen neighbourhood is closer to and having stronger connections with the city centre than Şentepe, but also the site started to house some headquarters of political parties and headquarters and showrooms of textile companies. Moreover the area is also close to some of the emerging prestigious neighbourhoods of Ankara such as Çukurambar and already adjacent to the legal or formerly regularized sections of Dikmen where the housing market demonstrates higher prices than of Şentepe and environs. Correspondingly in the survey, the rents and purchasing prices are both approximately higher in Dikmen than Şentepe. While this figure already gives a clue that later purchaser households would be a different socio-economic group than *gecekondu* households; the results of the survey in terms of income and education also indicate high differences (i.e. 85.9% higher income in later purchasers) among the initial flat owners and later purchasers. Therefore, locational characteristics are not only affecting the level of investment in redevelopment but also the consequences of redevelopment. Nevertheless whether or not treat changes in social composition is good or bad is another task of inquiry. Since the study had limitations to trace out those households who moved to other neighbourhoods after transformation, it is not possible to conclude whether they are better off or worse off or whether they are satisfied with their living environment and

dwellings if they sold their dwellings in the transformation site and purchased other dwellings in different neighbourhoods.

On the other hand, the ex-gecekondu owners in Şentepe are observed to be more emotionally tied to their apartment blocks than the later-purchasers (Yaylagül, 2008). According to Yaylagül (2008) it might be related to two factors; first, they might have more than one dwelling in the same apartment and secondly even if they move to apartments their emotional ties with their gecekondu dwellings continue since they still live in the same place. Another factor which was not cited in Yaylagül's study might be the availability of children, family and relatives in the same building and neighbourhood which again creates emotional ties and strengthens the sense of a collective ownership on common areas. It is observed that these ex-gecekondu owners put effort on cleaning of the stairs of their apartment blocks or watering the plants in the garden voluntarily.

5.5.3.2.4. 4th Problem: Ethical Implications:

The fourth problem was described as;

“The socio-economic implications of transformation give rise to ethical debates and social discontent within various sections/ classes of the society”

The fourth problem category is the most difficult category to be tested since ethical debates can be more subjective and are not easy to be tested. However, since they are grounded mostly by the social problems themselves; it can be argued that creating less social problems means creating less ethical problems. For instance initial observations during the survey exhibited hardly any sign of gentrification since original residents and newcomers do not present a sharply differentiated profile. This means less social and economical adaptation problems for the original residents while enjoying an improvement in their quality of urban life. Therefore, the original residents do not face with involuntary moves to other parts of the city, which might create social, psychological and economical costs for them.

The transformation project is not a single project of multiple plots, therefore, plots are transformed one by one together with a few neighbouring plots to get a suitable amount of land for building an apartment. This gives households a flexibility of time. That is a household is able to decide for transformation when feeling ready and ambitious for transformation. Thus, there are no involuntary evictions or time limits for transformation. So, Şentepe Transformation Project might be evaluated as successful in terms of overcoming the ethical problem of creating homeless or getting worse-off households.

On the other hand, the survey results indicated that many households gained more than one apartments in the transformation process. These additional dwellings provide an additional rental gain for them. Many of additional flats are given to their married children for residing. Since these households started their housing career with an illegal occupation and end up with a relatively good position compared to those who manage to get homeownership through legal channels, ŞTP can also be criticized in terms of this ethical dimension. In other words, transformation does not only serve to meet housing needs of households, but instead provided lucrative gains for many of them.

5.6. Summary of Findings of Institutional- Empirical Analysis of Urban Transformation in Şentepe

The results of the analysis indicated that Şentepe Urban Transformation Project and in particular, the following strategies of the municipality have been successful to increase the attractiveness of investment to the neighbourhood for house-builders and attractiveness for transforming their dwellings for squatter housing owners;

- announcing the plan as a 'Transformation Project'
- institutional changes in order to ease the procedures for house-builders
- flagship investments which will be all financed and carried out by the municipality such as a large urban park which might create a positive externality effect
- increased plot sizes
- increased the amount of social and technical infrastructure
- rearranged the road network and building block pattern so as to provide larger plots enabling larger size of dwelling units

- increased development rights enabling more than four storey construction
- additional development rights with the increase in plot size, which can be achieved if owners in a building block could agree with the same house-builder on a single project.
- meetings with residents to inform as well as to ask opinions or easing or mediating issues of households with house-builders

Almost 87% of the gecekondü owners responded in the survey as they are in favour of transformation. The interviewed developers answered that they find the project attractive enough for investment. Correspondingly, by year 2012, 80-85% of the stock could be transformed according to the municipality. Moreover, it was observed that the project could also manage to avoid most of the unintended outcomes of redevelopment to a large extent. Since the project relies on plot by plot renewal by private sector although it is called a 'transformation project', there is a gradual transformation where all the squatter housing are not demolished once at a time. Thus the households can adapt themselves to the process more easily and would be relatively more flexible in their decisions on when to transform and move from their dwellings. Thus, there are no involuntary evictions or time limits for transformation. The project resulted in less 'radically changed' housing environs than those transformed by other transformation projects. So, ŞTP might be evaluated as successful also in terms of overcoming the ethical problem of creating dislocated or getting worse-off households.

On the other hand, there are also some aspects of the project which could not provide enough satisfaction on households, such as transportation network and delays in the construction of parks and recreational areas. The households also indicated that life in apartment buildings do not enable to continue the neighbour relationships as close as the ones in squatter life because there was more interaction in the gardens of their dwellings. The most referred reason for those disinterested in redeveloping their dwellings among squatter housing owners (13% of all squatter owners) stress financial issues. Policy Implications of this result designate for the need of further analysis of availability of special groups in terms of financial need and assistance and need for developing appropriate policies for these groups. The following figure summarizes the process of urban transformation by Şentepe Urban Transformation Project (Figure 77).

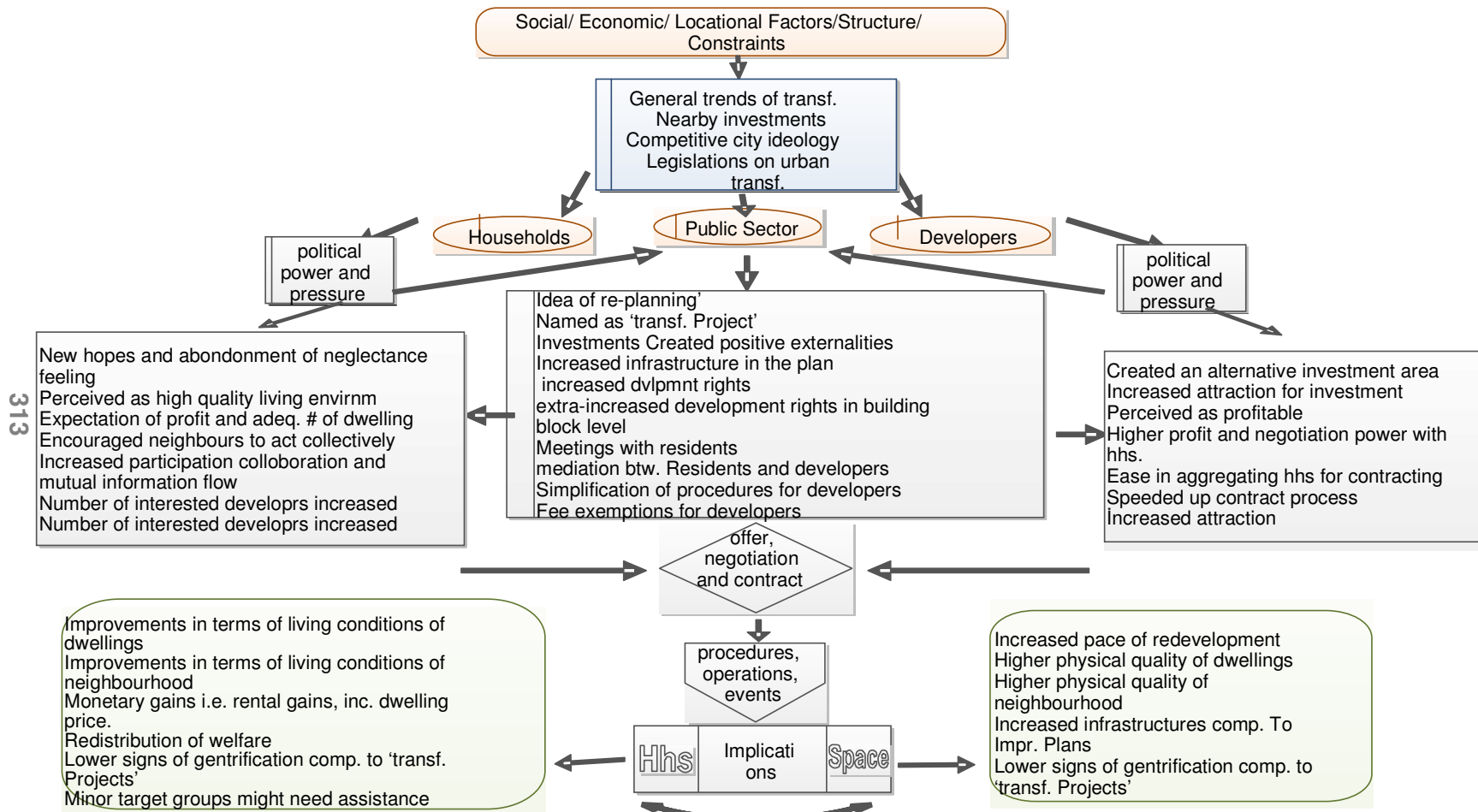


Figure 77: Institutional Analysis of Şentepe Transformation Project

5.7. Conclusion

The chapter V demonstrated the case studies conducted to test the relevancy of the hypothesis specified. The analysis was designed as an institutional analysis of urban transformation integrated by and supported with an empirical research based on household surveys and semi-structured interviews with house builders investing in the site. The primary case study area was chosen as Şentepe Neighbourhood where currently Şentepe Urban Transformation and Rehabilitation Project (ŞTP) takes place. The household surveys in Şentepe included gecekondü tenants and owners, initial home owners (ex-gecekondü owners who gained a flat after transformation as a compensation of their gecekondü land), later-purchasers (new comers to the area after transformation by purchasing a dwelling in the site) and later- tenants (new comers to the area after transformation by renting a dwelling in the site). A complementary secondary case study area was selected as western parts of Dikmen Neighbourhood which is currently transformed to a large extent according to Dikmen West Site Development Revision Plan. The complementary case study was aimed at comparing at least some of the results with Şentepe so that interpretation of whether the results of Şentepe are unique or can be generalised to other transformation sites and evaluating whether locational characteristics are making difference and discussing whether different strategies for development are leading to different results. The secondary case study in Dikmen conducted household surveys only in the transformed housing stock and only by homeowners; initial home-owners of flats (ex-gecekondü owners who gained a flat after transformation as a compensation of their gecekondü land), later-purchasers (new comers to the area after transformation by purchasing a dwelling in the site). Tenants and gecekondü dwellers were not included in this survey.

The institutional and empirical analysis demonstrated in Chapter V was concluded that all three main hypothesis of the study were supported. The First hypothesis is that it is possible to overcome bottlenecks in urban redevelopment by the regulatory tools. Currently, lots of new models are being experimented and experienced and lots of new ones are proposed by academicians, patricians and policy makers for those gecekondü neighbourhoods which could not be transformed since Improvement and Redevelopment Plans had been prepared first for them by the second half of the 1980s. New legislations associated with

these proposed new models are also enacted. On the other hand, the most significant result of the case study demonstrates that even simple institutional changes could change the attractiveness, transformability and fate of a neighbourhood. The municipality managed to facilitate urban transformation in Şentepe by Şentepe Urban Transformation Project. Moreover, the urban transformation project models are mostly developed for relatively smaller size areas within a defined boundary. Either the surrounding areas to the boundary might remain problematic or the relationship of the area with its surrounding might be problematic since they might not satisfy a common upper-scale development scheme. Nevertheless the urban transformation experience in Şentepe Urban Transformation Project has got used of 'development plans' (instead of both improvement and redevelopment plans and transformation projects) therefore managed to ensure the gradual transformation of large hectares of land (Şentepe Transformation Project Area is 425 ha).

The Şentepe Transformation Project not only managed to facilitate redevelopment but also overcome some of the problems associated with redevelopment. By using a 'development plan' instead of a 'redevelopment plan', the neighbourhood was served by better standards of social and technical infrastructure and development and construction requirements which has led to better quality housing and environs and thus better quality of life for the inhabitants. Indeed, the rationale behind lower standards required in improvement and redevelopment plans were the difficulties of re-arrangement of an already constructed area with new infrastructural facilities and the desire for making the most of development rights for newly to be constructed dwellings. Although this approach worked for some neighbourhoods, for some others did not. For instance, in Şentepe improvement and redevelopment plans were proposing smaller plots which enabled smaller dwellings (approx. 75- 85 m²) with very limited parks and recreational areas and cultural facilities. In the current housing market scheme of Ankara, this picture would not have any commercial attractiveness for the city dwellers. Therefore for the house builders investing in the area for renewal of gecekondü dwellings was not profitable. When Şentepe Urban Transformation Project brought higher standards to the area such as plot sizes became larger so that minimum size of dwelling has become 125m² and lots of new green areas and parks were proposed a few of which (TV tower and recreational park) were designed as prestige projects to be carried out by the municipality to increase the attractiveness of the

neighbourhood, the entire potential image of the neighbourhood was upgraded. Since this means more profits for the house builders, construction facilities accelerated in the area after ŞTP. Therefore, ŞTP has solved the untransformability and physical quality problem at the same time.

The results of the comparative case study Dikmen also proposed that revision of development plans could manage to overcome the bottlenecks of redevelopment in the site. Nevertheless west Dikmen was already redeveloping by previous improvement and redevelopment plans since the late 1980s with some parts of the site remaining problematic due to ownership constrains or difficulty of agreements in those areas where development rights were defined at building block level. The revision plans could solve these problems to a large extent so that the redevelopment activity was triggered in the area after 1995.

The second hypothesis of the study was also supported by the research that the perception, interests and expectations of related agencies and economic structural forces have a determining impact on the transformation process. For instance the initial homeowners who get a dwelling by ŞTP were asked for why they did not transform their gecekondus before by the redevelopment plans. Among other popular answer such as financial concerns, one answer is disputes with other right-holders in the neighbouring plots. However, popularity of this answer is less in the question asked for ŞTP than in the question for redevelopment plans. The fall in disputes might be read as Şentepe Transformation Project is more accredited and trusted by the Şentepe population or some of the planning decisions such as more development rights or larger dwelling sizes in the project decreased the number of hesitant households, possibility of objections to and thus disagreements in transformation. While the number of hesitant owners blocked the opportunities for redevelopment in the 1980s, the households changed their attitudes and strategies since ŞTP has changed the rules of the game in a way that their interests are more safeguarded. In casual visits to neighbourhood, households met often indicated that the attitude to urban transformation usually gets more positive after the examples are seen in their neighbours and in the quarters in the first stages of the project. They have stated that their concerns about facing with possible additional costs, or getting inadequate number or size of dwellings appropriate for the size of the family have become more positive after they have seen a number of examples. Nonetheless, the changing attitudes of households solely

would not lead to transformation unless the other critical actor which is house-builders are interested for investment.

The results of the study indicate that house-builders' attitudes also followed a similar pattern. Developers which did not invest in the first phase by redevelopment plans in the late 1980s also decided to invest in ŞTP because the current project have more opportunities for a developer since previous plans proposed very small plots which made it hard to redevelop. The interviewee also indicated that they have got used of the additional development rights given in case of redevelopment on building block level which they appreciated and found very useful. The interviewed developers explained that transformation projects are of no difference from new development for themselves as long as they have similar profits. According to the interviews, the share of gecekondulandowner as the value of land in the constructed apartment block is about 40%. The interviewee indicated that they have also undertaken redevelopment activities in other parts of Ankara such as Balgat or Dikmen where this ratio increases up to 50%, since land and housing prices are higher in those neighbourhoods. Although house-builders also mention that they are facing with a number of problems; they indicate that their projects are still profitable and they think that if the transformation would not be done, the people could be urbanites while still living in gecekondulandowner houses. Apart from interests, perceptions and expectations of the two non-policy key actors which are house-builders and households; there are also locational, contextual and structural factors that had an impact on the success of ŞTP. The house-builders indicated that other developments near Şentepe like the shopping malls and centres like Metro and Antares projects which are located in Keçiören District and approximately two kilometres away from the southern boundary of Şentepe project affected the image, attractiveness and thus the profitability of the neighbourhood. Moreover, Eastern neighbour Keçiören District also encloses many urban transformation projects of various scales (Northern Entrance of Ankara Project also is located within Keçiören and Altındağ Districts). Moreover, the dwelling unit of the Prime Minister of Turkey has been moved to Keçiören District in 2003 which accelerated all kinds of infrastructural investments in the area and increased the prestigiousness of the neighbourhood and the other northern neighbourhoods of Ankara as well. Nevertheless Şentepe Neighbourhood still do not have strong relationships with the city centre and other major commercial and business areas for it is loosely connected by transportation routes and services. The fact that

urban transformation is largely supported by the government reinforced by issuing a number of new legislations also encourages house-builders to invest in transformation projects as a general trend.

On the other hand Dikmen site demonstrated different locational characteristics than Şentepe; not only the neighbourhood is closer to and having stronger connections with the city centre, the site started to house some headquarters of political parties and headquarters and showrooms of textile companies. Moreover the area is also close to some of the emerging prestigious neighbourhoods of Ankara such as Çukurambar and already adjacent to the legal or formerly regularized sections of Dikmen where the housing market demonstrates higher prices than of Şentepe and environs. Correspondingly in the survey, the rents and purchasing prices are both approximately 75% higher in Dikmen than Şentepe. While this figure already gives a clue that later purchaser households would be a different socio-economic group than gecekondü households; the results of the survey in terms of income and education also indicate high differences (i.e. 85.9% higher income in later purchasers) among the initial flat owners and later purchasers. Therefore, locational characteristics are not only affecting the level of investment in redevelopment but also the consequences of redevelopment.

Third hypothesis was also supported that urban transformation creates both winners and losers among current residents and among the whole society. According to the results of the case study, for the existing residents, transformation processes bring a number of improvements in terms of monetary gains as well as in housing and environmental living conditions. A number of households gain more than one dwelling thus there are lucrative gains as well as increase in quality of life. But tenants are not being safeguarded and no policy for specific vulnerable groups who can negatively be affected by the project. The project created opportunity for home ownership for later purchasers with a relatively lower priced housing market created in Şentepe thus enabled creation of other winners either living in or out of Şentepe. The other significant result is that households in Şentepe are satisfied by most of the increased in the quality of their dwellings and living environment; the only task that they consider to be worse off after transformation is relationships with neighbours since life in apartment buildings enables less interaction more time is spent in the dwellings instead of gardens or common areas. Problems besides untransformability and

physical quality in gecekondu transformation areas were outlined as social and ethical problems in the previous chapters. While improvement and redevelopment plan model was more associated with physical problems, the urban transformation project model was more associated with social problems according to previous studies of researchers. These projects were found out to be changing the socio- economic composition of the area in favour of more affluent households while excluding the original residents intendedly or unintendedly. On the other hand, the research in Şentepe demonstrated that there is not a significant socio- economic and socio-cultural differentiation between original residents and newcomers and neither the gecekondu dwellers are dislocated nor the area is being gentrified. By this way, the project not only served to uplift the quality of life of gecekondu dwellers as actually should be targeted in any redevelopment activity, but also created a relatively lower priced housing market for new purchasers enabling also tenants either living in or outside Şentepe for home ownership.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

This dissertation has been set out on the observation that many gecekondu housing areas in Turkey could not be transformed by redevelopment with the tools available at hand and moreover, the ones which could be transformed into legal and regularized housing have still physical as well as social problems. As it is vital for the planning profession to understand the sources of this incompetence and to develop compatible policy and practices; first the urban transformation processes in squatter settlements should be understood. While in the literature, the context dependent character of urban development and redevelopment is stressed, the studies concerning redevelopment within the context of Turkey is limited since the redevelopment experience is relatively new compared to North America and West Europe, which dominate the literature in terms of concepts developed, practices experienced and case studies examined. On the other hand, understanding the urban transformation processes is contemporaneously one of the most important constituents of an understanding of cities and urban development processes, since informal housing, aged and obsolescent housing constitute a large portion of the total housing stock, especially in the big cities of Turkey. Therefore, this thesis was designed as an explorative study aiming to understand the urban transformation processes in gecekondu areas in general in Turkey and in particular; the bottlenecks associated with these processes and ways to overcome those bottlenecks. The main preliminary hypothesis was put as there would be ways to overcome these bottlenecks by regulatory tools including planning.

As a framing theoretical tool to study the cited subject, a critical survey of literature was employed. The literature survey yielded up that institutional approaches might be of better use since they build a bridge between the two

mainstream approaches; namely neo-classical and neo-Marxist approaches. Institutional approach enables to study both the constraints placed on planning and development activity by economic processes and the possible influences of individual or collective actors or institutions on policy and impacts.

Since urban transformation is a multi-actor and multi-dimensional process displaying a high complexity, the process was intended to be studied with the help of a model in which the process is simplified through decomposing into its most basic elements. Again a literature survey for an available model revealed that while all other models are also helpful in studying specific dimensions of the problem defined; following the literature stressing the importance of studying property markets and the relevance of institutional approaches in understanding urban change, the thesis attempted to understand 'urban transformation' from an institutionalist framework of property markets through the 'institutional model' developed by Patsy Healey in 1991. The model of Healey involves four levels; first (a description of) the events which constitute the process, and the agencies which undertake them; second, an identification of) the roles played in the process and the power relations between them; third, (an assessment) of the strategies and interests which shape these roles and the way these are shaped by resources, rules and ideas and fourth, (the construction of theories about) the nature of production systems and regulation, of ideology and of the relations between them. Nevertheless certain adjustments in the model were proposed in order to better fit the research's needs. The major adjustments include introducing locational characteristics as a distinguished step of analyses; introducing a time dimension into the analysis considering the dynamic character of each level and element of the analysis and reformulating the model reflecting relationships such as cause-affect relations or interactions (see Figure 10 and 11 in pages 66, 67).

Using this model as a frame of analyses; first a general analysis of urban transformation in Turkey was made. Urban transformation through improvement and redevelopment plans and transformation through urban transformation projects appear as two distinct models or tools for urban transformation of gecekondu housing in Turkey. The analyses concluded that there are four main problem categories in those redevelopment areas; untransformation due to disinvestment; lack of physical quality, changes in social composition and lastly ethical problems. While the improvement and redevelopment plan model is more

associated with physical problems, the urban transformation project model is more associated with social problems according to previous studies of researchers. By previous research, these projects were found out to be changing the socio- economic composition of the area in favour of more affluent households while excluding the original residents intendedly or unintendedly. Primary producer of housing is the private sector in Turkey and this is also valid in producing housing through urban redevelopment. Nevertheless, after the year 2000s, the state adopted a more active role in urban redevelopment, and redevelopment has been undertaken as a more centralised, nonetheless more project-based activity. This has been achieved through three major channels. First, with a series of laws (Law Numbered 4966⁴¹ in year 2003; Law Numbered 5162⁴² in year 2004; Law Numbered 5273⁴³ in year 2004; Law Numbered 5492⁴⁴ in year 2006; Law Numbered 5609⁴⁵ in year 2007; Law Numbered 5793⁴⁶ in year 2008), the Housing Development Administration, which is a central government unit has been equipped with new authorities related to urban transformation and has become the sole institution for 'urban transformation projects'. Secondly, by June 2011, the Ministry of Environment and Forestry and the Ministry of Public Works and Housing were merged under Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation and the Ministry acquired upper-scale plan making authorities, which had been allocated to diverse institutions. The third channel of central authority to strengthen its role in urban transformation has been through the Urban Transformation Law for Areas with Disaster Risk, (Law Numbered 6306) issued in May 2012. By this law, HDA has become the key actor in urban transformation projects in all over the country since most of the administrative, regulative and planning authorities related to urban transformation were transferred to the HDA and the Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation. On the other hand, this study focuses on urban redevelopment by 'redevelopment plan model' which refers to a spontaneous transformation through market process based on a plan prepared by local authorities instead of the 'transformation projects' model which is reshaped by those recent changes.

In institutional economics, institutions that lower the transaction costs (costs of information, negotiation, monitoring, co-ordination, and enforcement of

⁴¹ the names and major changes of these legislations can be seen in Table 42 in pages 259 and 260

⁴² ibid

⁴³ ibid

⁴⁴ ibid

⁴⁵ ibid

⁴⁶ ibid

contracts) are the key to the performance of economies; if procedures are correctly set by institutions, then economic progress is more likely to occur. Correspondingly, reducing the transaction costs of obtaining occupation and construction permits, simplified planning procedures and providing infrastructure would be ways to promote investment by the private sector into redevelopment in gecekondu areas. Therefore, the main hypothesis of the study was put as;

Main Hypothesis 1: "There are available policy options and regulatory tools including planning for local and central authorities and planning institutions to overcome most of the bottlenecks and problems of transformation with their political and regulative power/ resources even they lack of sufficient financial power/ resources"

Two more hypotheses were tested in the analysis;

Main Hypothesis 2: The perception, interests and expectations of related agencies and economic structural forces have a determining impact on the transformation process.

Main Hypothesis 3: Transformation creates both winners and losers among current residents and among the whole society.

In the research, a case study was employed to test the relevancy of these hypotheses. The selected area was Şentepe Urban Transformation Project which is originally a gecekondu site settled in the 1960s and where redevelopment plans were prepared since the 1980s. Nevertheless the problem of disinvestment by the private sector leading to untransformation of the neighbourhood could not be accomplished until the 2000s. The Şentepe Urban Transformation Project employed a number of strategies and the success of these strategies would shed light for developing similar strategies for other untransformable gecekondu sites. The case study was analysed with the 'institutional model' as well as by an empirical research that was conducted based on household surveys and semi-structured interviews with house-builders. For comparative purposes a complementary household survey was carried out in another urban redevelopment site which is Dikmen West-Side (Re)development Plan area where transformation had already started but problems and bottleneck in building block level blocked the process.

The municipality adopted a number of strategies to facilitate urban transformation in Şentepe by Şentepe Urban Transformation Project. The types of strategies employed by the municipality can be categorised as;

- Changes in Planning and Land Use Decisions
 - preparation of development plan instead of redevelopment plan
 - increased plot sizes
 - rearrangement of the road network and building block pattern so as to provide larger plots enabling larger size of dwelling units
 - increased development rights enabling more than four storey construction
 - additional development rights for redevelopment at building block level
- Minimizing Transaction Costs
 - institutional changes in order to ease the procedures for house-builders
 - fee exemptions for specific conditions for satisfying house-builders
- Enabling Participation
 - meetings with residents to inform as well as to ask opinions or easing or mediating issues of households with house-builders
- Creating Positive Externalities
 - flagship investments which will be all financed and carried out by the municipality such as a large urban park which might create a positive externality effect
 - announcing the plan as a 'transformation project'
- Guaranteeing and supplying a Minimum Infrastructure
 - increased the amount of social and technical infrastructure employing 'development plan' standards instead of 'redevelopment plan'

All these strategies has served to change the 'rules of the game' in the site leading to facilitated urban redevelopment activity. Other possible non-finance instruments mentioned in the literature such as risk reduction measures; targeting of initiatives according to the private sector's priorities and commercial requirements; clarity in policy; greater flexibility in existing practices; innovative policy initiatives to react to changing market conditions and availability of market data on returns were not exactly used by the municipality. The employed strategies adequately managed to facilitate investment by the private sector

together with increased positive attitudes for redevelopment among gecekondu owner households.

On the other hand the complementary case study area Dikmen West Side (Re)development Plan was already a redeveloping site due to its locational advantages. But there were also sections of the area where redevelopment could not be facilitated since the redevelopment plans of the 1980s were proposing two methods for using development rights; development rights concerning plots; and development rights given at the building block level. Complaints related with the difficulties in gathering and agreeing on the building block level led the Municipality to revise the plan of the 616 ha land. The municipality did not employ any specific strategies similar to the municipality in Şentepe but the three major changes in the revised plan effecting development conditions were related with permission of porches on the back facade that 1,50 meters are not included in calculation of development rights; maximum height of buildings were increased from four storeys to five storeys (h_{max} from 12,5m to 15,5) and the Floor Area Ratio from 1,60 to 1,80) and lastly if there is a demand for construction on the building block level, the development rights could be increased by 10%. Especially the latter change was aimed at solving the bottlenecks specific to the redevelopment activity of this area.

The results of the analyses supported all three main hypotheses;

First, the most significant result of the case study is supporting the **first hypothesis** that it is possible to overcome disinvestment by the private sector in urban redevelopment by the regulatory tools. Even simple institutional changes could change the attractiveness, transformability and fate of a neighbourhood. In both case studies the bottlenecks were cut through by the strategies, changes and planning efforts of both municipalities.

These strategies have changed the process in different ways and varying levels. For instance, by using a 'development plan' instead of a 'redevelopment plan', the Şentepe neighbourhood is served by better standards of social and technical infrastructure and development and construction regulations which has led to better quality housing and environs and thus better quality of life for the inhabitants. In fact, the rationale behind lower standards required in improvement and redevelopment plans were the difficulties of re-arrangement of

an already constructed area with new infrastructural facilities and the desire for making most of the development rights to be used for dwellings to be built. However this approach worked for some neighbourhoods, but for some others did not. For instance, in Şentepe improvement and redevelopment plans were proposing smaller plots which enabled smaller dwellings with very limited parks and recreational areas and cultural facilities. In the current housing market scheme of Ankara, this picture would not have any commercial attractiveness for the city dwellers. Therefore for the house builders investing in the area for renewal of gecekondü dwellings was not profitable. When Şentepe Urban Transformation Project brought higher standards to the area such as plot sizes became larger so that minimum size of dwelling has become larger and lots of new green areas and parks were proposed, some of which (TV tower and recreational park) were designed as prestige projects to be carried out by the municipality to increase the attractiveness of the neighbourhood, the entire potential image of the neighbourhood was upgraded. Since this means more profits for the house-builders, construction facilities accelerated in the area after ŞTP. Therefore, ŞTP has solved the untransformability and physical quality problem with the same strategies.

Adoption of redevelopment by a development plan instead of a transformation project on the other hand, served for better results for households and social structure. Although the recent urban transformation projects are being criticised for creating gentrification, the research in Şentepe demonstrated that there is not a significant socio- economic and socio-cultural differentiation between original residents and newcomers and neither the gecekondü dwellers are dislocated nor the area is being gentrified. The later-purchasers of the site are very similar to the existing population in terms of education, income and their housing tenure backgrounds. By this way, the project not only served to uplift the quality of life of gecekondü dwellers as actually should be targeted in any redevelopment activity, but also created a relatively lower priced housing market for new purchasers, enabling also tenants either living in or outside Şentepe to become home owners.

The changes in the revised plan in Dikmen also managed to overcome the bottlenecks associated with that area in terms of redevelopment. Extra development rights given on the building block level development and increase in maximum heights further accelerated urban redevelopment in the area, where

transformation already begun before the revised plan. Currently transformation is almost completed in the area apart from a few gecekondu dwellings, which could not be transformed due to ownership constraints and disputes. On the other hand urban transformation had a different effect on the social composition of the site than of Şentepe. The later purchaser household exhibit a higher profile compared to initial homeowners in terms of income, education and tenure, location and legal status of their previous dwellings in Dikmen.

Dikmen is not only closer to the city centre than Şentepe, but also closer to other commercial and business uses of the city as well as to new emerging prestigious neighbourhoods of Ankara. This is reflected also on the results of the study that transformed dwellings in Dikmen have approximately 75% higher purchasing price and rents than Şentepe. These results give a clue that most of previous tenants of gecekondu dwellings and some of the initial owners would have moved to other parts of the city. If the households gain one or more dwelling units after transformation they could sell this property which has a more sale price than their previous gecekondus and would prefer to buy a dwelling which is cheaper elsewhere. According to information gathered from mukhtars and real estate agents this is possible but not a very common practice in Şentepe, but more common in Dikmen where purchasing prices of dwellings are higher and where signs of gentrification are more observed. Since tracing households which have moved out from the neighbourhood after transformation could not be possible in the study due to practical reasons, the volume and possible reasons of this choice and other preferences of these households could not be studied.

The **second hypothesis** of the study was also supported by the research that the perception, interests and expectations of related agencies and locational, and structural economic forces have a determining impact on the transformation process. For instance the initial homeowners who get a dwelling by ŞTP were asked for why they did not transform their gecekondus before by the redevelopment plans. Among other popular answers such as financial concerns, one answer is disputes with other right-holders in the neighbouring plots. However, popularity of this answer is less in the question asked for ŞTP than in the question for redevelopment plans. The fall in disputes might be read as Şentepe Transformation Project is more accredited and trusted by the Şentepe population or some of the planning decisions such as more development rights

or larger dwelling sizes in the project decreased the number of hesitant households, possibility of objections to and thus disagreements in transformation. While the number of hesitant owners blocked the opportunities for redevelopment in the 1980s, the households changed their attitudes and strategies since ŞTP has changed the rules of the game in a way that their interests are more safeguarded. In casual visits to the neighbourhood, households met often indicated that the attitude to urban transformation usually gets more positive after the examples are seen in their neighbours and in the quarters in the first stages of the project. They have stated that their concerns about facing with possible additional costs, or getting inadequate number or size of dwellings appropriate for the size of the family have become more positive after they have seen a number of examples. Nonetheless, the changing attitudes of households solely would not lead to transformation unless the other critical actor, which is house-builders are interested for investment.

The results of the study indicate that house-builders' attitudes also followed a similar pattern. Developers, which did not invest in the first phase by redevelopment plans in the late 1980s also decided to invest in ŞTP because the current project have more opportunities for a developer since previous plans proposed very small plots which made it hard to redevelop. The interviewee also indicated that they have got used of the additional development rights given in case of redevelopment on building block level which they appreciated and found very useful. The interviewed developers explained that transformation projects are not different from new development for themselves as long as they have similar profits. According to the interviews, the share of gecekondu landowner as the value of land in the constructed apartment blocks is about 40%. The interviewee indicated that they have also undertaken redevelopment activities in other parts of Ankara such as Balgat or Dikmen where this ratio increases up to 50%, since land and housing prices are higher in those neighbourhoods. Although house-builders also mention that they are facing with a number of problems; they indicate that their projects are still profitable and they think that if the transformation would not be done, the people could be urbanites while still living in gecekondu houses. Apart from interests, perceptions and expectations of the two non-policy key actors which are house-builders and households; there are also locational, contextual and structural factors that had an impact on the success of ŞTP. The house-builders indicated that other developments near Şentepe like the shopping malls and shopping centres like Metro and Antares

projects, which are located in Keçiören District and approximately two kilometres away from the southern boundary of Şentepe project affected the image, attractiveness and thus the profitability of the neighbourhood. Moreover, Eastern neighbour Keçiören District also encloses many urban transformation projects of various scales (Northern Entrance of Ankara Project also is located within Keçiören and Altındağ Districts). Moreover, the dwelling unit of the Prime Minister of Turkey has been moved to Keçiören District in 2003 which accelerated all kinds of infrastructural investments in the area and increased the prestigiousness of the neighbourhood and the other northern neighbourhoods of Ankara as well. Nevertheless Şentepe Neighbourhood still does not have strong relationships with the city centre and other major commercial and business areas for it is loosely connected by transportation routes and services. The fact that urban transformation is largely supported by the Government by issuing a number of new legislations, house-builders are also encouraged to invest in transformation projects.

On the other hand, the Dikmen site demonstrated different locational characteristics than Şentepe; not only the neighbourhood is closer to and having stronger connections with the city centre, the site started to house some headquarters of political parties and headquarters and showrooms of textile companies. Moreover the area is also close to some of the emerging prestigious neighbourhoods of Ankara such as Çukurambar and already adjacent to the legal or formerly regularized sections of Dikmen where the housing market demonstrates higher prices than of Şentepe and environs. Correspondingly in the survey, the rents and purchasing prices are both approximately 75% higher in Dikmen than Şentepe. While this figure already gives a clue that later purchaser households would be a different socio-economic group than gecekondü households; the results of the survey in terms of income and education also indicate high differences among the initial flat owners and later purchasers (i.e. later purchasers have 85.9% higher average monthly income than initial owners). Therefore, it can be concluded that locational characteristics are not only affecting the level of investment in redevelopment but also the consequences of redevelopment.

The **third hypothesis** was also supported that urban transformation creates both winners and losers among current residents and among the whole society. According to the results of the case study, for the existing residents,

transformation processes bring a number of improvements in terms of monetary gains as well as in housing and environmental living conditions. A number of households gain more than one dwelling thus there are lucrative gains as well as increase in the quality of life. But tenants are not being safeguarded and no policy for specific vulnerable groups who can be negatively affected by the project. The project created opportunity for home ownership for later purchasers with a relatively lower priced housing market created in Şentepe thus enabled creation of other winners either living in or out of Şentepe. The other significant result is that households in Şentepe are satisfied by the increased quality of their dwellings and living environment; the only task that they consider to be worse off after transformation is relationships with neighbours, since life in apartment buildings enables less interaction, and more time is spent in the dwellings instead of gardens or common areas.

6.1. Concluding Remarks, General Conclusions and Lessons Learned

On the theoretical and methodological level, the contributions of the study have been threefold;

First adoption of institutional approach in the analysis and integrating it with an empirical study enabled analysing the task at various level including policy and non-policy actors; structural, economic and locational factors as well as the implications of redevelopment which otherwise would not be possible. The institutional approach not only enabled to study the whole process of urban redevelopment from the constituent inputs (actors, factors, institutions) to the consequent outputs (implications on space, households and society); but also allowed to understand the diversity of actors involved with their roles, resources, ideas, power relations and strategies and enabled to depict relations between those such as the critical links between agency and structure and how the changes in the institutional environment, which creates changes in the implications, and that the changes in institutional environment is a consequence of interactions among several factors. The analysis indicated that actors are not isolated from each other or from other influensive factors so that strategies of one actor affecting an interest of another actor might be able to change their decisions and behaviour. Moreover institutional analysis enabled to use different sets of concepts and theorizations from various theoretical approaches; such as Marxist and neo-classical at the same time. The use of the institutional model

intended to provide anyone who would benefit knowing the process i.e. planners, policy makers, community leaders or activists or an ordinary citizen to help develop more efficient strategies through available routes or paths by making the big picture clearer.

Secondly, adjustments in the model assisted the analysis in many ways;

- By adding the **time** dimension to the model, it became possible to compare the unsuccessful redevelopment attempt of late the 1980s and the second redevelopment which was successful in the 2000s in Şentepe. It was seen that how dynamic are the same actors' interests, ideas, strategies and behaviour leading to changes in the 'rules of the game'; how locational characteristics might change due to both structural and agency factors and how structural factors are prone to change by actors through institutions the actors create or change. For instance; from the 1980s to the 2000s, Şentepe has reached a relatively better position as the northern neighbourhoods of Ankara managed to set aside the unprestigious image to some extent and due to some large scale shopping centres and shopping malls located nearby after the 2000s. The municipality used some new regulatory and administrative strategies which were lacking previously. Households became better off due to second and third generations are more educated and more integrated to formal employment opportunities and positively affected by those gecekondu owners who already transformed their dwellings. House builders perceived the area more profitable as a result of upper-scale locational positive externality effects and as a result of the municipality's strategies. Without adding the time dimension these changes would not be traced and the role of these changes might not be included in the analysis.

- by adding the '**locational factors**' as a distinct level of analysis, not only the changes of locational factors through time but also between Şentepe and Dikmen could be compared. The role of location on the validity of urban redevelopment was already mentioned in the literature. The role of locational factors on not only the validity of but also on the implications of urban redevelopment appeared as one of the significant findings of the study. Locational factors were found to affect the prices of the newly constructed dwellings and the ability or willingness of the existing population to live in the transformed area and the profile of new-purchasers who choose to buy a dwelling in the site after transformation.

Thirdly, including a second case study area Dikmen for comparative and complementary purposes enabled first the discussion of the role of locational factors. Moreover, enabled to capture how urban redevelopment and its implications might take different forms under different contexts. The second case study area also helped to keep away from a possible trap of generalising a result that might be unique to that case. For instance while new comers to Şentepe are very similar to the existing residents in terms of tenure, demographic and socio-economic characteristics, that is not the same in Dikmen. Since Dikmen was already a redeveloping neighbourhood by improvement plans apart from some problematic sites related with development regulations; therefore the strategy of the municipality was only to correct this 'failure' on the plan level with no specific administrative or regulatory tools. On the other hand, the same success could only be achieved in Şentepe only after the municipality introduced a number of new strategies. This result indicates that as opportunities, problems and behaviour of market might take different forms in different locations; policies, strategies and tools should also reflect those differences.

A number of findings of the study can be generalised for redevelopment in Turkey and a number of lessons are learned from the overall analysis of urban transformation in Turkey and from the results of the case study. First, while in the literature, it is mentioned that local authorities tend to be active in urban redevelopment as they do not have any direct tools for local economic development; but do have tools for urban development; the findings of the study revealed that local authorities are not only active but also effective in urban redevelopment depending on their political and regulatory power and their authorities related to planning. They can manage to bring out desirable results by infrastructure investments, by changes in planning and land use decisions, minimising transaction costs, enabling participation and by creating positive externalities. Therefore, local authorities can use their already available tools at hand to create better results in urban redevelopment.

The second finding is that locational characteristics are not only affecting the level of investment in redevelopment but also the consequences of redevelopment. Locational differences first affect the house builders' choice of production type and methods regarding quality, style and plan of dwellings. Moreover even for the same type and same quality buildings, the price range of the newly constructed dwellings reflect the location and image of the

neighbourhood and surrounding neighbourhoods. Therefore whether or not the existing homeowner and tenant households might be able to live in the neighbourhood after redevelopment is also affected by the quality, image and land-prices of surrounding areas. An area which is adjacent to regular housing developments or higher income settlements might be expected to reach higher quality of built environments and/or higher dwelling prices relative to a neighbourhood which is surrounded by other informal housing settlements or lower income housing settlements and thus would be expected to continue to inhabit less of the existing residents and attract higher profile households in terms of income, education and tenure.

Another concluding remark of the study is that template planning schemes or approaches do not fit every redevelopment site. The results of the analysis designate that unique solutions and strategies considering the specific locational, economic and structural factors as well as interests and preferences of related policy and non-policy actors might end up with better practices. While the urban problems can largely differ among different contexts; the plans and the use of other regulatory tools and strategies should also concern contextual differences, including locational, structural, economic and social characteristics of a specific locality either being a neighbourhood or a city.

The results indicate that for the public sector to steer, ease, lever and complement private sector is more effective in terms of generating positive implications than passing over all concerns to be handled by the private sector. Urban redevelopment through market processes is found to be more flexible for both house builders and households. Adoption of development and redevelopment plans instead of transformation projects enabled more flexibility for households to adopt a financial and timing strategy since redevelopment takes places gradually when households make contracts with interested house builders. While documented dislocation and gentrification consequences of redevelopment mostly address redevelopment by 'transformation projects', it is understood that it is easier for the households to cope with the changes in a 'spontaneous' transformation by development or redevelopment plans. Nevertheless, private sector itself would not be willing to undertake investments unless it sees a profit so that public sector might get use of regulatory and administrative tools to sustain house builders to perceive the investment to be profitable. Infrastructural investments and other interventions to create positive

externalities emerge as the most important and useful tools to increase the perceived 'profitability' of a neighborhood.

The results of the study also indicate that urban redevelopment practices can be seen as a tool for redistribution of welfare. Not only the gecekondu households end up with a new dwelling with a higher purchasing price than gecekondu dwellings; but also part of them end up with more than one dwelling which they allocate to their newly married offsprings or rent out. In the latter case, by urban redevelopment they even get an additional source of income by the rents of these dwelling. These results confirm the reaction of middle- classes based on the ethical debate that illegal behaviour is rewarded. On the other hand the lack of complementary policies for gecekondu tenants constituting the other part of the debate is also reflected in the results of the analysis that gecekondu tenants are not in favour of transformation. Nevertheless, the results also show that it is possible to benefit the existing site and residents as well as the whole city and citizens at the same time. If adequately organized, urban transformation would serve all the citizens by increasing the quality of life in these parts of the cities and by establishing alternative housing markets with relatively lower prices for accessing homeownership for those other citizens which otherwise proceed to be tenants. If this is achieved, then it would also at least partly be an answer to the ethical concerns of redevelopment.

6.3. Recommendations for Further Studies

Since urban transformation is relatively a new task in Turkey with reference to Europe and North America, case studies provide valuable information on the process, practices and impacts. The findings of the research summarized in the last section have served for understanding urban transformation processes in unauthorized housing in Turkey. Urban transformation practices are in the agenda nationwide, therefore the practices in the country is a laboratory for those aiming to study urban transformation. Case studies to be investigated within the institutional framework might deepen our understanding in the subject matter if carried out as further research in the area. Practices of the Housing Development Administration appears as a distinct model to be examined. Moreover the explorative character of the study did not allow discussing policy implication as the subject deserves. Innovative approaches for developing new policies and tools would also be a further study area.

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APPENDIX A

ŞENTEPE HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

ANKET NO [X-1]: ŞENTEPE KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM PROJESİ HANEHALKI ANKETİ

Anket, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Doktora tezinde kullanılmak üzere hazırlanmıştır. Bu çalışma ile kentsel dönüşüm alanlarında yaşanan sorunlar ve konut sakinlerinin rolü, beklenti ve tercihlerini belirlemek amaçlanmıştır. Toplanacak bilgilerde isim istenmeyecek, anket sonuçları tez çalışması dışında kullanılmayacaktır. Bu anketin gerçekleşmesinde yaptığınız katkı ve yardımlarınızdan dolayı teşekkür ederiz.

ANKET YAPILAN KONUTA İLİŞKİN BİLGİLER

1. Görüştüğünüz konutun tipi [X-2]

1() Gecekondu

2() Site içinde daire

3() Apartman dairesi

2. Görüştüğünüz konutun adres bilgileri:

Mahalle: [X-3]

Cadde:[X-4].....

Sokak:[X-5].....

Apartman Adı:[X-6].....

Daire Katı:[X-7].....

Apartmandaki toplam kat adedi:[X-8].....

Ada / parsel [X9-10](ANKETÖR NOTU: Görüştüğünüz kişiye sorunuz):/.....

3. Anketör Ad Soyad:[X-11]

.....

A. DEMOGRAFİ

A1. Hanenizde toplam kaç kişi yaşıyor? [X-12].....(Kişi)

A2. Hanenizdeki kişilerin hane içindeki konum, cinsiyet ve doğum tarihleri, çalışma konumu ve eğitim durumuyla ilgili bilgi verir misiniz?

	KİŞİ NO	Hanehalkı reisine göre konumu 1. Hane reisi 2. Hane reisi eşi 3. Çocuk 4. Yakın 5. Akraba	CİNSİ YET		ÇALIŞMA KÖNÜMU												EĞİTİM DURUMU (En son bitirdiği okul)						
			1. Erkek	2. Kadın	ÇALIŞMAYANLAR				KENDİ İŞİ (BAĞIMSIZ)				BAŞKASININ YANI										
					Doğum tarihi (yıl)																		
					1. Evkadını	2. Öğrenci	3. Emekli	4. İşsiz	5. Çocuk	6. Çiftçi	7. Kenar başına çalışan	8. İşveren	(doktor, avukat vb)	10. Yönetici	11. Büro elemanı /Memur	12. İşçi	1. Okunmamış, okur yazar değil	2. Okunmamış, okur yazar	3. İlkokul	4. Ortaokul	5. Lise	6. Yüksekokul	7. Okul öncesi (Çocuk)
X13-18	1	(1)	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
X19-24	2	()	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
X25-30	3	()	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
X31-36	4	()	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
X37-42	5	()	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
X43-48	6	()	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
X49-54	7	()	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
X55-60	8	()	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
X61-66	9	()	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
X67-72	10	()	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[X-73][6565]

A3. a) Hanenizde çalışan kişilerin işyerinin temel faaliyet alanı?

b) Hanenizde çalışanlar ne iş yapıyorlar? (ANKETÖR NOTU:

marangozhanede ustayım, inşaat şirketinde inşaat işçisiyim gibi açıklayıcı cevaplar alınız)

DİKKAT: Çalışan kişiler için, ilk sayfadaki tablodan bakarak kişi numaralarını alttaki tabloda ilgili sütuna işaretleyiniz.

	Kişi no	a. İşyerinin temel faaliyet alanı			b. Yapılan işin açıklaması
X74-76	()	1() Tarım	2() Sanayi	3() Hizmet	
X77-79	()	1() Tarım	2() Sanayi	3() Hizmet	
X80-82	()	1() Tarım	2() Sanayi	3() Hizmet	
X83-85	()	1() Tarım	2() Sanayi	3() Hizmet	

A4. (Görüştüğünüz kişi Ankara merkezde çalışıyorsa) İşyeriniz nerede bulunuyor? [X-86]

- 1() Ulus 2() Kızılay- Bakanlıklar 3() Kavaklıdere
4() Ostim
5() İvedik 6() Eskişehir yolu 7() İstanbul yolu 8() Sincan () Diğer, **belirtiniz:**

A5. Size yada hanenizden birine ait, özel amaçla kullandığınız bir aracınız, otomobiliniz var mı? [X-87]

1 () Hayır, yok 2 () Evet, var-----→Kaç tane? [X-88].....(Adet)

A6. Hanenizde çalışanların geliri, kira vs olarak düşündüğünüzde, aylık ortalama ne kadar geliriniz var? [X-89]

- 1() 0-400 YTL 2() 401-799 YTL 3() 800-1199 YTL
4() 1200-1599 YTL 5() 1600-1999 YTL 6() 2000-2499 YTL
7() 2500-2999 YTL 8() 3000-4999 YTL 9() 5000 YTL ve üzeri

[X-90][6565]

B. KONUT SORULARI

B1. Şu an oturduğunuz konutla ilgili size okuyacağım ifadelerden hangisi size uyuyor? [X-91]

- 1() Bu konutta ev sahibiyiz
2 () Bu konutta evsahibi değiliz.---→ **Konuttaki durumunuz nedir?**
[X-92]

- 1() Kiracıyız
2() Evi paylaşan kiracıyız
3() Kira vermeden oturuyoruz.

3() Eski konutum yıkıldı, yenisi yapılanaya kadar burada geçici olarak oturuyoruz. --→ **B7'ye geçiniz ve bölüm sonuna kadar tüm soruları yıkılan konutu için sorunuz.**

B2. Oturduğunuz konut hangi yıl yapıldı? [X-93] (Yıl)

B3. Oturduğunuz konut için aidat ödüyor musunuz? [X-94]

- 1() Hayır, ödemiyorum
2 () Evet ödüyorum.....a) **Ne kadar aidat ödüyorsunuz? [X-95]..... YTL**
b) **Aidat aşağıdaki seçeneklerden hangilerini kapsıyor?**

		Kapsıyor	Kapsamıyor
X-96	Kapıcı	1()	2()
X-97	Temizlik	1()	2()
X-98	Apartman aydınlatma, elektrik, su vs.	1()	2()
X-99	Yakıt	1()	2()
X-100	Onarım, tadilatlar	1()	2()
X101-102	Diğer, belirtiniz:	1()	2()

B4. (ANKETÖR notu: Konut apartmanda veya gecekonduda ise)

a) **Oturduğunuz konutun üzerinde bulunduğu parselin büyüklüğü kaç metre karedir? [X-103] ...m2**

(ANKETÖR notu: Konut site içinde ise)

b) **Sitenin üzerinde bulunduğu parsel(ler)in büyüklüğü kaç metre karedir? [X-104]..... m2**

c) **Sitede toplam kaç bina bulunuyor? [X-105].....(adet)**

B5. a) Konutunuzun üzerinde bulunduğu parselde kaç hane var? [X-106].....(adet)

b) Konutunuzun üzerinde bulunduğu parselde kaç apartman / bina var? [X-107].....(adet)

c) Konutunuzun üzerinde bulunduğu parselde kaç daire var? [X-108].....(adet)

B6. Konut çevrenizi size sayacağım koşullar açısından ne ölçüde yeterli bulduğunuzu belirtir misiniz? Değerlendirmenizi 5 üzerinden yapınız. 1 çok yetersiz, 5 çok yeterli anlamına gelmektedir.

		Çok yetersiz	Yetersiz	Ne yeterli ne yetersiz	Yeterli	Çok yeterli
X-109	Altyapı olanakları (Su, elektrik, kanalizasyon gibi)	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()
X-110	Ulaşım altyapısı	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()
X-111	Otopark alanı	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()
X-112	Yeşil alan	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()
X-113	Çocuk oyun alanları ve spor alanları	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()
X-114	Sosyal, kültürel tesislere yakınlık	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()
X-115	Okul ve sağlık tesislerine yakınlık	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()
[X116: 6565]						
X-117	Şehir merkezi ya da alışveriş merkezlerine yakınlık	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()
X-118	Komşuluk ilişkileri	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()
X-119	Manzara	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()
X-120	Düzenli bina yapılaşması	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()
X-121	Gürültü ve kirlilik yayan yapılara uzaklık	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()
X-122	Güvenlik	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()
X-123	Toplu taşıma olanakları	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()
X-124	Belediye hizmeti	1 ()	2 ()	3 ()	4 ()	5 ()

[X-125][6565]

B7. Konutunuzda mutfak, banyo, kiler hariç toplam kaç oda var(dı)?[X-126]..... (adet)

B8. Konutunuz toplam kaç m2 (idi)?[X-127](m2)

B9. Konutunuzda nasıl ısıtılıyorsunuz (ısıtıyordunuz)?[X-128] (Birden fazla yanıt alınabilir)

- 1 () Merkezi ısıtma ile 2 () Kombiyle
3 () Doğalgaz sobasıyla 4 () Kömür/odun sobasıyla
5 () Elektrik sobasıyla () Diğer, belirtiniz:

B10. Konutunuzun bugünkü yaklaşık satış değeri kaç liradır (liraydı)?[X-129] YTL

B11. Konutunuzun bugünkü yaklaşık kira değeri kaç liradır (liraydı)?[X-130].....YTL

B12. Konutunuzda ve binanızda size sayacağım olanaklardan hangileri vardı(r)?

	Var	Yok
X-131 Konut içinde banyo	1 ()	2 ()
X-132 Konut içinde mutfak	1 ()	2 ()

X-133	Konut içinde tuvalet	1()	2()
X-134	Kanalizasyon bağlantısı	1()	2()
X-135	Merkezi sıcak su	1()	2()
[X-136= 6565]			
X-137	Asansör	1()	2()
X-138	Depo	1()	2()
X-139	Yönetim odası	1()	2()
X-140	Garaj	1()	2()
X-141	Otopark yeri	1()	2()
X-142	Bahçe	1()	2()

B13. Kaç yılından beri bu konutta oturuyorsunuz (oturuyordunuz)?[X-143].....(Yıl)

B14. Kaç yılından beri bu mahallede oturuyorsunuz?(oturuyordunuz)?[X-144].....(Yıl)

B15. Yaşadığınız bu konut dışında sizin veya haneden başkasının başka konutu var mı? [X-145]

1() Yok ----→**B19'a GEÇİNİZ**

2() Var---→ **Kaç tane?[X-146].....(adet)**

B16. Diğer konutunuz/ konutlarınız nerede bulunuyor?[X-147] (Birden çok konut varsa, birden çok yanıt alınız)

1() Bu apartmanda

2() Bu mahallede

3() Bu semtte

4() Ankara içinde, başka semtte

5() Başka şehirde

6() Köyde

B17. Diğer konutunuzun / konutlarınızın mülkiyet ve imar durumu nedir?[X-148] (Birden çok yanıt alınabilir)

1() Ruhsatsız gecekondü

2() İmar affı almış gecekondü

3() Ruhsatsız apartman konutu

4() Ruhsatlı apartman konutu

5() Ruhsatlı müstakil konut

6() Hisseli parsel üzerinde

konut

() Diğer, belirtiniz:

B18. Diğer konutunuzu/ konutlarınızı nasıl kullanıyorsunuz?[X-149] (Birden çok yanıt alınabilir)

1() Kiraya verdik.

2() Yazlık ve ya mevsimlik kullanıyoruz.

3() Akraba / başkası kira vermeden oturuyor.

4() Kullanmıyoruz, boş

duruyor.

() Diğer, belirtiniz:.....

B19. a) Halen oturduğunuz konutun imar ve mülkiyet durumuyla ilgili

B19. a) Halen oturduğunuz konutun imar ve mülkiyet durumuyla ilgili size

okuyacağım seçeneklerden hangisi size uyuyor?[X-150]

1() Gecekondü; ruhsatı yok.

2() Gecekondü; imar afları ile imar tapusu verildi. **Veriliş tarihi nedir? [X151]** (Yıl)

3() Gecekondü; tapu tahsis belgesi verildi. **Veriliş tarihi nedir?[X152]** (Yıl)

4() Sahibi olduğum gecekondü için 'Şentepe Dönüşüm Projesi' kapsamında sözleşme yaptık, ancak yıkım ve inşaat işi başlamadı.

5() Sahibi olduğum eski gecekondü, 2004 yılından önce '86- 89 Islah İmar Planlarıyla' çok katlı apartmana dönüştü veya 2004 yılı öncesinde alınan çapla 2005 sonrasında dönüştü.

6() Sahibi olduğum eski gecekondü 'Şentepe Dönüşüm Projesi' kapsamında dönüştü, şu an ruhsatlı konutumda oturuyorum.

7() Sahibi olduğum eski gecekondü 'Şentepe Dönüşüm Projesi' kapsamında yıkıldı, bu konutta geçici olarak oturuyorum.

8() Daha önce burada oturmuyordum, dönüşmüş konut alanında ruhsatlı konut satın aldım.

9() Kiracısı olduğum konut, ruhsatlı apartman dairesi

B19. soruda;

1, 2 ya da 3 no'lu seçenekler işaretlendi ise **ev sahipleri**-----→ C BÖLÜMÜ'ne

kiracılar-----→ D

BÖLÜMÜ'ne

4 no'lu seçenek işaretlendi ise, -----→ E BÖLÜMÜ'ne

5 no'lu seçenek işaretlendi ise, -----→ F BÖLÜMÜ 3. soruya

6 veya 7 no'lu seçenekler işaretlendi ise-----→ F BÖLÜMÜ'ne

8. no'lu seçenek işaretlendi ise-----→ G BÖLÜMÜ'ne

9 no'lu seçenek işaretlendi ise-----→ H bÖLÜMÜ'ne geçiniz.

[X-153][6565]

C. GECEKONDUDA OTURAN EV SAHIPLERİ

C1. Gecekondu yapıldığı tarihte arsanın mülkiyet durumu neydi? [X-154]

- 1() Hazine arazisine aitti.
2() Arazi bize aitti, özel mülktü.
3() Hisseli tapusu vardı.
() Diğer, **belirtiniz:**

C2. İslah İmar Planlarından sonra arsanıza 3-4 katlı apartman yapma hakkı elde ettiniz. Gecekonduyu yıkıp yerine neden ruhsatlı apartman konutu yaptırmadınız?[X-155] (Birden çok yanıt alınabilir)

- 1() Gerekli masrafları karşılayamadım.
2() Konutumu dönüştürsem zarar ederim diye düşündüm.
3() Şu an gecekondu da birkaç aileyiz ama dönüştükten sonra en fazla bir daireye sahip olabiliyorum
4() Müteahhit ile istediğim koşullarda anlaşamadım.
5() Müteahhitler arsamız küçük olduğu için ilgilenmedi
6() Aynı/ komşu parselde kalan diğer hak sahipleriyle anlaşma sağlanamadı.
7() Tek katlı, müstakil, bahçeli bir evde oturmayı tercih ediyorum.
() Diğer, **belirtiniz:**

C3. Peki, seçme şansınız olsa gecekonduyun aynen kalmasını mı, yoksa yerine ruhsatlı daire yapılmasını mı tercih edersiniz?[X-156]

- 1() Gecekonduyun aynen kalmasını tercih ederim.---→Neden?[X-157].....
2() Gecekonduyun yerine ruhsatlı daire yapılmasını tercih ederim.

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[X-158][6565]

D. GECEKONDUDA OTURAN KİRACILAR

D1. Oturduğunuz gecekondunun aynen kalmasını mı yoksa yerine ruhsatlı daire yapılmasını mı istersiniz? [X-159]

- 1() Gecekondunun yerine ruhsatlı daire yapılmasını isterim.
2() Gecekondunun aynen kalmasını isterim---→ **Neden?[X-160]**
1() Ruhsatlı apartman konutunun kirasını karşılayamam
2() Tek katlı müstakil evde oturmayı tercih ediyorum
3() Apartmandaki sosyal hayata/ çevreye uyum sağlayamayız
() Diğer, **belirtiniz:.....**

D2. Oturduğunuz gecekondunun yerine ruhsatlı daire yapılsaydı, buradan taşındığınızda ruhsatlı daire mi kiralardınız yoksa yine gecekondunu mu tercih edersiniz? [X-161]

- 1() Ruhsatlı daire kiralardım---→**Bu semtte mi başka semtte mi? [X-162]**
1() Bu semtte, ruhsatlı daire kiralardım.
2() Başka semtte ruhsatlı daire kiralardım.
3() Başka şehirde ruhsatlı daire kiralardım
2() Gecekondunu kiralardım-----→**Bu semtte mi başka semtte mi?[X-163]**
1() Bu semtte gecekondunu kiralardım.
2() Başka semtte gecekondunu kiralardım.
3() Başka şehirde gecekondunu kiralardım
3() Diğer, **belirtiniz:**

[X-164][6565]

ANKETİ SONLANDIRINIZ

E. ŞENTEPE DÖNÜŞÜM PROJESİ' KAPSAMINDA SÖZLEŞMESİ YAPILAN, ANCAK HENÜZ DÖNÜŞMEYEN GECEKONDU SAHİPLERİ

E1. Gecekondunuzun yerine ruhsatlı daire yapıldıktan sonra yeni konutunuzda mı yoksa başka bir yerde mi oturmayı düşünüyorsunuz?[X-165]

- 1() Burada, yeni konutunda oturmayı düşünüyorum. ---→**ANKETİ SONLANDIRINIZ**
2() Yeni konut dışında bir yerde oturmayı düşünüyorum

E2. Yeni bir konutta yaşamayı düşünüyorsanız, buradaki konutu/ konutları nasıl değerlendireceksiniz?[X-166] (Birden çok yanıt alınabilir)

- 1() Kiraya vermeyi düşünüyorum
2() Satmayı düşünüyorum.
3() Çocuklarıma/ akrabalarıma vereceğim
4() Yakınım/ akrabam kira vermeden oturacak
() Diğer, belirtiniz:

E3. Yeni yapılacak konutunuz veya konutlarınız dışında başka bir yerde oturmak istemenizin nedenleri nelerdir?[X-167] (Birden çok yanıt alınabilir)

- 1() Burada yapılacak yeni konutun bakım, onarım ve aidat gibi masraflarını karşılayamam.
2() Buradaki konut(ları) satarak daha ucuz semtlerden daha çok konut alabilirim.
3() Buraya yeni taşınacak kimselerle birlikte oturmak istemiyorum

() Diğer, belirtiniz:

E4. Ankara içinde mi kalmayı düşünüyorsunuz yoksa il dışına çıkmayı mı? [X-168]

1() Ankara içinde kalmayı düşünüyorum----→**Hangi ilçe/semte:[X-169]**

İlçe **Semt**

() Altındağ :.....

() Etimesgut

.....

() Çankaya.

.....

() Keçiören :.....

() Mamak :.....

() Sincan :.....

() Yenimahalle:.....

() Gölbaşı :.....

() Ankara diğer ilçeler

() Ankara köy

2() Ankara dışına çıkmayı düşünüyorum----→ **Hangi il?[X-170]**.....

[X-171]]6565]

F. DÖNÜŞMÜŞ STOKTA OTURAN EVSAHİPLERİ

ANKETÖR NOTU: F1 ve F2 no'lu sorular, yalnızca B19 no'lu soruda 6. veya 7. seçenekler işaretlenmişse sorulacak. 5. seçenek işaretlenmişse lütfen F3 no'lu sorudan devam ediniz.

F1. Eski konutunuzun 'Şentepe Dönüşüm Projesi' kapsamında yıkılarak ruhsatlı binanın yapıldığını /yapılacağını söylediniz. Peki neden daha önce 86- 89 Islah İmar Planları ile alınan imar hakları doğrultusunda ruhsatlı konut yaptırmamıştınız?[X-172] (Birden çok yanıt alınabilir)

1() Masraflarını karşılayacak durumumuz yoktu.

2() Eski evimin yıkılmasının maddi açıdan zararına olacağını düşünüyordum.

3() Müteahhit ile istediğim şekilde anlaşamadım.

4() Müteahhit ve şirketler ilgili davranmıyorlardı.

5() Aynı parselde kalan diğer hak sahipleri ile anlaşma sağlanamadı.

6() Parselimin boyutları apartman yapmaya yeterli değildi.

7() Böyle bir hakkım olduğunu bilmiyordum

8() Tek katlı, müstakil, bahçeli bir evde oturmayı tercih ediyordum.

() Diğer, belirtiniz:

F2. a) Sizce Belediye 'Şentepe Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi' ile Şentepe'ye ve Şentepelilere yarar sağlıyor mu? [X-173]

1() Hayır, sağlamıyor. -----→**F3'e GEÇİNİZ**

2() Evet, sağlıyor

b) Sizce ne tür yararlar sağlıyor?[X-174] (Birden çok yanıt alınabilir)

- 1() Planla birlikte alandaki kat yüksekliği ve emsaller arttı
- 2() Bu alanın 'Dönüşüm Projesi' olarak ilanı müteahhit ve yatırımcıları çekti.
- 3() Alana planla getirilen okul, yeşil alan, park gibi sosyal ve teknik altyapı ile çevre kalitesi arttı / artacak
- 4() Mülkiyet yapısında değişiklikler getirdi; **lütfen açıklayınız:[X-175]**.....
- 5() Parsel büyüklük ve biçimlerinde düzenlemeler getirdi; **lütfen açıklayınız:[X-176]**.....
- 6() Büyük ada ve parsellere ek emsal verdi.
- 7() Konutlarımızın ve mahallemizin standartları ve piyasa içindeki imajı ve fiyatları arttı.
- 8() Yıllardır hissettiğimiz ihmal edilmişlik hissinden kurtulmamızı sağladı
- 9() Kamulaştırma yapılan alanlarda arsa sahibini zarara sokmayacak çözümler üretildi
- 10() Dönüşüm projesi ile birlikte altyapı talebi ve sunumu arttı
- () Diğer, **belirtiniz:**

F3. Eski gecekondunuz kaç yılında yıkıldı?[X-177]

F4. Eski gecekondunuzun;

1. **Parsel büyüklüğü kaç metre kareydi?[X-178]**.....(m2)
2. **Bu parselde kaç konut vardı?[X-179]**(adet)
3. **Parselde kaç hane bulunuyordu?[X-180]**.....(adet)

[X-181]6565]

F5. Eski gecekondunuz için müteahhitle kat karşılığı mı yoksa arsa büyüklüğüne göre mi anlaşma yaptınız? [X-182]

- 1() Kat karşılığı anlaşma yaptık.-----→**a) Müteahhit toplam kaç daire yaptı?[X-183]**.....adet
- X** **Siz kaç daire aldınız?[X-184]**.....adet
- 2() Arsa büyüklüğüne göre anlaşma yaptık----→**a) Kaç metrekare arsanız vardı?[X-185]**.....(m2)
- X** **Karşılığında kaç daire aldınız?[X-186]**.....(adet)
- 3() Diğer, **belirtiniz:**

F6. Mütahhite ek ödeme yapmanız gerekti mi? [X-187]

- 1() Hayır, gerekmedi
2() Evet, gerekti.-----→ **a) Ne kadar ek ödeme yaptınız?[X-188].....(YTL)**

X Bu masrafı nasıl karşıladınız?[X-189] (Birden çok yanıt alınabilir)

- 1() Birikimim vardı.
2() Akraba / yakınlarımdan borç aldım.
3() Bankadan kredi çektim.
4() Akraba / yakınlarımdan karşılıksız yardım aldım.
() Diğer, **belirtiniz:**.....

(ANKETÖR NOTU: Bölüm sonuna kadar sorular içinde parantezle belirtilen ibareler, gecekondusu yıkılmış ve bu süre içinde geçici olarak başka yerde oturanlar için kullanılmaktadır. Lütfen soruları buna dikkat ederek sorunuz.)

F7. Dönüşüm sonrası birden fazla konut sahibi olduysanız (olacaksanız), diğer konutu/ konutlarınızı nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz (değerlendireceksiniz)?[X-190] (Birden çok yanıt alınabilir)

- 1() Kiraya verdik (vereceğiz)
2() Sattık (satacağız)
3() Çocuklarımıza/ akrabalarımıza verdik (vereceğiz)
4() Yakınım/ akrabam kira vermeden oturuyor (oturacak)
() Diğer, belirtiniz:

F8. Eski gecekondunuzun yıkımı ve yenisinin inşaatı kaç ay sürdü (sürüyor)?[X-191] ay

F9. Yeni konutunuzun inşaatı süresince kira yardımı aldınız mı (alıyor musunuz)?[X-192]

- a() Evet, aldık b() Hayır, almadık.

F10. Yeni konutunuzun inşaatı süresince nerede kaldınız (kalıyorsunuz)? [X-193]

- 1() Aynı mahallede/ semtte ev kiraladık.
2() Bir akrabamın / yakınımın evinde kira ödemedenden kaldık.
3() Diğer konutlarımızdan birinde oturduk.
() Diğer, **belirtiniz:**

[X-194][6565]

F11. Aile fertleri arasında yeni konutun yapımında çalışan oldu mu (var mı)? [X-195] 1() Evet 2() Hayır

F12. Size göre İslah İmar Planları ve 'Şentepe Kentsel Dönüşüm Projesi' sonrasında eviniz ve çevresi, size sayacağım koşullara göre iyileşti mi, kötüleşti mi (İyileşecek mi kötüleşecek mi)? (İyileşti: 1, Aynı: 2, Kötüleşti: 3)

		İyileşti	Aynı kaldı	Kötüleşti
X-196	Altyapı olanakları (Su, elektrik, kanalizasyon gibi)	1()	2()	3()
X-197	Ulaşım altyapısı	1()	2()	3()
X-198	Otopark alanı	1()	2()	3()
X-199	Yeşil alan	1()	2()	3()
X-200	Çocuk oyun alanları ve spor alanları	1()	2()	3()
X-201	Sosyal, kültürel tesislere yakınlık	1()	2()	3()
X-202	Okul ve sağlık tesislerine yakınlık	1()	2()	3()
X-203	Şehir merkezi ya da alışveriş merkezlerine yakınlık	1()	2()	3()
X-204	Komşuluk ilişkileri	1()	2()	3()
[X-205=6565]				
X-206	Manzara	1()	2()	3()
X-207	Düzenli bina yapılaşması	1()	2()	3()
X-208	Çevre temizliği (Hava kirliliğinden, gürültüden uzaklık)	1()	2()	3()
X-209	Güvenlik	1()	2()	3()
X-210	Toplu taşıma olanakları	1()	2()	3()
X-211	Belediye hizmeti	1()	2()	3()
X-212	Konut ve çevresinin malzeme ve işçilik kalitesi	1()	2()	3()
X-213	Konutunuzun büyüklüğü	1()	2()	3()
X-214	Konutunuzun iç düzenlemesi	1()	2()	3()

F13. Neden gecekondunuzu yıkıp yerine ruhsatlı apartman konutunda yaşamayı seçtiniz? [X-215] (Birden fazla yanıt alınabilir)

- 1() Yapı kalitesi daha yüksek olduğu için
2() Konut çevresi daha düzenli olacağı için
3() Daha fazla daireye sahip olmak için
4() İleride gecekondumun zorunlu olarak yıkılmasından çekindiğim için
5() Yan parselimdeki komşularım beni ruhsatlı daire yaptırmaya ikna ettikleri için
() Diğer, belirtiniz:.....

F14. a) Eski konutunuzun dönüşümü sırasında aşağıda sayacağım, belediyenin veya muhtarlığın sağladığı katkılardan ve teşviklerden yararlandınız mı? [X-216]

b() Bu katkı ve teşvikleri belediye mi yoksa muhtarlık mı sağladı?

	a) Katkı teşvikten yararlanma		b) Katkı ve teşviği sağlayan kurum	
	Yararlanmadım	Yararlandım	Belediye	Muhtarlık
X217-218	1()	2()	Bilgilendirme toplantıları	1() 2()
X219-220	1()	2()	Vergi/ harç muafiyetleri	1() 2()
X221-222	1()	2()	Müteahhitle görüşmelerde aracılık	1() 2()
X223-224	1()	2()	Arsa sahipleri arasındaki anlaşmazlıkların çözümünde aracılık	1() 2()

X225-226	1() 2()	Belediye ile görüşmelerde aracılık (Yalnızca muhtarlık için)	2()
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[X-227][6565]

F15. Sizi gecekondü yerine ruhsatlı daire yaptırmaya ikna eden en çok kimler oldu?[X-228]

- 1() Kendim karar verdim
 2() Eşim
 3() Çocuklarım
 4() Akrabalarım
 5() Muhtar
 6() Belediyeden gelen görevliler
 7() Komşularım
 () Diğer, belirtiniz:

ANKETİ SONLANDIRINIZ

G. DÖNÜŞÜM ALANINDA SONRADAN KONUT SATIN ALANLAR

G1. Yaşamak üzere bu çevreyi seçmenizin nedenleri nelerdir?[X-229](Birden çok yanıt alabilirsiniz)

- 1() Akraba ve dostlara yakın olmak için
 2() İşe yakın olduğu için
 3() Çocukların okuluna yakın olduğu için
 4() Fiyatı uygun geldiği için
 5() Bu mahallede/semtte yaşamaya alıştığımız için
 () Diğer, belirtiniz:

G2. Buradaki evinizi ne zaman satın aldınız? [X-230/231]/..... (ay ve yıl)

G3. Buradaki evinizi kaç liraya satın aldınız?[X-232] (YTL)

G4. Buraya taşınmadan önce oturduğunuz konutun imar durumu neydi?[X-233]

- 1() Ruhsatlı apartman konutu idi
 2() Ruhsatsız gecekondü idi
 3() İmar affı ile tapusu alınmış gecekondü idi
 4() Tapu tahsis belgesi verilmiş gecekondü idi
 5() Hisseli tapulu idi
 () Diğer, belirtiniz:

G5. Buraya taşınmadan önce oturduğunuz konut neredeydi?[X-234]

- 1() Aynı mahalledeydi (aynı muhtarlığa bağlı mahalle)
 2() Aynı semtteydi (Şentepe)
 3() Başka semtteydi
 4() Başka şehirdeydi
 5() Köydeydi
 () Diğer, belirtiniz:

[X-235][6565]

ANKETİ SONLANDIRINIZ

H. DÖNÜŞMÜŞ RUHSATLI APARTMAN KONUTUNDA KİRACI OLANLAR

H1. Yaşamak üzere bu çevreyi seçmenizin nedenleri nelerdir?[X-236](Birden çok yanıt alabilirsiniz)

- 1() Akraba ve dostlara yakın olmak için
 Bu mahallede/semtte yaşamaya
 2() alıştığımız için
 3() İşe yakın olduğu için
 4() Çocukların okuluna yakın olduğu için

- 5() Kirası uygun geldiği için
() Diğer, **belirtiniz:**

**H2. Buradaki konutunuzu ne zaman kiraladınız?[X-237-238]/.....
(ay ve yıl)**

H3. Buradaki konutunuza aylık ne kadar kira ödüyorsunuz?[X-239].....(YTL)

H4. buraya taşınmadan önce oturduğunuz konutta kiracı mıydınız evsahibi mi?[X-240]

- 1() Kiracıydım
2() Evi paylaşan kiracıydım
3() Evsahibiydim
4() Kira vermiyordum, bir yakınımın evinde kalıyordum.

H5. Buraya taşınmadan önce oturduğunuz konut neredeydi?[X-241]

- 1() Aynı mahalledeydi (aynı muhtarlığa bağlı mahalle)
2() Aynı semtteydi (Şentepe)
3() Başka semtteydi
4() Başka şehirdeydi
5() Köydeydi
() Diğer, **belirtiniz:**

H6. Buraya taşınmadan önce oturduğunuz konutun imar durumu neydi?[X-242]

- 1() Ruhsatlı apartman konutu idi
2() Ruhsatsız gecekondü idi
3() İmar affı ile tapusu alınmış gecekondü idi
4() Tapu tahsis belgesi verilmiş gecekondü idi
5() Hisseli tapulu idi
() Diğer, **belirtiniz:**

Anketör Notu:[X-243]

[X-244=6565]

APPENDIX B

DİKMEN HOUSEHOLD SURVEY

ANKET NO [X-1]: BALGAT-DİKMEN KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM ALANI HANEHALKI ANKETİ

Anket, Orta Doğu Teknik Üniversitesi, Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Doktora tezinde kullanılmak üzere hazırlanmıştır. Bu çalışma ile kentsel dönüşüm alanlarında yaşanan sorunlar ve konut sakinlerinin rolü ve tercihlerini belirlemek amaçlanmıştır. Toplanacak bilgilerde isim istenmeyecek, anket sonuçları tez çalışması dışında kullanılmayacaktır. Bu anketin gerçekleşmesinde yaptığınız katkı ve yardımlarınızdan dolayı teşekkür ederiz.

S1. Oturduğunuz konutun imar ve mülkiyet durumuyla ilgili size okuyacağım ifadelerden hangisi sizin için geçerli?

1() Bu apartman dairesinde ev sahibiyiz; apartmanın üstünde bulunduğu arsa üzerinde gecekondum vardı; İmar ve İslah İmar Planları doğrultusunda hak sahibi oldum ve yıkılan gecekondumun yerine bu apartmanda arsa hakkımın karşılığı olarak konut(lar) sahibi oldum.

2() Bu apartman dairesinde evsahibiyiz; apartmanın yerinde önceden gecekondum vardı; ancak biz bu daireyi yerine ruhsatlı apartman yaptıktan sonra satın aldık.

ANKETÖR DİKKAT: Bu anket yalnızca evsahiplerine yapılacaktır. Durumu yukarıdaki seçeneklere uymayan hane reisleriyle görüşme yapılmayacaktır.

ANKET YAPILAN KONUTA İLİŞKİN BİLGİLER

3. Görüştüğünüz konutun tipi [X-2]

1() Site içinde daire

2() Apartman dairesi

4. Görüştüğünüz konutun adres bilgileri:

Mahalle: [X-3]

Cadde:[X-4].....

Sokak:[X-5].....

Apartman Adı:[X-6].....

Daire Katı:[X-7].....

Apartmandaki toplam kat adedi:[X-8].....

Ada / parsel [X9-10](ANKETÖR NOTU: Görüştüğünüz kişiye sorunuz):/.....

3. Anketör Ad Soyad:[X-11]

A. DEMOGRAFİ

A1. Hanenizde toplam kaç kişi yaşıyor? [X-12].....(Kişi)

A2. Hanenizdeki kişilerin hane içindeki konum, cinsiyet ve doğum tarihleri, çalışma konumu ve eğitim durumuyla ilgili bilgi verir misiniz?

Kişi no	Hanehalkı reisine göre konumu 1. Hane reisi 2. Hane reisi eşi 3. Çocuk 4. Yakın 5. Akraba	CİNSİ YET 1. Erkek 2. Kadın	ÇALIŞMA KONUMU												EĞİTİM DURUMU (En son bitirdiği okul)							
			ÇALIŞMAYA N LAR					KENDİ İŞİ (BAĞIMSIZ)			BAŞKA SININ YANI											
			Doğum tarihi (yıl)	1. Evkadını	2. Öğrenci	3. Emekli	4. İşsiz	5. Çocuk	6.Çiftçi	7. Kendi başına çalışan	8. İşveren	9.Şerbest meslek (doktor, avukat vb)	10.Yönetici	11. Büro elemanı /Memur	12. İşçi	1. Okul bitirmemiş, okur yazar değil	yazar	3. İlkokul	4. Ortaokul	5. Lise	6. Yüksekokul	7. Okul öncesi (Çocuk)
X13-18	(1)	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
X19-24	()	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
X25-30	()	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
X31-36	()	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
X37-42	()	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
X43-48	()	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
X49-54	()	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
X55-60	()	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
X61-66	()	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
X67-72	()	1	2	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

[X-73][6565]

A3. a) Hanenizde çalışan kişilerin işyerinin temel faaliyet alanı?

b) Hanenizde çalışanlar ne iş yapıyorlar? (ANKETÖR NOTU:

marangozhanede ustayım, inşaat şirketinde inşaat işçisiyim gibi açıklayıcı cevaplar alınız)

DİKKAT: Çalışan kişiler için, ilk sayfadaki tablodan bakarak kişi numaralarını alttaki tabloda ilgili sütuna işaretleyiniz.

Kişi no	a. İşyerinin temel faaliyet alanı	b. Yapılan işin açıklaması
X74-76	1() Tarım 2() Sanayi 3() Hizmet	
X77-79	1() Tarım 2() Sanayi 3() Hizmet	
X80-82	1() Tarım 2() Sanayi 3() Hizmet	
X83-85	1() Tarım 2() Sanayi 3() Hizmet	

A4. (Görüşüğünüz kişi Ankara merkezde çalışıyorsa) İşyeriniz nerede bulunuyor? [X-86]

1() Ulus 2() Kızılay- Bakanlıklar 3() Kavaklıdere 4() Ostim
5() İvedik 6() Eskişehir yolu 7() İstanbul yolu 8() Sincan

() Diğer, belirtiniz:

A5. Size yada hanenizden birine ait, özel amaçla kullandığınız bir aracınız, otomobiliniz var mı? [X-87]

1 () Hayır, yok 2 () Evet, var----->Kaç tane? [X-88].....(Adet)

A6. Hanenizde çalışanların geliri, kira vs olarak düşündüğünüzde, aylık ortalama ne kadar geliriniz var? [X-89]

- 1() 0-400 YTL 2() 401-799 YTL 3() 800-1199 YTL
4() 1200-1599 YTL 5() 1600-1999 YTL 6() 2000-2499 YTL
7() 2500-2999 YTL 8() 3000-4999 YTL 9() 5000 YTL ve üzeri

B. KONUT SORULARI

B1. Oturduğunuz konut hangi yıl yapıldı? [X-90] (Yıl)

B2. Oturduğunuz konut için aidat ödüyor musunuz? [X-91]

1() Hayır, ödemiyorum

2() Evet ödüyorum.....a) Ne kadar aidat ödüyorsunuz? [X-92]..... YTL

b) Aidat aşağıdaki seçeneklerden hangilerini kapsıyor?

		Kapsıy or	Kapsamıy or
X-93	Kapıcı	1()	2()
X-94	Temizlik	1()	2()
X-95	Apartman aydınlatma, elektrik, su vs.	1()	2()
X-96	Yakıt	1()	2()
X-97	Onarım, tadilatlar	1()	2()
X98-99	Diğer, belirtiniz:	1()	2()

B3. (ANKETÖR notu: Konut apartmanda veya gecekonduda ise)

a) Oturduğunuz konutun üzerinde bulunduğu parselin büyüklüğü kaç metre karedir? [X-100] ...m2

(ANKETÖR notu: Konut site içinde ise)

b) Sitenin üzerinde bulunduğu parsel(ler)in büyüklüğü kaç metre karedir? [X-101]..... m2

c) Siteye toplam kaç bina bulunuyor? [X-102].....(adet)

B4. a) Konutunuzun üzerinde bulunduğu parselde kaç hane var? [X-103].....(adet)

d) Konutunuzun üzerinde bulunduğu parselde kaç apartman / bina var? [X-104].....(adet)

e) Konutunuzun üzerinde bulunduğu parselde kaç daire var? [X-105].....(adet)

B5. Konut çevrenizi size sayacağım koşullar açısından ne ölçüde yeterli bulduğunuzu belirtir misiniz? Değerlendirmenizi 5 üzerinden yapınız. 1 çok yetersiz, 5 çok yeterli anlamına gelmektedir.

Çok yetersiz	Yetersiz	Ne yeterli ne	Yeterli	Çok yeterli
-----------------	----------	---------------------	---------	----------------

yetersiz						
X-106	Altyapı olanakları (Su, elektrik, kanalizasyon gibi)	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()
X-107	Ulaşım altyapısı	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()
X-108	Otopark alanı	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()
X-109	Yeşil alan	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()
X-110	Çocuk oyun ve spor alanları	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()
Ne yeterli ne yetersiz						
X-111	Sosyal, kültürel tesislere yakınlık	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()
X-112	Okul ve sağlık tesislerine yakınlık	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()
[X-113: 6565]						
X-114	Şehir merkezi ya da alışveriş merkezlerine yakınlık	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()
X-115	Komşuluk ilişkileri	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()
X-116	Manzara	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()
X-117	Düzenli bina yapılaşması	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()
X-118	Gürültü ve kirlilik yayan yapılara uzaklık	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()
X-119	Güvenlik	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()
X-120	Toplu taşıma olanakları	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()
X-121	Belediye hizmeti	1()	2()	3()	4()	5()

B6. Konutunuzda mutfak, banyo, kiler hariç toplam kaç oda var?[X-122]..... (adet)

B7. Konutunuz toplam kaç m2?[X-123](m2)

B8. Konutunuzda nasıl ısıtılıyorsunuz?[X-124] (Birden fazla yanıt alınabilir)

- 1() Merkezi ısıtmayla 2() Kombiyle
3() Doğalgaz sobasıyla 4() Kömür/odun sobasıyla
5() Elektrik sobasıyla () Diğer, belirtiniz:

B9. Konutunuzun bugünkü yaklaşık satış değeri kaç liradır?[X-125] YTL

B10. Konutunuzun bugünkü yaklaşık kira değeri kaç liradır ?[X-126].....YTL

B11. Konutunuzda ve binanızda size sayacağım olanaklardan hangileri var?

Var Yok

X-127	Konut içinde banyo	1()	2()
X-128	Konut içinde mutfak	1()	2()
X-129	Konut içinde tuvalet	1()	2()
X-130	Kanalizasyon bağlantısı	1()	2()
X-131	Merkezi sıcak su	1()	2()
[X-132=6565]			
X-133	Asansör	1()	2()
X-134	Depo	1()	2()
X-135	Yönetim odası	1()	2()
X-136	Garaj	1()	2()
X-137	Otopark yeri	1()	2()
X-138	Bahçe	1()	2()

B12. Kaç yıldan beri bu konutta oturuyorsunuz?[X-139].....(Yıl)

B13. Kaç yıldan beri bu mahallede oturuyorsunuz? [X-140].....(Yıl)

B14. Yaşadığınız bu konut dışında sizin veya haneden başkasının başka konutu var mı?[X-141]

1() Yok ----→**B19'a GEÇİNİZ**

2() Var---→ **Kaç tane?[X-142].....(adet)**

B15. Diğer konutunuz/ konutlarınız nereden bulunuyor?[X-143] (Birden çok konut varsa, birden çok yanıt alınız)

1() Bu apartmanda

2() Bu mahallede

3() Bu semtte

4() Ankara içinde, başka semtte

5() Başka şehirde

6() Köyde

B16. Diğer konutunuzun / konutlarınızın mülkiyet ve imar durumu nedir?[X-144] (Birden çok yanıt alınabilir)

1() Ruhsatsız gecekondü

2() İmar affı almış gecekondü

3() Ruhsatsız apartman konutu

4() Ruhsatlı apartman konutu

5() Ruhsatlı müstakil konut

6() Hisseli parsel üzerinde

konut

() Diğer, **belirtiniz:**

B17. Diğer konutunuzu/ konutlarınızı nasıl kullanıyorsunuz?[X-145] (Birden çok yanıt alınabilir)

1() Kiraya verdik.

2() Yazlık ve ya mevsimlik

kullanıyoruz.

3() Akraba / başkası kira vermeden oturuyor.

4() Kullanmıyoruz, boş

duruyor.

() Diğer, **belirtiniz:**.....

B18. Halen oturduğunuz konutun imar ve mülkiyet durumuyla ilgili size okuyacağım seçeneklerden hangisi size uyuyor? [X-146] (ANKETÖR

DİKKAT: Anketin başında S1'de işaretlediğiniz seçeneği aşağıya aynen işleyiniz)

1() Bu apartman dairesinde ev sahibiyiz; apartmanın üstünde bulunduğu arsa üzerinde gecekondum vardı; İmar ve İslah İmar Planları doğrultusunda hak sahibi oldum ve yıkılan gecekondumun yerine bu apartmanda arsa hakkımın karşılığı olarak konut(lar) sahibi oldum.----→**C BÖLÜMÜNE GEÇİNİZ**

2() Bu apartman dairesinde evsahibiyiz; apartmanın yerinde önceden gecekondulu varmış; ancak biz bu daireyi yerine ruhsatlı apartman yapıldıktan sonra satın aldık.----→ D BÖLÜMÜNE GEÇİNİZ

C. DÖNÜŞMÜŞ STOKTA OTURAN EVSAHİPLERİ

C1. Eski gecekondunuz kaç yılında yıkıldı? [X-147].....

C2. Eski gecekondunuzun;

1. Parsel büyüklüğü kaç metre kareydi?[X 148].....(m2)

2. Bu parselde kaç konut vardı?[X 149](adet)

3. Parselde kaç hane bulunuyordu? [X 150].....(adet)

C3. Eski gecekondunuz için müteahhitle kat karşılığı mı yoksa arsa büyüklüğüne göre mi anlaşma yaptınız? [X 151]

1() Kat karşılığı anlaşma yaptık.-----→a) **Müteahhit toplam kaç daire yaptı? [X152].....adet**

b) Siz kaç daire aldınız?[X153].....adet

2() Arsa büyüklüğüne göre anlaşma yaptık----→a) **Kaç metrekare arsanız vardı?[X154].....(m2)**

b) Karşılığında kaç daire aldınız?[X155].....(adet)

3() Diğer, belirtiniz:

[X 156: 6565]

C4. Müteahhite ek ödeme yapmanız gerekti mi? [X-157]

1() Hayır, gerekmedi

2() Evet, gerekti.-----→ **a) Ne kadar ek ödeme yaptınız?[X-158].....(YTL)**

b) Bu masrafı nasıl karşıladınız?[X-159] (Birden çok yanıt alınabilir)

1() Birikimim vardı.

2() Akraba / yakınlarımdan borç aldım.

3() Bankadan kredi çektim.

4() Akraba / yakınlarımdan karşılıksız yardım aldım.

() Diğer, belirtiniz:.....

C5. Dönüşüm sonrası birden fazla konut sahibi olduysanız, diğer konutu/ konutlarınızı nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?[X160] (Birden çok yanıt alınabilir)

1() Kiraya verdik

2() Sattık

3() Çocuklarımıza/ akrabalarımıza verdik

4() Yakınım/ akrabam kira vermeden oturuyor

() Diğer, belirtiniz:

C6. Eski gecekondunuzun yıkımı ve yenisinin inşaatı kaç ay sürdü? [X-161]..... ay

C7. Yeni konutunuzun inşaatı süresince kira yardımı aldınız mı? [X-162]

a() Evet, aldık

b() Hayır, almadık.

C8. Yeni konutunuzun inşaatı süresince nerede kaldınız? [X-163]

1() Aynı mahallede/ semtte ev kiraladık.

2() Bir akrabamın / yakınımın evinde kira ödemededen kaldık.

3() Diğer konutlarımızdan birinde oturduk.

() Diğer, **belirtiniz:**

C9. Aile fertleri arasında yeni konutun yapımında çalışan oldu mu ? [X-164]

1() Evet 2() Hayır

C10. Size göre İslah ve İmar Planlarından sonra konutunuz ve çevresi, size sayacağım koşullara göre iyileşti mi, kötüleşti mi? (İyileşti: 1, Aynı: 2, Kötüleşti: 3)

		İyileşti	Aynı kaldı	Kötüleşti
X 165	Altyapı olanakları (Su, elektrik, kanalizasyon gibi)	1()	2()	3()
X 166	Ulaşım altyapısı	1()	2()	3()
X 167	Otopark alanı	1()	2()	3()
X 168	Yeşil alan	1()	2()	3()
X 169	Çocuk oyun alanları ve spor alanları	1()	2()	3()
X 170	Sosyal, kültürel tesislere yakınlık	1()	2()	3()
X 171	Okul ve sağlık tesislerine yakınlık	1()	2()	3()
X 172= 6565				

		İyileşti	Aynı kaldı	Kötüleşti
X 173	Şehir merkezi ya da alışveriş merkezlerine yakınlık	1()	2()	3()
X 174	Komşuluk ilişkileri	1()	2()	3()
X 175	Manzara	1()	2()	3()
X 176	Düzenli bina yapılaşması	1()	2()	3()
X 177	Çevre temizliği (Hava kirliliğinden, gürültüden uzaklık)	1()	2()	3()
X 178	Güvenlik	1()	2()	3()
X 179	Toplu taşıma olanakları	1()	2()	3()
X 180	Belediye hizmeti	1()	2()	3()
X 181	Konut ve çevresinin malzeme ve işçilik kalitesi	1()	2()	3()
X 182	Konutunuzun büyüklüğü	1()	2()	3()
X 183	Konutunuzun iç düzenlemesi	1()	2()	3()

C11. Neden gecekondunuzu yıkıp yerine ruhsatlı apartman konutunda yaşamayı seçtiniz? (Birden fazla yanıt alınabilir) [X 184]

- 1() Yapı kalitesi daha yüksek olduğu için
2() Konut çevresi daha düzenli olacağı için
3() Daha fazla daireye sahip olmak için
4() İleride gecekondumun zorunlu olarak yıkılmasından çekindiğim için
5() Yan parselimdeki komşularım beni ruhsatlı daire yaptırmaya ikna ettikleri için
() Diğer, belirtiniz:.....

C12. a) Eski konutunuzun dönüşümü sırasında aşağıda sayacağım, belediyenin veya muhtarlığın sağladığı katkılardan ve teşviklerden yararlandınız mı?

b) () Bu katkı ve teşvikleri belediye mi yoksa muhtarlık mı sağladı?

	a) Katkı teşvikten yararlanma		b) Katkı ve teşviği sağlayan kurum	
	Yararlanmadı	Yararlandı	Belediye	Muhtarlık
X185/186	1()	2()	Bilgilendirme toplantıları	1() 2()
X187/188	1()	2()	Vergi/ harç muafiyetleri	1() 2()
X189/190	1()	2()	Müteahhitle görüşmelerde aracılık	1() 2()
X191/192	1()	2()	Arsa sahipleri arasındaki anlaşmazlıkların çözümünde aracılık	1() 2()
X193/194	1()	2()	Belediye ile görüşmelerde aracılık (Yalnızca muhtarlık için)	2()

C13. Sizi gecekondu yerine ruhsatlı daire yaptırmaya ikna eden en çok kimler oldu? [X 195]

- 1() Kendim karar verdim
2() Eşim
3() Çocuklarım
4() Akrabalarım
5() Muhtar
6() Belediyeden gelen görevliler
7() Komşularım
() Diğer, belirtiniz:

ANKETİ SONLANDIRINIZ

[X 196: 6565]

D. DÖNÜŞÜM ALANINDA SONRADAN KONUT SATIN ALANLAR

D1. Yaşamak üzere bu çevreyi seçmenizin nedenleri nelerdir?(Birdençok yanıt alabilirsiniz) [X 197]

- 1() Akraba ve dostlara yakın olmak için
2() İşe yakın olduğu için
3() Çocukların okuluna yakın olduğu için
4() Fiyatı uygun geldiği için
5() Bu mahallede/semtte yaşamaya alıştığımız için
() Diğer, belirtiniz:

D2. Buradaki evinizi ne zaman satın aldınız? [X198/199]/..... (ay ve yıl)

D3. Buradaki evinizi kaç liraya satın aldınız? [X200]..... (YTL)

D4. Buraya taşınmadan önce oturduğunuz konutun imar durumu neydi? [X 201]

- 1() Ruhsatlı apartman konutu idi
- 2() Ruhsatsız gecekondulu idi
- 3() İmar affı ile tapusu alınmış gecekondulu idi
- 4() Tapu tahsis belgesi verilmiş gecekondulu idi
- 5() Hisseli tapulu idi
- () Diğer, **belirtiniz:**

D5. Buraya taşınmadan önce oturduğunuz konut neredeydi? [X 202]

- 1() Aynı mahalledeydi (aynı muhtarlığa bağlı mahalle)
- 2() Aynı semtteydi (Şentepe)
- 3() Başka semtteydi
- 4() Başka şehirdeydi
- 5() Köydeydi
- () Diğer, **belirtiniz:**

ANKETİ SONLANDIRINIZ

Anketör Notu [X 203]:

APPENDIX C

QUESTIONS OF SEMI-STRUCTURED INTERVIEW

Why did you invest in a redevelopment project?

Why did you invest in a redevelopment project in Şentepe?

Why did you invest in a redevelopment project in Şentepe Transformation Project?

Did you take place in redevelopment according to improvement and redevelopment plans in the late 1980s in Şentepe? Why? Why not?

What are the differences in ŞTP with reference to improvement and redevelopment plans?

Do you think the municipality is succesful in ŞTP?

Which strategies of the municipality are most adeqaute?

What are the problems you face?

APPENDIX D

NUMBER OF BUILDING PERMITS IN ŞENTEPE

Table 89: Building Permits Given by the Municipality After Şentepe Transformation Project

SIRA NO	YIL	ADA	/	PARSEL	TARİH	/	SAYI	TOPLAM M2	KONUT	İŞYERİ	MAHALLE
1	2006	61202	/	1	02.06.2006	/	378	41340	257		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
2	2006	40030	/	9	08.06.2006	/	388	1290	9		GÜVENTEPE
3	2006	41235	/	8	16.06.2006	/	414	1242	6	2	BURÇ
4	2006	41839	/	4	16.06.2006	/	415	1079	8		PAMUKLAR
5	2006	40089	/	1	16.06.2006	/	420	1806	9	3	ÇİĞDEMTEPE
6	2006	41496	/	7	21.06.2006	/	433	1003	6	2	GÜZELYAKA
7	2006	41837	/	12	28.06.2006	/	451	2314	12	4	PAMUKLAR
8	2006	40494	/	8	05.07.2006	/	468	938	8		GÜVENTEPE
9	2006	61179	/	3	10.07.2006	/	480	914	7	2	BURÇ
10	2006	61397	/	3	12.07.2006	/	483	1273	6	1	KALETEPE
11	2006	61291	/	5	13.07.2006	/	489	1488	6	2	GÜVENTEPE
12	2006	61219	/	7	14.07.2006	/	491	1702	10		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
13	2006	41528	/	3	20.07.2006	/	532	1923	10		GÜZELYAKA
14	2006	61313	/	3	21.07.2006	/	534	1542	5		GÜZELYAKA
15	2006	61309	/	5	31.07.2006	/	538	531	6		GÜVENTEPE
16	2006	61147	/	4	21.07.2006	/	540	1355	10		BURÇ
17	2006	61400	/	3	04.08.2007	/	582	2577	14		BURÇ
18	2006	61413	/	1	10.08.2006	/	615	2940	20		GÜZELYAKA
19	2006	61152	/	9	15.08.2006	/	646	807	4		BURÇ
20	2006	61325	/	5	25.08.2006	/	669	1515	10		GÜVENTEPE
21	2006	61323	/	9	29.08.2006	/	677	1055	8		GÜVENTEPE
22	2006	61189	/	1	01.09.2006	/	685	939	9	1	BURÇ
23	2006	61173	/	5	01.09.2006	/	689	1411	10		BURÇ
24	2006	61397	/	5	11.09.2006	/	708	1022	6	3	KALETEPE
25	2006	61313	/	8	11.09.2006	/	711	2062	19		GÜVENTEPE
26	2006	61325	/	9	15.09.2006	/	721	1068	8		GÜVENTEPE
27	2006	61431	/	3	15.09.2006	/	723	1121	8		GÜZELYAKA
28	2006	41839	/	9	25.09.2006	/	771	1101	8		PAMUKLAR
29	2006	61183	/	3	03.10.2006	/	821	1488	16	1	BURÇ
30	2006	61251	/	5	05.10.2006	/	822	3078	94		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
31	2006	61171	/	2	06.10.2006	/	835	2334	44		BARIŞTEPE

Table 89 (continued)

32	2006	61222	/	1	16.10.2006	/	856	5563	15		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
33	2006	61238	/	10	16.10.2006	/	857	3145	14		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
34	2006	61246	/	3	20.10.2006	/	864	4666	24		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
35	2006	61223	/	11	06.11.2006	/	881	1745	9	2	ÇİĞDEMTEPE
36	2006	61390	/	2	06.11.2006	/	882	1856	14	2	KALETEPE
37	2006	61169	/	6	09.11.2006	/	885	718	4	1	BURÇ
38	2006	61325	/	12	17.11.2006	/	897	480	4		GÜVENTEPE
39	2006	61119	/	7	20.11.2006	/	900	2760	18		BARIŞTEPE
40	2006	61260	/	1	22.11.2006	/	912	918	6	1	KAYALAR
41	2006	61167	/	10	23.11.2006	/	916	21942	131		BURÇ
42	2006	61284	/	5	24.11.2006	/	921	1598	14		GÜVENTEPE
43	2006	61140	/	7	06.12.2006	/	934	3362	21		BURÇ
44	2006	61154	/	1	06.12.2006	/	935	5913	34	1	BURÇ
45	2006	61340	/	3	08.12.2006	/	958	1458	10		GÜZELYAKA
46	2006	61122	/	11	13.12.2006	/	962	2612	14	1	BURÇ
47	2006	61212	/	6	14.12.2006	/	965	580	4		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
48	2006	61245	/	8	19.12.2006	/	985	2156	14		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
49	2006	61381	/	3	25.12.2006	/	997	913	10		AVCILAR
50	2006	61290	/	9	25.12.2006	/	999	3862	20	1	GÜVENTEPE
51	2006	61345	/	1	28.12.2006	/	1006	1729	15		GÜZELYAKA
52	2006	61239	/	5	29.12.2006	/	1012	4926	28		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
53	2006	61223	/	10	29.12.2006	/	1018	3163	12	4	ÇİĞDEMTEPE
54	2006	61362	/	1	29.12.2006	/	1039	1887	8	2	AVCILAR
55	2006	61221	/	3	29.12.2006	/	1044	1804	12	2	ÇİĞDEMTEPE
56	2007	61323	/	1	18.01.2007	/	12	1244	9		GÜVENTEPE
57	2007	61546	/	6	25.01.2007	/	15	1350	8		PAMUKLAR
58	2007	61142	/	2	01.02.2007	/	64	2063	12		BURÇ
59	2007	61231	/	3	02.02.2007	/	65	3787	23	1	ÇİĞDEMTEPE
60	2007	61142	/	3	16.02.2007	/	102	2539	14	1	BURÇ
61	2007	61406	/	5	06.03.2007	/	129	2477	15		KALETEPE
62	2007	61175	/	3	08.03.2007	/	130	3134	16		BURÇ
63	2007	61168	/	6	09.03.2007	/	132	7422	42		BURÇ
64	2007	61301	/	8	12.03.2007	/	135	2797	20		GÜVENTEPE
65	2007	61150	/	1	23.03.2007	/	167	2098	12		BURÇ
66	2007	61557	/	4	26.03.2007	/	172	2871	12	1	PAMUKLAR
67	2007	61284	/	10	28.03.2007	/	175	1481	12		GÜVENTEPE
68	2007	61148	/	9	29.03.2007	/	180	1581	10		BURÇ
69	2007	61316	/	5	02.04.2007	/	181	1284	9	1	GÜVENTEPE
70	2007	61170	/	3	02.04.2007	/	182	3436	18		BURÇ
71	2007	61376	/	6	04.04.2007	/	187	5750	33		AVCILAR
72	2007	61127	/	2	06.04.2007	/	190	6648	37		BURÇ
73	2007	61147	/	2	06.04.2007	/	195	2748	14		BURÇ
74	2007	61127	/	4	06.04.2007	/	198	896	3	1	BURÇ
75	2007	61545	/	7	11.04.2007	/	213	1135	8		PAMUKLAR
76	2007	61134	/	4	13.04.2007	/	215	5897	21	3	BURÇ
77	2007	61320	/	11	13.04.2007	/	218	1931	9	1	GÜVENTEPE
78	2007	61156	/	3	17.04.2007	/	223	1800	9		BURÇ

Table 89 (continued)

79	2007	61316	/	10	18.04.2007	/	226	1934	15		GÜVENTEPE
80	2007	61229	/	12	20.04.2007	/	231	2663	17	3	ÇİĞDEMTEPE
81	2007	61237	/	1	27.04.2007	/	242	6254	36	2	ÇİĞDEMTEPE
82	2007	61359	/	4	27.04.2007	/	247	20394	120	2	AVCILAR
83	2007	61056	/	5	27.04.2007	/	248	1258	10		PAMUKLAR
84	2007	61216	/	2	27.04.2007	/	249	6178	36		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
85	2007	61218	/	2	10.05.2007	/	271	2098	10		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
86	2007	61149	/	15	11.05.2007	/	273	2691	10		BURÇ
87	2007	61326	/	12	11.05.2007	/	278	2477	14		GÜVENTEPE
88	2007	61374	/	1	14.05.2007	/	281	1628	15		AVCILAR
89	2007	61245	/	10	15.05.2007	/	339	5506	33		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
90	2007	61237	/	4	15.05.2007	/	340	2553	14		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
91	2007	61119	/	6	22.05.2007	/	347	2848	14		BURÇ
92	2007	60493	/	3	23.05.2007	/	348	3036	12		KALETEPE
93	2007	41552	/	13	23.05.2007	/	350	1652	10		GÜZELYAKA
94	2007	61240	/	7	24.05.2007	/	351	3151	17		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
95	2007	61374	/	9	25.05.2007	/	352	941	3	2	AVCILAR
96	2007	61219	/	11	28.05.2007	/	356	1243	12		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
97	2007	61207	/	8	28.05.2007	/	357	4484	28		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
98	2007	61208	/	2	21.06.2007	/	412	3677	20		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
99	2007	61281	/	1	29.06.2007	/	427	4545	21		GÜVENTEPE
100	2007	61212	/	7	06.07.2007	/	454	1973	12		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
101	2007	61278	/	4	06.07.2007	/	457	5244	27		KAYALAR
102	2007	61198	/	4	12.07.2007	/	483	3539	21	1	ÇİĞDEMTEPE
103	2007	61546	/	1	20.07.2007	/	502	1765	12		PAMUKLAR
104	2007	61257	/	2	20.07.2007	/	506	3492	18	1	KALETEPE
105	2007	61402	/	6	20.07.2007	/	508	4438	29	1	KALETEPE
106	2007	61520	/	8	20.07.2007	/	515	4118	20		PAMUKLAR
107	2007	40129	/	6	27.07.2007	/	534	2221	10	2	GÜZELYAKA
108	2007	61212	/	1	01.08.2007	/	537	4051	22	2	ÇİĞDEMTEPE
109	2007	61272	/	1	03.08.2007	/	603	3552	18		KAYALAR
110	2007	61399	/	5	10.08.2007	/	622	2805	17		KALETEPE
111	2007	61545	/	2	15.08.2007	/	633	1757	10	2	PAMUKLAR
112	2007	61526	/	6	16.08.2007	/	638	3354	20	1	PAMUKLAR
113	2007	61168	/	3	04.09.2007	/	666	3286	20		BARIŞTEPE
114	2007	61200	/	4	04.09.2007	/	667	4327	24	2	ÇİĞDEMTEPE
115	2007	40129	/	4	06.09.2007	/	668	1555	8	1	GÜZELYAKA
116	2007	61321	/	3	07.09.2007	/	676	1299	8	2	GÜVENTEPE
117	2007	61244	/	9	21.09.2007	/	734	900	8		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
118	2007	61407	/	3	24.09.2007	/	737	9708	60		KALETEPE
119	2007	61317	/	4	27.09.2007	/	743	750	4	1	GÜVENTEPE
120	2007	61119	/	2	28.09.2007	/	751	3711	23		BARIŞTEPE
121	2007	61548	/	2	05.10.2007	/	768	4241	22		PAMUKLAR
122	2007	61158	/	6	10.10.2007	/	778	7422	42		BARIŞTEPE
123	2007	61247	/	6	24.10.2007	/	796	2259	13		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
124	2007	61368	/	3	30.10.2007	/	800	3715	22		AVCILAR
125	2007	61552	/	2	30.10.2007	/	802	1933	12		PAMUKLAR

Table 89 (continued)

126	2007	61152	/	1	01.11.2007	/	808	3064	18		BURÇ
127	2007	61152	/	10	01.11.2007	/	809	3048	17	1	BURÇ
128	2007	61414	/	1	02.11.2007	/	814	1954	12	1	GÜZELYAKA
129	2007	61134	/	5	02.11.2007	/	816	6081	24	5	BURÇ
130	2007	61152	/	4	08.11.2007	/	821	2959	17		BURÇ
131	2007	61549	/	3	14.11.2007	/	828	1247	8		PAMUKLAR
132	2007	61170	/	5	30.11.2007	/	830	3586	20	1	BARIŞTEPE
133	2007	61143	/	3	15.11.2007	/	837	4433	26		BURÇ
134	2007	61373	/	4	20.11.2007	/	846	6044	36	1	AVCILAR
135	2007	61211	/	1	21.11.2007	/	849	3574	18		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
136	2007	61535	/	6	21.11.2007	/	850	3747	15	2	PAMUKLAR
137	2007	61230	/	2	26.11.2007	/	857	7321	44		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
138	2007	40134	/	12	28.11.2007	/	859	2059	14		GÜZELYAKA
139	2007	61555	/	9	28.11.2007	/	862	5785	29		PAMUKLAR
140	2007	61519	/	16	30.11.2007	/	871	3353	20	1	BURÇ
141	2007	61519	/	2	30.11.2007	/	874	4979	24	2	BURÇ
142	2007	61180	/	14	30.11.2007	/	877	8197	52		BARIŞTEPE
143	2007	61519	/	12	05.12.2007	/	881	5398	24	1	BURÇ
144	2007	61190	/	12	05.12.2007	/	883	7567	48		BARIŞTEPE
145	2007	61162	/	4	13.12.2007	/	897	2391	16		BARIŞTEPE
146	2007	40134	/	5	19.12.2007	/	911	1026	7	1	GÜVENTEPE
147	2007	61178	/	5	31.12.2007	/	935	5897	34	1	BARIŞTEPE
148	2007	41793	/	23	31.12.2007	/	939	4253	20	2	BURÇ
149	2007	61526	/	5	31.12.2007	/	940	3190	17		PAMUKLAR
150	2008	61140	/	2	04.01.2008	/	1	4429	28		BURÇ
151	2008	61246	/	1	04.01.2008	/	2	5500	26		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
152	2008	61148	/	12	21.01.2008	/	19	7263	38		BURÇ
153	2008	61241	/	4	21.01.2008	/	21	3764	23		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
154	2008	61216	/	3	30.01.2008	/	29	6795	41		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
155	2008	61212	/	3	13.02.2008	/	41	4099	22		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
156	2008	61270	/	11	25.02.2008	/	106	2679	17	1	KAYALAR
157	2008	61324	/	18	17.03.2008	/	132	1370	10		GÜVENTEPE
158	2008	61117	/	4	19.03.2008	/	134	11895	61		BARIŞTEPE
159	2008	61210	/	11	19.03.2008	/	137	1258	10		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
160	2008	61298	/	1	20.03.2008	/	140	6005	31	2	GÜVENTEPE
161	2008	61316	/	7	21.03.2008	/	144	472	4		GÜVENTEPE
162	2008	61306	/	1	21.03.2008	/	145	1664	10		GÜVENTEPE
163	2008	61143	/	9	27.03.2008	/	155	6963	37	1	BURÇ
164	2008	61549	/	8	27.03.2008	/	156	1279	9		PAMUKLAR
165	2008	61555	/	2	28.03.2008	/	157	21678	101	1	PAMUKLAR
166	2008	61185	/	2	28.03.2008	/	161	2670	15		BARIŞTEPE
167	2008	61399	/	12	31.03.2008	/	162	3595	19	1	KALETEPE
168	2008	61422	/	2	31.03.2008	/	163	3174	17	1	GÜZELYAKA
169	2008	61251	/	4	01.04.2008	/	169	3895	20	1	ÇİĞDEMTEPE
170	2008	61131	/	2	03.04.2008	/	172	6851	24	9	BURÇ
171	2008	61118	/	5	04.04.2008	/	175	3514	21		BARIŞTEPE

Table 89 (continued)

172	2008	61406	/	4	04.04.2008	/	176	2035	12		KALETEPE
173	2008	61392	/	3	04.04.2008	/	212	837	6	1	KALETEPE
174	2008	61304	/	7	07.04.2008	/	213	1765	11	2	GÜVENTEPE
175	2008	61232	/	2	08.04.2008	/	215	3230	20		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
176	2008	61169	/	4	10.04.2008	/	219	4063	23		BARIŞTEPE
177	2008	61242	/	5	14.04.2008	/	224	767	4	1	ÇİĞDEMTEPE
178	2008	61150	/	2	14.04.2008	/	225	3997	21		BURÇ
179	2008	61421	/	3	14.04.2008	/	226	2852	15		GÜZELYAKA
180	2008	61311	/	3	17.04.2008	/	264	1151	10		GÜVENTEPE
181	2008	61168	/	4	17.04.2008	/	265	6688	42		BARIŞTEPE
182	2008	61160	/	13	21.04.2008	/	267	1025	7	2	BARIŞTEPE
183	2008	61261	/	4	21.04.2008	/	268	3591	21		KAYALAR
184	2008	61397	/	8	24.04.2008	/	273	6330	39		KALETEPE
185	2008	61314	/	1	24.04.2008	/	274	4882	29	1	GÜVENTEPE
186	2008	61370	/	5	24.04.2008	/	275	18574	102	1	AVCILAR
187	2008	61152	/	2	24.04.2008	/	279	5202	30		BURÇ
188	2008	61159	/	3	28.04.2008	/	285	3868	20	1	BARIŞTEPE
189	2008	61121	/	4	29.04.2008	/	290	3625	21	1	BARIŞTEPE
190	2008	61401	/	11	01.05.2008	/	296	965	8		KALETEPE
191	2008	61520	/	5	06.05.2008	/	303	4751	29		PAMUKLAR
192	2008	61134	/	8	06.05.2008	/	304	5345	21	6	BURÇ
193	2008	41404	/	12	09.05.2008	/	312	5848	32		KALETEPE
194	2008	61118	/	3	13.05.2008	/	319	4924	31		BARIŞTEPE
195	2008	40119	/	2	16.05.2008	/	327	1186	10		GÜZELYAKA
196	2008	61287	/	4	20.05.2008	/	330	2027	12		GÜVENTEPE
197	2008	61142	/	4	26.05.2008	/	335	5449	36	1	BURÇ
198	2008	61305	/	1	02.06.2008	/	360	996	7		GÜVENTEPE
199	2008	61138	/	3	06.06.2008	/	373	1612	9	1	BURÇ
200	2008	61323	/	10	09.06.2008	/	375	971	6	1	GÜVENTEPE
201	2008	61240	/	6	09.06.2008	/	376	2304	12		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
202	2008	61154	/	3	16.06.2008	/	388	5719	30	1	BARIŞTEPE
203	2008	61152	/	12	18.06.2008	/	394	2514	14		BURÇ
204	2008	61238	/	8	20.06.2008	/	409	2832	15		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
205	2008	61528	/	3	20.06.2008	/	410	6153	34		PAMUKLAR
206	2008	40132	/	1	25.06.2008	/	418	585	3	1	GÜZELYAKA
207	2008	61406	/	8	30.06.2008	/	432	5435	32	1	KALETEPE
208	2008	61406	/	7	30.06.2008	/	433	6176	37	1	KALETEPE
209	2008	61320	/	1	04.07.2008	/	444	821	5		GÜVENTEPE
210	2008	61245	/	22	09.07.2008	/	452	1383	10		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
211	2008	61375	/	9	10.07.2008	/	456	2008	12		AVCILAR
212	2008	61239	/	7	14.07.2008	/	460	4310	21		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
213	2008	61406	/	1	16.07.2008	/	478	5320	29		KALETEPE
214	2008	61172	/	7	18.07.2008	/	482	1551	10		BARIŞTEPE
215	2008	61300	/	7	30.07.2008	/	495	1372	10		GÜVENTEPE
216	2008	61269	/	1	13.08.2008	/	529	9571	58	2	KAYALAR
217	2008	61408	/	5	15.08.2008	/	533	4070	18	1	KALETEPE
218	2008	61302	/	5	19.08.2008	/	538	3920	21		GÜVENTEPE

Table 89 (continued)

219	2008	61522	/	1	22.08.2008	/	548	4597	28		PAMUKLAR
220	2008	61413	/	9	25.08.2008	/	553	2181	14		GÜZELYAKA
221	2008	41406	/	13	28.08.2008	/	559	2750	13	1	KALETEPE
222	2008	61349	/	3	29.08.2008	/	562	4056	20	1	GÜZELYAKA
223	2008	61144	/	4	05.09.2008	/	573	1990	12		BURÇ
224	2008	61174	/	1	05.09.2008	/	576	3306	16	1	BARIŞTEPE
225	2008	61238	/	1	11.09.2008	/	584	3835	18		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
226	2008	61415	/	4	15.09.2008	/	586	858	8		GÜZELYAKA
227	2008	61160	/	8	23.09.2008	/	599	5004	26	1	BARIŞTEPE
228	2008	61137	/	2	23.09.2008	/	600	3015	18		BURÇ
229	2008	61520	/	2	23.09.2008	/	603	5136	30		PAMUKLAR
230	2008	61173	/	2	25.09.2008	/	606	3419	21		BARIŞTEPE
231	2008	61522	/	10	26.09.2008	/	610	3305	17	1	PAMUKLAR
232	2008	61204	/	1	26.09.2008	/	611	5635	33	1	ÇİĞDEMTEPE
233	2008	61147	/	1	26.09.2008	/	613	2814	14		BURÇ
234	2008	61519	/	18	13.10.2008	/	624	8703	32	3	BURÇ
235	2008	61375	/	8	14.10.2008	/	627	1745	14	1	AVCILAR
236	2008	61397	/	1	20.10.2008	/	640	2849	17	1	KALETEPE
237	2008	61053	/	5	23.10.2008	/	653	4419	25	1	BURÇ
238	2008	61403	/	1	28.10.2008	/	664	6363	30	1	KALETEPE
239	2008	61519	/	17	28.10.2008	/	665	50007	24	4	BURÇ
240	2008	61542	/	5	31.10.2008	/	672	5436	32		PAMUKLAR
241	2008	61244	/	4	12.11.2008	/	692	5509	30		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
242	2008	61543	/	7	13.11.2008	/	694	2429	14		PAMUKLAR
243	2008	61118	/	2	24.11.2008	/	705	7313	43		BARIŞTEPE
244	2008	61170	/	1	24.11.2008	/	706	6371	33	1	BARIŞTEPE
245	2008	61233	/	2	04.12.2008	/	737	6128	42	1	ÇİĞDEMTEPE
246	2008	61271	/	3	04.12.2008	/	740	21683	133		KAYALAR
247	2008	61552	/	4	05.12.2008	/	742	2030	12	2	PAMUKLAR
248	2008	61328	/	5	05.12.2008	/	743	2700	13		GÜVENTEPE
249	2008	60488	/	1	17.12.2008	/	751	7440		1	KALETEPE
250	2008	61327	/	9	29.12.2008	/	802	1261	8		GÜVENTEPE
251	2008	61127	/	10	31.12.2008	/	812	2162	12	1	BURÇ
252	2008	61542	/	7	31.12.2008	/	813	5886	34		PAMUKLAR
253	2009	61386	/	3	16.01.2009	/	17	2511	15		KALETEPE
254	2009	61187	/	2	11.02.2009	/	38	3955	23		BARIŞTEPE
255	2009	61251	/	2	13.02.2009	/	43	4745	26	1	ÇİĞDEMTEPE
256	2009	61556	/	1	17.02.2009	/	48	2986	12	4	PAMUKLAR
257	2009	61152	/	6	19.02.2009	/	69	830		1	BURÇ
258	2009	61520	/	4	06.03.2009	/	88	3962	22		PAMUKLAR
259	2009	61207	/	10	10.03.2009	/	93	9241	52	2	ÇİĞDEMTEPE
260	2009	40129	/	3	17.03.2009	/	100	1222	8	1	GÜZELYAKA
261	2009	61184	/	1	23.03.2009	/	122	3301	21		BARIŞTEPE
262	2009	61313	/	17	25.03.2009	/	131	837	8		GÜVENTEPE
263	2009	61369	/	6	26.03.2009	/	133	1873	13		AVCILAR
264	2009	61247	/	1	26.03.2009	/	138	4734	27	1	ÇİĞDEMTEPE

Table 89 (continued)

265	2009	61549	/	4	27.03.2009	/	140	1694	12		PAMUKLAR
266	2009	61144	/	7	27.03.2009	/	154	8323	46	2	BURÇ
267	2009	41793	/	22	27.03.2009	/	158	4664	19	3	BURÇ
268	2009	61406	/	3	14.04.2009	/	183	2998	18		KALETEPE
269	2009	61533	/	1	16.04.2009	/	186	3534		1	PAMUKLAR
270	2009	61141	/	4	17.04.2009	/	189	2100	10		BURÇ
271	2009	61134	/	7	17.04.2009	/	192	7634	29	4	BURÇ
272	2009	61126	/	1	17.04.2009		193	4064	58	1	BURÇ
273	2009	61526	/	10	24.04.2009	/	197	2391	16		PAMUKLAR
274	2009	61553	/	8	29.04.2009	/	205	5769	36		PAMUKLAR
275	2009	61117	/	3	29.04.2009	/	207	3521	18	1	BARIŞTEPE
276	2009	61236	/	1	30.04.2009	/	210	1109	5		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
277	2009	61142	/	5	06.05.2009	/	225	4826	27		BURÇ
278	2009	61546	/	2	12.05.2009	/	235	1341	8		PAMUKLAR
279	2009	61212	/	2	14.05.2009	/	238	3495	20	1	ÇİĞDEMTEPE
280	2009	61055	/	3	15.05.2009	/	241	4527	25		PAMUKLAR
281	2009	61522	/	8	20.05.2009	/	245	2990	17		PAMUKLAR
282	2009	61209	/	4	22.05.2009	/	248	3515	17	1	ÇİĞDEMTEPE
283	2009	61154	/	2	22.05.2009	/	250	6946	36	1	BARIŞTEPE
284	2009	61423	/	8	01.06.2009	/	262	3687	19		GÜZELYAKA
285	2009	61419	/	23	05.06.2009	/	268	1719	14		GÜZELYAKA
286	2009	61180	/	6	12.06.2009	/	274	3077	17		BARIŞTEPE
287	2009	61232	/	1	19.06.2009	/	285	899	8		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
288	2009	61535	/	11	19.06.2009	/	287	3390	13	2	PAMUKLAR
289	2009	61273	/	2	26.06.2009	/	297	4937	27	2	KAYALAR
290	2009	61404	/	2	26.06.2009	/	299	1220	7	2	KALETEPE
291	2009	61522	/	2	03.07.2009	/	309	8306	46		PAMUKLAR
292	2009	61368	/	7	16.07.2009	/	338	2896	14	2	AVCILAR
293	2009	61271	/	7	23.07.2009	/	355	1247	10		KAYALAR
294	2009	61152	/	11	24.07.2009	/	361	3251	18	1	BURÇ
295	2009	61313	/	6	05.08.2009	/	383	517	4		GÜVENTEPE
296	2009	61234	/	1	10.08.2009	/	386	1034		1	ÇİĞDEMTEPE
297	2009	61404	/	1	12.08.2009	/	397	250	35	1	KALETEPE
298	2009	61271	/	6	24.08.2009	/	420	1767	15		KAYALAR
299	2009	61148	/	7	26.08.2009	/	426	2852	15	1	BURÇ
300	2009	61318	/	8	28.08.2009	/	428	2244	15		GÜVENTEPE
301	2009	61133	/	1	08.09.2009	/	442	7320	24	9	BURÇ
302	2009	61377	/	2	17.09.2009	/	462	2956	17	1	AVCILAR
303	2009	61321	/	7	29.09.2009	/	491	1181	10		GÜVENTEPE
304	2009	61286	/	3	12.10.2009	/	512	3332	18		GÜVENTEPE
305	2009	61241	/	3	12.10.2009	/	513	4474	26		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
306	2009	61162	/	3	13.10.2009	/	516	4370		1	BARIŞTEPE
307	2009	61187	/	1	15.10.2009	/	521	3377	20	1	BARIŞTEPE
308	2009	61143	/	10	06.11.2009	/	575	6067	37		BURÇ
309	2009	40130	/	1	06.11.2009	/	578	1242	10		GÜZELYAKA
310	2009	61544	/	7	12.11.2009	/	586	5601	20	1	PAMUKLAR
311	2009	60303	/	9	13.11.2009	/	591	1485	10		GÜVENTEPE

Table 89 (continued)

312	2009	61548	/	1	19.11.2009	/	687	11093	62		PAMUKLAR
313	2009	61527	/	2	20.11.2009	/	690	4889	25	2	PAMUKLAR
314	2009	61184	/	5	20.11.2009	/	691	3730	22		BARIŞTEPE
315	2009	61123	/	4	01.12.2009	/	702	5304	29	1	AVCILAR
316	2009	61159	/	1	14.12.2009	/	719	3274	18		BARIŞTEPE
317	2009	61535	/	10	16.12.2009	/	726	4686	18	1	PAMUKLAR
318	2009	61552	/	1	16.12.2009	/	727	3060	17		PAMUKLAR
319	2009	61232	/	5	24.12.2009	/	737	515	4		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
320	2009	61402	/	1	24.12.2009	/	739	771696	17	1	KALETEPE
321	2010	61538	/	7	05.01.2010	/	7	15628	79		PAMUKLAR
322	2010	61181	/	3	11.01.2010	/	10	8128	52		BARIŞTEPE
323	2010	61543	/	4	15.01.2010	/	19	2881	15		PAMUKLAR
324	2010	61297	/	6	15.01.2010	/	20	890	5		GÜVENTEPE
325	2010	61186	/	3	15.01.2010	/	22	2982	17		BARIŞTEPE
326	2010	61535	/	11	18.01.2010	/	23	3390	13	2	PAMUKLAR
327	2010	61164	/	1	20.01.2010	/	28	3552	18	1	BARIŞTEPE
328	2010	61175	/	4	20.01.2010	/	31	3355	16		BARIŞTEPE
329	2010	61535	/	9	20.01.2010	/	32	6575	20	2	PAMUKLAR
330	2010	61401	/	5	22.01.2010	/	37	4093	21	1	KALETEPE
331	2010	61401	/	6	22.01.2010	/	39	4152	21	1	KALETEPE
332	2010	61056	/	10	09.02.2010	/	54	4442	20	2	PAMUKLAR
333	2010	61174	/	4	09.02.2010	/	55	6943	36	1	BARIŞTEPE
334	2010	61254	/	1	16.02.2010	/	65	3928	23		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
335	2010	40131	/	12	23.02.2010	/	138	1090	10		GÜZELYAKA
336	2010	61259	/	4	02.03.2010	/	147	8698	46		KAYALAR
337	2010	61240	/	5	09.03.2010	/	157	5917	33		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
338	2010	61121	/	8	12.03.2010	/	161	3358	20		BARIŞTEPE
339	2010	61297	/	2	16.03.2010	/	167	873	5	3	GÜVENTEPE
340	2010	61422	/	7	18.03.2010	/	170	4839	26		GÜZELYAKA
341	2010	61326	/	1	26.03.2010	/	185	5112	25		GÜVENTEPE
342	2010	61328	/	4	02.04.2010	/	205	5871	37	1	GÜVENTEPE
343	2010	61272	/	2	02.04.2010	/	207	4675	24		KAYALAR
344	2010	61405	/	8	06.04.2010	/	210	2020	14		KALETEPE
345	2010	61149	/	1	15.04.2010	/	234	968	6	1	BURÇ
346	2010	61541	/	2	16.04.2010	/	237	1127	9		PAMUKLAR
347	2010	61407	/	1	16.04.2010	/	239	6483	36		KALETEPE
348	2010	61288	/	1	19.04.2010	/	243	5927	40		GÜVENTEPE
349	2010	8064	/	16	22.04.2010	/	256	621	4		IŞINLAR
350	2010	61538	/	7	28.04.2010	/	264	15628	79		PAMUKLAR
351	2010	61520	/	1	03.05.2010	/	280	6126	27	5	PAMUKLAR
352	2010	61053	/	2	07.05.2010	/	289	3033	16	1	BURÇ
353	2010	61171	/	1	07.05.2010	/	290	4129	24		BARIŞTEPE
354	2010	61543	/	6	27.05.2010	/	370	3008	17		PAMUKLAR
355	2010	61224	/	2	28.05.2010	/	383	6487	38	1	ÇİĞDEMTEPE
356	2010	41793	/	16	01.06.2010	/	388	1241	8		BURÇ
357	2010	61159	/	2	01.06.2010	/	393	3647	18	1	BARIŞTEPE
358	2010	61144	/	5	08.06.2010	/	409	7164	41		BURÇ

Table 89 (continued)

359	2010	61164	/	3	08.06.2010	/	410	4366	23		BARIŞTEPE
360	2010	41403	/	9	09.06.2010	/	414	4101	23	1	KALETEPE
361	2010	61184	/	2	30.06.2010	/	490	3471	18		BARIŞTEPE
362	2010	61292	/	8	02.07.2010	/	495	4408	24		GÜVENTEPE
363	2010	61209	/	5	06.07.2010	/	501	2860	15		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
364	2010	61185	/	7	07.07.2010	/	502	5037	29		BARIŞTEPE
365	2010	61122	/	14	07.07.2010	/	516	5370	29		BURÇ
366	2010	61310	/	3	09.07.2010	/	526	2536	14		GÜVENTEPE
367	2010	41793	/	25	09.07.2010	/	532	9262	38		BURÇ
368	2010	41793	/	25	09.07.2010	/	533	325			BURÇ
369	2010	61220	/	7	13.07.2010	/	540	3200	17		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
370	2010	61527	/	9	13.07.2010	/	541	7210	44	1	PAMUKLAR
371	2010	61216	/	1	13.07.2010	/	558	8040	41	2	ÇİĞDEMTEPE
372	2010	61376	/	4	16.07.2010	/	564	8599	44	1	AVCILAR
373	2010	61376	/	4	16.07.2010	/	565	109			AVCILAR
374	2010	61163	/	2	16.07.2010	/	569	135			BARIŞTEPE
375	2010	61163	/	2	16.07.2010	/	570	135			BARIŞTEPE
376	2010	61277	/	3	19.07.2010	/	576	6338	38		KAYALAR
377	2010	61223	/	18	21.07.2010	/	581	2244	14		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
378	2010	61543	/	1	26.07.2010	/	589	2478	19		PAMUKLAR
379	2010	61543	/	1	26.07.2010	/	590	94			PAMUKLAR
380	2010	61291	/	3	26.07.2010	/	591	5229	27		GÜVENTEPE
381	2010	61522	/	11	29.07.2010	/	611	15468	67	1	PAMUKLAR
382	2010	61118	/	4	30.07.2010	/	618	1679	12		BARIŞTEPE
383	2010	61232	/	3	13.08.2010	/	825	3093	18		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
384	2010	61162	/	1	16.08.2010	/	839	5294	31		BARIŞTEPE
385	2010	61270	/	1	17.08.2010	/	840	4020	19	1	KAYALAR
386	2010	61422	/	1	25.08.2010	/	863	5438	31		GÜZELYAKA
387	2010	61324	/	5	26.08.2010	/	869	731	5		GÜVENTEPE
388	2010	61542	/	3	27.08.2010	/	871	6207	35		PAMUKLAR
389	2010	61246	/	10	13.09.2010	/	905	3666	15	5	ÇİĞDEMTEPE
390	2010	61367	/	7	17.09.2010	/	907	12824	72		AVCILAR
391	2010	61367	/	7	17.09.2010	/	908	482			AVCILAR
392	2010	61211	/	2	17.09.2010	/	909	4084	23		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
393	2010	61211	/	2	17.09.2010	/	910	185			ÇİĞDEMTEPE
394	2010	61146	/	3	17.09.2010	/	911	5677	33		BURÇ
395	2010	61160	/	2	22.09.2010	/	918	2090	13		BARIŞTEPE
396	2010	61160	/	2	22.09.2010	/	919	131			BARIŞTEPE
397	2010	61210	/	1	24.09.2010	/	926	987	10		ÇİĞDEMTEPE
398	2010	61184	/	3	01.10.2010	/	944	803	5		BARIŞTEPE
399	2010	61520	/	2	05.10.2010	/	948	5428	31		PAMUKLAR
400	2010	61520	/	2	05.10.2010	/	949	186			PAMUKLAR
401	2010	61256	/	2	05.10.2010	/	951	3431	20		KALETEPE
402	2010	61294	/	5	11.10.2010	/	961	3931	24		GÜVENTEPE
403	2010	61140	/	6	22.10.2010	/	982	4661	26	1	BURÇ

Source: Municipality of Yenimahalle, Department of Building Permits

APPENDIX E

LAND-USE DECISIONS IN ŞENTEPE URBAN TRANSFORMATION PROJECT

Table 90: Barıştepe Ve Burç Mahalleleri 1. Etap Arazi Kullanım Kararları

ALAN KULLANIMLARI	MEVCUT (M ²)	ÖNERİ (M ²)	
KONUT ALANLARI	422.720	KONUT	402.650
		KONUT+TİCARET	22.350
		TOPLAM	425.000
PAZAR ALANI	2720	2720	
EĞİTİM	21.770	22.900	
RESMİ KURUM ALANI	4410	9570	
SAĞLIK TESİSİ	5360	6150	
SOSYO-KÜLTÜREL TESİS	1010	1020	
DİNİ TESİS	4500	4500	
YEŞİL ALANLAR	28.670	42.750	
SPOR ALANI	2270	6900	
OTOPARK	0	1950	
YOLLAR+MEYDANLAR	257.100	227.370	
TOPLAM	750.830	750.830	

D.İ.E. 2000 YILI NÜFUS SAYIMINA GÖRE YERLEŞİK NÜFUS : 10.797 KİŞİ

Table 91: Ergenekon, Kayalar Ve Güventepe Mahalleleri 2. Etap Arazi Kullanım Kararları

ALAN KULLANIMLARI	MEVCUT (m ²)		ÖNERİ (m ²)	
	ADET	(m ²)	ADET	(m ²)
KONUT ALANLARI	506.000		506.000	
KREŞ ALANI	2	3770	1	1900
İLKÖĞRETİM ALANI	4	21141	4	24489
LİSE	-	-	1	7787
SOSYO-KÜLTÜREL TESİS	2	3833	2	8489
SAĞLIK TESİSİ	2	3492	2	3492
DİNİ TESİS	5	5395	5	5395
PARK/ÇOCUK BAHÇESİ	39	42724	2	45365
BELEDİYE HİZMET A.		-		6477
İDARİ TESİS	1	3208		-
TEKNİK ALTYAPI	6	125	3	1270
TRT ALANI	1	5400		-
TİCARİ REKREASYON	3	27900		37048
YOLLAR+MEYDANLAR		286499		261775
TOPLAM		909487		909487

D.İ.E. 2000 YILI NÜFUS SAYIMINA GÖRE : 28.736 KİŞİ

Table 92: Çiğdemtepe Mahallesi 3. Etap Arazi Kullanım Kararları

ALAN KULLANIMLARI	MEVCUT(m2)		ÖNERİ(m2)	
	ADET	ALAN	ADET	ALAN
KONUT ALANLARI	347.200		347.200	
İLKÖĞRETİM ALANI	2	13.307	2	14.000
ORTAÖĞRETİM ALANI	1	40.500	1	40.500
SAĞLIK ALANI	0	0	1	3.650
DİNİ TESİS ALANI	4	2455	4	4.160
YEŞİL ALAN	23	16.030	5	25.832
SPOR ALANI	1	3.868	1	3.868
TİCARET ALANI	0	0	1	3.525
BELEDİYE HİZMET ALANI	0	0	2	2.438
RESMİ KURUM ALANI	0	0	2	2.195
TEKNİK ALTYAPI ALANI	4	125	4	207
YOLLAR	171.840		148.472	
TOPLAM	594.324		594.324	

D.İ.E. 2000 YILI NÜFUS SAYIMINA GÖRE : 9.047 KİŞİ

Table 93: Avcılar Ve Kaletpe Mahalleleri 4. Etap Arazi Kullanım Kararları

ALAN KULLANIMLARI	MEVCUT (M ²)	ÖNERİ (M ²)
KONUT ALANLARI	392.283	392.283
PAZAR ALANI	2353	3475
EĞİTİM	20.052	20.204
RESMİ KURUM ALANI	0	8002
SAĞLIK TESİSİ	2191	14825
DİNİ TESİS	5681	6239
PARK VE SPOR ALANI	27.026	28.218
OTOPARK	0	1350
T.A.A.	900	2434
YOLLAR+MEYDANLAR	184.027	158.616
TOPLAM	634.513	634.513

D.İ.E. 2000 YILI NÜFUS SAYIMINA GÖRE : 9.047 KİŞİ

Table 94: Anadolu Ve Güzelyaka Mahalleleri 5. Etap Arazi Kullanım Kararları

ALAN KULLANIMLARI	MEVCUT (M ²)	ÖNERİ (M ²)
KONUT ALANLARI	323.274	323.274
EĞİTİM	10.980	11.220
RESMİ KURUM ALANI	0	1545
SAĞLIK TESİSİ	3306	3306
DİNİ TESİS	2369	2370
PARK VE SPOR ALANI	6342	6500
YOLLAR+MEYDANLAR	217692	209319
TOPLAM	561734	561734

D.İ.E. 2000 YILI NÜFUS SAYIMINA GÖRE : 13.563 KİŞİ

CURRICULUM VITAE

PERSONAL INFORMATION

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Nationality: Turkish (TC)

Date and Place of Birth: 10 August 1978, Malatya

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EDUCATION

Degree	Institution	Year of Graduation
MS	METU City Planning	2003
BS	METU City and Regional Planning	2000
High School	Ari Science Lycee, Ankara	1996

WORK EXPERIENCE

RESEARCH ASSISTANT, Middle East Technical University, Department of City and Regional Planning (July, 2004- present)

RESEARCH ASSISTANT, Selçuk University, Department of City and Regional Planning (December, 2002- July, 2004)

CITY PLANNER, Megaron Architecture and Planning Company (October, 2002- December, 2002)

INTERNSHIPS:

1. Housing Development Administration (TOKI): "Design Process of Eryaman Housing Estate Projects", September 1999, Ankara

2. Middle East Technical University, Department of City and Regional Planning Summer Internship: "Collecting data and analysis works for Bursa Metropolitan Area Planning Project", August 1998, Ankara

3. Middle East Technical University, Department of City and Regional Planning Summer Internship: 'Internship of Topography', Ankara, June 1997

FOREIGN LANGUAGES

Advanced English, Beginner Italian

PUBLICATIONS, SEMINARS and RESEARCH EXPERIENCE

"Redeveloping to Achieve, Redeveloping to Avoid: A Case Study in The Şentepe Squatter Neighbourhood of Ankara" Paper presented in AESOP 2012 Congress, Ankara, Turkey, July 2012

"Urban Transformation of Informal Housing Settlements in Turkey", UC Berkeley IURD Visiting Scholars Roundtable Series Seminars, Berkeley, USA, April, 2009

"Housing Management Models and Household Behaviour", Unpublished Master Thesis, ODTÜ, December, 2003

"Spatial Quality of Housing Environs in a Squatter Prevention Zone-Neighbourhood of Bosna-Hersek", Quality of Urban Life; Policy versus Practice Conference; İTÜ, Istanbul (with Erdem, R., Ter, G., Deniz, K.), December, 2003

"Approaches in Housing Management", The General Assembly for Housing, May 2002, The Chamber of City Planners, Yıldız Technical University and Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Istanbul, Turkey.

Konya Planning Discussions Panel; 'Effects of Planning Decisions on City Identity; Konya case", Municipality of Greater Konya (with Erdem, R., Ter, G., Deniz, K., Çakırcı Y.), 2003

CERTIFICATES

AutoCad Certificate, Chamber of City Planners, July 1998

Worldbank On-line Course Certificate of Participation on "Natural Disaster Risk Management- Comprehensive Disaster Risk Management Framework" The World Bank Institute & MEER Project Implementation Unit, March 28- May 2, 2005