

INTEGRATED EVALUATION OF URBAN REGENERATION PROJECTS:
CASE STUDY OF SULUKULE NEIGHBORHOOD IN ISTANBUL

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CASE STUDY OF SULUKULE NEIGHBORHOOD IN ISTANBUL**

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ABSTRACT

INTEGRATED EVALUATION OF URBAN REGENERATION PROJECTS: CASE STUDY OF SULUKULE NEIGHBORHOOD IN ISTANBUL

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The rapid increase of population and urbanization as well as many other contextual factors has led to the urban decline phenomenon. Under rubrics such as urban transformation, the urban regeneration projects have been one of the widely and frequently utilized approaches, which perpetuated within the recent decades to cope with the phenomenon, and this includes both the developed and the developing countries. However, there always have been different arguments and criticism about the aim and the outputs of these projects, which may pose questions such as: how far are these interventions meeting their promising results? Urban regeneration literature suggests that a regeneration project requires a collaboration of several main components including physical, environmental, economic and social improvements to achieve desired results. Thus, it is possible to argue that there should be a balance among collaboration of several factors to meet the desired goals a regeneration project is aiming to achieve. This is referred as an integrated approach in this thesis. The main concern of this thesis is to address the possible aspects of incompatibilities between expected and real outcomes of regenerated projects in Turkey, particularly in Sulukule neighborhood in Istanbul, and in parallel to that it aims to extract the essential components of urban regeneration projects. This thesis proposes that as there is not just one single cause for decline and deprivation of urban areas in terms

of both social and physical aspects then urban regeneration projects needs to be addressed in different manners. Accordingly, development of an integrated approach to both identify the causing aspects of the decline phenomenon and the possible socio-physical solutions within the scope of urban regeneration projects can enhance the result of these projects.

Keywords: Urban Regeneration, Integrated Approach, Physical, Environmental, Economic and Social Regeneration

ÖZ

KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM PROJELERİNİN BÜTÜNLEŞİK DEĞERLENDİRİLMESİ: İSTANBUL SULUKULE SEMTİ ÖRNEĞİ

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Nüfus ve kentleşmede yaşanan hızlı artışta olduğu gibi pek çok bağlamsal faktör, kentsel gerileme olgusuna yol açmıştır. Kentsel dönüşüm gibi başlıklar altında, kentsel dönüşüm projeleri, son yıllarda hem gelişmiş hem de gelişmekte olan ülkelerde bu olgu ile başa çıkmaya devam eden yaygın ve sık kullanılmakta olan yaklaşımlardan biri olmuştur. Bunun yanında, bu olgu bağlamında gerçekleşen projelerin amaç ve çıktıları bakımından her zaman farklı tartışmalar ve eleştiriler yönelmiştir; bu müdahalelerin vaat ettikleri sonuçlara ne derecede ulaşabilmektedir? Kentsel dönüşüm literatürü, dönüşüm projesinin, istenen sonuçları elde etmek için fiziksel, çevresel, ekonomik ve sosyal iyileştirmeler dahil olmak üzere birçok ana bileşenin işbirliğini gerektirdiğini ortaya koymaktadır. Dolayısıyla, bir dönüşüm projesinin gerçekleştirmeyi amaçladığı hedefleri sağlaması için çeşitli faktörlerin işbirliği ve denge içerisinde olması gerekliliğini tartışmak mümkündür. Bu durum, tezde entegre yaklaşım olarak adlandırılmaktadır. Bu tezin ana konusu ve amacı, özellikle İstanbul'daki Sulukule semtinde, Türkiye'de dönüşüm projelerinin beklenen ve gerçek sonuçları arasındaki uyumsuzluklarının olası yönlerini ele almak ve kentsel dönüşüm projelerinin temel bileşenlerini ortaya çıkarmaktır. Bu tez, kentsel alanların hem toplumsal hem de fiziki açıdan azalmasının ve yoksun bırakılmasının

sadece tek bir nedeni olmadıđından, kentsel dönüşüm projelerinin farklı şekillerde de ele alınması gerektiđini önermektedir. Bu doğrultuda, kentsel dönüşüm projeleri kapsamında, düşünüş olgusunun nedenlerini ve olası sosyo-fiziksel çözümleri tanımlamak için entegre yaklaşım geliştirilmesi, bu tür projelerin sonucunu artırabilir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Kentsel Dönüşüm, Entegre Yaklaşım, Fiziksel, Çevresel, Ekonomik ve Sosyal Dönüşüm

To My Parents ...

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Main argument of the study

The rapid increase of population and urbanization as well as many other contextual factors have led to the urban decline phenomenon. Under rubrics such as urban transformation, the urban regeneration projects have been one of the widely and frequently utilized approaches, which perpetuated within the recent decades to cope with the phenomenon, and this includes both the developed and the developing countries. However, there always have been different arguments and criticism about the aim and the outputs of these projects, which may pose questions such as: how far are these interventions meeting their promising results?

Urban regeneration literature suggests that a regeneration project requires a collaboration of several main components including physical, environmental, economic and social improvements to achieve desired results. However, the significance and relevancy of each factor differs from one project to other due to special requirements of every single project. Moreover, developing a proper relation among several actors is of great importance. For instance, a successful environmental regeneration will not guarantee a desired social rehabilitation or vice versa. Thus, it is possible to argue that there should be a balance among collaboration of several factors to meet the desired goals a regeneration project is aiming to achieve. This is referred as an integrated approach in this thesis.

Sulukule neighborhood regeneration project in Istanbul, Turkey, is one of the recent interventions, which this thesis aims to consider and evaluate its promised results. The project has received controversial reactions, as there are many arguments about the goals of the project and its actual results whereas the majority suggesting the

project was a failure and ended with a gentrification process, through which the majority of the former local people no longer live in the newly developed area.

On the back of this, the close investigation of the project suggests that even though the gentrification process can be regarded as one of the actual outputs of the project but, this does not preclude the main goals of the project nor physical improvements which the project has achieved. In this sense, it is the main goal of this thesis to develop an integrated approach in evaluating the regeneration project of Sulukule and in parallel to that, the extraction of the essential components of the urban regeneration projects.

1.2 Scope and aims of the study

It is evident that the most of the urban regeneration projects in the developing countries are conducted in deprived and declining areas. These areas mainly due to the economic problems are suffered from various social, physical and environmental problems. Turkey is among these developing countries, which has initiated projects to regenerate these areas. Zeytinburnu, Tarlabasi, Fener-Balat and Sulukule neighborhoods are some of the instances of such projects. In most of the cases design, policies and execution of the regeneration projects have been variously criticized by the local people, academicians, activists and media. Whereas some argued about the social aspects of these projects, others argued about the physical design of them. Some even criticized the totality of the projects in terms of both social and physical aspects, questioning the initiation of these projects at the first place.

Can these projects be regarded as legitimate interventions into the deprived and declining areas? Are the aims of these projects and the associated interventions responsive to the needs and problems of the local people? What constitute the priorities within these projects? Do they have to consider the social cohesion of these neighborhoods or their physical improvement? If yes, how the aims and associated

interventions of these projects can better be addressed in terms of the needs and the problems of the local people?

While it is plausible to state that deprived and declining urban areas need proper interventions, there is evidence that there exists incongruity and incompatibility between design requirements and promised results of projects subjected to regeneration and actual outputs of those projects after regeneration. The main concern of this thesis is to address the possible aspects of incompatibilities between expected and real outcomes of regenerated projects in Turkey, particularly in Sulukule neighborhood in Istanbul, and in parallel to that it aims to extract the essential components of urban regeneration projects.

Today by the rapid increase of population in urban areas and the fast changing condition of urbanization processes, socio-physical erosion and decay have become an inevitable consequence. This, in turn, underlines the significance of interventions such as urban regeneration projects aiming to address the physical, environmental, social and economic issues within the declining and deprived areas.

This thesis proposes that as there is not just one single cause for decline and deprivation of urban areas in terms of both social and physical aspects then urban regeneration projects needs to be addressed in different manners. Accordingly, development of an integrated approach to both identify the causing aspects of the decline phenomenon and the possible socio-physical solutions within the scope of urban regeneration projects can enhance the result of these projects.

1.3 Method of the study

A case study method is used as a research strategy of this research. The Regeneration Project of the Sulukule Districts Programme is the case whose key component of integrated urban regeneration is evaluated in this research. In order to perform a comprehensive and compendium analysis, this research categorizes the aforementioned factors i.g. social, economic, physical and environmental, into two

groups: social and physical components. It is worth mentioning that social and economic requirements are included within two main groups according to relevancy of their corresponding key components. In order to develop the key components of integrated urban regeneration in both physical and social context, this research uses a specific theoretical framework, which will be explained in detail in Chapter 3.

In order to assess the physical and social improvement of the project, the research develops a model, which identifies the key component of integrated urban regeneration projects. Then, it evaluates the physical, environmental, social and economic problems, needs and problems of the district regarding key components of integrated urban regeneration projects identified in the study. In doing so, the research seeks to find out how far the Sulukule Regeneration Project can respond to the needs of the district and can find the solutions to its problems. In doing so this research mostly relied on the results, observations and analysis of different sources which constitute census data, written reports, books, articles, researches, formal studies or evaluations of the same site under study, articles appearing in the media and websites related to the project and agencies which are under investigation.

1.4 Structure of the thesis

Chapter 2 aims to define urban regeneration as an urban transformation strategy, to identify its key principles and explain the evolution of urban transformation strategies over the years.

Chapter 3 focus on different approaches and alternative interventions of urban regeneration projects developed over the last years/ the chapter first focus on and explain strategic and partnership approaches and integrated approaches with its key components. Second it explains the different alternatives of interventions for regeneration projects of deprived areas that are “people based interventions” and “area based interventions”. Then it identifies the key component of the urban regeneration projects according to features of the integrated urban regeneration in terms of frameworks and interventions of projects.

Chapter 4 first introduces Sulukule by giving historic overview of the district, then outlines the neighborhood and community's characteristics and its social-economic and physical-environmental problems before the regeneration project. Then it summarizes the urban regeneration process of Sulukule. As this thesis aims to have an integrated approach toward the Sulukule project this chapter also is set out to investigate the physical aspect of the project and to see whether they corresponded to the needs and habits of the local people of the region, and finally both social and physical aspects of the project based on criteria of the integrated urban regeneration will be discussed.

Chapter 5 concludes the thesis. It provides an overview of the research by summarizing the main focus of the thesis, the questions and argument of the research and research method. Second it summarizes the findings of the research. Finally it makes a discussion on the physical and social improvements of the urban regeneration projects in Turkey referring to Sulukule regeneration project and it makes recommendations for future urban regeneration projects.

CHAPTER 2

REVIEWING URBAN REGENERATION LITERATURE AND ITS HISTORY IN TURKEY

2.1 Definition of the urban regeneration

Urban areas are complex and dynamic systems. An urban area is an economic unit characterized by densely inhabited “urban cores” and “hinterlands” whose labor market is highly integrated with the cores (Montgomery, 2008; Weeks, 2010; Roberts, *The Evolution, Definition And Purpose of Urban Regeneration*, 2000)

As urban areas change and transformation under the influence of physical, social, environmental, economic and even political and ideological factors, they can also cause many changes and transformations (Quigley, 2009). The changes and transformations in the urban space are sometimes increasing the space and quality of life; sometimes as an economic, social, environmental and physical collapse and deterioration of the space. Urban transformation, as a phenomenon, occurs constantly at a certain time interval. However, in urban planning literature, the urban transformation is seen as a response to economic, social, physical and environmental degradation and deterioration in a certain period of time in urban areas (Laursen, 2008)

The neoliberal policies of the privatization and the market maker, who has blocked social life for more than twenty years, are seeing urban space as a new area of accumulation, while cities are undergoing radical changes in this direction (Storper, 2016). In the recent period, a significant part of the legal arrangements made in the direction of neoliberal policies in developed country has focused on the reorganization or "Regeneration" of cities and urban spaces. Namely, cities are regenerated or renewal of the cities. This is the most striking indication that the

notion of urban transformation is constantly expressed by local politicians, national politicians, construction companies, and international financiers (Cordes, 2017).

As a dynamic and cluttered socio-spatial structure, cities are in a continuous process of change and transformation. Besides, the formation of healthy and livable cities/urban spaces in the geographical regions that have a very problematic urbanization experience is a necessity, which requires serious transformation processes (Tsenkova, 2002). At this point, although urban planning discipline and practice have a structure that incorporates the dynamics of spatial transformation, the dominant urban transformation is a far cry from the inclusive and holistic approach to planning the rationale.

Before explaining the concept of urban regeneration, the concepts of city, urbanization, and transformation that this concept contains will be examined and the importance of urban conversion concept will be mentioned. In the first place, there is not a single definition of the concept of the urban that has been known by everyone (Frey & Zimmer, 2000). However, the definitions of cities made by sociologists have some common characteristics. One of them is "*a certain population multiplicity, density, division of labor, specialization and not being homogeneous*" (Toprak, 1998, p. 5; Ertürk H. , 1997, pp. 44-45; Montgomery, 2008). Ruşen Keleş describes the city in the following way: *the place where people live their lives as a piece of land," and that the growing structures of cities as living things are constantly changing social units* (Keleş, 2004, p. 73). According to Sarıbay "*city is a reflection of cultural formations*" (Sarıbay, 2002, p. 37).

There are many different definitions for the term of urban regeneration. According to the Linchfield (1992) *...urban regeneration is a need to better understand the processes of urban degradation and compromise on the results in the transformation to be achieved* (p.19). Gugler says that (1996) "*Urban regeneration is a method of coordinated solution to the problems that are concentrated in urban depression*" (p.4-5), Roberts mentions that (2000) "*Urban regeneration is a comprehensive and*

integrated vision and action,” to try to ensure continuous improvement of an area's economic, physical, social and environmental conditions '(p.26).

There are two definition of ‘city’ defined by the Turkish Language Society. These definitions were made in the Dictionary of Sociological Terms and in the Dictionary of Urban Science Terms. According to the Dictionary of Sociological Terms, city is defined as (Akkar, 2006); *"A settlement with a population that more crowded than 10,000, based on non-agricultural activities, especially activities and service activities”, and according to the dictionary of urban science terms; It is defined as ð settlement unit which is in constant social development and whose population is covered by the needs of settlement, marriage, migration, work, recreation, and entertainment, few people have agricultural affairs, the population is more concentrated in terms of population" (pp.29-39).*

According to Roberts (2000, p.22) as an urban transformation strategy, urban regeneration has some characteristics:

- “An interventionist activity
- An activity which straddles the public, private and community sectors;
- An activity which is likely to experience considerable changes in its institutional structure over time in response to changing economic, social, environmental and political circumstances
- A means of mobilizing collective effort and providing the basic for the negotiation of appropriate solutions
- A means of determining policies and action designed to improve the condition of urban areas and developing the institutional structures necessary to support the preparation of specific proposals”

Urban Renewal goes out of these definitions; We can describe it as a whole of the strategies and actions implemented to improve the economic, social, physical and environmental conditions of the urban space with collapse and degradation through comprehensive and integrated approaches (Basset & J. R. Short, 1980). For this

reason, the urban transformation is concerned with the planning and management of urban areas that are very much present in the planning and development of new urban areas (Inam A. , 2013).

2.2 History of urban transformation

During decades after World War II, urban transformation projects have focused on specific goals. In this context, urban transformation has shaped as reconstructing between 1950-1960, revitalization between 1960-1970, renewal between 1970-1980, redevelopment between 1980-1990, regeneration between 1990-2000 and recession in regeneration after 2000 (Stohr, 1989; Roberts, Sykes , & Granger, Urban Regeneration, 2015).

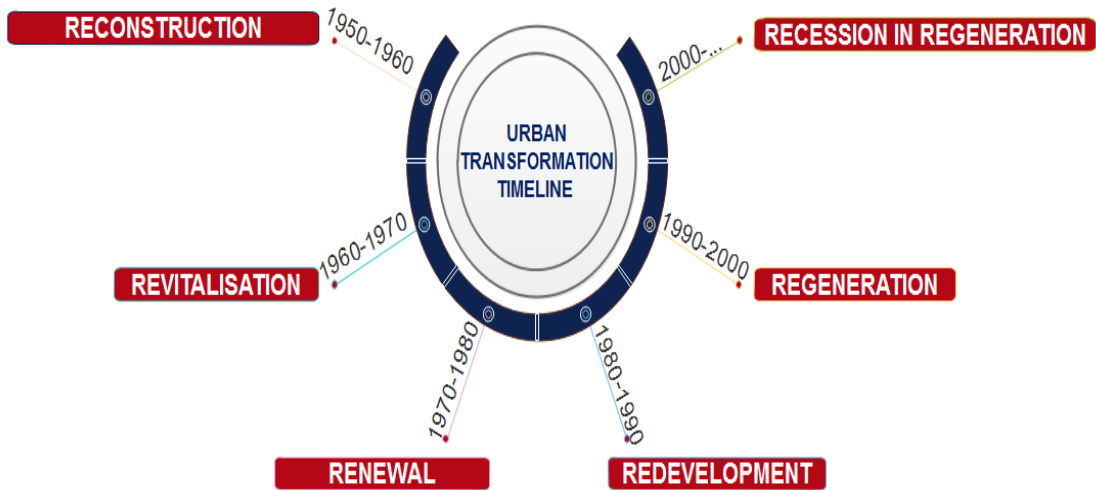


Table 2-1:Urban transformation timeline in the world

The above-mentioned urban transformation diagram of the historical development process also shows that the urban transformation is shaped according to the needs of the time. For this reason, the purpose and strategy of urban transformation projects vary temporally and spatially.

2.2.1 Reconstruction (1950-1960)

In this period of time reconstruction under the policy types are as follows (Roberts, Sykes , & Granger, Urban Regeneration, 2015);

- Major Strategy and Orientation: Reconstruction and extension of former areas of towns and urban frequently based on a master plan about conurbation or suburban growth,
- Key Actors and Stakeholders: National and local Government, private sector developers and contractors,
- Spatial Level of Activity: Emphasis on local and site levels,
- Economic Focus: Public sector investment with some private sector involvement,
- Social Content: Improvement or development of housing and living standards,
- Physical Emphasis: Replacement of closest or inner areas and peripheral improvement or development,
- Environmental Approach: Greening and landscaping.

2.2.2 Revitalization (1960-1970)

Revitalization is the 2nd phase of modern urban transformation. In this period the policy types and the period's equivalents are as follows (Roberts, Sykes , & Granger, Urban Regeneration, 2015);

- Major Strategy and Orientation: Continuation of 1950s paradigm, suburban and peripheral growth, some attempts on rehabilitation,
- Key Actors and Stakeholders: Move towards a greater balance between private and public sector,
- Spatial Level of Activity: regional level of activity emerged,
- Economic Focus: going on 1950s with growing influence of private investment,

- Social Content: Social and welfare investment
- Physical Emphasis: Continuation from 1950s,
- Environmental Approach: Selective improvements.

2.2.3 Renewal (1970-1980)

Policy types in this period are as follows (Roberts, Sykes , & Granger, Urban Regeneration, 2015);

- Major Strategy and Orientation: Focus on site renewal and neighborhood schemes
- Key Actors and Stakeholders: Growing role of private sector and decentralization in local administrations,
- Spatial Level of Activity: At the beginning regional and local levels, later more local importance,
- Economic Focus: Resource limits in public sector and growth of private sector,
- Social Content: Community based action and greater enhancement,
- Physical Emphasis: More extensive renewal of older urban areas,
- Environmental Approach: environmental improvement with some breakthrough or innovations.

2.2.4 Redevelopment (1980-1990)

Policy types in this period are as follows (Roberts, Sykes , & Granger, Urban Regeneration, 2015);

- Major Strategy and Orientation: Focus on site renewal and neighborhood schemes
- Key Actors and Stakeholders: growing role of private sector and decentralization in local administrations,
- Spatial Level of Activity: at the beginning regional and local levels, later more local importance,

- Economic Focus: resource limits in public sector and growth of private sector,
- Social Content: Community based action and greater enhancement,
- Physical Emphasis: more extensive renewal of older urban areas,
- Environmental Approach: environmental improvement with some breakthrough or innovations,

2.2.5 Regeneration (1990-2000)

Policy types in this period are as follows (Roberts, Sykes , & Granger, Urban Regeneration, 2015);

- Major Strategy and Orientation: More comprehensive form of policy and practice,
- Key Actors and Stakeholders: Partnership the dominant approach with a growing number of Government agencies,
- Spatial Level of Activity: Reintroduction of strategic perspective,
- Economic Focus: Greater balance between public, private and voluntary funding,
- Social Content: Emphasis on the role of community,
- Physical Emphasis: Initially more modest than 1980s and then increasing scale,
- Environmental Approach: Introduction of broader idea of environment in context of sustainable development.

2.2.6 Recession in regeneration (2000-...)

Policy types in this period are as follows (Roberts, Sykes , & Granger, Urban Regeneration, 2015);

- Major Strategy and Orientation: Restriction on all activities,
- Key Actors and Stakeholders: More emphasis on private sector, funding and voluntary effort,
- Spatial Level of Activity: More localist initially with developing sub-regional

activity,

- Economic Focus: Private sector dominant with selective Government funding,
- Social Content: Emphasis on local initiatives and encouragement of third sector,
- Physical Emphasis: Generally smaller scale schemes, but larger projects returning,
- Environmental Approach: General acceptance of sustainable development model.

2.3 Aims and principles of urban regeneration

Urban regeneration may have positive effects on urban areas which are uncontrolled and unplanned (MacGregor, 2010). The uncontrolled urbanization may bring with it several problems that need to be addressed by planned urban development (Kötter, 2004). Among the major problems that uncontrolled urbanization causes is the lack of quality of urban life.

Thus, urban regeneration principally aims at finding solutions to physical, social, economic and environmental problems of cities. In particular, one of the most common purposes of urban regeneration projects is to transform urban quarters, where mostly low-income citizens live, in order to provide a better living environment for urban residents. Although with varying features, urban transformation projects are usually implemented to restore the quality of urban life in depressed areas of cities, which are losing their functions and intensity of use, considering economic, physical and social aspects (Gürün & Kara, 2010).

One of the main reasons behind decay or decline of urban areas is the deterioration in social and spatial conditions of certain inner-city parts. In this respect, urban regeneration process starts with investigation of the reasons of social and spatial deterioration in order to find the most appropriate solution to prevent urban decline. Other main purposes of urban regeneration include improvement of urban areas in

line with changing life standards and necessities and to prevent redundant urban enlargement (Akkar, 2006). Roberts (2000) provides a systematic explanation on the common aims of urban regeneration practices as follows:

- Setting links between physical structure and social problems in urban space
- Responding to changing needs of urban space
- Providing economic, social and physical regeneration and improving the quality of urban areas.
- Making strategies to get maximum benefit from effective use of urban land
- Organize the planning process and participation

In order to fulfill the above-mentioned objectives, an urban regeneration process should be organized based on the following principles (Roberts, 2000);

- Urban transformation should be based on a detailed analysis and preliminary study of the urban area.
- Urban transformation should aim to harmonize the city's physical texture, historical-cultural values, social structure, economic base and environmental conditions simultaneously.
- For this simultaneous adaptation, the urban transformation needs to be addressed with a comprehensive and holistic strategy, balanced and positive aspects should be focused on solving the problems.
- Urban transformation must meet local needs, overcome the local problems and be compatible with the needs of local people, such as the housing demand welfare and health conditions.
- It is necessary to use the city's natural, economic, human power, land and other resources in the most efficient way possible.
- It is also necessary to protect and revitalize the physical and historical qualities of the city's buildings.

- Consensus should be reached with local government and the public at the maximum level in urban transformation, and participation in the project at the highest possible level is required and it is crucial point of transformation projects.
- It is necessary to cooperate with local shareholders. Legal rights should be protected; partnership or similar models should ensure strong participation and cooperation of local people.
- The urban transformation project must be manageable in the long term. Moreover, urban transformation should be compatible with changes and developments depending on internal and external influences.

Beyond these principles there is a need to understand the importance of ‘the uniqueness of place’ (Roberts, 2000). Although the problems of urban areas look alike, in fact they are the consequences of many different economic, social and environmental processes. Therefore, the solutions to urban problems should be searched considering the different economic, social and environmental potentials in the urban areas. Each decision taken should be unique to the local area.

Roberts (2000) has provided an illustration of interaction between the above-mentioned principles and other factors. Table 2-2 also indicates the variety of themes and topics involved in urban regeneration and the multiplicity of interrelated outputs.

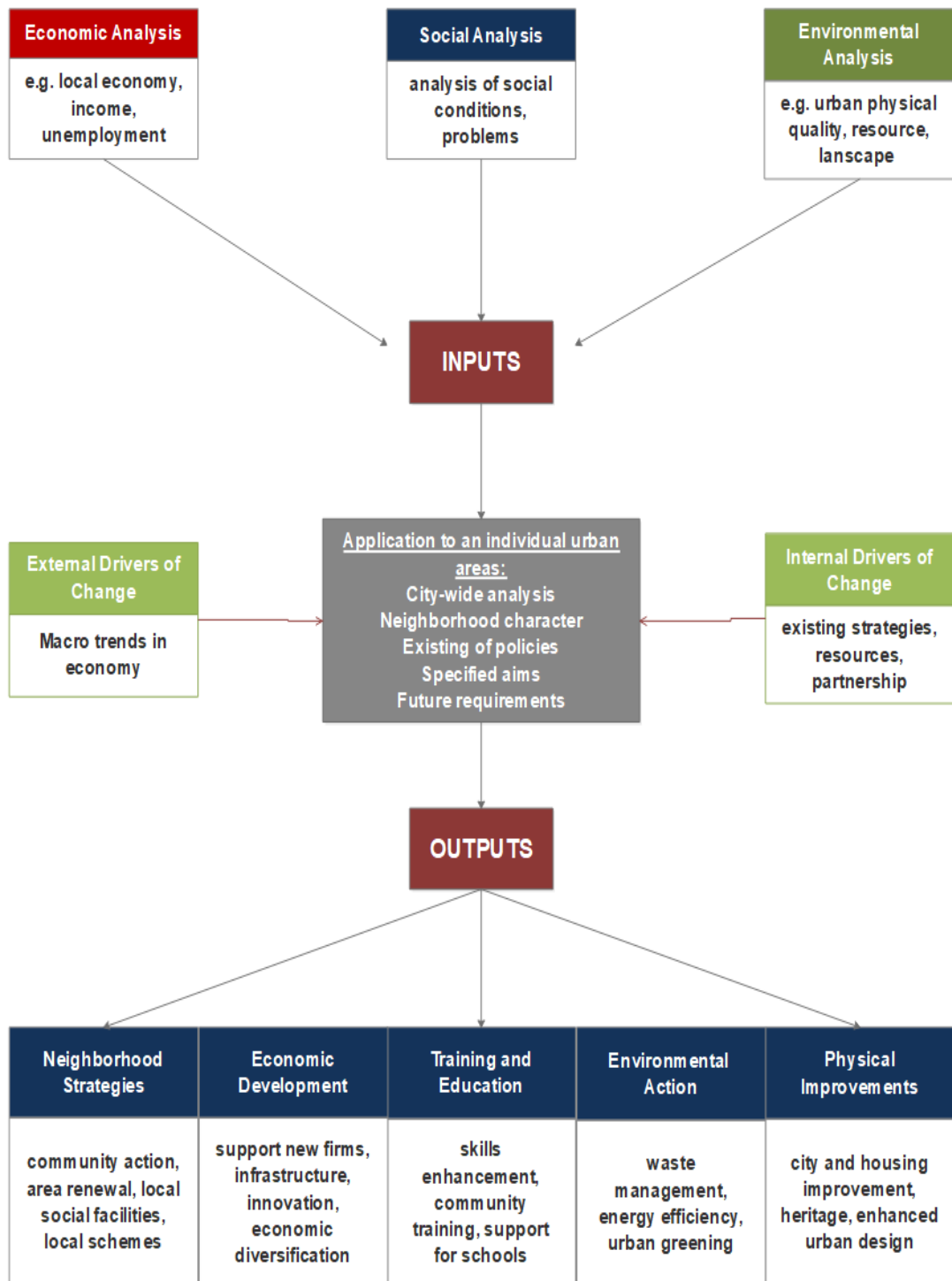


Table 2-2: Roberts's Urban Regeneration Process Model (2000, p.20)

According to the Union of Chambers of Architects and Engineers of Turkey (TMMOB-Türkiye Mimarlar ve Mühendisler Odası Birliği), five main purposes of Urban Regeneration have emerged to serve (TMMOB, 2008; Roberts, Sykes , & Granger, Urban Regeneration, 2015);

- It prevents urban areas from becoming depressed by investigating the causes of social degradation, and by removing it. One of the most important reasons for the collapse of urban areas is the social collapse. Urban transformation projects mainly explore the causes of social degradation; And to find solutions to the problems of urban collapse and deterioration by making proposals to prevent this deterioration.
- A lot of elements that make up city texture are to respond to the need for constant physical change. In other words, urban transformation projects aim to redevelop urban parts in accordance with the new physical, social, economic, environmental and infrastructural needs of the city, which are emerging in the fast growing, changing and the distorted environment.
- To establish a successful model of economic development that enhances urban prosperity and quality of life. In addition to physical and social degradation, one of the most important reasons why urban areas become depressed is that economic vitality of these has been lost. Urban transformation projects aim to develop strategies to restore economic viability in urban parts that have become physical and social depressions, thereby enhancing urban prosperity and quality of life.
- To identify strategies for the most effective use of urban areas and avoiding unnecessary urban expansion. The development of urban transformation projects aimed at restoring previously used and idle sites in urban areas and limiting urban growth and expansion in connection with the sustainability goal of today.
- To ensure the participation of different sectors of civil society organizations and societies in planning to meet the need of shaping urban policies as products

of social conditions and political forces. Today, the redevelopment of the urban areas is being carried out through a multi-stakeholder planning and design process.

2.4 The contributing factors of the urban regeneration

While describing the process of development in the process of urban regeneration, at first we begin by explaining the actors/agencies/players/ organizations and institutions. We analyze Healey's model by taking into account the role, production and consumption roles, power relations, strategies, interests, resources, rules, and ideas (Healey, 2007). Firstly we mention the housing activities. Housing activities can be divided into three groups of operations; three groups of actors, including users in construction and management (popular sector), suppliers (private sector and trade sector) and regulators (Burgess, 1982). These actor groups have varying interests; For example, usage values for users may be primary, the private sector and the government may predominantly maximize profits in terms of public order (Kearsley, 1983).

In the urban development literature, there are a few terms used to describe the human factor as those who play a role in the production, consumption, and management of urban space; 'Actors', 'agents', 'players', 'agency'. All these conditions can be found in organized organs such as organizations, as well as in unorganized organs such as individual residents or planning. Bassett and Short define institutions, organizations and individuals as "intermediaries" in the development process (Basset & J. R. Short, 1980).

Categorizations are necessary as it is impractical to play with the urban development players separately. In doing so, several groups can be created from these agents. We can categorize agencies in terms of the sectors they act on. For example, there are agents in the private sector (for profit), agents in the government structure (central and local), and profit-oriented /voluntary sector. Moreover, there may be sectoral "hybrid" development activity bodies such as public-private partnerships. We can

classify agencies as either organizational or non-organizational/non-organizational, involving individuals.(Basset & J. R. Short, 1980).

We can also categorize intermediaries in terms of roles; these agents can be on the production side or on the consumption side. Another categorization criterion may be through the formalities; we may refer to unofficial institutions and organizations (Teller, Lee, & Roussey, 2007). We can categorize them according to the scale/coverage they function; like having neighborhoods, cities and agendas at the district or state level (Gülersoy & Ebru Gürler, 2011). The following sections describe the urban transformation agencies, actors, players and organizations in the following categories;

- Private sector (builders and developers)
- Public Sector (central and local authorities)
- Households
- Planning/ planners/ plans
- Market
- Property market (Özdemirli, 2012)

2.5 The urban regeneration process in Turkey

Urban regeneration in Turkey is a process that depends on multi-dimensional problems. In this context, primarily urban regeneration in Turkey has become an issue that comes to the agenda with the migration towards urban centers. The population growth in the cities has resulted in a distorted urbanization, which has led to the development of varied problems for urban life. The steps taken by local administrators and governments to meet the housing needs of the new population made it much more chronic to solve this problem. Population growth, migration and related urban deterioration are the main causes of urban problems, but there are many other problems that adversely affect urban life and lead to urban transformation. It is

also a prerequisite to be able to understand urban problems and to find out why urban transformation has taken place, and also in order to understand the urban transformation in the current sense, this issue must be assessed historically first.

2.5.1 Historical overview of urban regeneration in Turkey

Ataöv and Osmay (2007) examined the development process of urban transformation in Turkey in three periods. These three periods can be summarized as follows (Ataöv & Osmay, 2007);

- **1950-1980:** Deterioration Period-Urbanization and squatting due to economic growth and industrialization,
- **1980-2000:** Continuation of deterioration period, first steps to urban transformation projects-Intensive urbanization due to liberal economy and globalization, licensed and unlicensed construction,
- **2000 and beyond:** Urban regeneration period-Cooperation with the private sector and defining urban transformation as a strategy.

The approach to urban transformation projects in these three periods is as shown in the diagram below (Ataöv & Osmay, 2007);

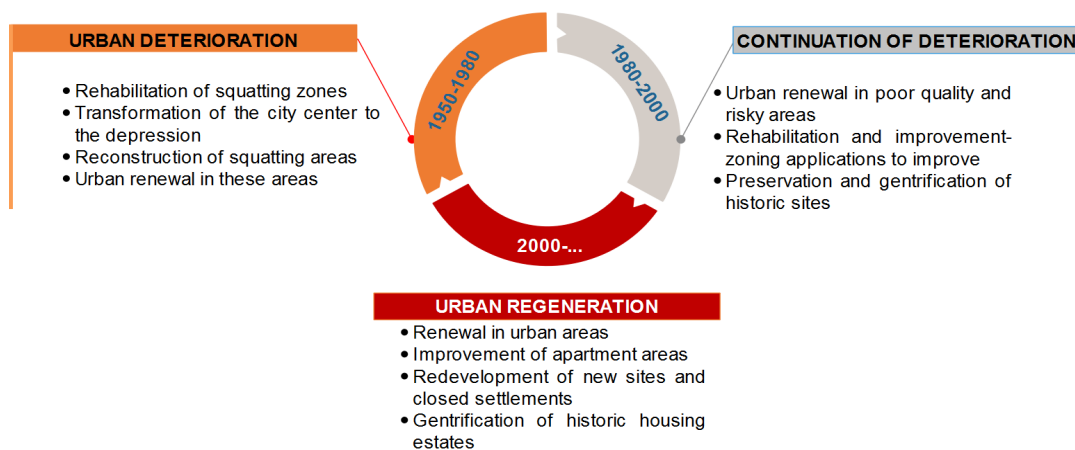


Table 2-3: Approach to urban transformation in historical aspect

The phenomenon of urban regeneration in Turkey has come up with squatters started in the 1950s. However, project work began to take place after 1980. Until that time, only attempts were made to improve the city centers. In order to understand urban transformation projects in this context it is necessary to deal with the squatting process in Turkey.

Within the framework of the understanding of modernization and urbanization in Turkey, the efforts to the regeneration of urban parts have always existed in the every period (Uzun, 2006). The urban regeneration is the result of the physical and social deterioration of the cities. The most widespread use in our country as an urban generation model is an extension of the understanding of the reconstruction of slum areas (Dündar, 2006).

After the increase in urban population in Turkey, the urban regeneration has emerged as a result of the settlement of urban life. Squatters in big cities have emerged in proportion to the increasing migration and in time their numbers have over multiplied. This uncontrolled immigration and population increase have also led to the problem of squatting in urban centers, and conurbation has begun to develop rapidly. This situation has emerged shantytowns and it's deteriorated effects on cities. In order to understand all of these processes, it is necessary to look at the urban transformation in Turkey in historical context. In this context, Urban Transformation in Turkey can be examined in three periods mentioned in table 2-3.

First Period: Urban Deterioration (1950-1980)

In the development process of urban transformation in Turkey, rehabilitation of the shantytown areas between 1950 and 1980 was seen as a primary goal. In this period, cities tended to deteriorate seriously. The history, cultural and local values of the cities began to undergo erosion in this period. Measures against these living problems have been focused on the reconstruction of the shantytowns that disturb the city's structure (Yenice, 2014).

Urban transformations in this period were not project-focused, but mostly under classical reconstruction and regulation. For this reason, in terms of urban transformation projects, this period cannot be seen as a beginning, it can be called as the period when the problems that started urban transformation emerged (Uzun, 2006).

Second Period: Continuation of Deterioration Period-First Steps to Urban Transformation Projects (1980-2000)

The second period in urban transformation consists of the developments experienced between 1980 and 2000. In this period, steps were taken within the scope of renewing the risky and poor quality regions. However, these steps couldn't offer a solution to the urban population and urban decay, which was rapidly increased with the free market and liberal transition of Turkey. The population of the city increased gradually, and the rate of urban deterioration increased accordingly. With the ineffective legislative arrangements to overcome these problems, cities have become more unhealthy living spaces (Yenice, 2014).

While the living urban decay was concentrated in major cities such as Ankara, Istanbul and İzmir, the first urban transformation projects were initiated in these metropolises. At the end of this period, with the Marmara Earthquake, the importance given to urban transformation started to increase. Thus, urban transformation not only covered the slums, but also included topics such as earthquakes and natural disasters (Uzun, 2006).

Third Period: Urban Regeneration-Legislative Efforts (2000 and Beyond)

This period is a process in which the urban transformation projects are carried out intensively in Turkey. Within this scope, priority has been given to the renewal of urban areas. Especially urban renewal works in metropolitan cities have been realized with urban transformation projects. Mass housing arrangements, which

began in the 1980s, have increased exponentially with the development of the private sector on the construction site after 2000 (Yenice, 2014).

Along with this, efforts have been made to gentrify various historical and cultural areas. Urban transformation projects, which are especially important in Istanbul, have begun in this period. In addition, various legal regulations have been prepared in order to make urban transformations within a certain order. Within these legal arrangements, the legislation concerning urban transformation and legal arrangements within the scope of the gentrification of historical sites have been carried out in this process.

2.5.2 Approaching of urban regeneration in Turkey

The increase in the urban population in Turkey starting from the 1950s, the populist promises of politics over voters, the activities of politicians, local administrators and construction companies in the interests of the city are the main reasons for urban irregularities (Görgülü, 2009). Especially after the 1980s, the rapid pace of the free market in the country has led to an extreme distorted urbanization. Managers and politics, as well as society, have seen cities as more of a consumption field than a healthy living area. In this context, according to Görgülü (2009) approach to urban regeneration phenomenon in Turkey it has been shaped in two dimensions;

- Focusing on real estate in urban transformation and seeing transformation as physical space arrangement,
- Inverse construction and regulation of urban natural architecture, spirit, historical and cultural values.

The two major mistakes in addressing the urban transformation in Turkey mentioned above have been repeated almost every period. This has caused the urban transformation to be limited to the renewal of the physical space. The ecological, social, historical, local, economic and aesthetic dimension of the transformation has been neglected (Şişman & Kibaroglu, 2009).

Urban transformation in Turkey was shaped in 1990 by the roof of the Housing Development Administration. After 2000, the same structure was revised by linking to the Prime Ministry, and Urban Transformation studies were carried out under the name of TOKI (TOKI, 2017). TOKI after Marmara earthquake, at the beginning of 2000s, it has made significant transformation projects and works against the risk of disaster and earthquake (Alpaslan & Tüter, 2016). However, the transformation process that TOKI initiated in order to construct new and sound buildings started to turn into an interest and rent vehicle between construction companies-politicians-local governments over time. In addition, the local values of cities have been subjected to social decomposition through the formation of closed sites, and these values have begun to expose a great deal of erosion (Özgür, 2006).

In the post-2000 urban transformation area, the private sector has started to develop rapidly and in this area, large construction companies have multiplied. In this process, which is shaped by TOKI's lead, private sector or construction companies transform the regions with the highest ranks, leaving the less profitable regions to subcontractors, while the non-profitable regions remain uncertain and the transformation does not occur in these regions (Sekmen, 2007; Şişman & Kibaroğlu, 2009).

The roadmap, titled "Integrated Urban Development Strategy and Action Plan 2010-2023" prepared by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, is currently regarded as the basic document on urban life and urban transformation in this context. In this strategy and action plan, Urban Transformation is addressed in a comprehensive way as follows (KENTGES, 2009);

- Physical and structural transformation,
- Social justice and development,
- Social integration,
- Local-economic development,
- Protection of historical and cultural heritage and natural environment,

- Prevention and reduction of damage,
- Risk management and ensuring sustainability.

In this context, regarding the Urban Transformation Strategy, the following points in the action plan are as follows (KENTGES, 2009);

- Diversification of land and land regulation methods and implementation with value-based regulations will be supported in Urban Transformation applications.
- Indicators of livability and sustainability that determine the quality of space, especially in urban transformation and renovation areas, will be established.
- An analysis of the effects of Urban Transformation Projects on the whole city will be done within the framework of the announcement, planning and implementation processes.
- Urban transformation plans and projects will be prepared with an understanding that includes local participation, public and private sector cooperation, as well as monitoring and control of post-conversion conditions.
- Feasibility will be prepared for urban transformation projects and applications.

CHAPTER 3

DEVELOPING AN INTEGRATED APPROACH FOR EVALUATING URBAN REGENERATION PROJECTS

According to urban regeneration literature there are two unavoidable and interconnected features of urban regeneration projects. The first is that they are planned, managed and organized according to strategic planning approach and that they obtain partnership approaches. The second significant feature is that they are based on integrated approach. This chapter will focus on and explain first strategic and partnership approaches, second, integrated approach with its key components third will explain alternative interventions of regeneration projects for deprived areas. Then the chapter will identify key components of urban regeneration projects according to the features of the integrated approach.

3.1 Strategic and partnership approaches for urban regeneration projects

3.1.1 Strategic approach

The rising interests regarding property-led urban regeneration and inner city policies, which have been defined as being ‘modest in scale, geographically dispersed, marginal and ad-hoc in character, and lacking any relationship to structural urban economic trends’, have led to the rise of the need for a strategic approach to urban regeneration in the early 1990s (Hausner, 1993, cited in Carter, 2000, p. 38). The development of a strategic approach for urban regeneration projects is also a result of a rising consequence of strategic thinking in planning over the last two decades. ‘Spatial planning has shifted from a concern for merely physical planning and land-use matters to a wider concern for social, economic, environmental and political issues’ (Alden and Boland, 1996). This means that strategic view in planning became critical for the cities operating in both Europe and the global economy where strategic level of decision-making is a necessity. The strategic planning has been also

established extensively in Europe, and gradually in the UK and there is a need to develop strategic frameworks at the urban region level with the aim of dealing with the unified problems of many urban areas (Healey, 1997, cited in Carter, 2000). In Europe 2000+¹, the importance of integrating different strategic issues into a more ‘comprehensive and complex form of spatial planning’ was strongly emphasized (European Commission, 1994). “Planning at a variety of spatial levels is now concerned with a wider range of issues than hitherto, containing economic development, transportation, retailing, tourism, housing, urban regeneration, the countryside, and their integration with each other” (Carter, 2000, p. 40).

Making relations and activating ideas about the future are significant factors while designing a strategic framework (Healey et al., 1995, p. 284). According to Hausner (1993), strategic framework should:

- “Provide a bridge between ‘top-down’ and ‘bottom-up’ approaches;
- Be realistic and capable of being translated into specific policies, objectives and actions;
- Be drawn up by a wide-ranging partnership, which includes all key stakeholders;
- Address the overall viability, prosperity and competitiveness of regions - enhancing their contribution to their own residents and to their regions and the nation;
- Ameliorate disadvantage, promote opportunity and mobility, support development in deprived communities;

¹ Europe 2000+ is a document which ‘emphasizes the emergence of a European dimension in planning policies of member states and advocates an enhanced role for regional development strategies in achieving the objectives of nations, regions and localities in an enlarged European Union’ (Carter, 2000: 40).

- Preserve cities as motors of civilization, culture, innovation, opportunity and enterprise” (Hausner, 1993, cited in Carter, 2000, p.42)

According to Roberts (1990) “strategic vision is concerned with generating the framework in which longer-term goals, aims and objectives of individuals, organizations and areas can be realized” (Roberts, 1990, cited in Carter, 2000, p. 42). Additionally, the creation of a strategic vision can ensure the resources such as land, capital and labour are used in a way to achieve the best overall effect (Carter, 2000, p. 42). For Carter (2000, p. 42), a strategic vision should emphasize:

- “The interdependence of actions, rather than treating each action as independent;
- The long-term outcomes and benefits, other than mainly considering short-term costs;
- The overall requirements of an area, rather than stressing the potential of an individual site (or project);
- The importance of creating common ground and, wherever possible, the generation of consensus, rather than encouraging conflict;
- The creation of positive attitudes towards mutual collaboration between sectors, rather than maintaining a public-private sector divide”.

3.1.2 Partnership approach

Globalization has brought about substantial changes in the structure of societies, economies and institutions of urban areas. “The globalization and restructuring of the economy have increased the economic, social and physical problems that many cities face, whilst reducing the control that institutions, public and private, have over the economic decisions that effect communities’ well-being” (Parkinson, 1996, cited in Carter, 2000, p. 37). Parallel with these circumstances; ‘local activities’ have become significant in trying to attain economic success of cities and regions and there occurred a need for a new type of organization in order to find a solution to the

decreasing control of existing organizations over economic activities. These new type of organizations are called 'partnerships' (Carter, 2000). Many organizations involved in urban transformation activities believe that partnerships should assume a multi-sector and multi-agency approach instead of a single-sector and single-agency approach, since urban problems have multiple causes. Consequently, urban regeneration projects must require an integrated, comprehensive and multi-agency approach as long as finding and applying solutions to urban problems (Carter, 2000).

According to Carter the partnership approach in urban regeneration occurred in the late-1980s and early- 1990s (Carter, 2000). By the early-1990s, it was extensively accepted that one of the fundamental factors of an effective urban regeneration strategy is to achieve the participation of the public and the private sectors, together with the straight involvement of voluntary sectors and local communities into the urban regeneration projects (Bailey, 1995, cited in Carter, 2000, p. 43).

According to Carter the partnership approach unites various levels of public, private, voluntary and community actors and agencies. "Partnership describes both an organizational structure, bringing together a range of agencies to co-operate to achieve shared objectives, and a structure for policy-making" (Carter, 2000, p. 45). The aim of a partnership is to enable a long-term, strategic, integrated and sustainable approach to urban renewal, which integrates the programmes of investment, business development and social establishment such as education, health care, housing and prevention of crime. So the partnership is considered to be the most efficient vehicle of overbearing complicated and multi-dimensional urban problems (Carter, 2000). According to Parkinson (1996, p. 31), 'the problem of generating the right institutional machinery with adequate incentives, sanctions and resources to integrate the actions of national and local, of public, private, voluntary and community institutions and agencies' (i.e., to make a partnership) is an obvious challenge of urban regeneration projects (Parkinson, 1996, p. 31, cited in Carter, 2000).

There is no single model of partnership; various partnership frameworks have been suggested in urban transformation literature. Mackintosh (1992, p. 10), for instance, describes three frameworks of partnership –the synergy model, budget enlargement model and transformational model- according to urban regeneration context:

- “ The **synergy model** suggests that by combining their knowledge, resources, approaches and operational cultures, the partner organizations will be able to achieve more together than they would by working on their own or, in other words, the whole is greater than the sum of the parts.
- The **budget enlargement model** is based upon the knowledge that by working together the partners will gain access to additional funds that neither could access on their own.
- The **transformational model** suggests that there are benefits to gained by exposing the different partners to the assumptions and working methods of other partners. This will also stimulate innovation as part of a continuing process of development and change” (Mackintosh, 1992, p. 10, cited in Carter, 2000, pp. 44-45).

Besides Mackintosh’s partnership models, it is possible to find a diversity of partnership employed in urban regeneration projects. Carter (2000, p. 45) suggests three typologies of partnership. The first typology consists of five categories (development partnership or joint venture, development trust, informal arrangement, agency and strategic partnerships) with the examples taken from urban regeneration activities in Britain in the late 1990s and in the early 2000s. The second typology of partnership can operate at various levels (Carter, 2000, pp. 45-47):

- “ **Systematic partnership** involving strategic policy- makers are most effective in dealing with large-scale, deep-rooted problems’.
- **Programmatic partnerships** might tackle issues such as the implementation of an urban regeneration strategy.

- **Technical partnerships** may be short-term arrangements to achieve a particular objective such as a discrete physical redevelopment project ”

The last typology of partnership, suggested by Stewart and Snape (1995, p. 4), seeks to identify three ‘ideal types’ or organizational models of partnership. The first ideal partnership category, called **facilitating partnership**, aims to focus on deep-rooted problems and to achieve ‘negotiation of contentious or politically sensitive issues’. Stakeholders of this partnership are generally powerful, and may have differing perspectives and wide-ranging objectives. The partnership seeks to balance the differing interests among these strong stakeholders. The second type, **co-ordinating partnership**, intends to bring together partners “to oversee initiatives undertaken by the partners themselves or by arms-length bodies and to address relatively new and non-contentious issues”. They are often led or managed by one partner and balance of power is not as fragile as in the case of facilitating partnership. The last category is **implementing partnership**, which is generally set up to achieve specific objectives in a limited time. They are “responsible for the delivery of agreed projects often involving securing funding and resources”; the output of projects managed by such partnerships are clearly defined; and the power relations among stakeholders are not problematic (Stewart and Snape, 1995: 4, cited in Carter, 2000, p. 47).

3.2 Integrated approach

Integrated approach is a rather new concept in urban planning and regeneration literature. On the back of this approach, there is the assumption that there is no single cause for urban change. According to Roberts, urban change may happen according to many reasons originating both within and out with a city (Roberts, 2000). Similarly urban decline is resulted by various reasons, as stated below specifically for a neighborhood area:

“Crime, physical blight, social polarization and many other causes can change forever the composition and social structure of a community or neighborhood. Physical decay, changing transportation and accessibility requirements, or the

impossibility of adapting buildings to accommodate new uses, can sweep away an industrial, warehousing, residential or retail district” (Roberts, 2000, p. 24).

Integrated approach in urban regeneration was first applied and adopted in Europe through the European Commission’s Urban Pilot Projects (UPP) which is one of the community initiatives funded from the European Union’s Structural Funds and are “designed to explore and illustrate innovative approaches to tackle urban problems such as environmental and industrial decay and social exclusion” (Jeffrey and Pounder, 2000, pp. 97-99). Britain is one of the European countries, which supported the extensive use of integrated urban regeneration policies in the 1980s. In 1986, the Conservative Government preceded the Task Forces with the aim of better harmonizing the efforts of government departments, local government, the private sector and the local community to revitalize inner city areas (Noon et al., 2000). In the late-1980 and the 1990s, the central government launched various urban regeneration programmes based on integrated approach (Hart and Johnston, 2000).

Integrated approach in urban regeneration can be defined in various ways. According to Lichfield (2000, p. 240-241) there are eight types of integrated approach definition in urban regeneration:

- “ **Geographic integration:** addressing an area as part of a larger city and region, since both the problems of the area and the desired improvements result, to some extent, from conditions in other parts of the city,
- **Integrated data:** collecting data from different sources including the education, health and social services departments and the police to create a unified information system which will provide a comprehensive picture available to all concerned,
- **Integrated interpretation of the scene:** understanding the interactions between education, income, housing and other factors and the importance of chains, for example, the need for training and information about jobs and

child care facilities and adequate transport and supportive family (to bring a young mother into the workforce),

- **Integrated planning team:** teamwork involving the various actors and professional disciplines;
- **Integrated plan-making and implementation:** incorporating considerations of feasibility and delivery mechanisms, using plan making itself as an agent of change in attitude and action of the actors on the scene,
- **Integrated funding regimes:** using funding from different sources in a complementary way,
- **Integrated policies:** consistency between the policies of different government departments and down the hierarchy from central to local government and area administration,
- **Integrated action** collaboration between all those involved in implementation” (Lichfield, 2000, pp. 240- 241).

In this thesis, integrated approach is used to refer to the urban regeneration strategies, policies, guidelines, funding, organizational and legal frameworks designed, planned and manage in order to achieve physical, economic, social and environmental revitalization of a declining area. The following sections will explain the components of the integrated approach of urban regeneration.

3.2.1 Social regeneration

One of the important parts of integrated approach of urban regeneration is social regeneration. According to Roberts economic deprivation is the major significant factor causing social problems in urban areas (Roberts, 2000). However it is not the only factor. There are many factors such as socio-demographic trends including “the adjustment and breakdown of traditional family and community structures, the changing nature and outcomes of urban policy, and the consequences of changing social perceptions and values” (Roberts, 2000, p. 26).

One of the significant concepts of social integration is the concept of ‘community’.

Community is described as the people living and working in defined areas covered by regeneration programmes. Yet, the concept is much more complicated. According to DETR It can be described according to various variables, for example, to their:

- “Personal attributes (such as age, gender, ethnicity, kinship);
- Beliefs (stemming from religious, cultural or political values);
- Economic position (occupational or employment status, income or wealth, housing tenure);
- Skills (educational experience, professional qualifications);
- Relationship to local services (tenants, patients, careers, providers);
- Place (attachments to neighborhood, village, city or nation)” (Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions (DETR), 1997, cited in Jacobs and Dutton, 2000, p. 110).

One of the main factors, which lead to successful urban regeneration, is the existence of a community with strong sense of togetherness and social identity, which bond people together (Tilly, 1974, cited in Jacobs and Dutton, 2000, p. 110). According to Burns et al. (1994), “communities can support economic activities that benefit local people especially when they cause powerful emotions, which derive from a sense of togetherness and social identity” (Burns et al., 1994, cited in Jacobs and Dutton, 2000, p. 110). So, the most successful communities are those that can generate a feeling of belonging and partnership between people.

In successful urban regeneration, the policies should meet community needs. Geddes (1995) stated that, the major challenge of communities is “improvement of their access, development of social and economic opportunities and development of local services to become more effective in meeting local needs” (Geddes, 1995, cited in Jacobs and Dutton, 2000, p. 111). According to DETR, from the early 1990s, with the aim of to identifying community needs, and meet them, various urban regeneration programmes have been launched in Europe . The Single Regeneration Budget (SRB) Challenge Fund in Britain is a good example as a comprehensive

community regeneration programme, which attempts to develop eight main problem areas of communities in poor and deprived neighborhoods:

- “**Welfare to work** to tackle unemployment, educational attainment and social deprivation;
- **Education action zones** to supply more education facilities and increase the number of educated people;
- **Capital receipts** to tackle housing needs or promote housing-related regeneration;
- **Crime** to tackle and prevent crime under the joint responsibility of the local authorities and the police by developing local partnerships in consultation with the local community;
- **Drugs** to tackle the problem of drug use within communities by working together through Drug Action Teams;
- **Ethnic minorities** to tackle racial violence and harassment in local communities and to target economic development and training initiatives on such communities; g)
- **Public health** to tackle poverty, poor housing, unemployment and polluted environment; and finally
- **Vulnerable groups** to tackle social exclusion of homeless people, frail elderly people and those with mental illness” (DETR, 1997, cited in Jacobs and Dutton, 2000, p. 112).

3.2.1.1 Key policy areas for social regeneration

According to the problem areas described by SRB Challenge Fund, it is possible to distinguish five main policy areas for social regeneration. The first and main one is the creation of **employment**, which is at the top of the list of priorities of many community-based regeneration schemes (Jacobs and Dutton, 2000). Second, social regeneration projects offer **education and training** programmes. One important task is to “convince pupils in deprived areas that there is some link between education

and jobs and that they can succeed. They also need to be persuaded to stay on in education and training as long as possible to progress as far as their personal potential allows” (Hart and Johnston, 2000, p. 142).

Local and central government authorities are responsible for compulsory state education, they are often partners of Careers Services, they pay some part of adult Further Education and they manage grants and fees for Higher Education (Hart and Johnston, 2000). Education and training programmes also focus on development of abilities of adults in deprived areas according to the demand of labour market. Hart and Johnston emphasized that “opening long and short-term training courses, classes, workshops, vocational job educations, are all policies for unemployed people to develop their skills in order to find new opportunities in the growing and changing labour market” (Hart and Johnston, 2000, p. 146). **Crime** is another policy area which social regeneration focuses on. The causes of crime must be tackled through social and educational programmes but the effects must be also addressed in order to create feeling of security (Edgar and Taylor, 2000). Other measures in tackling crime are schemes to overcome anti-social behavior, improved physical security by urban design, improved housing management and community involvement (Edgar and Taylor, 2000). Furthermore, regeneration without housing leads to ‘soulless commercial districts’, which give fear to ordinary citizens especially at nights (Edgar and Taylor, 2000). Because these areas become vacant outside working hours and therefore turn into potential places for vandalism and crime.

Another policy measure to decrease crime is to stimulate public realm; i.e., to turn public spaces into public places with the people’s presence (Tiesdell, 1996). As MacCormac (1983) stated, streets have osmotic properties; which is, “the activities within buildings are able to percolate through and infuse the street with life and activity” (MacCormac, 1983, cited in Tiesdell, 1996, p. 210). MacCormac (1983) identifies a hierarchy of uses according to increasing relation to the street: “car parks, warehousing, large-scale industry, large-scale offices, blocks of flats, supermarkets, small-scale offices and shops, housing, restaurants and bars, and, finally, street

markets” (MacCormac, 1983, cited in Tiesdell, 1996: 211).

Tiesdell (1996, p. 211) also identifies two significant factors affecting the pedestrian-friendly nature of the area: “ ‘permeability’ (i.e., the ease by which a pedestrian can move safely around the area) and ‘legibility’ (i.e., the ease by which a pedestrian can navigate around the area)”. He also suggests the importance of organized programmes such as, festivals, lunchtime concerts, cultural events, art exhibitions, and street theatres to make public spaces lively (Tiesdell, 1996).

The development of **housing** is also an essential policy area for social regeneration, as “housing can be a driver of urban regeneration and it is an essential elements of most schemes. Good housing helps to improve health, reduce crime and enhance quality of life. Social integration can be assisted through housing provision” (Edgar and Taylor, 2000, p.173). Poor housing increases the problems that households face and affects social integration. According to Edgar and Taylor “the introduction of middle and upper-income housing in deprived neighborhoods could not only bring economic benefits, but also provide an opportunity to influence local policies, since new residents will have greater knowledge about political issues and good networks that connect them to the politicians” (Edgar, Taylor, 2000, p. 162).

Although developing housing and therefore quality of life is an essential policy area for social regeneration, one of the common results seen in various transformation projects is ‘gentrification’. When an area is regenerated, prices of properties and land values increase and accordingly there occurs displacement and eviction; people who are able to pay higher prices or rents come to the area (Tiesdell, 1996). Especially in historical neighborhoods of cities, there is always a tension between the physical conservation strategies, which intend to attract investors, and higher income groups of people that can afford the conservation costs of historical buildings, and the social strategies that seek to keep the local communities, which are mostly low-income groups. When gentrification happens, the low-income groups are likely to be relocated by the first (Tiesdell, 1996).

Finally, **health** is one of the essential elements of areas for social regeneration. According to DETR between these policy areas above, public health has lately received much more attention than others, “because it underlines the interconnections between different policy areas. Good health depends on good housing, adequate social provisions, a pleasant environment and leisure, sport and recreation opportunities. Such thinking lies behind the government’s decision to promote Health Action Zones and related regeneration programmes”(DETR, 1997, cited in Jacobs and Dutton, 2000, p. 111). The European Commission’s Social Action Programme also focuses on new mechanisms to provide health care at the local level and to develop integrated policies linking health to the related social and economic problems (Jacobs and Dutton, 2000, p. 119). It is noteworthy that the identification of specific groups in the community such as the elderly and women provides ease for groups to work effectively through appropriate consultation (Jacobs and Dutton, 2000, p. 113).

All these policy concerns require harmonized action and funding, as they together affect the social and economic opportunities of communities (DETR, 1997, cited in Jacobs and Dutton, 2000, p. 111).

3.2.1.2 Other important characteristics of social regeneration

Although identification of main policy areas on community needs and the fulfillment of community needs are important factors of social regeneration, but also there are other features for developing a successful social regeneration. Achieving a shared vision is one of them. As Jacobs and Dutton stated, “it is important to reach a vision that can be shared by all groups of community and which defines priorities for action. Otherwise, arguments could arise between conflicting local interests, racial and ethnic groups” (Jacobs and Dutton, 2000, p. 114).

Another significant feature is community involvement and participation. It is now extensively accepted that an essential prerequisite for sustainability in regeneration is ‘to establish closer community involvement’ (Fordham, 1995, cited in Edgar and

Taylor, 2000). Local communities need to be involved at every stage of regeneration schemes, as stated below:

“True regeneration, which is to be long-lasting, must involve local people from the start in an area’s regeneration. They must be assisted before, during and after the particular initiative. The investment in preparing communities to be full, responsible and accountable contributors is extremely important”(Jacobs and Dutton, 2000, p. 124).

The involvement of local people working in the public and private sectors improves the quality of policy decisions and provides the more effective implementation of local programmes (Jacobs and Dutton, 2000).

Finally, representativeness is vital for successful regeneration. It is important to create representative boards to run local programmes. The representatives of local communities should be ‘credible’ (DETR, 1997, cited in Jacobs and Dutton, 2000). There should not be dominance of limited groups over others because when groups develop strong identities public policies tend to respond to the demands of the representatives of these groups. In such a condition, conflict can arise between individual and the interests of the community (Jacobs and Dutton, 2000). “Therefore, representativeness in community initiatives should establish the ‘ownership’ of initiatives by the community so that the broadest acceptance of the goals can be achieved” (Jacobs and Dutton, 2000, p. 115).

3.2.2 Economic regeneration

Economic regeneration is an essential part of the process of urban regeneration. Economic regeneration deals with the problematic urban areas facing economic decline resulted by different reasons, like the internationalization of production, increasing of markets and economic and industrial restricting (Roberts, 2000), “the weaknesses of the economic structure of older urban areas, and their inability to adapt to new trading and infrastructural requirements, urban-rural shift and spatial

division of labour, the relocation of economic activities and firms out of urban areas because of push factors of the city such as, high service costs, development constraints, failing infrastructure and inflexible labour” (Noon et al., 2000, p. 63). According to Balchin and Bull economic decline is also deteriorated by the move of people outside these areas and increasing unemployment. The movement of economic activities outside the city influenced the residential preferences of employees and led them to move to suburbs which are often “better served by modern infrastructure and which offer lower rents or land values” (Balchin and Bull, 1987, cited in Roberts, 2000, p. 27). As Hasluck (1987) stated “the problem of unemployment occupies a central role in the urban crisis because it is both a symptom of the processes which have undermined the urban economies and an immediate cause of poverty, poor housing and other aspects of social deprivation” (Hasluck, 1987, p. 2, cited in Hart and Johnson, 2000, p. 137). Unemployment and other factors bringing about economic decline consequently lead to social and physical declines. In the 1960s and 1970s, many urban economic policy actions were considered to cope with the disadvantage of the inner city locations in terms of “accessibility, environmental quality and the relative cost of land development compared with greenfield sites” (Noon et al, 2000, p. 83). According to Noon, in more recent years, public sector investment and organizations has continued to support economic regeneration with excessed emphasis on a more integrated approach emphasizing partnership (Noon et al, 2000).

3.2.2.1 Demand and supply sides of successful economic regeneration

According to Noon et al. (2000) successful economic regeneration of a city is two-sided, main policy areas: demand and supply sides. “The demand side is assessed with a city’s ability to retain local expenditure and to attract more spending from outside”(Noon et al, 2000, p. 62). It may be for an industrial production or for an output of the service sector, which will attract new sources of expenditure. For instance, the development of seminars and tourism markets have been pursued in strategies, since they generated new types of economic activity and sources of

expenditures in the city (Noon, et al, 2000).

In order to economically regenerate localities, there should be initiatives, which create and develop their competitive advantages. According to Tiesdell (1996, p. 203), there are three ways to create and develop competitive advantages of localities: first, to establish a position as a consumption or production center which requires action to change the activities occurring with the area; second, to promote functional regeneration which encourages existing uses and enables them to operate more efficiently and profitably (e.g., the historic character and buildings of a locality can be used for tourism and residential uses or the ambience of an urban area can be promoted for cultural activity); and finally, to create centers for post-industrial functions such as ‘concentration of cultural production or media firms’ (Tiesdell, 1996).

On the supply side, as Noon et al stated “investment must be made to improve infrastructure, including existing roads and other communication links, clean water and sewage systems, telecommunication networks, and improvement of existing ones, land and people to adapt them to the new workings of economy” (Noon et al, 2000, p. 62). Lastly, there must be investment in people, since ensuring a ‘suitably trained, skilled and well-qualified workforce’ has become a need for creating local economic advantage (Noon et al, 2000). Therefore, there should be links between education and training as the key components of economic regeneration (Hart and Johnston, 2000).

Job creation is one of the prominent policies in economic regeneration. It does not only act as one of the main engines of economic regeneration of disadvantaged and deprived areas, but also decreases the overall economic income losses of a country caused by informal sector. Most of the unemployed people work in the informal sector. “This presents opportunities for local agencies both to convert some informal activity into self-employment in the recognized economy, and to enhance the real wealth of poor neighborhoods by deliberately raising skill levels in occupations

useful for survival in the informal economy” (Hart and Johnston, 2000, p. 141).

According to Hart and Johnston job creation is defined by “the net jobs added in a particular area over time”. The net job capacity of disadvantaged areas can be increased either by “attracting the existing jobs from more prosperous areas to these areas, or by creating new job opportunities “(Hart and Johnston, 2000, p. 137). In this case it is also possible to mention demand and supply sides. “The demand side for labour can be enhanced by:

- Attracting inward investment;
- Growing existing businesses, especially firms in the 10-100 employee size range (which can be assisted by measures such as the provision of advice and technology transfer schemes);
- Creating micro-businesses through encouraging self-employment;
- Temporary jobs creation through publicly funded schemes;
- Expanding the public sector;
- Reducing labour costs (both wage and non wage) and implementing various forms of labour market regulation to increase the employment intensity of growth” (Hart and Johnston, 2000, p. 138).

As Hart and Johnston stated, the supply side can be enhanced by:

- “Providing information to make the labour and education and training markets work better;
- Improving basic education;
- Developing vocational skills;
- Enhancing confidence, motivation and job search;
- Changing unemployment or other benefit to increase incentives to work” (Hart, Johnston, 2000, p. 138).

The supply side of economic regeneration is influenced by the productive capacity of the city, which is mainly defined by the capability to attract investment and by

indigenous development (Noon, et al, 2000). The development of new firms and raising the role and profile of existing small and medium-sized enterprises are of special importance for local development (Noon, et al, 2000). Finally, “to succeed, economic regeneration initiatives therefore need to address both supply-side and demand side components” (Noon et al, 2000, p. 63).

3.2.2.2 Key actors and agencies

Another feature in economic regeneration is to create partnerships with key actors and agencies in the local labour market. Surely the three important actors are local authorities, Training and Enterprise Councils, and the Employment Service. (Hart and Johnston, 2000: 144- 145). Without the partnership of these actors and agencies, urban economic regeneration cannot be successful.

3.2.3 Physical and environmental regeneration

According to Jeffrey and Pounder the physical look and environmental quality of cities and neighborhoods are the symbols of their “prosperity, quality of life and the confidence of their enterprises and citizens”. Obsolete housing estates, derelict factories, vacant lands and deteriorating city centers are the potent symbols of poverty and economic decline, as well as the indicators of the incapability of neighborhoods to “adapt quickly enough to rapid social and economic change” (Jeffrey and Pounder, 2000, p. 86). As well as economic, social and environmental decline, “Inefficient and inappropriate infrastructure or worn-out and obsolescent buildings” may also be the causes of physical decline, as they are unable to serve the needs of organizations in new and growing sectors and impose extra costs in use and repair (Jeffrey and Pounder, 2000, p. 86).

“Physical renewal is usually a necessary if not sufficient condition for successful regeneration”. In some conditions physical regeneration may be the key engine of regeneration (Jeffrey and Pounder, 2000, p. 86).

Jeffery and Pounder believe that the key issues to achieve successful physical regeneration are to understand the constraints and the potentials of the existing physical stock at regional, urban or neighborhood level. According to them successful identification of the capacities of existing physical stock “requires an implementation strategy which recognizes and takes advantage of the changes under way in economic and social activity, funding regimes, ownership, institutional arrangements, policy and emerging visions of urban life, and the roles of cities” (Jeffrey and Pounder, 2000, p. 86).

The components of the physical stock includes:

- “Buildings,
- Land and sites,
- Open spaces (streets, squares, parks, playgrounds, etc.),
- Utilities and services,
- Telecommunications,
- Transport infrastructure,
- Environmental quality” (Jeffrey and Pounder, 2000. P. 87).

Buildings are the main components of physical stock in urban regeneration. They can deteriorate because of different reasons, such as “ageing; increased proportion of retired households, out migration of employed households and increasing levels of unemployment and low or unstable income groups in a residential area” (Edgar and Taylor, 2000). Rehabilitation of the existing building or stock and constructing new buildings can be a driver of urban regeneration. Moreover, “decent housing stimulates both physical and economic improvement, attracts and stimulates new investment and new opportunities, and therefore the urban environment once again becomes revitalized with occupation of new activities and the attraction of new enterprises” (Edgar and Taylor, 2000, p. 153).

On the other hand, another strategy used in urban regeneration projects is rehabilitation of the existing building stock. In the early renewal policies of housing

areas, particularly those in the 1970s, mostly aimed to regenerate the physical stock rather than improving the social and economic conditions of residents of such areas (Edgar and Taylor, 2000). These policies were replaced in the 1990s with multi-functional and longer time horizon-policies, which recognized that housing regeneration is a means to achieve community regeneration (Edgar and Taylor, 2000).

Historical buildings and buildings with unique architectural values and characters in urban declining areas offer opportunities for urban regeneration since this physical character has an economic value (Tiesdell, 1996). According to Tiesdell “using historical and cultural heritage in urban regeneration projects is a common practice started in over the last two or three decades. Today, many historic urban areas are being revitalized to become attractive and desirable places for investment, living, working, leisure and tourism activities” (Tiesdell, 1996). But in protection of historical and cultural heritage it is important to know what is being protected: “It is axiomatic that to be able to pursue an active conservation policy, a planning authority must have full knowledge of what it is conserving”. As Tiesdell stated, “physical interventions take place in the stock of buildings or in the public places, or both the buildings are either refurbished for their existing use or converted for a new use” (Tiesdell, 1996, p. 209). The development and regeneration of historical urban areas also generate a positive image, which attract more investors, visitors and residents (Tiesdell, 1996). “While the improvements in the building stock are usually funded by the private sector and encouraged by various kinds of public subsidies or tax incentives, the improvements in the public places are usually funded by public agencies” (Tiesdell, 1996, p. 209).

According to Jeffrey and Pounder physical regeneration like other forms of economic and social development has been subjected to fashions over time. There has been a change of emphasis from one type of development and solution to another depending upon the problems of the area to be regenerated (Jeffrey and Pounder, 2000). There are at least five various roles that physical regeneration may play in the full

regeneration of an area (Jeffrey and Pounder, 2000, p. 91):

- “Removing constraints;
- Leading the change;
- Building on opportunities;
- Supply side investments;
- Integrated socio-economic and physical renewal”

The importance of these roles in any given scheme is related to the future vision for the area, the solution, and in part upon the fundamental problems, which cause decline and need for regeneration in the first place (Jeffrey and Pounder, 2000). However, the solutions for problems of decline area can be related to the basic strategy assumptions upon which the specific regeneration strategy is based for physical regeneration. As Jeffrey and Pounder stated, “there are limited numbers of these approaches which related to where the drive for regeneration and the ongoing investment will come from. These are:

- Build upon and develop the potential of indigenous firms and skills in the area: in this case particular attention needs to be paid to the constraints that physical stock is currently placing on local firms and any major lacks in the provision of infrastructure and services etc.
- Unlock latent demand and expenditure from current users and visitors to the area: in this case new forms of activity, supply-side actions such as the provision of museums etc. are relevant.
- Attract inward investment: in which case there is a need to ensure that the quality of the environment and the facilities and the quality of infrastructure, services, site and buildings is adequate to compete with those offered elsewhere.
- Attract new visitors to the area: in which case quality of environment, the development of visitor attractors, which need to be supply-side led, and the refurbishment of existing features and buildings of interest are the key

approaches.

- Build upon strengths of members of the community: in which case the focus is likely to be on those types of activity such as housing renovation, estate development which are integral part of an integrated local development strategy” (Jeffrey and Pounder, 2000, pp. 91-92).

Improving environmental quality is also recognized to be a key and crucial component in attracting inward investment, developers, housing and office users and visitors into such areas. (Jeffrey and Pounder, 2000). “The improvement of environmental quality does not only help the protection of environmental and natural resources, improve the quality of life and sustain the regeneration of such sites, but also provide benefits for both business and the local community” (Roberts, 1995, cited in Jeffrey and Pounder 2000, p. 101). For instance, the projects targeting to develop physical environment are increasingly seen as a valuable source of job opportunities by local community. Particularly in the housing revitalization projects in deprived areas, a common strategy is to develop the physical environment of poorer communities and to decrease unemployment by providing improved services to low-income families (Jeffrey and Pounder, 2000).

The quality of urban design has also gained significance since the mid-1980s (Akkar, 2005, Hubbard, 1995). According to Edgar and Taylor Local, authorities have provided design guidance, which helped developers in terms of “the scale, the treatment of the public realm, connectivity, movement and related factors Later on, design guidelines were also added into planning and development briefs and were prepared by taking into account the ideas of local residents” (Edgar and Taylor, 2000, p.160). Finally recent researches indicate, “a successful town of the future is increasingly likely to be judged on its environmental performance and appearance” (Ache et al., 1990, cited in Roberts, 2000, p. 28).

3.3 Integrated regeneration of deprived areas

3.3.1 Understanding the problem

As mentioned before, regeneration can be defined as policy interventions seeking to achieve some combination of economic, physical, social and environmental improvements in defined geographical areas that have experienced decline (Roberts and Sykes, 2000; Jones and Evans, 2008). Poverty is among the important problems in the deprived areas, which comprises both social and physical aspects. The main contributing factors to poverty in deprived areas are unemployment, low education, health inequalities, and low level of participation in public life and poor physical conditions of the area (Colini et al, 2013). “The complex causes behind deprived areas make interventions difficult. In many cases spatially targeted urban policies fail to alleviate poverty on social aspects, changes happen but renovated areas are becoming gentrified, problems and people are shifted to other areas thus not the poorest people get the advantages” (Colini et al, 2013, p. 3). Integrated urban regeneration can be accounted as a need and interventions through these areas should to combine. In order to have deeper view of this issue several related models of interventions will be discussed below.

3.3.2 Alternative interventions of urban regeneration for deprived areas

According to research by URBACT², theoretically it is possible to distinguish two main approaches: “address the relevant policy sectors (employment, education, health, housing, etc.) and concentrate on specific geographic areas” (Colini et al, 2013, p. 26).

Sectoral interventions, comprising the ‘people- based approach’ are not related to

² URBACT is a European exchange and learning programme aiming to foster sustainable integrated urban development in cities across the Europe. URBACT’s mission is to enable cities to work together and develop integrated solutions to common urban challenges, by networking, learning from one another’s experiences, drawing lessons and identifying good practices to improve urban policies.

any specific spatial level, but emphasis on improving the situation of individuals or low-income households and particular needs with no regard where they live (Colini, 2013). Examples on such sectoral interventions are the following:

“Social housing policy that makes affordable housing available in all parts of the city; specific efforts to increase the lowest levels of public services provision; education and school policy that promotes equal quality of education and social mix of students in all schools; mobility policy that is guaranteeing equal opportunities of access by public transport from all parts of the city to the job market and major facilities. Such interventions may be applied at different geographical scales (e.g. national, regional or urban/local) depending on the organization of the policy in that country. The underlying assumption is that the interventions do not affect directly the deprived areas but might have positive effect on them” (URBACT, 2015, p. 4).

Area-based interventions, “concentrating on specific (deprived) geographic areas, on the other hand, are essentially place-based policies”. Area-based approaches do not focus on individuals but on a specific geographical unit, most often a neighborhood (Colini et al, 2013). “Typically, they include physical and social regeneration interventions: **‘hard’ measures**, such as physical restructuring or upgrading programmes in specific areas (e.g. demolition, new infrastructure, regeneration of housing, etc.) and **‘soft’ measures**, such as fostering skills, social capital and building capacity of people (e.g. work integration and training programmes, local festivals, etc.). The main goal of these interventions is to improve the situation of the people living in the given areas. Area-based policies rest on the assumption that by focusing on places with specific problems, the situation of the people living in these areas will improve. If it is true that large portion of the disadvantaged people live in such selected areas and that they continue to stay there also after improvements, the problems of deprived areas can be eased with area based policies” (Colini et al, 2013, p. 26).

It is noteworthy that in area-based regeneration there is a powerful link between physical interventions and their social consequences. Therefore, it is not possible to develop a 'best' regeneration strategy for a given neighborhood as there is always a conflict and trade-off among the different aspects of the renewal (URBACT, 2015). It is conceivable to aim for the highest physical standard of the regeneration but in this case it is difficult to keep and preserve the original social characteristics of the region (i.e. the poorest families are usually evicted by high quality improvements). "If the social aims are taken seriously and the advantages of the improvements are meant to be given to the poor residents of the poor area, it can cause further deterioration" (Jacquier, 2005).

According to Colini, people vs. area-based interventions are two ideal types, which cannot be ranked and categorized according to significance or efficiency. Both have their advantages and both have problems if applied alone (Colini et al, 2013). A sectoral policy will only affect some of the aspects of deprivation and it can even worsen the situation in regard of the other actors (e.g. the regeneration/ improvement of poor housing increases the rental and utility costs which increases the difficulties of the poor residents living on social benefit). An area-based policy will only impact on the aspects within the chosen area, i.e. disadvantaged people who do not live in the targeted areas are neglected (Colini et al, 2013). "Another frequent problem of area-based policies is that due to the improvements prices increase in the area and this leads to change of the population, pushing out the original disadvantaged residents to the next deprived area, replacing them by better off families" (URBACT, 2015, p. 5). To succeed in regeneration of the deprived and declined urban area the key is to integrate the two types of intervention logic. "This requires the combination of area-based and people-based interventions and the share of these two approaches should correspond to the specificities of the given context" (URBACT, 2015, p. 24). In the following decade integrated development gained ground in the literature of urban regeneration and it has been developed with the aim to integrate hard

(physical) investments with soft (social) measures in urban regeneration (Jacquier, 2005).

In the course of the URBACT programme a more accurate understanding of integrated urban development has been developed, identifying three distinctive aspects of integration:

- “ **Horizontal integration:** cooperation across the different sectoral policies and departments (e.g. infrastructure, housing, education, social matters, culture, environment) to address jointly a specific challenge; all sectoral decisions should be controlled regarding their effects on other sectors, recognizing that integrated development might require sub-optimal solutions along each dimension in order to reach good balance between all dimensions
- **Vertical integration:** cooperation between the different levels of administration, i.e. between the vertical chain-links of government to ensure coherence; higher levels of government can influence the outcomes at the lower level, while cities can achieve more with the support of regional and national frameworks.
- **Territorial integration:** cooperation between the adjacent municipalities in functional urban areas/metropolitan areas to ensure that negative externalities are not passed on across the administrative border of the city and to avoid displacement whereby problems are solved in one area but pop up elsewhere”(URBACT, 2015, p. 5)

Theoretically, to succeed in regenerating of urban areas, all aspects of integration should be applied at the same time in harmony with each other. This is, of course, impossible – cities and mayors even with the best ideas have to face political realities and can only achieve their ideas with unavoidable compromises. The above discussion of integration refers to the level of the municipality (urban area). It is also possible to raise the issue of integrated approach in regard of a programme or a project: whether the applied solution considers all of the economic, environmental

and social aspects, not favoring too much any of these at the expense of the others (URBACT, 2015).

3.3.3 Some observations and recommendations from the researches of urban regeneration

Urban regeneration process should be planned carefully due to the complexity of the problem. Accordingly, First to realize the types and problems of intended areas a detailed and transparent analysis has to be carried out in participative (for example are they dead-end or transitory areas). Moreover, this analysis is important to realize the dynamism of the processes of regeneration, in which direction are they heading, analyzing also the reasons behind the dynamic mobility processes of population groups (URBACT, 2015). “Following that the interventions have to be designed as a cyclical process: analysis, understanding, deciding on actions, implementation and evaluation. **Demolition of buildings** might be motivated by many reasons, such as to make the areas less dense, to create new public spaces/squares, to better connect neighborhoods to the city-center by creating new roads or bus lanes” (Colini et al, 2013, p. 6). The urban regeneration practice of many European countries has shown that in the case deprived and poor areas of cities demolition of buildings in itself does not solve alone the problems. It is important to identify the reasons why a specific area became a ‘dead end space’ (no go zone), otherwise soon after the demolition of the deteriorated buildings the structural forces will create another dead-end space somewhere else (where the poor population has been moved out to) (URBACT, 2015). There are many different discourses in Europe about **social mix strategies** “which aim at changing the social composition of deprived areas (either through attracting better-off residents into deprived areas or transferring disadvantaged people into well-off areas)”. Social mix is a controversial policy, but the effects of this policy can be inconclusive. “Social mix is an essential piece of a fair and efficient metropolitan area, but alone, without a variety of social supports and institutional structural changes, it will not make a difference” (URBACT, 2015, p. 6).

Successful urban regeneration cases show that **local participation** is always a key factor: it is impossible to achieve permanent results without participation of inhabitants who should be involved in the development of the strategy and its implementation. Similarly, it is important to have a strong partnership with the **relevant stakeholders** (housing companies, private actors) (URBACT, 2015).

Concretely decisions on urban regeneration projects are usually taken by the local municipalities. “The complexity of the problems, the many aspects to be taken into account and the many stakeholders to work with require **long-term policy-making**, independently of the electoral cycles. In many places in Europe this cannot be achieved without a total change in the mind-set of politicians” (URBACT, 2015, p. 7).

Successful regeneration of deprived areas is a challenging and complicated process, which needs **optimal cooperation** among different national, regional and local levels of public actors. In this process national level policies play important role in process of regeneration. Such national policies have to guarantee “the **appropriate level of financial means**, in good coordination of national, regional and local resources, to be used along a consistent strategic approach” (URBACT, 2015, p. 7).

3.4 Conclusion

In conclusion this part of the study has shown that the regeneration of deprived urban areas is one of the important tools to fight urban decline. It can be suggested that an acceptable result can be achieved in combination of both area-based and people-based interventions as well as considering a counterbalance measure between these two approaches based on the specificities of the given context.

As stated before theoretically all aspects of integrated urban regeneration should be applied at the same time in harmony with each other. It is also possible to raise the issue of integrated approach in regard of a programme or a project: the applied solutions should consider all of the economic, environmental and social aspects, not favoring too much any of these at the expense of the others.

The literature of urban regeneration does not provide us with a standard model to reverse the decline. As also stated by Tiesdell, (1996, p. 201), “there is no standard formula for successful regeneration”; therefore “approaches to revitalization must be based on the local and the particular”. The literature review in this chapter shows that plausible urban regeneration requires acquiring strategic, partnership and integrated approaches. It is possible to develop key components of physical and social aspects of urban regeneration regarding to the key components of these three approaches explained in this section. Yet, the assessment of success of an urban regeneration project is a rather difficult and complicated. For this reason, this thesis will only define the key components of urban regeneration according to integrated approach and will make an evaluation of a regeneration project regarding these components.

3.5 Key Components for integrated urban regeneration projects

Physical Aspects:

Improving living standards in the built environment and solving spatial and physical problems of the region and reviving urban design:

- Providing good quality of urban design in terms of attractive public spaces, streets and amenities
- Improving the quality of housing stocks especially targeting low income groups
- Amending undesired perception of the area as an unsafe, unclean and unlikeable region
- Preserving historical and cultural heritage

Social Aspects:

Identifying and evaluating social, economic and cultural characteristics of the region:

- Developing multi-financial and local economic activities and creating new job opportunities aiming for economic regeneration of the region
- Reducing crime rate and frequency of crime in the site
- Improving educational and health service opportunities of the site
- Achieving local and public participation
- Financing shelter provision and keeping the local community in the site (preventing gentrification)

CHAPTER 4

THE STUDY OF SULUKULE NEIGHBOURHOOD AND ITS REGENERATION PROJECT

4.1 The reasons to carry out the case study in Turkey, on the Sulukule districts in Istanbul

In recent years, essential changes have taken place in urban areas in Turkey as in the world. In the case of Turkey, change meant urbanization and urban development to many people, especially during the 1980s and 1990s (Ergun & Gül, 2011). According to Ergun and Gül, the ratio of people living in cities reached just over 50 percent in 1985. Nowadays, 75 percent of the population lives in urban areas in Turkey. Urban growth in Turkey resulted by various reasons like rapid migration to cities, uncontrolled and unplanned urbanization trends and economic development (Ergun & Gül, 2011). Rapid migration to urban areas has resulted critical problems, such as “ample supply of unskilled labor, insufficient housing, inadequate urban infrastructure and urban services, traffic congestion, environmental degradation, poverty and deprivation, among others” (Ergun & Gül, 2011, p. 156). The construction of squatter housing (called “gecekondu” in Turkish that literally means a shelter constructed overnight) by the new comers in the suburbs areas of the cities via informal and illegal ways can be also added to the list above (Gül & Dulupçu, 2010). Rapid migration to urban areas forced governments to generate some solutions for urban problems. Yet, the lack of public resources prevented the development of successful solutions. As result new comers to the cities were left to construct their own housing and find ways on their own to start the new life in the cities (Ergun & Gül, 2011). Although, there were investments in the cities but they were insufficient to meet the demands of the ever-rising numbers of migrants. Urban regeneration in Turkey has become one of the main strategy for urban development

after AKP (Justice and Development Party) administration came to power in 2002. Actually, urban regeneration has been presented as a remedy for the solution of various urban problems (Gür & Dülgeroğlu, 2011). Accordingly, urban transformation projects have been carried out one after another with the aims of “clear squatter housing, to renew some dilapidated neighborhoods, to provide for basic urban infrastructure, urban housing and services, and to increase the attraction of cities in Turkey, particularly in large cities such as Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir. In this process, many cities have had a chance to improve housing stock and urban infrastructure but some disadvantaged groups in many cities in Turkey have been displaced or relocated” (Ergun & Gül, 2011).

Sulukule is located at the historical peninsula of Istanbul, at the edge of historical city walls. The area was a 1000 year-old settlement for gypsies (Marsh, 2008). Majority of the neighborhood was Roman people who have been living in that area since Byzantine Empire, including the Ottoman Empire period between the 16th and 19th century, Roman community used to live outside the walls of the city. After the establishment of Turkey in 1923, Roman people continued to live in the same area and earned a living from entertainment houses, playing music and dancing. Until 1990, entertainment houses were their only opportunity to work and provided employment for around 3500 people (Foggo, 2007). However, in 1990s, municipality closed down these houses on the grounds that they were involved in illegal activities. After the closure, Roman people had troubles for finding jobs in other sectors. Consequently, they started to work in marginal sectors such as plastic collection or street vender, which did not provide them with the income they earned from entertainment houses. As a result, social and financial problems emerged and the area gradually turned into a deprived urban area (Cin & Egercioğlu, 2015).

The neighborhood finally caught the attention of the municipality and urban regeneration project for Sulukule was introduced in 2005 based on the law 5366. Sulukule is the first example of "renewal area" according the law 5366 (Fatih Municipality, 2006). Using the power given by this law, Fatih municipality emerged

the urban regeneration project with the aim of stopping physical and social decay to secure the sustainability of the neighborhood and to protect historical heritage (Neslisah ve Hatice Sultan Neighbourhood regeneration area, 2014).

Sulukule has been studied by many scholars in terms of urban regeneration (Somersan, 2007; Islam, 2009). These studies analyzed how project was implemented on site looked into the issues of resistance against state and solidarity of people (Foggo, 2007; Uysal, 2012, Karaman, 2014; Karaman, & Islam, 2012) and focused on legal bases of the project (Oral, 2009). The project also caught worldwide attention and led to protests at national level. From the viewpoint of capital system and the government, the project was successful as it was a “squatter clearance” (Oral, 2009). New houses were built, most of which was unaffordable for the former residents. “From the perspective of housing rights, human rights and access right to the city concepts, many scholars believe that it was a frustration as people were expropriated, alienated, victimized and displaced for gentrification” (Cin & Egercioğlu, 2015, p. 270).

This thesis main reason for choosing this case study as an example is to study an urban regeneration project, which had social, spatial and economic impacts on the society. Being as one of the recent examples of regeneration projects within the context of Turkey that has greatly draw the attention of many, the Sulukule neighborhood is chosen as the case study of this thesis. More specifically in this case different aspects regarding the both social and physical dimensions scrutinized variously by different groups of people both by those who involved in the project and outside of it as in the case of academicians, activists and media. This feature of this case can be subjected to further and detailed study especially within the main theme of this thesis that is the integrated approach in the urban regeneration projects.

This chapter first introduces Sulukule by giving historic overview of the district, then outlines the neighborhood and community’s characteristics and its social-economic and physical-environmental problems before the project. Then it summarizes the

urban regeneration process of Sulukule. As this thesis aims to have an integrated approach toward the Sulukule project this chapter also is set out to investigate the physical aspect of the project and to see whether they corresponded to the needs and habits of the local people of the region, and finally both social and physical aspects of the project based on criteria of the integrated urban regeneration will be discussed.

4.2 Historic overview of Sulukule

Sulukule was different from many other neighborhoods in Istanbul in terms of socio-economic characteristics, location, and history. From different perspectives atmosphere could be characterized as a “Romani village,” although there were non-Romani people who worked and lived in that area. It was not located on such a land without legal title like other urban transformation areas in Istanbul (Marsh and Strand, 2005).



Figure 4-1: Historical City wall and Sulukule Neighborhood (2004)

Source: http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Dosya:Sulukule_and_the_wall.jpg (Last accessed: 25/03/2018)

According to Marsh and Strand, the neighborhood was settled by Roman community immigrants who came from India, and Egypt on the Balkan countries to Istanbul. By the end of eleventh century, people today we describe as Roman had arrived in Byzantium. They lived in the capital, Costantinople (Istanbul). “They were recorded

as Aiguptissa, or “Egyptians”, dealers in magic charms and fortune-tellers, dancers, and entertainers, metal- workers and horse-traders” (Marsh and Strand, 2005, p. 8). According to many sources, the first settlement of these people was outside the city walls at the Edirne Kapı (Gate of Charisius), close to the Sulukule neighborhood. “In the context of the Gypsies of Turkey, the communities in Istanbul represent the longest continuous presence of Roman Gypsies anywhere in the world” (Marsh and Strand, 2005, p. 8). They lived on the same land since Byzantine and Ottoman times until the time of the Turkish Republic (Ezme, 2014).

Gypsies have spoken a different language of Roman language in Istanbul since Byzantine times. Today, for Sulukule Roman people, the same thing is not true. They speak a different dialect of Turkish with special idioms, words, mimicry, sounds, etc. Roman people have had jobs that were distinctive from other people. Paintings from Ottoman times show Roman people while dancing and playing music instruments with colorful clothes. We could observe a similar situation for Sulukule people in their lifestyle and job preference before the urban regeneration process (Ezme, 2014).



Figure 4-2: Sulukule in the past (left) and Sulukule right before urban renewal project (2005) (right)
Source: Google Earth (Last accessed: 25/05/2017)

Also, Istanbul's Roman people, especially the Sulukule people, had contributed to the city by creating new job opportunities based on their lifestyle such as basketry, flower making, horse breeding, etc. "Roman basket makers of Sulukule built the historical "Sepetciler Kasri" (Basket makers Pavilion) and gave it to the Sultan IV. Murad as a gift. In addition to this, Roman people played a significant role in finding "janissary bands³" in the Ottoman times because of their relation to music" (Cetingoz, 2008).



Figure 4-3: Sulukule in the past (left) Sulukule right before regeneration project (right)

Source: <http://eksikhikayeler.blogspot.com/2013/03/cingeneler-bohemienne.html> (Last accessed: 19/05/2017)

Source: <http://www.radikal.com.tr/radikal2/sulukule-artik-arkeolojik-sittir-986870/> (Last accessed:02/05/2017)

Sulukule first experienced demolition in 1957 when the main artery Vatan Caddesi was opened in Fatih district. Before this, Sulukule formerly included the land south of this neighborhood. A part of the historic wall in Edirnekapi and 29 houses in Sulukule was destroyed in this process (Yilmaz, 2009). The people who had lived in the demolished houses moved to the Sultan neighborhoods (Hatice Sultan and Neslişah Sultan). Residents housed this area within Sulukule again in the 1960s

³ Janissary band is one of the oldest military marching bands in the world. This band was very famous in the Ottoman times. Today, this tradition still continues in Turkey and the janissary bands attend many national day organizations.

because of the large Roman population. Other people from the old settlement moved to Ahirkapi, Kustepe, Hacı Husrev and other Roman neighborhoods in Istanbul (Foggo, 2007).

In 1969, Sulukule people found the “Sulukule Tourism, Preservation and Sustenance Association” (Turizm Koruma ve Yasatma Derneği) (Yilmaz, 2009). The purpose of this association was to “introduce the Roman culture and Sulukule to other citizens in Istanbul. But the first aim was to build the old Sulukule neighborhood again on the same land. In 1969, the neighborhood organized the International Gypsy Festival. After the festival, the Association leaders acknowledged that they could not build the old neighborhood again and adapted to the new area. As a result, they closed the association. After those days, Istanbul citizens called this new area Sulukule. In 1982, the core of the old Sulukule area was demolished” (Foggo, 2007, p. 45).

After this second process of destruction, Sulukule became a region for entertainment. “It became famous because of its music and dance culture. Most of the people in the neighborhood worked in the entertainment sector and some of them even became famous” (Yilmaz, 2009, p. 55). After the implementation of the entertainment houses project, interest in Roman culture and music increased. The impact enjoyed by both the entertainment houses and Romani culture, in general, was greater social interest by the people of Istanbul in the 1980s” (Yilmaz, 2009, p. 55). Some residents applied to the Ministry of Tourism for funds supporting “entertainment houses.” They received approval from the national government for this project, but the municipality, as the local government, did not accept the project. Despite the municipality’s veto, the project moved forward. Residents managed to reach a compromise with the municipality to allow the number of entertainment houses in Sulukule to increase to thirty-four (Ezme, 2014).

According to Çetingöz, “through this project, many residents of Sulukule converted their houses to entertainment houses, especially the houses next to the historic city wall. This project created many new job opportunities in the area. 3500 people

worked in this project, and it improved the economic situation of the neighborhood” (Çetingoz, 2008, p. 25). Most of the high-rise buildings in the neighborhood were constructed in this era as an effect of this economic development. Women had a chance to work as cooks, costumers, tailors and waitresses in this sector. Some women sewed costumes, some of them danced, the others served in the restaurants, etc. Men played music instruments, drove horse-cars, served as waiters or security, etc. This seven-year period was the most prosperous era of Sulukule (Çetingoz, 2008).

As Foggo (2007) stated, “In 1992, the municipality and the police department came to an agreement to close most of the entertainment houses in the area. In 1994, the old chief of police department Saadettin Tantan became the mayor of Fatih Municipality and closed the last entertainment houses too. After this date, economy of Sulukule steadily decreased” (Foggo, 2007, p. 41).

4.3 Neighborhood characteristics of Sulukule

Sulukule neighborhood is located in the Fatih district in the Istanbul metropolitan area. The area is located inside of the historical peninsula known as, the oldest settlement in Istanbul. According to many sources, Sulukule was older than the city wall right next to the neighborhood. According to census data, the population was 3,500 with about 571 households for the neighborhood (UNESCO, 2008). The neighborhood is located on a valuable land, which is served, by trams and buses. It is close to many historical sites such as Suleymaniye Mosque, Chora Museum, Church of St. Mary of the Mongols, and Saint Stephen Bulgarian Orthodox Church because of its location in the historical peninsula. Most of the people in Istanbul knew the neighborhood because they used these transportation routes, or because they knew about the historic city wall right next to the neighborhood (UNESCO, 2008).

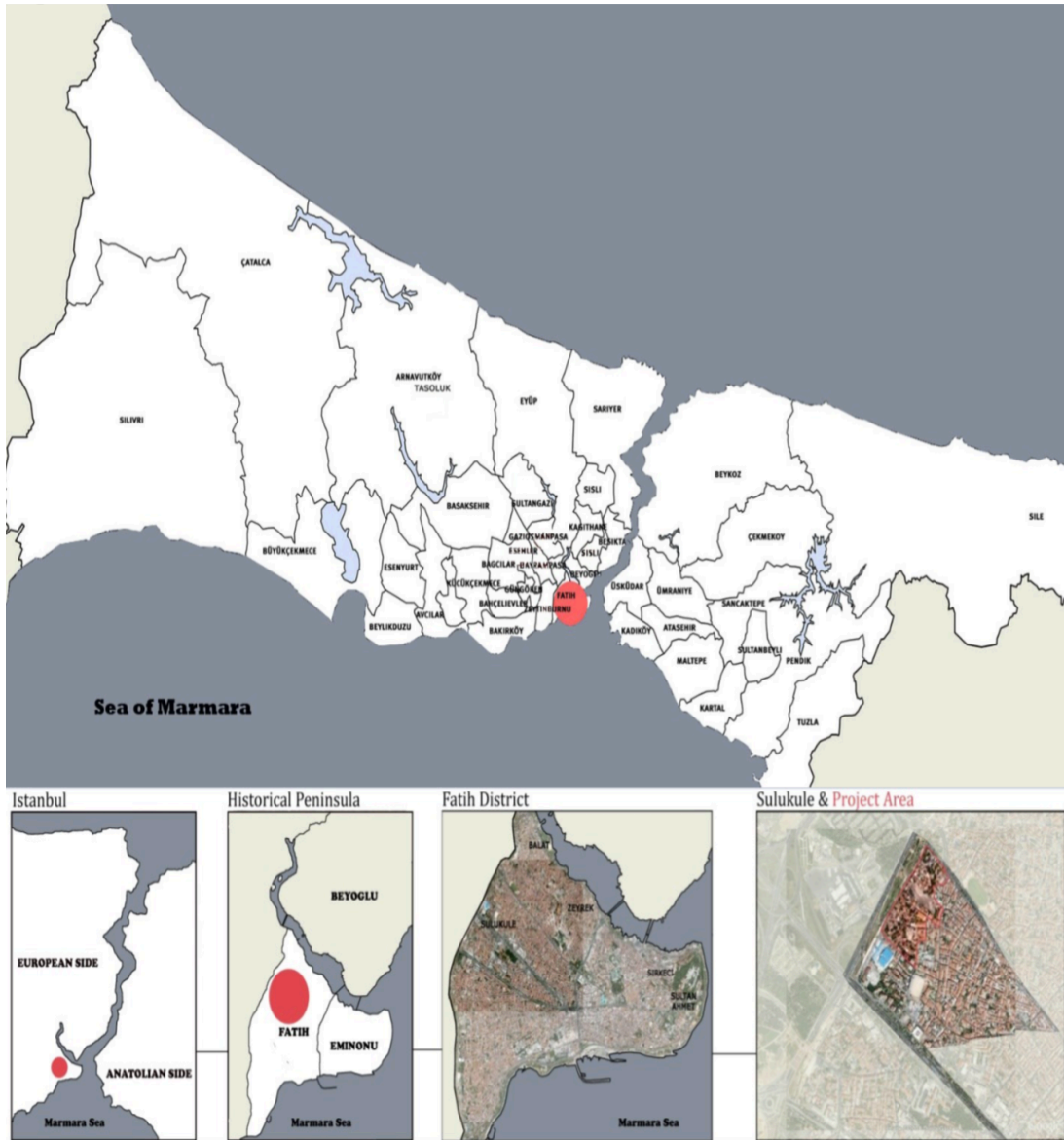


Figure 4-4: Location of Sulukule in Istanbul
Source: (Ezme, 2014, p. 47)

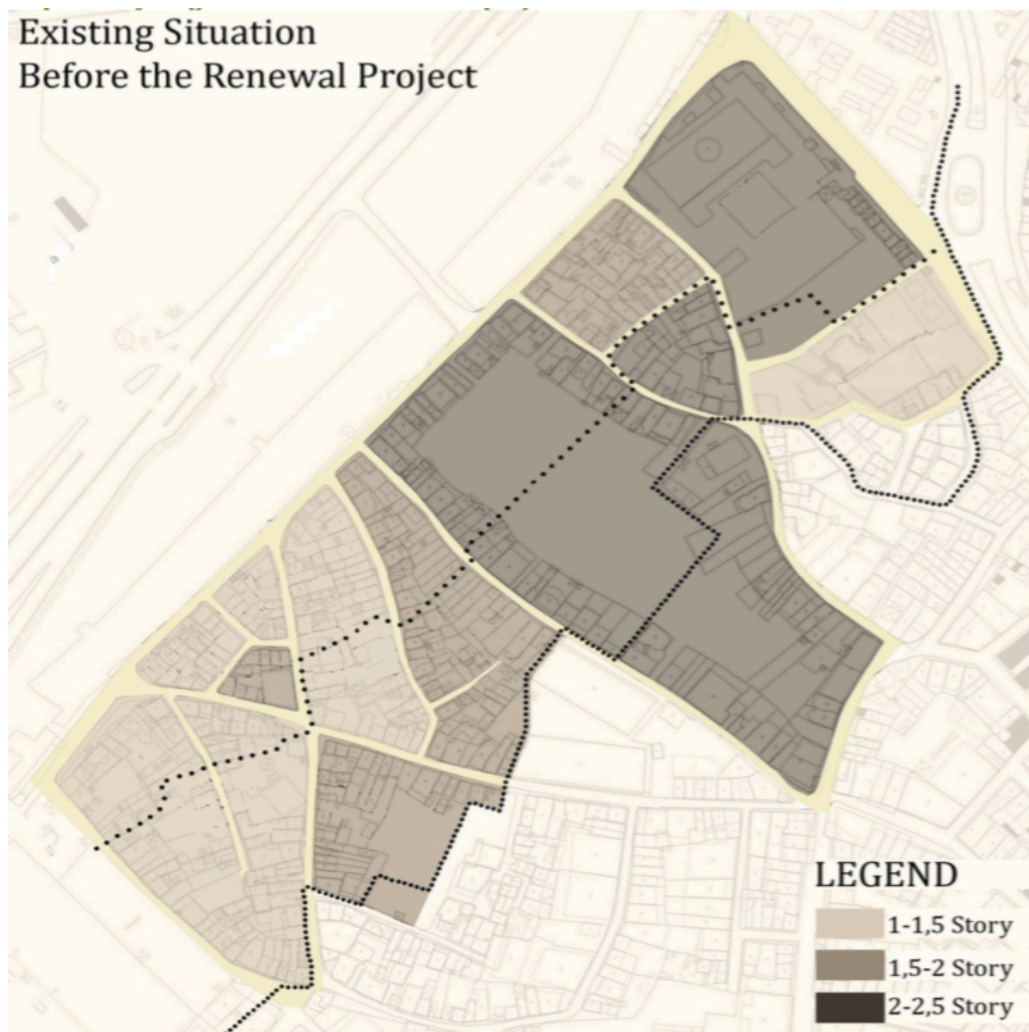


Figure 4-5: Story height in Sulukule before regeneration project
Source: “Socio-Economic Spatial Improvement and Cultural Sustainability Project” prepared by Sulukule Studio (2009).

The neighborhood consisted in most of the low-rise buildings. Figure 4-5 shows story height in the neighborhood, and average story height in per block varied between 1 and 2 floor. The black dashed line in Figure 4-5 shows the “historic site guard band.” Between this band and the historic city wall, it was forbidden to build more than a 2-story building. This was done to preserve the historic panorama and helped maintain Sulukule low-rise milieu (Sulukule Studio, 2009).



Figure 4-6: Civil architecture examples in Sulukule before regeneration project
Source: Sulukule Platform (2008)



Figure 4-7: Historical buildings in Sulukule before regeneration project
Source: <http://gezgene.blogspot.com.tr/2012/11/sulukule.html> (last accessed:02/04/2018)

Figure 4-8 shows that there were various historic buildings in the Sulukule neighborhood (24 civil architecture examples, and 45 historic structures including mosques, a historic fountain, etc.). Most of them needed restoration and were in poor condition (Sulukule Studio, 2009). As can be seen in the following photos, “the street pattern was organic and the streets were very small scale. Because of the sloping land, some of the streets offered a view of the historic city wall or one of the mosques. From the top of the historic wall, it was possible to see the whole Sulukule” (Sulukule Studio, 2009).

Historic- Officially Registered Buildings

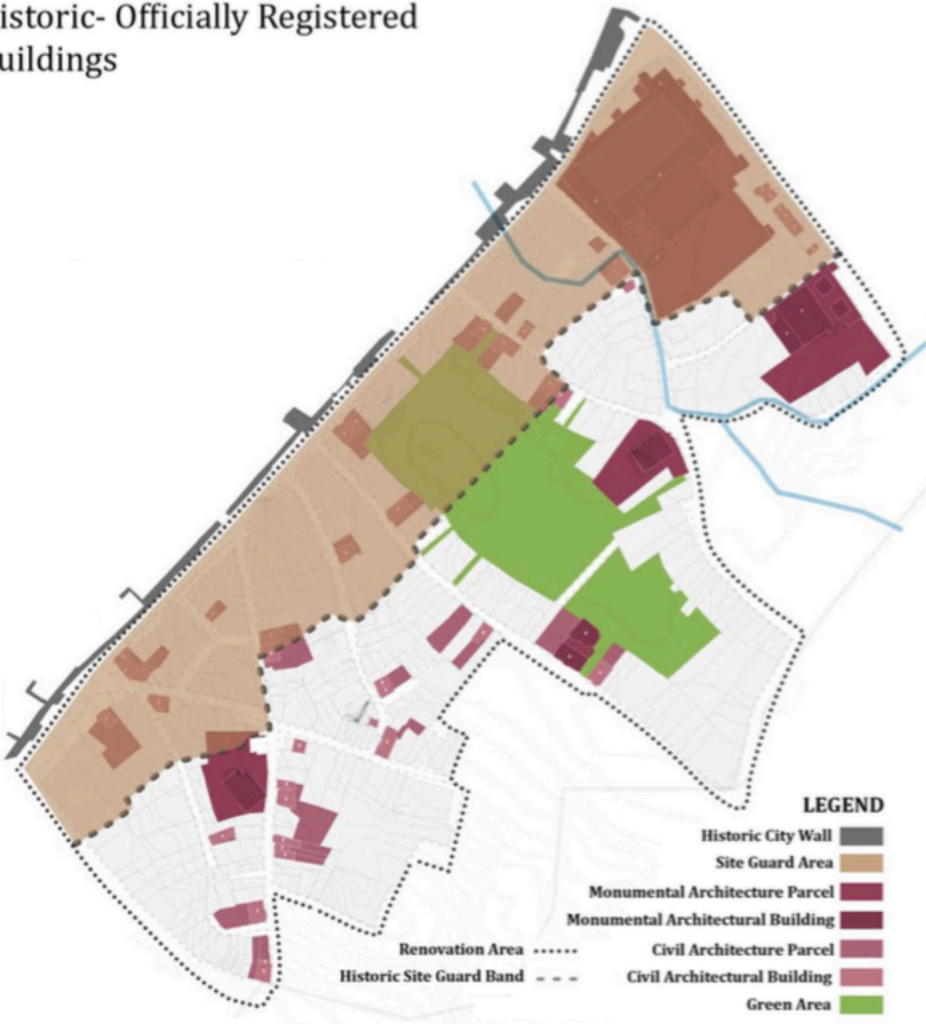


Figure 4-8: Historic structures in Sulukule before regeneration project
Source: Sulukule Studio (2009)



Figure 4-9: Monumental historical elements of Sulukule district .The photo of historic Edirnekapi Door (Left); and the photo of historic city wall and Mihrimah Sultan Mosque (Right)
Source: Google earth (Last accessed: 17/03/2018)



Figure 4-10: Street pattern of Sulukule before regeneration project
Source: <http://www.fatihhaber.com/sulukule-neolacak.htm> (Last accessed: 17/03/2018)

According to Ezme “the streets were very lively, and they were used as an extension of people’s homes. Women set outside, cooked together on the street, washed their carpets in summer time, street hawkers sold their wares, children played games, At any given moment you could hear the sound of music from dwellings. Wedding ceremonies and parties took place outdoors. The streets constituted the neighborhood’s public space” (Ezme, 2014).



Figure 4-11: Streets of Sulukule before regeneration project
Source: Photos taken by Nejla Osseiran <http://canimsulukule.blogspot.com.tr> (Last accessed: 20/12/2017)

Sulukule has always been a lively entertainment center. In Sulukule, Roman families have fostered a distinctive style of entertainment with different activities such as fortune telling, acrobatics, music and dance performances in private residences (Foggo, 2007). “The entertainment houses in Sulukule have traditionally been the main source of income for its residents. In these family entertainment houses, the musicians were often fathers, sons and male members of the families, whereas the dancers were daughters and mothers” (Foggo, 2007, p. 41). Middle and upper class customers often rented the entire house or a room and enjoyed food and spirits (Akçura, 2007). The entertainment culture in Sulukule is widely known amongst Turkish society and has been represented in numerous movies and TV series. However, in the early 1990s, following claims that Roman people in Sulukule were dealing drugs and engaging in prostitution, the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality closed down the houses (Somersan, 2007).

PEOPLE

Sulukule had a strong presence of Roman people, but there were non-Roman people who also lived and worked in Sulukule. The Roman community was widely known as proficient musicians and dancers (Placing Sulukule, 2007). The classical music of

the Ottoman court was greatly influenced by the Roman people music, they also formed the core of the Ottoman military band and up until the formation of the modern Republic of Turkey were among the top musicians of the country (Placing Sulukule, 2007). Roman children commonly learn how to play a number of musical instruments at home (Foggo, 2007). Nowadays many Romani musicians still play in cafes and restaurants around Istanbul, and they are known as significant players on the musical scene. Many internationally famous belly dancers have also come from Sulukule (Placing Sulukule, 2007). The scene below is from a street festival in Sulukule.



Figure 4-12: Street music festival in Sulukule

Source: <http://www.sanattanyansimlar.com> (Last accessed: 11/03/2018)

ECONOMY

Sulukule was popular for the musical skill of the Roman people of neighborhood, “at one time 35 entertainment houses were run there. In the 1950’s residents organized themselves and applied to the Ministry of Culture and Tourism to be put on the City of Istanbul’s official tourism map as an entertainment hub” (Placing Sulukule, 2007,

p. 23). The closure of the entertainment houses of this neighborhood, which were vastly successful enterprises for the people in 1992, caused serious economic decline, as there were a lot of industries, which afforded support services for the entertainment houses (UNESCO, 2008). Roman people of Sulukule had extensive social networks, and receive economic support from it in the form of discounts on goods and services and credit on purchases. “It was harder for them to receive this kind of support in settlements that did not have Roman community, as they were generally not trusted in the society at large. This trend has been noted in other areas where Roman communities have dispersed from over time such as in the Fener and Balat areas (Placing Sulukule, 2007, p. 23). Since the closing of the halls, the area has tackled slow degradation. Before Sulukule Regeneration Project there were many diverse economic activities in the neighborhood. The streets were lined with: mini-markets, cafes, real state offices, car repair shops, tomb stone engravers and etc. (Placing Sulukule, 2007).

POLITICS

The Municipality of Fatih and the Sulukule Community relationship were strained. As result, the flow of information between them even concerning the development proposal was unsatisfactory as many community members were unaware of regeneration project. The relationship between the community and the Muhtar (the neighborhood representative to the municipality) was also quite weak (Placing Sulukule, 2007).

BUILT ENVIRONMET

40 years ago all the houses in Sulukule were demolished, and most of the community had since been reconstructed following the resettlement from the road expropriation and the earthquake. “All the buildings apart from the Neslişah mosque and a few other ‘conserved’ buildings were rebuilt after 1960. There were about 600 houses in Sulukule before regeneration project” (Placing Sulukule, 2007, p. 24).

Most of the buildings of Sulukule district were old and were in an advanced state of deterioration. In addition, electrical and water services to parts of the community had been discontinued (services to the area were discontinued because residents' did not keep up with payments). "During a forum organized by the Istanbul 2010 European Capital of Culture Committee community members stated that they were not permitted to repair or renovate their homes because the area was regarded as a conservation area" (Foggo, 2007, p.24).



Figure 4-13: Poor conditions of housing buildings in Sulukule before regeneration project
Source: <http://www.fatih.bel.tr/icerik/1155/neslisah-ve-hatice-sultan-sulukule-mahalleleri-yenileme-projesi/>
(Last accessed: 25/04/2018)

4.4 Physical-Environmental and Social-Economic problems of neighborhood

In the past most residents in Sulukule earned their living from entertainment, closure the entertainment houses caused unemployment and paved the way to urban decay. According to Özden, Since the 1990s, local governments have neglected Sulukule. Sulukule has been deprived of access to basic municipal services such as transportation, sanitation and education and has been abandoned to its own fate (Özden, 2008). The neighborhood has since turned to a slum area and suffered from poverty (Karaman, 2008). In this period, population of Sulukule decreased from 10,000 to 3500 (Foggo, 2007). "Before the Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project, it was estimated that 3000–3500 ethnic Roman people used to live in Sulukule, constituting at least 80% of the whole population" (Foggo, 2007). The Fatih

Municipality's survey presented that "31% of the population of Sulukule district was illiterate, 34% had primary education and 5% had finished junior high school. Only 4% of the population was high school graduates. Economic indicators were alarming as well; 77% of the inhabitants were unemployed and 64% had no social insurance" (Fatih Municipality, 2007). According to Foggo (2007) "about a quarter of the incomes of the locals were below 300 Turkish Liras (approximately 150 Euros) and half of them earned less than 500 Turkish Liras monthly" (Foggo, 2007, p. 41). The average household size was above six persons and each family had at least two children. Grandparents and grandchildren usually lived together and were sometimes had to share a flat with other families. The private land ownership rate was 40% (Placing Sulukule, 2007).

Physical wear and destruction was at extreme levels in the area. Also, the ratio of urban deprivation was also very high. Quite high ratios of illegal activities and run robberies, the trade of narcotics, and prostitution brought along problems of social marginalization and inability to integrate with the society. Authorities used indicators of poverty and physical decay in Sulukule to construct 'regeneration rhetoric' (Uysal, 2012).

4.4.1 Social-Economic problems of Sulukule

EDUCATION

There was a sharp difference between Sulukule and Istanbul in terms of employment and education., the rate of illiteracy in Istanbul in 2009 was 3.8%, 27% of the population had primary school education, 15.9% were junior high school graduates and 18.2% are high school graduates. The rate of unemployment in Istanbul was 14%. The average household size is three persons (Turkish Statistical Institute, 2009).

Prior to Sulukule Renewal Project, a research study called SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF SULUKULE carried out by Professor. Korkut Tuna, Assistant Prof. Ayşen Şatiroğlu, and Mustafa Çağlayandereli, Ph.D. of Istanbul University.

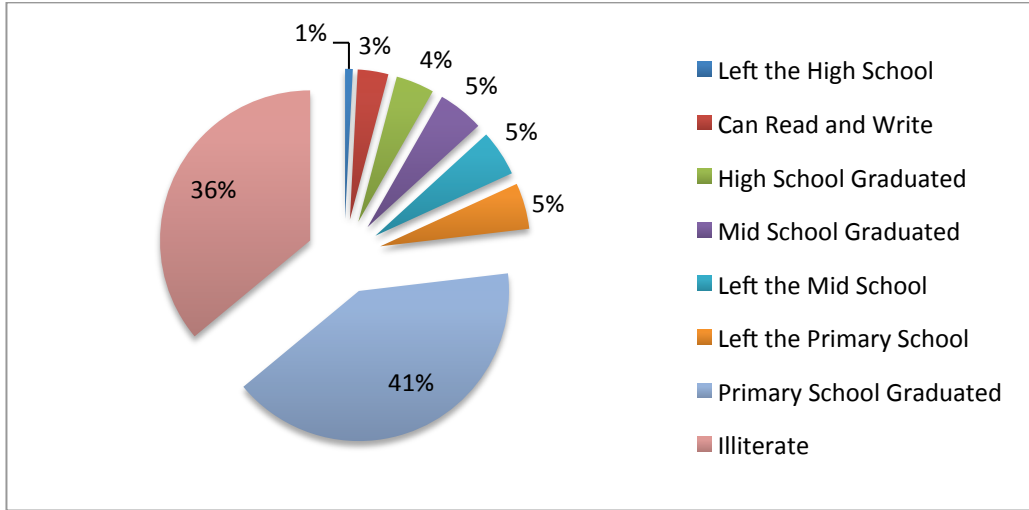


Table 4-1: Education level of Sulukule neighborhood before regeneration project
Source: (Çağlayandereli & Şatiroğlu, 2008, p.160).

According to the study data, it's been understood that the educational level of Neslişah residents was highly below the average of both Istanbul and Turkey in general (Çağlayandereli & Şatiroğlu, 2008).

By the year 2000 the number of illiterate people to the ratio of Turkey's general population was 14% and for Istanbul, the general ratio was 8%. In any case, the number of the illiterate people in paradigm group was determined as 31%. According to this research there was no single case for an individual who received higher education. In addition to the group of people who left secondary school education uncompleted, the total number of the people who took primary school education was only 40%. The number of the people who completed their secondary school education was only 10%. The remaining number of the people composed of the ones who couldn't complete their primary school education, which was 17% and the ones who although could not take any primary school education but learned how to write and read which was 1% (Çağlayandereli & Şatiroğlu, 2008).

ECONOMY

In the past most residents in Sulukule earned their living from entertainment, closing down the entertainment houses drove up unemployment and paved the way to urban decline. Since the 1990s, local governments had neglected Sulukule (Foggo, 2007). According to Foggo 77% of the inhabitants were unemployed and 64% had no social insurance. A survey by Sulukule Platform indicates that about a quarter of the incomes of the locals are below 300 Turkish Liras (approximately 150 Euros) and half of them earn less than 500 Turkish Liras monthly (Foggo, 2007).

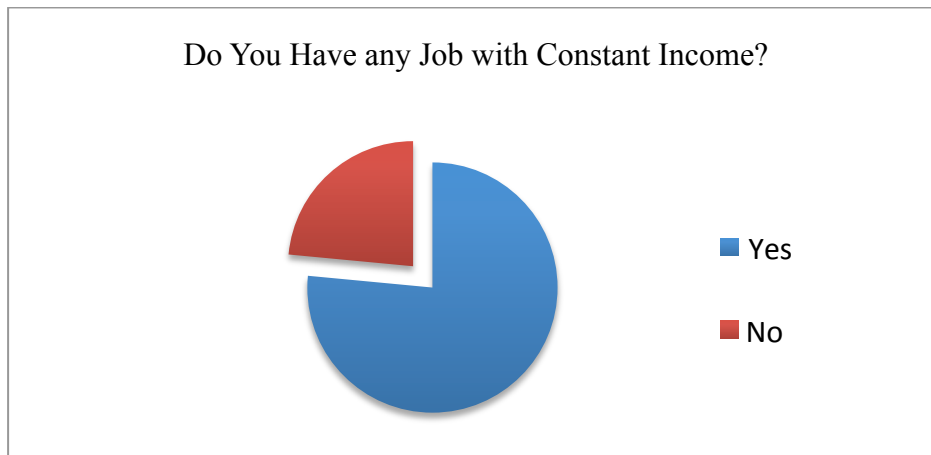


Table 4-2: Employment conditions of Sulukule neighborhood before regeneration project
Source: (Çağlayandereli & Şatroğlu, 2008, p.164)

According to SOCIAL STRUCTURE OF SULUKULE REASERCH Occupations widespread in the neighborhood were:

- Tradesmen, 21%
- Occupations related to the informal sector groups, 15%
- The worker, 14%
- Musicians, 3%

4.4.2 Physical-Environmental problems

The inhabitants of the Sulukule districts had suffered from different physical and environmental problems, such as the buildings and streets in poor conditions, environmental pollution, inadequate infrastructure and cleaning services. The majority of the inhabitants mostly complained about the low quality of life in the district, which was mainly caused by the buildings in poor conditions (Fatih Municipality, 2005).

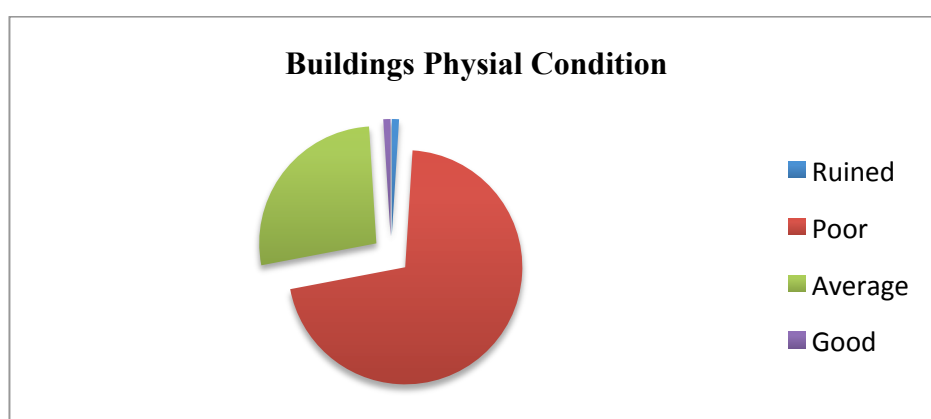


Table 4-3: “Buildings physical condition” of Sulukule before regeneration project
Source: (Fatih Municipality, 2006)

The ratio of the buildings in an average condition was, 27% and the buildings in a ruined condition was, 1%. Within the project area, while 3 of the buildings were listed as being in a good conditions 1 particular building is identified as being ruined. Many of the buildings in Sulukule were rundown and were in an advanced state of deterioration. In addition, electrical and water services to parts of the community have been discontinued (services to the area were discontinued because residents’ did not keep up with payments) (Fatih Municipality, 2006). Streets were in poor condition and there were no proper sidewalks and parking spaces before regeneration, people and cars were shared the streets, which sometimes could be a great risk for accidents (Placing Sulukule, 2007).



Figure 4-14: Sulukule district before regeneration project
Source: (Erturk, 2009, p.63)

As it's clearly seen from the aforementioned remarks, in the area identified as Sulukule, both physical and social living conditions were considered problematic. As from the social point of view pervasive unemployment, low education and lack of accessibility to education services, illegal activities and poor health condition. On the other side from physical point of view even though that the district classified as a protected area it's been argued above 71% of the buildings were in poor constructional conditions. This situation also negatively affected the officially registered neighboring buildings and causing further demolitions.

4.5 Sulukule urban regeneration project

Urban regeneration as an urban policy was introduced to Turkey in 1996 at the Habitat II⁴ Conference (Güney, 2009). In 2004 and 2005, several amendments were made in municipal laws to develop the municipality's authority in urban policies and decentralize planning power (Uysal, 2012). Municipalities start to take running roles in regeneration projects and collaborate with the private sector. "In June 2005, the Turkish Parliament passed Law 5366 for Renovation, Protection, Cherishing and Use of Worn Historical and Cultural Immovable Properties (Yıpranan Tarihi ve Kültürel Tasımmaz Varlıkların Yenilenerek Korunması ve Yaşatılarak Kullanılması Hakkında Kanun), which became the main legal background for urban regeneration in Turkey "(Uysal, 2012, p. 14). This law gave authorization to municipalities to implement large-scale urban transformation projects 'with the right of expropriation in deteriorated historic areas and zones of degeneration'. According to Uysal, the Law of Municipalities, Article 73, was amended in 2010, delegating extensive powers to municipalities. Municipalities now can implement regeneration projects to build public housing estates, industrial and trade zones, technology parks and recreational areas, protect and restore deteriorated urban areas, conserve historical and cultural heritage and take precautions against earthquake risks (Uysal, 2012).

⁴ The second United Nation conference on human settlements, Istanbul 1996

Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project approved by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality Council in January 2006. The decision was announced in the Official Journal in December 2006. Three actors jointly implemented the project: The Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, The Fatih Municipality and The Mass Housing Administration (TOKI) (UNESCO, 2008).

The Historical Peninsula in Istanbul has hosted several civilizations during the history. This area has a unique heritage with her civil architectural examples and monumental works as well as historical and cultural texture extending from the past to the today in Turkey and over the world. This historical and cultural texture has failed in completing its development and change due to the lack of care and maintenance for many years (Safdari, 2014).

As a result of the same negligence and devastation, some obsolete ruin and rubbish regions appeared in various neighborhood of city. In addition to the physical collapses in such areas, a number of social, economic and cultural problems have emerged. It is another risk for such obsolete zones to be prone of earthquakes. One of such zones in the historical peninsula is the historical Haticesultan and Neslişah (Sulukule) District. Sulukule was included in the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality's "urban design" program in September 2002. As mentioned before, three years later the law "5366" (which is about age-worn historic and culturally significant properties and their renovation and restoration) was passed in July 2005. With this new legislation, the Mass Housing Administration of Turkey (TOKI) and municipalities were authorized to carry out urban renewal projects in historic areas.

Sulukule, which was a protected historical area with courtyard type houses, historic buildings, civil architecture structures, a unique street texture and urban fabric dating back to the 19th Century and century-old trees, was declared as a renewal area by the Fatih Municipality (Oral, 2010). "This decision was approved by the Council of Ministers in April 2006. TOKI, the Fatih Municipality and Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality signed a protocol for the "Hatice and Neslişah Sultan Neighborhoods

(Sulukule) Urban Renewal Project” in the summer, 2006. As it shown in figure 4-15, the project area was 18,000 square meters, which covers all of Sulukule” (Sulukule Studio, 2009).



Figure 4-15: Sulukule urban regeneration project's area
Source: Google maps (Last accessed: 25/03/2018)

The project aimed to create new “Ottoman style” low-rise housing. The project contained a hotel, a Roman cultural center and office buildings (Figure 4-16). The project sought to “preserve the historical and cultural area,” “prepare a new space as a part of the 2010 Istanbul Cultural Center organization,” and make the area habitable. Sulukule was chosen, according to the municipality’s plan report, because of the high rate of poverty, crime, and the need to renovate existing buildings. Before the project, the municipality had done a survey in the neighborhood based on the economic situation of the inhabitants. The study covered land-ownership, tenure status, and income (Ertürk, 2009).

According to Fatih Municipality the official objectives of the project were the following: “ the Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project aims to preserve national and world heritage, particularly historical tissue in Sulukule including ancient walls, to stop physical decay and to secure the sustainability of the neighborhood, to maintain economic development, to promote urban integration, to increase standards of living in Sulukule and to encourage dwellers to participate in urban policies” (Fatih Municipality, 2006). The regeneration plan in Sulukule includes the redesigning of three major avenues, ten streets and 22 historical sites. Four hundred and eighty “Ottoman style” wooden houses with modern infrastructure, a cultural center, a primary school, new stores and hotels are to be rebuilt in Sulukule to reinvigorate the neighborhood’s stagnant economy, to protect cultural dynamics and to promote tourism (Fatih Municipality, 2006).



Figure 4-16: Sulukule preliminary project approved by Fatih municipality
Source: official website of The Fatih municipality <http://www.fatih.bel.tr> (Last accessed: 25/04/2018)

4.5.1 Purposes, objectives and main content of project

The aims of Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project were determined by Fatih Municipality in three main headings. These goals can be summarized as follows (Ertürk F. , 2009, pp. 36-37);

- It is aimed to bring Sulukule, a very important place of Istanbul in its historical process, into a healthy environment with a high quality of life.
- Sulukule, which has become a dense region in terms of population and settlement, is aimed to improve the quality of the building and to improve this area, which has become a depression region, physically and socially.
- The aim of the project is to have a modern residential living space with parking and adequate social facilities areas, which are protected by existing lot and street structures, in harmony with the historical area, construction plan and historical texture.

The aim, targets, policies and basic approaches of the project were stated in the following manner in the official website of Fatih Municipality: Aim of the Project, was determined as “implementation of healthy and comfortable rich spatial setup that will increase the quality of living of the existing users in the region reflecting the lifestyle and architecture of a period within the process of historical and spatial development of Istanbul, development of organization and programs that will provide improvements for economic and social aspects” (Fatih Municipality, 2006). Articles on the website covered the following areas:

- “Transforming the settlements that are not harmonious with the unique texture of the Historical Peninsula and making them conform to its identity and character;
- Description of functions for the planning are as a whole that conform to the historical features of the district of Fatih;

- Protection of essential cultural and architectural values of the Sulukule region;
- Revival of lost monumental pieces and significant civil architectural examples identified with the historical and cultural identity of the region with their original contours and templates and their contribution to the historical texture;
- Connection of historical locations to each other with pedestrian axes and emphasizing the identity of pedestrians;
- Creation of conditions that will prevent alienation of users from the environment and from each other;
- Provision of participation of the population during the process of planning to the extent possible, taking into consideration proposals and requests;
- Provision of participation to planning;
- Getting opinions and proposals of NGOs, institutions and organizations concerned in the process of planning;
- Provision of tourism functions that will provide cultural communication in the region;
- Inclusion of income generating activities in the project;
- Provision of sustainability by protection and development of already existing socio-cultural functions of the region;
- Elimination of reasons for establishment of physical and economic dilapidation regions as a consequence of analytical researches to be conducted and replacement of existing structures with functions and structures that conform to the characteristics of the region;
- Coming up with spatial strategies that will increase the quality of living in the region;
- Making the necessary spatial arrangements in phases and development of necessary institutional, administrative and financial means in addition to increasing the level of consciousness to provide sustainability;

- Increasing the attractiveness of the region with different functions to be developed for the region;
- Provision of sustainability in the city walls by functional and spatial protection;
- Taking into account the fact that planning does not only comprise of physical planning and that social, cultural, economic, legal and administrative dimensions should also be taken into consideration;
- Implementation of a planning process with participation and support of the population and nongovernmental organizations”.

When Basic Approaches were reviewed, the following were noted:

- “A perspective aiming at the protection and development of the socio-cultural identity of the environment and characteristics of the neighborhood inside the walls
- Creation of functional and spatial solutions;
- Elimination of components not compatible with the environmental identity;
- Protection of existing construction sections and row houses in the new approach;
- Establishment of a spatial setup of medium intensity with structures comprising of few floors (2–4 floors);
- Intensification of spatial abundance with material diversity;
- Designing accommodation and trade-culture facilities within spatial setup that will strengthen the urban features and outdoor living;
- Strengthening the socio-cultural identity was observed” (Fatih Municipality, 2006).

4.5.2 Project stages and planning

The project area covered an area of 93.126,14 m². There were 12 island, 354 parcels, 10 streets and 3 corners in the project area. There were 22 registered buildings in the

application area. Of the registered buildings, 17 were examples of civil architecture, and 5 were monuments. The stages of the transformation project for the region with the above-mentioned features were developed as follows (Ertürk F. , 2009, p. 37);

- In 2006, Fatih Municipality first made a comprehensive survey in the project area and examined the official records to determine beneficiaries.
- The number of buildings and areas on each parcel were determined with the parcel application study.
- In this context, the Municipality of Fatih decided that the Sulukule Project should be social and cultural-focused, taking into account the social, cultural and economic situation of the locals.
- In order to provide public support to the project, Fatih Municipality decided to cooperate with Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and TOKI.
- Within this scope, the project officially started with the protocol signed between TOKI, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Fatih Municipality on 13.07.2006.
- The decision of the Council of Ministers was taken on 13.12.2006 regarding the expropriation of immovable properties in the region.
- The people of Sulukule were informed about the project with the meetings held between June and September 2006.
- The preliminary project was forwarded to the Regional Board for the Preservation of Cultural and Natural Assets of Istanbul Renewal Areas in September 2007 and the Board approved this project in November.
- The Preliminary Project became effective in December 2007 with the approval of the Municipal Assembly and the approval of the Mayor.
- The project was made by the commission set the prices of new buildings, various arrangements of residence or business of the people were prepared to take.
- It was planned to evacuate the structures in the renovation area and to transfer the people who live here to Taşoluk and Kayabaşı TOKI dwellings.

The planning of the project along with these steps was aimed at completely put the project into practice. The project planning was determined by the protocol between TOKI, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Fatih Municipality. According to this protocol, planning is as follows (Yılmaz, 2009, p. 150);

- Within the scope of planning, new dwellings were included in the obligations
- A new health center was not planned due to the large number of health centers in the vicinity of the project area that could respond to all kinds of health services.
- Primary school, which is a major deficiency in the area of education in the region, was planned.
- Social, cultural and ecological new constructions and structures were also planned

The authorities offered three options to residents of Sulukule: “ buy the new houses, buy the stores (paying the difference between the construction costs and the property value with long-term loans, which burdens the locals) or leave Sulukule and accept the property value decided by the project committee”. The government in December 2006 approved expropriation. The neighborhood was to be demolished and the locals are supposed to settle in TOKI flats in Taşoluk, in the outskirts of Istanbul, which was approximately 40 km away from Sulukule (UNESCO, 2008). In addition, a ‘housing benefit’ of 400TL per month was payable to owners if they stayed in their house until they moved to their new dwelling. However, only about 10% of homeowners were willing and able to buy into the redevelopment project on the basis of the compensation they would receive and their ability to service a 15- year mortgage for the balance of the price. However, when they took possession of their new house, they would have the option of selling at a significant profit, as there were no restrictions on re-sale (Kocabaş & Gibson, 2011).

But the Municipality offered only 500 per square TL meter compensation, compared with values in the surrounding neighborhoods of 2000 TL per sq. m. This offer did

not take into account the ‘market value uplift’ that would be realized through the redevelopment process. Not surprisingly, many owners refused the Municipality’s offer and demanded a higher level of compensation. The valuation gap inevitably generated property speculation. Some residents were approached by a third party who offered a better price, which they accepted. Others, becoming aware of the opportunity for a better price, put their homes on the market and sold on. By April 2009, over 65% of owners had sold their property to third parties who agreed to make the dwelling available for demolition when needed, by evicting tenants as necessary (Kocabaş & Gibson, 2011).

Critics claim that the Municipality actively persuaded this speculative process and also they were claim that AKP members buying houses in the neighborhood (Kocabaş & Gibson, 2011). The increasing momentum of these gradually process of negotiations and transfers of property rights were accompanied by a piecemeal demolition of empty properties marked by a cross and often accompanied by forced eviction. This prompted a quick decline in neighborhood conditions, putting further pressure on owners to sell (Kocabaş & Gibson, 2011). The overall outcome was that within two and a half years the Municipality reached agreements with 530 of the 620 property owners who were given the right to a new home in the Renewal Area (Sulukule Platform Report, 2009). According to Foggo (2007) “tenants who had no property rights were given the opportunity to become homeowners in Taşoluk or they were expected to re-house themselves when their homes were due to be demolished. Many of the very poorest tenants lived virtually rent-free in the former entertainment houses. Research by the Sulukule Platform revealed that 60% of tenants paid less than 200 TL (approximately 100 Euros) per month” (Foggo, 2007, p. 32). The force to accelerate property acquisition and demolition was driven by the fact that to start rebuilding to a modern new layout, the Municipality needed complete ownership of at least a significant part of the neighborhood. This pressure drove the re-housing process. Tenants who agreed to go to the TOKI estate in Taşoluk were given until October 2007 to register for the lottery through which

individual families were allocated flats. The municipality organized visits to the estate and the first lottery allocated some 300 flats at the end of March 2008 (Sulukule Platform, 2009). As re-location got underway, the rate of evictions and demolitions intensified (now with riot police in attendance), as did the pressure on families to reach an agreement with the Municipality. But faced with relatively high mortgage payments of 275–475 TL (132-246 Euros) per month, high fuel bills and maintenance costs, and costly access from the remote location to employment, the majority of tenants concluded that their prospective new home were unaffordable. “Thus of the 300 or so tenants granted leases in Taşoluk, two-thirds sold their entitlements and moved elsewhere and only one-third actually moved to Taşoluk. Of those who moved, the majority sold after arriving in Taşoluk. In April 2009 it was claimed that only 27 Sulukule families were living in Taşoluk” (Sulukule Platform, 2009).

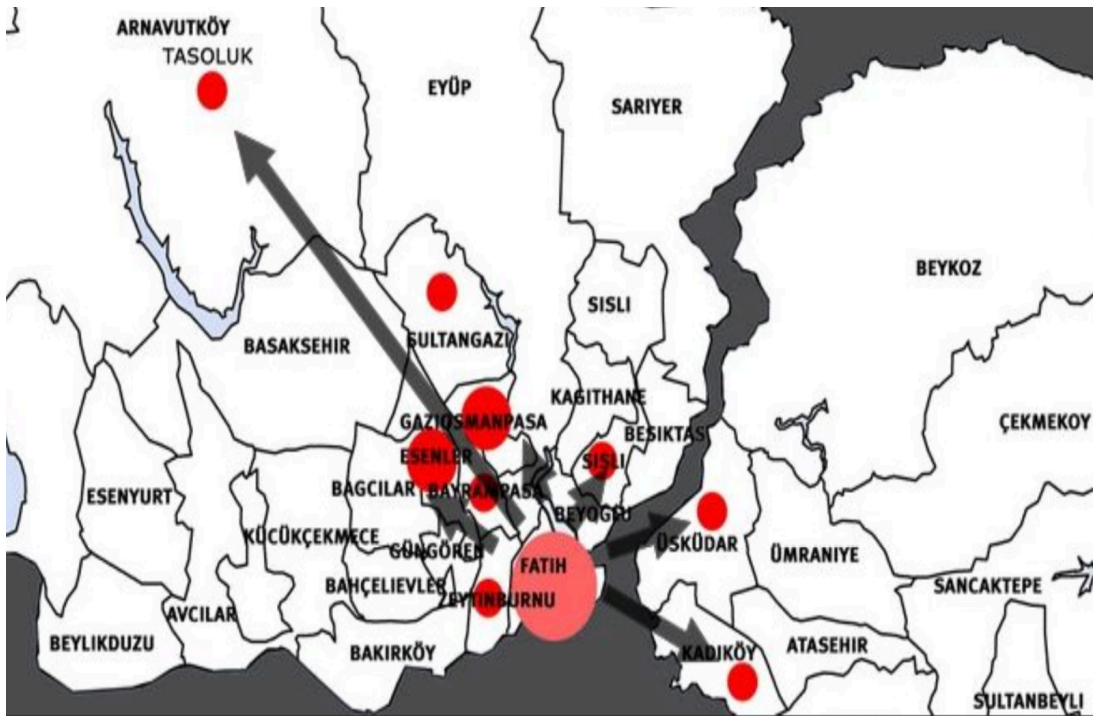


Figure 4-17: The location of Sulukule and Taşoluk
Source: (Özcan, 2015, p.17)

4.5.3 Community planning processes and local and international campaigns

According to Sulukule Platform Report residents claimed that they had no involvement with the development of the Protocol and the decision to redevelop the area, which, ostensibly at least, had been justified by a limited analysis of physical conditions and property ownership, with no reference to the needs of the local community (Sulukule Platform, 2009). The acquisition, re-housing, and demolition processes were authoritarian and bedeviled by the Municipality's poor communications. It was in this situation attempts were made to apply the generic 'neighborhood rehabilitation and community development model', through parallel processes of embryonic community planning and campaigning to stop the official processes (Kocabaş & Gibson, 2011).

The initial announcements of the Fatih Mayor's proposals prompted the formation of the Sulukule Roman Culture Development and Solidarity Association (Foggo, 2007). In July 2007, at a televised press conference alongside the City Walls, Şukru Punduk, chair of the association read the Roman community's declaration of opposition to the Renewal Area proposals;

"As a consequence of this project we will have to leave the places in which we have lived for centuries. If the Municipality really wants to preserve Sulukule, we can be offered technical and financial assistance for the renovation and repair of our houses. We wish to have Sulukule revived and become a positive feature of Istanbul's cultural and entertainment life; so that we can have employment opportunities generated for the young-elderly-women-men, simply everybody" (Foggo, 2007 p. 43).

This encapsulated a very different vision of the future of Sulukule and set the parameters for all subsequent efforts to develop an alternative plan. The first initiative was cooperation with the Accessible Life Association (ALA), an NGO with a mission that included supporting Roman communities in Istanbul and the Human Settlements Association (HSA), an NGO focused on promoting participatory

planning and urban conservation in Istanbul (Kocabaş & Gibson, 2011). These NGOs and the Association formed a partnership and engaged volunteers to help them to submit an application to the EU delegation in Ankara for the funds to develop a community-based alternative plan for the Regeneration Area (Kocabaş & Gibson, 2011). “The project – the *Sulukule Roman Neighborhood Development Project* – was to fund a technical assistance team to work intensively over a year with the local community and the Municipality to create a community planning process that drew on the experience of neighborhood regeneration in EU cities. The proposal was submitted in October 2006 and a grant of 139,000 Euros was approved in April 2007, subject to final administrative agreements” (Kocabaş & Gibson, 2011).

Meanwhile these NGOs contributed to ‘*Sulukule 40 Days and 40 Nights*’, a program of events in April 2007 designed to celebrate Roman culture and undermine the negative stereotyping of the Roman community of Sulukule (Sulukule Platform Report, 2009). This Roman support mobilization process evolved into an Istanbul wide, loosely coordinated NGO network – the ‘Sulukule Platform’ – to campaign to stop the Renewal Area Plan and give time to prepare an alternative (Kocabaş & Gibson, 2011). The NGO partnership then worked with a University College London student project led by academics with strong links to United Nations human rights organizations. This brief project prepared an initial baseline study using secondary data and stakeholder interviews which demonstrated the case for, and outlined the potential content of, a community-based and rehabilitation-led alternative plan (UCL-DPU, 2007). The presentation of this study at a Sulukule Platform meeting in May 2007 held in the new offices of the ECOC 2010 agency was accompanied by the first public presentation of the Renewal Area Concept Plan by the Municipal staff (UCL-DPU, 2007). After this meeting, the Sulukule Platform initiated various attempts to establish a formal Protocol for collaborative working with the Municipality, but without success. From this point, the Platform concentrated on campaigning and legal actions (Kocabaş & Gibson, 2011).

In parallel, the ALA-HSA team to be funded by the EU was established as an informal working group. Initial capacity building focused on developing a shared understanding of community-based neighborhood regeneration and programming of work. A dialogue was established with the Municipality's technical team. Although the grant contract had yet to be signed, the EU Ankara office allowed the project to be formally launched at the end of June (Foggo, 2007).

Sulukule Platform was focused on the argument that the human rights of the Roman residents were being violated by them being forced to leave their homes. It was this issue that mobilized support from a range of international organizations and had been raised at the outset by a letter from the European Center for Romani Rights to Prime Minister Erdoğan in September 2006 (Sulukule Platform, 2009). But in January 2008, the Turkish Grand National Assembly (Parliament) Human Rights Commission concluded that '...there was no evidence of Roman culture being destroyed and human rights violation in Sulukule' and closed the case (UNESCO, 2008). Another path of resistance was through the courts. During 2007, five court cases and petitions were initiated by or on behalf of the Association both to the Turkish courts and then to the European Court of Human Rights (UNESCO, 2008). In November 2007 Renewal Area Board, which is responsible for approving the Renewal Plan, hold a hearing in the neighborhood. The Board said they would consider resident's views before approving the Plan but they approved the Plan on the next working day (UNESCO, 2008).

In January 2008 the Sulukule Platform volunteers organized a petition opposing the approved Renewal Area Plan, which was signed by 167 academics and 448 supporters (UNESCO, 2008). In a change of tack they took the Municipality to court in an attempt to increase the number of listed buildings to the point where Renewal Plan would have had to go back to the drawing board. But this was only partially successful as a few buildings were added and their demolition stopped, but in some cases, listed buildings were demolished (UNESCO, 2008). The accelerating destruction prompted strong and sustained criticism from the UNESCO World

Heritage Commission in their reports in mid-2008 and mid-2009, which condemned “... the destruction of tangible and intangible cultural attributes and the dispersal of communities through a programme of planned gentrification by local authorities ... in a development rather than a conservation project ” (UNESCO, 2008). A regrouping of the planning and architecture volunteers created the STOP initiative led by Mimar Sinan Fine Art University and Yildiz Technical University academics and the Chambers of Architects and Planners (Sulukule Platform, 2008). In Autumn 2008, an outline plan was produced which preserved the historical street pattern, proposed the inclusion of smaller and cheaper dwellings to meet the needs of those who have left as well as those who have bought into the new project and proposed halting speculation by restricting re-sale of new houses for five years. They described this as an advocacy plan, rather than a community plans, as there was no direct involvement of local residents. The alternative plan was presented to the Mayor, NGOs, and neighborhood representatives. An update of the Plan ‘within two weeks’ was requested by the Director of TOKI in July 2010 and was provided, but subsequent discussions failed to secure changes in the proposed housing (Sulukule Platform, 2008).

In December 2009 contracts were let for the first phase of rebuilding of Sulukule (Kocabaş & Gibson, 2011).

4.5.4 Project outcomes and emerging developments

Since 2006, the Sulukule neighborhood had been almost totally demolished and temporarily de-populated. The Mayor had set a target date 2011 for completion of the first phase of rebuilding. (Kavlak, 2009)

By April 2009, of the total urban renewal area, the Hatice Sultan neighborhood section as a whole, and 2/3 of the Neslişah Neighborhood section had been demolished. The neighborhood was mostly vacated. Around 30-40 families continued to reside. Those who remained in the neighborhood were: a) property owners who had not settled on an agreement with the Municipality; b) tenants who

had not been granted entitlements to houses in Taşoluk by the Municipality; c) tenants or informal dwellers who did not meet the Municipality's criteria for entitlement; d) tenants or informal dwellers who were granted entitlements in Taşoluk and sold their entitlements to third parties (Sulukule Platform, 2008).

To conclude the critics remarks about the outcomes of the Sulukule regeneration projects: (Sulukule Platform, 2009)(UNESCO, 2008) (Foggo, 2007)

“ In terms of the economy, the habitants of the old Neslişah and Hatice Sultan Districts were dislocated from their own heritage and removed to some other places before, but returned to their old districts after completion of the project implementation, but they were forced to sell the new buildings due to their borrowing to the municipality and banks as a result of the value difference between the old and new buildings, while some of them hired their new housings, so that the old Roman people had to resettle in different streets of the district. As the new buildings are not appropriate for the people of Sulukule to maintain their lives, it has harmed the regional people. In cultural aspects, the Roman people as an important characteristic element of the district need to gather and live in the old Sulukule region just in the centrum, so that they could keep up with their ties with music, dance and arts. Before destruction, they were resettled in the TOKİ mass housings in Taşoluk, but could not resettle in the new housings due to the wrong policies and interventions upon completion of the project, so that they have remained landless. The concept or urban transformation has created such problems as the lack of land, and loss of cultural characteristics for Sulukule and the Roman people. For the physical and architectural respects, the renovation project currently implemented in Sulukule has been developed and realized without respect to the history and cultural heritage of the old district. The entire regional history has been destructed, and the new housings built up in the completely flattened field are not similar to the historical Sulukule houses at all. No measure has been taken to limit the structuring in consideration of the Rampart Preservation Band, so that the ramparts and buildings would be in a good harmony”.

4.6 Physical and environmental improvement of Sulukule regeneration project

In the pervious part it has been attempted to overview the details about Sulukule district and its urban regeneration project. As it was said the project received variety of criticism from variety of sources such as local people, media, academic community and other activists during the process and afterwards. The bottom line of these criticisms was that the project has failed to meet the social and the physical needs of the local people and that the project has led to gentrification of the area as the local Roman people is displaced from the area. More specifically these criticisms have implied that the excessive investment in physical aspects of the project have resulted in the social and economic issues and conditions within the local context of the site. This in turn has caused a dramatic increase in the prices of the properties within the neighborhood, which is the beyond of the reach of the previous residing community. Some of the critics believe that new settlements are not compatible with life style and habits of residence. The important question which can be asked here: did the pre-existing physical environment caused the particular way of life and if the previous residents of the area would have the chance to live there would they be pleased about this new physical environment?

As this thesis aims to have an integrated approach toward the Sulukule project the following part is set out to investigate first, the physical aspect of the project and to see whether they corresponded to the needs and habits of the local people of the region, second both social and physical aspects of the project based on criteria of the integrated urban regeneration will be discussed.

4.6.1 The physical goals of the project

The development of organizations and programs that will provide a healthy and comfortable rich spatial composition that will raise the quality of life of current users, economic and social improvements in the region that reflects the lifestyle and

architecture of a period in the historical and spatial development process of Istanbul (Fatih Municipality, 2010).

Physical objectives of the project:

- The harmonization of the constructions, which do not correspond to the original texture of the Historical Peninsula with the identity and character of the Historical Peninsula,
- For the planning area as a whole, defining the functions according to the characteristics of Fatih District,
- The preservation of the cultural and architectural values of the Sulukule region, reconstruction of historical and cultural monumental artifacts that lost their identity,
- Describing a restoration plan in harmony with the visual integrity of the Historical Peninsula
- Conservation of built and inbuilt space ratio of the region and increase the quality of landscape
- Evaluation of historic walls as an effective element in planning and design
- Resolving pedestrian-vehicle transportation setup specific to historical places
- Preserving street pattern and old routes of the site
- Integration of different types of transportation to support and complete each other
- Connection of historical places with pedestrian axes and emphasis on pedestrian identity
- The creation of conditions and spaces to prevent the alienation of the users living in Sulukule to the environment and each other,
- Creation of common spaces for people of all ages to come together, to interact and to communicate,
- Providing touristic functions to provide cultural communication in the region

4.6.2 Design policies of the project

- Ensuring sustainability through conservation and development of the socio-cultural functions of the region
- As a result of the analytical researches, the physical and economic deprived areas are removed from the region and new qualified functions and structure (housing areas, equipment, etc.) designed appropriate to character of region
- Developing different spatial functions to increase the attractiveness of the region
- Preserving historical and cultural identity of the historical Peninsula and designing of the new settlements with emphasizing to these historical features
- Considering contemporary urbanism principles in the process of design and designing of the region referencing to the traditional street, block and parcel structure

4.6.3 Basic approaches of design

- The protection and development of the socio-cultural identity and characteristic functions of Sulukule district within the scope of the project and establishment of functional and spatial solutions within this direction, it was aimed to obtain a strong urban environment by eliminating the social and physical problems of region
- Purification of the area from incompatible items with environmental identity
- Preservation of the existing building blocks and the order of the houses in the new approach
- The implementation of low density spatial structure and low-rise buildings (2-4 floors)
- Establishment of sequential outdoor areas such as courtyards, streets, public and private green areas, gardens and set up a balance of figure and ground,
- The organizing of a circulation network determined by the pedestrian movement

- Preservation and development of all registered monumental and civil architectural examples and qualified buildings
- Utilization of spatial elements such as sloping roofs, Cumba (bay window), Taşoluk (paving stone), level differences, stairs and retaining walls for improving spatial richness and spatial diversity of region
- The design of "accommodation center" and "trade-culture center" units within the area of project with the aim of improving socio-cultural identity of region

4.6.4 Design based on topography of the region

Within the scope of the project, to create functional and spatial solutions and to achieve a strong urban environment it aimed to protect and develop the socio-cultural identity and character of region, in the scheme developed for the region, approaches and arrangements have been made to facilitate the transformation and to ensure a high quality of life. The area of the project was moving in terms of topography. The presence of historical walls, registered civil architecture examples along with monumental items, and the development of the existing road texture had important role in designing of project. The topography of region had an important role in process of design. In this context, the slope has taken into consideration; the slopes, the plains, and the formation of the streets have led to the formation in the texture and form of the streets (Yüzer, 2011).

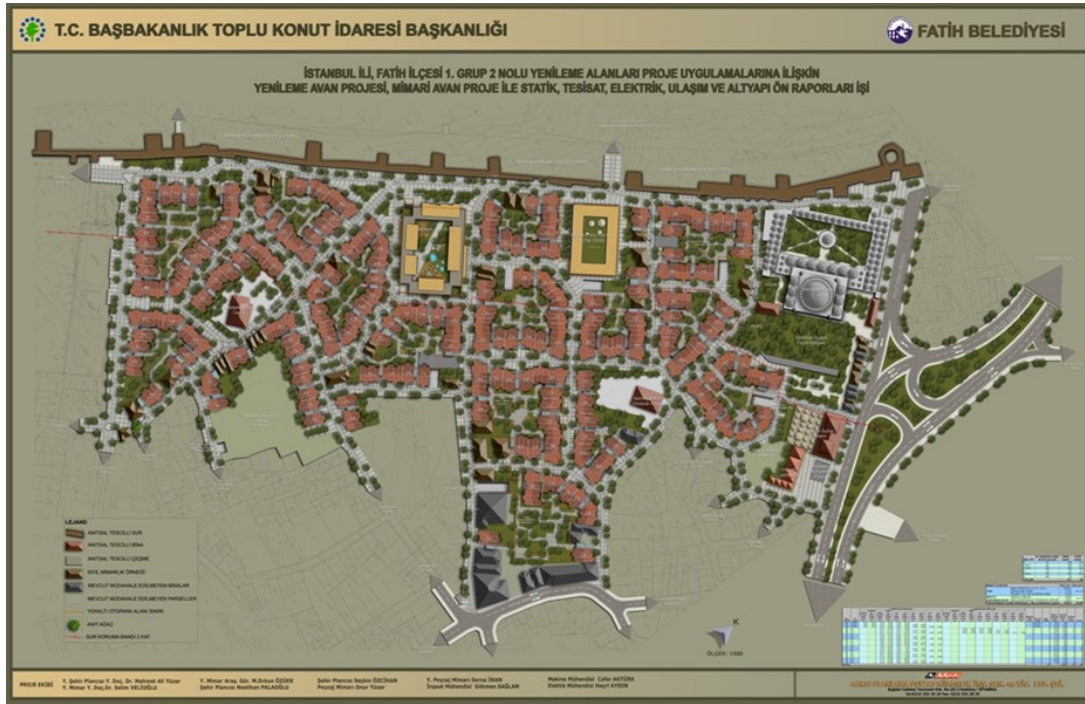


Figure 4-18: Sulukule preliminary project approved by Fatih municipality
Source: <http://www.fatih.bel.tr/Gallery.aspx?GalleryID=1028> (Last accessed:01/04/2018)



Figure 4-19: A section of Sulukule preliminary project approved by Fatih Municipality
Source: <http://www.fatih.bel.tr/Gallery.aspx?GalleryID=1028> (Last accessed:01/04/2018)

In designing of the interior spaces of housing blocks and proximity of the buildings to each other, for creating a proper relationship of different spaces, according to topography and slope of the area different levels and stairs have been used.

4.6.5 Improvement of streets, sidewalks and parking spaces

The area identified as the Romani community of Sulukule presented an intense use of outdoor living spaces; people were using the streets frequently. Streets were much more than space for circulation. They were spaces to share and live with a community. There were no proper sidewalks and no proper parking spaces before regeneration; people and cars were shared the streets, which sometimes could be a great risk for accidents. The main characteristic of the streets in Sulukule was that the local residents had used the streets as an extension of their houses. Other activities on the streets was, carpet washing, singing and playing music, hanging laundry outdoors, as an area for women to socialize and for children to play, etc.



Figure 4-20: One of the streets of Sulukule before regeneration project

Source: <http://www.fatih.bel.tr/Gallery.aspx?GalleryID=1028> (Last accessed:01/04/2018)



Figure 4-21: Streets of Sulukule before regeneration project

Source: <http://www.fatih.bel.tr/Gallery.aspx?GalleryID=1028> (Last accessed:01/03/2018)

According to these problems new streets and circulation patterns designed for the region integrated with the historical peninsula plan and circulation system. Sufficient number of parking spaces allocated in hosing area and sidewalks arranged in both sides of streets regarding to outdoor activities of local people.



Figure 4-22: Design of new streets and sidewalks for Sulukule

Source: <http://www.fatih.bel.tr/Gallery.aspx?GalleryID=1028> (Last accessed:01/04/2018)



Figure 4-23: Streets and Sidewalks of Sulukule after regeneration project
Source: <http://www.fatih.bel.tr/Gallery.aspx?GalleryID=6191> (last accessed:04/03/2018)



Figure 4-24: One of the main streets of Sulukule after regeneration project
Source: <http://www.fatih.bel.tr/Gallery.aspx?GalleryID=6191> (last accessed:04/03/2018)

The density and order of dispersion of residential area, physical context and circulation space of buildings has designed in accordance with original planning of the area. While maintaining original street routes as much as possible, new street routes has also designed for providing integrity within this structure. Local people presented an intense use of outdoor living space; people were using the streets with very frequently. In these areas, the streets had performed many more functions than merely space for circulation; accordingly, it was decided to protect the street routes and patterns (Yüzer, 2011).



Figure 4-25: Street patterns of Sulukule district before and after regeneration project
Source: Google Earth , <https://player.vimeo.com/video/81175447> (Last accessed:01/05/2018)

4.6.6 Improvement of public spaces and public facilities

One of the objectives of project was creation of common spaces for people of all ages to come together, to interact and to communicate. Accordingly areas that are the result of the proximity of buildings to one another designed as courtyard for increasing social interaction and outdoor activity of local people.



Figure 4-26: Implementations of courtyards between buildings after regeneration project

Source: <http://www.fatih.bel.tr/icerik/1155/neslisah-ve-hatice-sultan-sulukule-mahalleleri-yenileme-projesi/>
(Last accessed 11/05/2017)



Figure 4-27: Implementation of parks and playgrounds after regeneration project
Source: Google maps (Last accessed:01/03/2018)

Accordingly for increasing the attractiveness of region, public and semi public spaces like green areas, parks, central courtyards and etc. designed with different functions. Beside these a kind of balcony form that can be named as ‘taşlık’, levels with the ground floor organized in front doors of buildings, according to local people’s habits and expectations.



Figure 4-28: Sulukule after regeneration project
Source: Google maps (Last accessed:01/03/2018)

On the other hand, there was a sharp contrast between Istanbul and Sulukule in term of education and employment. **Sulukule Socio-Cultural Facility** devoted to the region in order to contribute to the development of the profession and music skills of local people and at the same time to increase the cultural accumulation. Moreover **Sulukule accommodation center** designed in the region with the aim of bringing vitality to the region and raising the level of economic prosperity and job opportunities for local people.



Figure 4-29:Sulukule accommodation center (2012)
Source: <http://fatih.bel.tr/Gallery.aspx?GalleryID=2737> (last accessed:03/03/2018)



Figure 4-30: Sulukule social-cultural center after regeneration project
Source: <http://www.fatih.bel.tr/icerik/11958/sulukule-sanat-akademisi-tanitimi-filmi/> (Last accessed: 23/03/2018)

4.6.7 Preservation of historical values

One of the most important objectives of project was preservation and development of all registered monumental and historical and cultural elements of the region. It was decided that building which had lost historical characteristic through severe damage or renovation were not worth protecting. Accordingly historical monuments and examples of vernacular architecture were identified and preserved. According to Fatih Municipality (2009) The results of the regeneration project in preserving historical value of the region are presented with the following categories: the number of landmarks was 2 and after the project it is preserved with the same. Examples of civil architecture were 41 and it decreased to half, only 22 buildings are preserved. Buildings with historical value were 17, after regeneration the number became 15. The monumental buildings category stayed the same as 5 (Birgonul & Carmen, 2016).

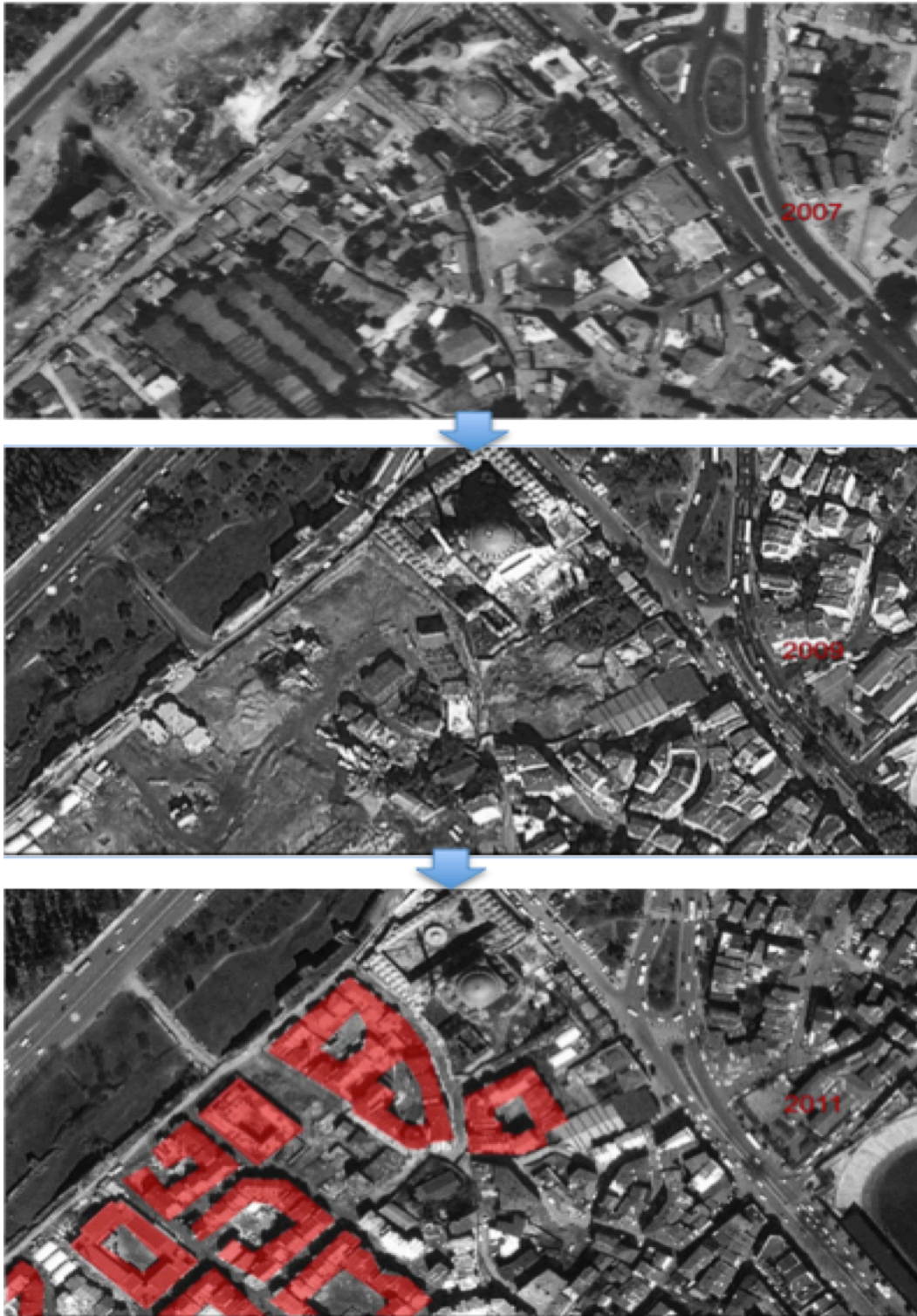


Figure 4-31: Sulukule District, 2007, 2009, 2011, some of the historical assets like “Neslişah Sultan Camii” and “historical city wall” preserved after Regeneration Project
Source: <https://player.vimeo.com/video/81175447> (Last accessed:01/03/2018)

4.6.8 Local architectural elements in façade of buildings

It is obvious that Sulukule Regeneration project's design is distinct from other Toki projects. According to Yüzer the location of the project and vernacular architectural elements of region and its habitants influenced the design of regeneration project. The project was located in the historical peninsula. In the process of design it was tried to make reference to number of local architectural elements such as “Cumba” on the front façade of buildings, “Taşlık” in the ground floors, extroverted staircases, roof materials and colors of materials all over the façade (Yüzer, 2011).

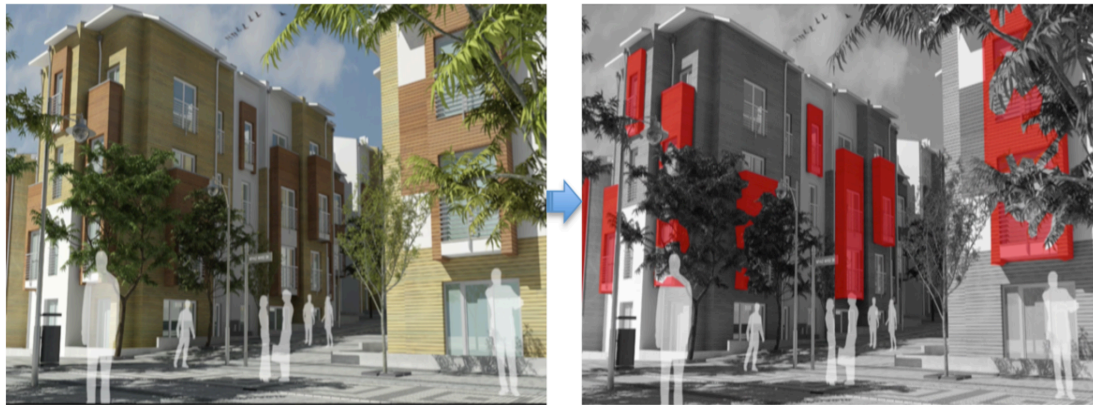


Figure 4-32: “Cumba”, one of the vernacular architectural elements on façade, Sulukule after regeneration project

Source: <http://www.fatih.bel.tr/Gallery.aspx?GalleryID=1028> & <https://player.vimeo.com/video/81175447>
(Last accessed:01/03/2018)



Figure 4-33: Buildings roof material, after regeneration project

Source: <http://www.fatih.bel.tr/Gallery.aspx? GalleryID=1028> & <https://player.vimeo.com/video/81175447>
(Last accessed:01/03/2018)

4.6.9 Conclusion

According to the aims of this part of study to see whether the physical and environmental aspects were considered in the project in respect to the needs and habits of the local people, physical and the environmental aspects of the project has examined.

The main question is that if Roman people would keep living in the project area, in a spatial and physical perspective, the physical and environmental changes due to the regeneration project and new design promises how many features for the residents to re-animate their lives and according to life style of local people and aims of the project which spatial and physical features have been adopted in the project for the revival of life?

According to the history of region, the area named Sulukule that Roman people have had lived there, were not specially designed or constructed for Roman people. Developed around the Mihrimah Sultan Mosque these places were wooden or wooden-masonry two-storied constructions resemble the other buildings of historical peninsula. In the course of time after Roman people settled down in the area the architectural characteristics and forms of these buildings changed. For example, because extended families preferred to live together and in relation, the emergence of the need for extra spaces backyards of buildings converted into new rooms spaces for the other family members. As a result of these new rooms a linear structural fabric developed. Most of the social life was passing by either in-door or on the streets. In this project, the distribution layout of the residential spaces, physical fabric available in the spatial organization and street routs are considered to be the crucial guidelines. Predominantly using an adjacent layout for constructions of buildings that composes streets also provides an architecturally balanced silhouette. In this set-up, whilst existing street routs and patterns are preserved intact new street routs are also designed to protect urban design integrity. As being part of the social life, the notion known as human interaction with one another, and with respect to old

habits of local people for the sake of socialization, a kind of balcony form that can be named as 'Taşlık' levels with the ground floor organized. In addition, public and semi public spaces like courtyards and parks are designed. Along with the courtyards recreations, the spaces for the residents to have a seat and rest, for children playgrounds are also designed for region. Moreover, Sulukule Socio-Cultural center and Sulukule Accommodation Center are designed and constructed in the region with the aim of bringing vitality to the region and raising the level of economic prosperity and job opportunities for local people. Thereby, at least some of the basic needs and the social lifestyles of the Roman people have been taken into consideration for designing physical and spatial development of region.



Figure 4-34: One of the streets of the Sulukule after regeneration project

Source: <http://www.fatih.bel.tr/Gallery.aspx?GalleryID=6191> & <https://player.vimeo.com/video/81175447>
(Last accessed: 10/03/2018)

As it was overviewed in this part, it can be said that the project had justifiable reason. The district had suffered from various social and physical problems. The social aspects has already mentioned in the pervious chapters. As in the case of physical problems it was overviewed that many buildings had suffered from critical physical damages and erosions, some of the basic necessities such as water and electricity were absent in some of the housing units and also the streets of the district had suffered from the absence of distinction between pedestrian and vehicular traffic and there had been no parking lots.

One important aspect, which needs to be highlighted here, is to acknowledge that the district before the project was not specifically designed to accommodate the local people in accordance with their particular needs and customs especially as in the case of the Roman people. In fact it can be said that it was the local people who changed and modified the district in accordance with their needs and their particular culture whereas the existence of various social and physical problems within the district had the officials to foresee a solution and the regeneration project was born out of this process.

Moreover, as overviewed in this part, the project in terms of envisioning the physical and environmental aspects was designed according to particular needs and the culture of the local people. However, such wrong policies which has raised the price of the new housing units has led to the gentrification process as the local people couldn't afford to settle in the newly constructed district.

To conclude it can be said that if the pervious residents of the district such as the Roman people could afford to settle in the newly constructed district, the same vitality which have been existing in the district would have been continued, and perhaps even more since the physical quality of the district has been improved by the project. Therefore it is important to emphasize again that it was the local people who imbued the district with meaning and life before the regeneration project.

4.7 Evaluation of Sulukule regeneration project based on key components of integrated approach

4.7.1 Physical aspects

Improving Living Standards in the Built Environment and Solving Spatial and Physical Problems of the Region and Reviving Urban Design

4.7.1.1 Providing good quality of urban design in terms of attractive public spaces, streets and amenities

As stated before, the area identified as the Roman community of Sulukule presented an intense use of outdoor living space. Sulukule Regeneration Project focus on Physical improvement of the region with good quality of urban design which include attractive public open spaces and good amenities with the aim of improving living standards of local people.

Before regeneration project the infrastructure of the district was not adequate. The public spaces were very limited. There were no sport fields, parks or playgrounds or proper green spaces in the region. Streets and open spaces of the region were used as main public spaces of the neighborhood. Therefore most of the children were playing on the narrow streets. As mentioned before, people were using the streets frequently. Streets were much more than space for circulation. They were spaces to share and live with a community, meeting with neighbors, socializing and networking. There were no proper sidewalks and no proper parking spaces before regeneration; people and cars were shared the streets, which sometimes could be a great risk for accidents.

According to these problems new streets and circulation patterns designed for the region integrated with the historical peninsula plan and circulation system. On the other hand, it was significant to protect the street routes and patterns according to

needs and habits of the local people. Sufficient number of parking spaces allocated in hosing area and pedestrians zone arranged in both sides of streets regarding to outdoor activities of local people.

Accordingly for increasing the attractiveness of the region, public and semi public spaces like green areas, parks, central courtyards and playgrounds designed with different functions. Other infrastructure improvements included water, sanitation, waste collection, housing, access roads, footpaths, storm drainage, lighting, public telephones, and community centers.

4.7.1.2 Improving the quality of housing stocks especially targeting low-income groups

As stated before, buildings in the Sulukule districts were in poor conditions; there was a need to strengthen the housing buildings. After the closure of the entertainment houses, Roman people had difficulty finding jobs in other sectors. Therefore, they started to work in marginal sectors such as plastic collection or street vender, which did not provide them with the income they earned from entertainment houses. As a result, social and financial problems emerged and the area gradually turned into a deprived urban place and a squatter neighborhood. There were poor and overcrowded housing conditions in Sulukule district.

According to Fatih Municipality report the regeneration project area consisted of 574 residential constructions 71,5% of the buildings are in poor conditions. 16% of the respondents stated that they did not have running water at their house as a result of accumulated debts at the time when the surveys were conducted. 9% of the respondents stated that they did not have a toilet unit within their homes. These residents shared the toilet unit outside their homes with other families. This survey shows the huge disparity in terms of living conditions and housing quality between a certain segment in Sulukule and the rest of the city before regeneration project.

Member of community stated that if they had the opportunity and the resources, they would improve their houses, but the municipality had not allowed them to take any steps towards housing improvement because they were located in a conservation site. (UNESCO, 2008)

Fatih Mayor Demir, who made a statement about the subject, said: "Before the project, there were people struggling to survive in houses made from tinfoil and nibble here. There were no infrastructures, electricity, and water and sewage systems. In such a deprived area, a new district is now being created, where all the modern facilities are available. Houses are wooden houses with the characteristics of classical Ottoman architecture. The low rise apartment buildings of 65, 70, 90 and 100 square meters."

4.7.1.3 Amending undesired perception of the area as an unsafe, unclean and unlikeable region

The physical decay, poor structural quality of buildings, the absence of infrastructures, the absence of hygiene and remained ruined structures before the project had made an unpleasant image for the district (Fatih Municipality, 2006). This feature of the neighborhood was too a degree pervasive that by a simple observation this particular problem of the district was obvious. The physical improvement, which the project has archived greatly, reduced the unpleasant scenery of the neighborhood in the cost of demolishing many of the damaged structures. The demolition and renewal of the building in the neighborhood based on a single pattern have promoted the image of the neighborhood and its physical cohesion. This can be witnessed in many of the pictures taken from the site.

4.7.1.4 Preserving historical and cultural heritage

The Sulukule is situated along the Byzantine Walls in a UNESCO priority protection zone. Accordingly, One of the most important objectives of project was preservation and development of all registered monumental and historical and cultural elements of the region and qualified buildings. According to Fatih Municipality (2009) It was decided that building which had lost historical characteristic through severe damage or renovation were not worth protecting. In 2009, the Sulukule Platform found that “houses registered as historic buildings have been developed and almost all of the listed properties are in no state of conservation due to the detrimental impact of demolitions in the area but, according to Fatih Municipality Report in 2009, most of the historical and cultural elements preserved after regeneration project. The results of the regeneration project in preserving historical value of the region are presented with the following categories: the number of landmarks was 2 and after the project it is preserved with the same. Examples of civil architecture were 41 and it decreased to half, only 22 buildings are preserved. Historical value buildings were 17, after regeneration the number became 15. The monumental buildings category stayed the same as 5 (Birgonul & Mendoza, 2016).

4.7.2 Social aspects

Identifying and Evaluating Social, Economic and Cultural Characteristics of the Region

4.7.2.1 Developing multi-financial and local economic activities and creating new job opportunities aiming for economic regeneration of the region

As mentioned before, the Romani community of Istanbul was mostly below a satisfactory economic level and the great mass of the population was structurally unemployed. Sulukule was not only residential, but a space that supports livelihoods, there were a variety of business activities which served as a way for income generation for local communities. The streets were lined with mini markets, cafes,

real estate offices, washed carpets and vendors. Along the wall were car repair shops, tomb stone engravers, and even a sheep butcher. Although the new proposal did offer some business opportunities for existing activities, it did not consider all of them.

Sulukule Socio-Cultural Facility, Sulukule accommodation center designed in the region with the aim of bringing vitality to the region and raising the level of economic prosperity and job opportunities for local people but, these facilities were provided by the project at their former locations. However for tenants who went to Taşoluk none of the facilities were provided, on the contrary they had difficulties to access the services. According to Cin and Egircioğlu the interviews with Sulukuleans who moved to Taşoluk showed that “they could not adopted to apartment life and living in a flat, so they moved back to Sulukule surroundings again (Cin and Egircioğlu, 2016). It shows that life in Taşoluk did not address their life practices. Living in apartments causes difficulties to run their jobs or to have daily job opportunities because of the distance to the city center. For these people, moving out of the area was problematic. Because, after the closure of entertainment houses, people started to work in marginal sectors as street vendors or in paper collection (Aslan, 2008). People need to be close to city centers in order to make a living from such jobs and sectors. Also, many of them access work on foot (Aslan, 2008). This means they do not need to pay transportation fee. However, whereas staying in Sulukule meant non-affordable debts and loans. Ministry of Culture and Tourism in their report (2009) stated “ these facilities is defined for these users in order to acquire them a profession and help them to develop their ability of music and enhance their cultural background. As well as the multi-functional galleries, workshops for vocational studies and music education were designed. In these workshops, the courses are planned to organize for children, unemployed men and especially women. There is also the opportunity for the users of these facilities to sell their productions.” However, as the neighborhood has disintegrated, and no real prospect of the residents coming back, these stated aims remain unfeasible (Sulukule Platform, 2009)

4.7.2.2 Reducing crime rate and frequency of crime in the site

Based on the different recourses the Sulukule neighborhood before the regeneration project, due to the various social, economic problems of the district, was a place with high rate of crime and illegal activities. After the project the transformation has caused a decrease in the crime rate. However, this issue is a matter of dispute between the observers as many have implied that as the former residents of the neighborhood no longer live in the area then there can be no reliable report about the condition of crime within the neighborhood.

4.7.2.3 Improving educational and health service opportunities of the site

As stated, before Sulukule regeneration project the level of education was very low. More than 30% of residents were illiterate. The results of the survey by Fatih Municipality revealed a profile of 31% illiterates, 34% primary school graduates, 5% junior high school graduates, 4% high school graduates (2006). As mentioned before, there was a sharp contrast between Sulukule and Istanbul in terms of education.

Primary school, which is a major deficiency in the area of education in the region, was planned.

A new health center was not planned due to the large number of health centers in the vicinity of the project area that could respond to all kinds of health services.

4.7.2.4 Achieving local and public participation

There was a lack of communication between Fatih Municipality and the Sulukule community even before Regeneration Project. The community was lacking information about the content of the different proposals about regeneration project and that had produced a feeling of uncertainty about the future among community members (Çağlayandereli & Şatıroğlu, 2008). That problem reflected the need for representation of the perspective of the local community in any proposed development plan.

The Municipality's practices during the project were to approach property owners in Sulukule individually in a closed meeting, rather than addressing the residents as a group. This individual meeting tactic was not facilitate a participatory practice nor was it allow for a collective reflection of the needs of local community as group. This problem was highlighted numerous times in different critics about the project. (UCL DPU project Report, 2007)

Fatih municipal authorities frequently stated that the local people of Sulukule were a part of project. This was wholly untrue as the only option offered to the district's dwellers were to sell off their properties and migrate elsewhere, or embarked on leasing agreements that were well beyond their budgets. According to the survey made by the Sulukule Platform in September 2007 about participation in the project, only 7.5% of the local residents affirmed that their opinion was asked. On whole, 56% of them said that they have had not been contacted by the municipality.

In May 2007, the Fatih Municipality invited those who had not yet sold their houses to a meeting to "reconcile". The Municipality was acting upon the Law No: 5366, the legal document that equips the Municipality with the right to have an expropriation decree issued by applying to the First Instance Court for seizing the estates that could not be obtained through reconciliation.

Islam (2009) stated that there was participation at some levels. Initially, the Fatih Municipality informed the property owners about the project. According to Islam, informing was regarded as participation by the municipality, which "mutated" the meaning of the term (Islam, 2009). The project ignores local needs; a decision was made for locals without their participation (Islam, 2009).

4.7.2.5 Financing shelter provision and keeping local community in the site (preventing gentrification)

When the project started 5000 people were living in Sulukule (Foggo, 2007). However, sources do not provide reliable and consistent demographic information.

According to Fatih Municipality's questionnaire, only 17% of the people living in Sulukule were Roman (Uysal, 2012) whereas Foggo argues that 3500 of the population are Romani and 76% of the populations were born in Sulukule (Foggo, 2007). Project affected 645 households in total; 256 of them were landlords and 434 of them were tenants (Foggo, 2007).

The Regeneration Project stated that it will improve quality of living of the residents of the area by 1) giving possibility to the tenants to become homeowners in a TOKİ built mass housing scheme 45 kilometers away from Istanbul, in Taşoluk; and 2) by allowing the property owners to buy into the new Project.

According to a report by Sulukule Platform in 2009, and Ministry Of Culture and Tourism Report, in terms of the TENANTS: 'The tenants could benefit from the opportunity of becoming homeowners where TOKI built social dwellings in Taşoluk, Istanbul without a drawing of lots and with modest payments spreading through 180 months (15 years). 346 families of the tenants accepted this alternative and determined their door numbers in two stages by drawing. The carriages of the tenants who moved their houses in Taşoluk satisfied by Fatih Municipality and municipality provided them to settle their new houses. The tenants who resided in the project area were supported with 300 TL of rent help within the period until they moved to their new houses.' (Sulukule Platform, 2009).

However, even though initially, 300 tenant families were granted entitlements in Taşoluk, 2/3 of these families sold their entitlements to third parties before moving in to Taşoluk, and only 1/3 moved in to their new homes in Taşoluk. Those who moved to Taşoluk started selling their entitlements. This was due to costly monthly dues and maintenance costs of the new homes (natural gas, maintenance of common areas, etc.). By 2009 the number of families remained in Taşoluk was 27, and many "for sale" signs could be seen in the area. Majority of those who sold their entitlements moved to the vicinity of Edirnekapi. As result, the Tenants were dispersed, leaving Sulukule for not being able to afford Taşoluk (Sulukule Platform, 2009).

In terms of the PROPERTY OWNERS: Ministry of Culture and Tourism Report (2009) stated that: “According to the surveys on building stock, registry of deeds and registry of local authority, 620 dwellings and 45 offices were determined in the region. This number was taken basis in the preliminary project and it’s aimed to offer one dwelling in response to each dwelling and one office in response to each office. The number of dwellings and offices after regeneration project corresponded to the numbers in the preliminary project. Accordingly, the tenants could continue to live in the region even if they agreed with their property owners. The possession right for new houses developed to the property owners within the range of the project pertains. Various alternatives were presented for the property owners in the case of price differences between their old and new property. For instance, in the case of deficit in old price there was an alternative to pay in 180 months, in the case of excess there was an alternative to obtain it in cash or possess one of the social dwellings that TOKI built in other regions. Within the compass of these alternatives, the agreement was provided with 530 of 620 property owners in the region and these property owners were provided to possess a new dwelling in the region. Additionally, housing benefit of 400 TL for every month was relieved for the property owners who lived in project area until they moved to their new dwellings” (Sulukule Platform, 2009).

However, by 2009, 65% of the property owners sold their property rights; 10% made an agreement with the Municipality to buy into the project, and there were 30-40 families (with deeds) who did not come to a settlement with the Municipality. These families were begun to receive expropriation notices from the Court. But most property owners could not afford to buy into the project and sold their rights and moved out (Sulukule Platform, 2009).

In terms of the RESIDENTS WITH NO ENTITLEMENTS; 400 of the tenants who were not granted entitlements by the Municipality continuously appealed for entitlement during the summer of 2008. 102 of them were approved as entitled tenants, while the situation of 60 families was still under investigation. As result, it

had been positive that some of the residents with no entitlements did in fact gain an entitlement due to continuous efforts of civil society organizations. However, their situation was not different from the tenants category (Sulukule Platform, 2009).

The overall conclusion is that, the Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project ended up in a process of displacement of the majority of residents (both owners and tenants) from their neighborhood, with immediate detrimental impact on their social networks and on their livelihood.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Reaching to the end of this research, this chapter is set out to present the concluding remarks. This research has begun with the concern of urban regeneration projects as one of the perpetuated solutions among the others in addressing the urban decline phenomenon, a concern which is mainly sourced in the controversial status of these projects as being still one of the crucial and debatable topics within the urban design and planning context. In its attempt to address this concern this study has mainly focused on the key term “integrated” approach in investigating many sides of urban regeneration projects and their attributes, while the particular focus has been directed toward the Sulukule project, the case which is located in Istanbul, Turkey.

The first concluding remark that this thesis wants to address is the one important and crucial question regarding the regeneration projects: can they be regarded as valid conducts? The answer to this question is critically related to the problem which these projects are attempting to tackle, namely the urban decline phenomenon. It is almost certain that the urban decline phenomenon is the inevitable consequence of the rapid growth of population, urbanization and the expansion of the urban areas, which, all can be regarded as the recent phenomena. As these contextual factors are still in the place then, urban decline will be the consistent challenge that needs to be addressed. Among the different solutions to this phenomenon, urban regeneration projects were the ones, which are not remained on the paper, and they followed by concrete actions to confront the problems associated with the urban decline. Putting the outcomes of these projects aside, the goals on which these projects are established can be regarded as legitimate and, as far as the consensus over the confronting the urban decline suggests, urban regeneration projects are valid conducts if they adhere to their goal, which is to enhance the quality of life within the deprived and troubled urban areas.

However, the outcomes of these projects can be regarded as their problematic side, as these projects were often fell short to meet their aimed goals. In other words, it can be stated that urban regeneration projects can play an influential role in improving the deprived urban areas, but when it comes to the actual outputs of these projects, there can be seen incompatibility and incongruity with the aimed goals. This is the point where the key term “integrated” approach within this thesis finds its validity. It was one of the main objectives of this research to utilize an integrated approach in order to provide better means for understanding the urban decline phenomenon, its by-product-the urban regeneration projects, as well as, the ways that the goals and the outcomes of these projects can get closer.

The integrated approach within this thesis was mainly based on the assumption that as there is no single cause for the deterioration of urban areas, therefore there is no single solution to regenerate these areas. What this thesis realized through the integrated approach is that Sulukule was not merely the Roman people and their particular culture, it was not merely a physically deteriorated urban area that lacked the important infrastructures, it was not merely an urban area infested with high rate of crime and illegal activities, it was not merely a poor neighborhood that its people need proper education and employment, it was not merely a heritage site that needs to be protected but that the Sulukule was all of these. It was the overlap of these interrelated layers that made the Sulukule neighborhood including the both social and physical aspects.

Based on the gathered information in this research about the Sulukule neighborhood before the regeneration project, the area was indeed among the deprived and declining districts of Istanbul. The neighborhood had suffered from variety of problems concerned with both social and physical aspects such as poor condition of living, unemployment, high rate of crime and illegal activities, illegal housing, poor physical structure and inadequate infrastructures. This condition of the neighborhood made the Sulukule as one area with the priority for proper intervention and that the Sulukule regeneration project can be regarded as one of these interventions.

That being said, one actual output of the project, the gentrification phenomenon, was often addressed by some observers as an aspect through which the project has faced the failure. Based on the records and evidences the gentrification phenomenon was one of the outcomes of the Sulukule project as many former residents of the neighborhood are no longer reside in the area which the project aimed to enhance their condition. In this sense, was the Sulukule project an invalid intervention at the first place? Was it the misused of the resources and the assets that finally reached to the failure? This research finds that even though the gentrification phenomenon can be regarded as one of the important downsides of the project which should have been prevented but, as overviewed in the chapter four this issue does not preclude the need for intervention for this deprived area. The Sulukule neighborhood was indeed a troubled region that required proper intervention, as the continuation of the former condition of the neighborhood was clearly an ill-advised option. However, what can be discussed further about the Sulukule regeneration project is the way that project was conducted as many problems of this project, especially the gentrification process, rest within this phase.

This brings us to the second concluding remark of this thesis based on the integrated approach. The other main objective of this thesis was to comprehend and extract the key components of the integrated urban regeneration as the key for improvements of regeneration projects through their interventions. In this thesis it was attempted to demonstrate that relying merely on one alternative couldn't fulfill the main purposes of urban regeneration projects. Regeneration projects for deprived areas like Sulukule should include multi-purpose objectives. As emphasized by this research, these projects have to adopt integrated approaches and interventions in order to tackle multiple-problems of declining and deteriorated sites.

Based on the records and the gathered information the lack in consideration of social aspects about the condition of the Sulukule neighborhood before, during and after the project was one of the important contributing factors in the gentrification phenomenon. The condition of residing community constitutes an important aspect

of regeneration projects. The eviction of residents to the possible extent should be avoided unless the project have a reason to encourage people to move, such as proposing better conditions than before. This stands on the reason that displacement and relocation of local people can lead to marginalization, exclusion and severance of social and economic ties. It can threaten the integrity of communities, their social capital and the outcomes of the projects themselves since it is the local community that the regeneration is designed for. Participation of the local community and their active engagement with the local authorities can be highlighted as one of the important policies that can enhance the outcome of the regeneration projects in every of their stages. This can be follow up by providing variety of funding alternatives for vulnerable groups such as those resided in Sulukule project. Moreover, giving the opportunity for other activist groups such as NGO's, local associations and national and international organizations to involve in decision-making process can also improve the policies regarding the regeneration projects. Consideration of all of these aspects even though cannot guarantee the success and prevention of gentrification phenomenon but they can essentially improve the outcome of the regeneration projects.

Beside the consideration of the social aspects, the physical aspects should be considered in the same vein. The improvement of living standards in built environment and solving the spatial and physical problems have always been the important goals within the regeneration projects. This issue can include the improvement of accessibility to services, activities and facilities while it should also promote and design of attracting public spaces, streets and amenities. Consideration of housing, quality of building materials, safety of structures, promotion of the scenery of the neighborhoods, preservation of landmarks and consideration of cultural heritages and particularities are all can be regarded as important elements within the physical aspect.

Based on the examination provided within this study about the Sulukule project, even though that the gentrification phenomenon was one of the outcomes; the project has provided physical improvements including the enhancement of public spaces, streets and amenities. The Project has also improved the quality of housing stocks and many physical aspects were designed according to the traditions of the previous local residents, the Roman people. Such a conduct within this thesis was addressed as an “area-based intervention” which the consideration of physical aspects constitutes more priority. This issue, which was often missed by some observers of the project, brings us to the third concluding remark of this thesis through this question: why the project of Sulukule led to the gentrification phenomenon while the physical aspects of the neighborhood have significantly improved?

The other objective of this thesis within the frame of integrated approach was to suggest that in addition to the consideration of both the social and physical aspects of regeneration projects there should be established counterbalancing measures between these aspects as well. One of the frequent problems of area-based policies is that due to the physical improvements prices increase in the area and this leads to change of the population, pushing out the original disadvantaged residents to the next deprived area, replacing them by better off families.

Excessive consideration of physical aspects over social aspects is the main ground through which the Sulukule project couldn't reach to its promised goals. Dramatic raise in the physical qualities of the site as the result of the regeneration project beside the neglect of social aspects has consequently resulted to the gentrification phenomenon. However, it can be said that if the policies regarding the social aspects were considered equal to physical aspects, and that if the pervious local people could continue to reside in the newly developed neighborhood, the outcome of the project would be more promising in that it was the people who gave the Sulukule neighborhood the distinguished character that now has been disappeared.

This critically suggests that regeneration is not a merely physical action; rather, the shaping of a better place to live in and construct a community's future with better standards. The study of Sulukule Regeneration Project shows that when urban regeneration projects focus only on improving physical features of the project without considering socio-economical background of inhabitants, they do not improve life standards of people.

This thesis has aimed to suggest that this can be achieved in combination and integration of both area-based and people-based interventions and all aspects of integrated urban regeneration approach should be applied at the same time in harmony with each other, the applied solution should consider all of the physical-environmental and social-economic aspect not favoring too much of any of these at the expense of others. In other words, it is not possible to develop a plausible outcome for urban regeneration of a given neighborhood with a one sided-approach, as there is always a contradiction and trade-off between the different aspects of the regeneration projects. Such an outline can be also aligned with this concurrence that there is neither a model nor a universal formula to guarantee the success in urban regeneration.

In the end there can be included another concluding remark which can further the discussion over the urban regeneration projects in much wider context. As it was frequently stated urban regeneration projects are the by-products of the urban decline phenomenon, a phenomenon which is embedded in much larger socio-spatial structures that are shaping the urban environments and their dynamism. In other words it is within these structures that the cycle of errors and solutions are manifesting. Then, perhaps it is better to understand these structures more comprehensively in order to find the core issues about the decline phenomenon. This may lead us to much greater solutions at the first place.

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