

SOCIAL POLICY OF HOUSING IN TURKEY: THE CASE OF THE CITY OF
VAN AFTER THE 2011 EARTHQUAKE

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ABSTRACT

SOCIAL POLICY OF HOUSING IN TURKEY: THE CASE OF THE CITY OF VAN AFTER THE 2011 EARTHQUAKE

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2011 Van Earthquake was the initiator of an urban transformation wave across Turkey primarily targeting disaster-risky areas. Today's conjuncture shows that public actions aiming at the compensation of past damages and the mitigation of future ones have been mostly embodied in state-led mass housing and urban regeneration projects. In this context, the main aim of this thesis is to analyze housing policies implemented in post-earthquake recovery process of the city of Van. Welfare issues brought about policy implementations concerning housing reconstruction are evaluated on the basis of problems created by capitalist urbanization, particularly being commodification of housing and displacement. After the analysis of Van case, social policy recommendations are improved upon universalist and redistributive social policy approaches.

Keywords: Turkey, Van, post-earthquake recovery, housing policy, social policy.

ÖZ

TÜRKİYE’DE KONUTUN SOSYAL POLİTİKASI: 2011 DEPREMİ SONRASI VAN ÖRNEĞİ

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2011 Van Depremi, ülke geneline yayılan ve öncelikli olarak afet riski taşıyan alanları hedefleyen kentsel dönüşüm akımının tetikleyicisi oldu. Genel görüngüye bakıldığında, kamu tarafından, geçmiş hasarların onarımı için yapılan çalışmaların ve gelecekte ortaya çıkabilecek hasarların önlenmesi için alınan önlemlerin çoğunlukla toplu konut ve kentsel yenileme projeleri etrafında şekillendiği görülmektedir. Bu bağlamda tezin ana amacı, 2011 depremi sonrasında başlatılan yeniden inşa sürecinde Van’da uygulanan konut politikalarının incelenmesidir. Konut politikalarının kent sakinlerinin refahı açısından ortaya çıkardığı sonuçlar, kapitalist kentleşme sürecinin neden olduğu sorunlar –konutun metalaşması, yerinden edilme- üzerinden değerlendirilmektedir. Van’ın durumunun bu bağlamda incelenmesinin ardından, evrensel ve yeniden dağıtımcı sosyal politika yaklaşımları üzerinden ileriye dönük sosyal politika önerileri de geliştirilmektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Türkiye, Van, deprem sonrası yeniden inşa, konut politikası, sosyal politika.

*To the Child Labors
of Construction Industry*

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“In reality, bourgeoisie has only one method of settling the housing question after its fashion – that is to say, of settling it in such a way that the solution continually poses the question anew.”

Friedrich Engels, The Housing Question

In 2011, two earthquakes hit the city of Van on 23 October and 9 November. Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD) reported that, due to earthquakes, 644 people died, 1966 people injured and 252 people were saved from debris alive. Besides, 17005 dwelling units collapsed or heavily damaged (AFAD Deprem Dairesi Başkanlığı, 2011). Van Earthquake was the turning point of an urban transformation wave across Turkey and policy implementations within the scope of the Law no. 6306 were initiated on 5 October 2012 in İstanbul, with a public ceremony. The then Prime Minister announced that “the great transformation” have started comprising 35 cities. With reference to the Van earthquake, he stated that they will hand in disaster houses within a short period to earthquake victims as promised, and any of the citizens were not and will not be deprived of this opportunity ¹.

In the wake of any disaster, states come to the fore as the responsible agent in compensating damages and disaster victims, especially poor and disadvantaged groups who would possibly be damaged more, are expected to be supported by the state. Particularly, housing occurs as an outstanding problem when encountered with a disaster requiring both immediate action as well as precautions against future damages. In Turkey, housing need arising out of natural disasters are met with disaster homes

¹ Source: <http://www.csb.gov.tr/gm/altyapi/index.php?Sayfa=haberdetay&Id=5129> (last accessed on July, 2018)

supplied by Mass Housing Administration (TOKİ). TOKİ is also authorized to take prospective measures against disaster risks through urban regeneration schemes. Besides housing, TOKİ's primary responsibilities include provision of housing credits, infrastructure and social reinforcement works. TOKİ can also establish or participate in companies related to housing industry which is a crucial mission in promoting private construction sector. When we look at the beginning of 2000s, we can observe a more centralized TOKİ empowered with legal arrangements done by the Justice and Development Party (AKP) governance. By putting forward several arguments, the government tried to speed up urban transformation and among these arguments, the fact of earthquake is expressed frequently to justify why authorities should take immediate action in transforming urban areas. However, policy intentions and results seem to contradict which is expressed by Eliçin as

...the implicit agenda, i.e., exchange of substantial urban land and building stock was so obvious that the risk prevention dimension did not trigger any debate in public opinion. Indeed, even the government chose to emphasize the eventual economic growth that will be triggered by urban transformation rather than risk prevention (2014, p. 153).

1999 Marmara and 2011 Van earthquakes had crucial impacts on governmental agendas related to housing. Public actions aiming at the compensation of past damages and the mitigation of future ones are mostly embodied in mass housing projects and state-led urban regeneration schemes. In this context, it seems that subsequent to two big disasters causing huge damages and leaving thousands of people homeless, earthquakes are used as a pretext for urban regeneration activities by presenting them as a necessity and legal arrangements were done accordingly.

Within the scope of this work, main goal is to explore whether housing policies in question are directed towards the benefit of citizens upon social policies or towards the interests of private sector with the help of legal and institutional arrangements. Given that the existing academic studies on the subject mostly covered metropolitan cities and 'earthquake' is an important determinant of the policies that will be elaborated throughout the thesis, this research aims to address housing policies

conducted in the city of Van after the 2011 Earthquake. For this purpose, policy practices are analyzed in order to observe the main assumption of the thesis that state policies on housing are used to promote capital's interests rather than meeting sheltering needs of citizens in the direction of welfare principles. In this context, following section aims to provide the theoretical background on which this study bases its assumptions.

1.1 Background

As the key playground of post-industrial society, urban spaces and issues related to urbanization are subject to crucial social, political and economic discussions since the end of 1970s. What distinguishes the urban of industrial era from today's phenomenon can be examined through the main concern of capital that shifted its investment area from primary to secondary circuit in order to maintain capital accumulation. In Harvey's terms, the problem of over-accumulation in the primary circuit, namely the industrial sector, could be overcome by directing the investments into secondary circuit composing of "fixed capital assets" and "consumption fund". At this point, "investment in built environment" becomes significant as "... it represents a physical framework within which production or consumption (or in some cases –such as transport facilities- both) take place" (Saunders, 1981, p. 222-224). However, at one point, the problem of over-accumulation manifests itself again which can be linked to today's conflicts occurring within urban spaces.

On the other hand, 1980s are marked by the end of Keynesian economics which was replaced by neoliberalism whose main premise is the decreasing role of state vis-a-vis the advent of free market economy. Since neoliberalism favored deregulation and privatization, state involvement in economics is welcomed only if it is on behalf of private sector. Neoliberalism has broad repercussions on politics and social issues alongside the transformations that it initiated in economics. Social policy realm, for instance, received its share from aforementioned developments and its underlying logic went through significant changes in the direction of neoliberal measures. Under these circumstances, social policy become one of the prominent fields in which

neoliberal discourse and agenda can be turned into practice. This is because, as states' role decreased in the supply of public welfare, private sector came to the fore as the mere option for citizens in order to reach health, education and shelter kind of fundamental needs.

In simple terms, social policy can be described as governments' policy-based actions targeting the welfare of citizens via provision of services like social insurance, health, education and housing or income (Marshall, 1965, p.7). At the very beginning of social policy discussions, Richard Titmuss, founding father of the discipline, indicated that "What is 'welfare' for some groups may be 'illfare' for others" (1974, p. 27). Looking at today's conjuncture with a critical approach, it becomes hard not to agree with his opinion since global economic and political affairs progressing in pursuant of neoliberal policies are in capital's favor at the expense of masses suffering from welfare retrenchments. That is, while social and economic conditions of disadvantaged groups are worsening off, social policies as a protective mechanism for them cannot fulfill their mission.

The end of World War II brought rapid economic growth throughout Europe with the adoption of Keynesian economic principles and during this period, state involvement in economics at times of recession was supported. Keynesian Era is also accepted as the golden age of welfare state since the provision of state-led social benefits were in the foreground. Keynesian logic was depending on the notion that "social expenditures for public welfare could stimulate aggregate demand and even out instabilities and fluctuations of the business cycle" (Quadagno, 1987, p. 110). However, towards mid-1970s, global economic crises called Keynesianism into question and excessive government spending was blamed for the depression. By means of monetary policies, state started to withdraw gradually from social expenditures (ibid, p. 110-111). When it comes to 1980s, neoliberalism started to dominate global economy and neoliberal doctrine was used to justify the reduction of state control in economics and privatization of public services. States began "to dismantle the basic institutional components of postwar settlement and to mobilize a range of policies intended to extend market discipline, competition, and commodification throughout all sectors of

society” (Brenner & Theodore, 2002, p. 350). Accordingly, state control in economics was to be delimited and intervention is accepted only if it is on behalf of free market order. At this point, privatization became the lynchpin of global neoliberal agenda as governments could have eased the way of capital owners via handing their duties over to private sector.

Parallel to these developments, retrenchment in welfare policies has started to be employed because “welfare states are seen as costly, overburdened, inefficient, incapable of eliminating poverty, overly oriented to cash entitlements rather than empowerment” (Jessop, 2002, p. 465). Welfare conception of neoliberalism was summarized by Harvey as “If markets do not exist (in areas such as education, health care, social security, or environmental pollution), then they must be created, by state action if necessary. But beyond these tasks, state should not venture” (2007, p. 22-23). Thus, social policies constituting major duties of governments are left to private sector destroying the right-based aspect of welfare access for citizens.

At this point, the function of urban spaces in attaining neoliberal goals should be mentioned as, despite neoliberal agendas are practiced in many different scales, cities are the main stages in which we observe the tensions of “actually existing neoliberalism” (Jessop, 2002, p. 452). This can be explained through the capacity of fixed capital assets for accumulation, which can be best used by stimulating urban growth (Harvey, 1988, p. 192). Here, the concept of rent arises which refers to the “portion of exchange value which is set aside for the land and property owner”. With reference to the processes within capitalist economies, Harvey indicates “The evolution of urban form is an integral part of this general process and rent, as a measure of the interpretation of use values and exchange values, contributes notably to the unfolding of this process (ibid, p. 190).

In this context, housing emerges as one of the core areas in which market can sustain capital accumulation with the help of state regulation. Throughout history, housing has developed as a joint field in which state and market are main actors, the former providing legal basis and subsidies in case of need and the latter dealing with demand

through investment and construction. Right to housing is taken under protection by several documents including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948) and International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (1976). Hinging on the principle that everyone has a right to secure, affordable shelter, housing is regarded as a fundamental human right which forms the basis of welfare approaches to the issue. Social policy of housing has taken different forms according to changing contexts hence its practice differed across time and space. The common pattern, though, has been observed in social housing which has been provided by states, especially in European countries. This is because, urbanization as a key phenomenon generating housing issue correspondingly necessitated external intervention, since uneven development at urban scale hold tensions among different social classes (Smith, 1991).

Today, the most visible intervention into housing field comes from states yet actors' approaches are mostly incompatible with welfare principles since the interests of urban dwellers and capital are in constant conflict with each other. This stems from the fact that capital accumulation can only be achieved by precluding certain classes from accessing welfare and housing constitutes one of the core areas in which welfare can be undermined through state regulations in favor of the market. Upon this, Harvey indicated that "Deteriorated housing is typically subject to speculative pressure –a pressure which may lead to urban renewal under a different kind of housing or a transformation in the use of the land" (1988, p. 174). Considering from welfare perspective, it is one of the responsibilities of states to intervene in deteriorated housing, or housing need in general, in line with the interests of urban dwellers so as to ensure right to housing. However, when private sector involves in the issue as a supplier, rent seeking becomes the main motive of housing provision affecting governments' policies and thereby citizens' welfare.

1.2 Turkey's Context and Selection of the Case

Looking at Turkey, it is also possible to observe the reflections of worldwide economic developments on governments' political agendas. By 1980s, structural adjustment programs instructed by the World Bank and IMF forced policy-makers to smooth the

way of capital through deregulation and privatization moves. When it comes to 2000s, neoliberal policies became the main agenda of Turkish State under AKP governance. While this period accelerated privatization implementations, housing policies followed a different path as government centralized the issue in the hands of TOKİ by rendering the institution into “the highest physical planning authority” (Eliçin, 2014, p. 151). Policy regulations in question are commented as an attempt to elude from legal restrictions preventing construction sector from acting freely within market (ibid). Another criticism against the centralization of housing is made upon the argument that government’s concern is not bettering the living conditions of citizens through urban regeneration. Rather, production of mass housing is directed towards profit maximization and boosting economy by supporting construction sector (Ünsal, 2009, p. 16).

In this process, legal arrangements, governmental discourse and policy outcomes related to housing production are significant to observe whether housing policies are aiming at the welfare of urban dwellers or seeking rent through supporting private sector. Following 1999 Marmara and 2011 Van Earthquakes, certain legal arrangements have been done regarding disaster-mitigation through urban regeneration yet they have been criticized by existing academic studies on the ground that new regulations are serving to the interests of construction sector instead of citizens’ needs. Moreover, Saraçoğlu and Demirtaş-Milz argued that disasters are used as a justification of urban transformation projects (2014, p. 180). In the same vein, Yılmaz put that “With the intensification of discussions around the earthquake threat in the beginning of 2000s, ‘urban transformation’ was presented as an obligation and an unavoidable process” (2013, p. 40).

In this context, the main argument of this thesis is formed such that, in Turkey, governmental discourse and policy practices related to housing provision are incompatible with universalist and redistributive welfare principles. That is, housing should be accessible for all groups in need and profit coming from the projects appealing to high income groups should be reinvested in further social housing projects. Yet, the current conjuncture shows that home ownership is proposed under

the name of social housing provided by the state with long-term loans and this excludes certain groups from accessing housing. Within the process, policy actions prioritizing the interests of construction sector result in the ignorance of urban dwellers' welfare. In this line, this study aims to observe policy implications within the post-earthquake housing reconstruction context of Van from the perspective of social policy.

As it will be further elaborated in the third chapter, there are lots of academic studies on housing issue concerning metropolitan areas as large-scale urban projects including mass housing and urban regeneration are numerous in big cities. Current literature examining urban regeneration policies mostly concentrate on İstanbul as it is the focal point of the policies in question due to its position within global economy. Concordantly, negative social impacts of these projects are considerable and require further investigation in metropolitan areas. On the other side, it seems necessary to conduct studies in unstudied areas since decision-making and implementation are highly centralized thereby generating similar issues in housing all over the country. Secondly, although the most important legal arrangement related to country-wide urban regeneration, i.e. the Law no. 6306, was enacted after and with reference to the Van Earthquake, any specific study addressing the housing issue of the city after 2011 is not available. Therefore, Van was chosen as investigation area for this study with the consideration that it can provide concrete as well as unique information on how policy-making and implementation related to housing has been processing after the earthquakes.

In this context, the main aim of this thesis is to investigate housing policies initiated after the 2011 Earthquake in Van in terms of social policy. More precisely, building activities concerning mass housing and the transformation of city center are the main points of analysis. In addition, condition of container cities that were built to provide disaster-victims with temporary shelter is addressed since they somehow turned into a permanent shelter for vulnerable groups after the earthquake. Accordingly, the research problem is formed in the way that whether the policies and implementations in question are consistent with welfare principles and meet the requirements of universalist and redistributive social policy approaches.

1.3 Operational Definition and Research Questions

The primary concern of the study is to examine how far do mass housing and urban regeneration projects proceeded after earthquakes affect the welfare of urban dwellers. This problematic is read upon the concept of ‘social housing’ which has been assigned different meanings according to different geographies and contexts. Considering the fact that social rental housing had never existed in Turkey in contrast with Western countries, the ‘social’ here simply refers to the policy approach prioritizing the welfare of citizens rather than market’s interests. Affordable housing protecting right to shelter is included as another aspect for social dimension of policies in question. ‘Right to housing’, as one of the fundamental concepts in urban politics, can be seen as “a political ‘marker of concern’ pointing out housing as an area for welfare state policy” (Bengtsson, 2001, p. 273). Yet, particular characteristics of housing as a policy field and current economic structure formed under capitalist mode of production often generate clashing interests between the groups who are addressed by the envisaged policies and providers of the need in question. This stems from the position of housing as a commodity used for individual consumption. Since housing provision cannot be handled solely by the state, this task becomes significant in the eyes of capital as through the transformation of use value into exchange value, housing production becomes a tool of capital owners for making profit. At this point, the concept of rent involves in the process as a key factor determining public and private sectors’ roles in housing supply. Relatedly, Harloe says

Historically, industrial, property and financial capital have been the motive forces driving the system. The production of housing as a commodity involves all these forms of capital. Thus anything more than a limited and partial decommodification of housing is likely to provoke intense resistance” (1995, p. 2).

Departing from the principle of ‘right to housing’, we can say that, under certain conditions such as poverty, homelessness and disasters, housing issue falls into the area of social policy but its provision is met with the joint activities of policy-makers and market forces. In this process, state as the policy-maker is expected to act on behalf

of citizens to ensure welfare whereas market forces need to expand capital accumulation in order to survive. The interests of capital though affect decision-making process precluding social policy goals. In this context, the purpose of this study is to find out how state policies support capital accumulation and undermine welfare upon mass housing and urban regeneration activities. 2011 Van Earthquake is considered significant since it played a key role in the formation of state policies concerning urban with the Law no. 6306 (commonly referred as ‘the disaster law’ or ‘the urban transformation’ law) enacted after the earthquake initiating an urban transformation wave across the country with the premise of ‘disaster mitigation’. In this context, research questions of the study are organized as follows:

Research Question 1

What are the policies followed by the government subsequent to 2011 Van Earthquake concerning housing recovery?

Subquestion 1

In which ways these policies were put into action in order to compensate disaster damages?

Subquestion 2

What is the discourse and method of prospective measures regarding disaster mitigation?

Research Question 2

What is the role of public actors, i.e the government, TOKİ, AFAD and local governments, within the post-earthquake housing recovery process?

Subquestion 1

Could non-governmental organizations and professional chambers participate in the decision-making process?

Research Question 3

What are the implications of housing policies regarding the housing needs of earthquake victims?

Subquestion 1

How the effects of top-down policy making in housing provision can be overcome in order to contribute to the welfare of urban dwellers?

1.4 Methodology and Data Collection

In order to analyze the Van case, the laws concerning post-earthquake recovery and future protection and their implications on policy decisions of public authorities were taken as starting point. Disaster houses were built within the scope of the Law no. 7269 which forms the legal basis of issues related to damage assessment, beneficiary and indebtedment. The Law no. 6306 is the other legal arrangement that the study examines in terms of its implications on post-earthquake housing policies. Relatedly, the bill of law passed from the parliament in 2015 was also referred to see how the disaster law reflected on housing policies concerning Van city. Laws and legal regulations prior to the 2011 Earthquake are briefly reviewed to have a chronological background on the improvement of urban regeneration and housing policies throughout the country. These include the enactment of articles 73a and 73b of the Municipal Law no. 5393, the enactment of the Law no. 5366, the amendments done in the Law no. 5609 and the decree law no. 648 that established the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization in 2011.

Policy implications were investigated upon the reports of governmental bodies who were responsible from post-earthquake housing recovery (TOKİ and AFAD) and 6th and 7th term reports of the Chamber of Architects of Van as a local professional chamber. AFAD has important missions in a post-disaster context including response, recovery and reconstruction. In case of an earthquake, damage assessment, indebtedment and beneficiary issues that are directly related to housing are undertaken by AFAD. In this sense, AFAD and TOKİ work in collaboration in post-disaster housing reconstruction as it is seen in the case of Van. Hence, it is considered important to evaluate the decision-making and implementation process by including the role of AFAD.

In order to support written documents that are relatively limited, expert interviews were conducted. Interviewees were chosen from the experts from public institutions, local professional chambers and non-governmental organizations who actively took part in the reconstruction process. Snowball technique was used to reach informants and eight interviews were conducted in total. Four interviewees are public officials who were assigned from central public institutions located in Ankara. Two interviewees are the members of a local professional chamber, one interviewee is a member of the city council of Van and one interviewee is a member of a local non-governmental organization working for women.

Interview questions were formed on the basis of the information obtained from media news related to the post-earthquake reconstruction and housing issue in Van. In other words, the portrait drawn by the news is tried to be observed and analyzed upon interview questions. News sources include the newspapers of mainstream (Cumhuriyet, Habertürk, Milliyet, Hürriyet, Al Jazeera Türk, Radikal), local (HaberVan, GazeteVan, ŞehriVan Gazetesi) and alternative (Bianet, SiyasiHaber) media channels and the time period of that news comprises between November 2011 and November 2017. Content of the news mainly fall into two categories in that one part concerns the statements of public authorities and the other give information about the reflections of policy implementations on sheltering needs of local dwellers.

Besides, observations made at mass housing regions located at the peripheries of the city, urban transformation activities taking place in the city center and Anadolu Container City as the last container city in which 15 households remained as dwellers as of August 2017. Physical structure of the urban fabric and characteristics of mass housing areas and containers were photographed during observations.

In the first place, information sources were employed to have an insight on how the government approaches housing issue and which ways are chosen to deal with it. Here, the discourse of public authorities is placed a particular importance as policies are claimed to be in favor of citizens' welfare through solving the housing need with affordable prices and loans. Besides, these policies are defended on the ground that

that they contribute to the establishment of planned and disaster-secure cities. Hence, information obtained from these resources is expected to answer the first research question of the study which tries to understand decision-making process upon legal arrangements and to reveal the discourse of public authorities in solving Van's housing issue.

This study departs from the assumption that housing policies initiated by the AKP government and their implementations undertaken by public institutions do not meet the requirements of social policy. This assumption was improved upon the current conjuncture of Turkey's economy which is heavily based on construction industry. There is a strong relationship between accumulation through construction (i.e. investment in built environment) and housing policies as the government is able to use its authorization upon policies to put public lands to the service of property developers. In this way, land and urban rent are shared among capital owners whose main aim is profit maximization. Here, analysis of the role of public actors within the process as the concern of the second research question becomes important to reveal the role of policy-making in fostering capital accumulation through construction which results in the neglecting of redistributive social policy principles. At this point, the position of policy agents vis-à-vis professional chambers and non-governmental organizations is also considered important to observe whether policies are implemented via top-down decisions or with a participatory approach.

In line with the theoretical stance of this study, main concepts –capitalist state, land rent and landed property, capital accumulation, commodification of housing– are derived from Marxist literature. Global neoliberal restructuring, the process in which the aforementioned concepts are interpreted, and entrepreneurialism as the new pattern in urban governance are discussed with reference to David Harvey's (1989) and Neil Smith's (1991, 2002) accounts on Marxist geography. To relate the aforementioned concepts with welfare issues, the problems created by capitalist urbanization –gentrification, displacement, uneven development– are discussed from Marxist perspective and evaluated on the ground of universalist and redistributive social policy principles. Throughout the study, it is assumed that social policies should be

inclusionary in principle, especially of vulnerable groups. To this end, redistribution should be the main goal rather than the accumulation of profit in the hands of financiers.

Aforementioned concepts and patterns are traced within the post-earthquake reconstruction process of Van. Information sources are utilized to show how the AKP government, as the ruling representative of the capitalist state, uses its executive and legislative power to put public lands to the service of construction industry to foster capital accumulation. To this end, firstly, housing policies following 2011 Earthquake were specified and their discourse were analyzed. Secondly, top-down policy-making and the government's promotive role in accumulation through construction were discussed upon mass housing implementations. Then, reflection of urban regeneration as a country-wide policy phenomenon to Van's context and its incompatibility with welfare principles were examined by looking at the outcomes of policy implementations embodied in profit-oriented activities favoring construction industry and undermining citizens' welfare. Besides, affordability and indebtedment issues are discussed in order to observe the economic implications of post-earthquake housing reconstruction. Finally, as the answer of the third research question, overall results were discussed and alternative ways of housing supply are elaborated from social policy perspective.

1.4.1 Strengths and Limitations of the Study

The author argues that, in the direction of universalist and redistributive social policy approaches, housing policies should first consider the welfare of citizens through ensuring right to housing, paying attention to affordability and providing community participation in reconstruction processes. Thus, these concepts are elaborated in the recommendation part with the help of the examples from existing academic studies in order to go beyond analysis and produce solutions. Besides, the study is considered important as it tries to provide a picture of a border city that is strategically important in terms of its geographic location as well as the ethnic and political composition. This

can enable the literature to deduce comparisons between the processes ongoing in different geographies.

On the other side, political tensions between central and local governments put certain limits in that, currently, it is not possible to get firsthand information from the local government that was in charge at the time of the earthquake. Hence, information on the role of local government within the process remains limited with secondary sources. Also, the research is lack of ethnographic knowledge such as how urban dwellers in Van are affected from the policies in question. There are more than 15000 houses built after the earthquake by TOKİ in 4 different regions which require an extended field research. Moreover, the post-earthquake housing experiences of each groups in which women, children and elderly are the most vulnerable ones, need special investigation. Hence, welfare issues from locals' perspective remain to be investigated in future studies.

1.4.2 Structure

The thesis is composed of five chapters. Chapter 1 aims to give general information on the background of the subject, to explain the aim of the study and the research problem and to provide the methodology followed. In addition, main concepts are operationalized and research questions are presented in this chapter. Chapter 2 introduces the conceptual framework from which the main assumptions of the study are deduced. These concepts were also reviewed in the context of Turkey separately in the 3rd chapter. This chapter reviews the main findings of housing and urban regeneration studies conducted on Turkey and provides legal and institutional framework in which urban improvements occur throughout the country. Chapter 3 also aims to set the scene for the Van case through underlining certain gentrification and displacement examples across Turkey. In Chapter 4, implications of the housing policies in question are analyzed in Van's context by looking at mass housing and urban transformation activities as well as the conditions of container cities. 5th Chapter

concludes the main findings and tries to come up with certain recommendations to attain social policy goals.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

2.1 Social Policy in a Nutshell

Titmuss's account points out the transforming feature of social policy and characterizes it as an action-oriented concept implying change towards provision of welfare for disadvantaged groups who are working-class, old-age pensioners, women, deprived children and the like. Even multiple definitions on the concept provided by the scholars of that period, he proposed common objectives of social policies as being welfare-oriented, bearing economic and non-economic aims together and involving progressive measures of redistribution in favor of disadvantaged groups. Moreover, Titmuss mentions contrasting functions of social policy and proposes three models. First model, named 'residual', bases on the assumption that market and family are the two institutions meeting individual needs. Hence, state institutions should only intervene temporarily in welfare provision when these two fail. Second one, named as 'industrial achievement-performance' model, holds merit and performance as the criteria of welfare distribution. Public provision of welfare is seen as supplementary of the market and social security is kept at minimum standards (Sainsbury, 1991). Lastly, 'institutional-redistributive model' of social policy highlights social equality and asserts that welfare should be provided in line with the principle of need and independently from market forces (Titmuss, 1974, p. 23-32). Also, the institutional model does not target a specific group, namely the poor in a widespread manner. Welfare is perceived for the society as a whole, thus it is universalist.

Historical roots of social policy date back to English Poor Laws developed towards the end of the 16th century. These laws comprised several acts related to public health, local government and education as well as opening of workhouses which laid a limited burden on the government and having the characteristics of aforementioned residual

welfare model. Mostly targeting the poor and unemployed, these regulations aimed at ending beggary by forcing people to work and deriving the support of traditional institutions, particularly of the Church, in this process. However, it is not until the 17th century that individuals' security against economic risks was perceived as a social and political issue for principles brought by the Enlightenment prepared the ground for questioning the social status of individuals on the basis of citizenship. In the 18th century, working class emerged after the Industrial Revolution and their demands necessitated certain measures against unemployment under the 'social insurance' framework. Besides workers, bourgeoisie, namely capital owners, rose as the upper class and class antagonisms became more visible among those who own the capital and those who sell their wage labor. While these social changes deepened existing inequalities and poverty among society, they also triggered important political changes embodied in the emergence of nation-states towards the 19th century. In this context, three main ideologies, being liberalism, conservatism and socialism came to the fore each articulating on the interests of different classes and suggesting different pathways for providing welfare as an answer for social security. After all, when it comes to the 20th century, the scope of citizenship rights has started to expand as a result of the will of individuals to emancipate from poverty and Keynesian Welfare State (again pioneered by Britain) became the next turning point in social policy area following Poor Laws (Sallan Gül, 2004, p. 141-143).

Coinciding at the end of World War II, Beveridge Report presented in 1942 laid the foundations of Keynesian Welfare State (in Esping-Andersen's words, "welfare capitalism"). In this report, officially "Social Insurance and Allied Services", Sir William Beveridge pointed five 'giant evils' that the government should fight against: want, squalor, disease, idleness, ignorance. Accordingly, series of reforms were initiated based on three principles being family allowances, a national health service and full employment (Spicker, 2017). In contrast with the classical liberal thought favoring laissez-faire, Keynesian approach promoted government intervention into the areas where free-market fails and thereby creates inequalities. All these developments provided welfare state with a universal characteristic that was expanded from Western Europe to many other countries. As the concept of citizenship became more prominent

by means of the progresses in democratization attempts, welfare provisions were embraced on the basis of citizenship rights (Sallan Gül, 2004, p.147-148).

In the post-war period, while Western-rooted capitalism has been settling and expanding as a dominant economic system bearing crucial changes in traditional politics, it also brought about new approaches into public policy such that states became more involved in welfare issues. In “The Three Worlds of Welfare Capitalism”, Esping-Andersen remarked that “to study the welfare state is therefore a means to understand a novel phenomenon in the history of capitalist societies” and he asserted that the variations of welfare-state stems from the political class coalitions developed throughout the history of countries (1990, p. 1). Parallel to three models suggested by Titmuss, Esping-Andersen classified post-war welfare regimes within three ideal types as conservative, liberal and social-democratic. In addition to that, he highlighted the relationship between the market and the state as the main point of analysis within welfare discussions without distinguishing between liberal, conservative or Marxist political economies. By putting right-based perspective in the center, Esping-Andersen says,

The extension of social rights has always been regarded as the essence of social policy. Inspired by the contributions of Karl Polanyi, we choose to view social rights in terms of their capacity for ‘de-commodification’. The outstanding criterion for social rights must be the degree to which they permit people to make their living standards independent of pure market forces. It is in this sense that social rights diminish citizens’ status as ‘commodities’. (ibid, p. 3)

In this sense, the degree of de-commodification and the kind of social stratification are the determinants of three divergent welfare regimes. Liberal model puts individualism and market forward such that either private provision of welfare is supported or state provision of welfare is tried to be minimized. This shows the low level of de-commodification among liberal welfare states. On the other side, conservative welfare regimes promote traditional family ties so that state only steps in when family fails in welfare provision. Finally, social-democratic model exhibits high level of de-commodification based on universalist principles (ibid, p. 27). Although significant

contributions were made in welfare typologies following Esping-Andersen, it should be noted that aforementioned debates remained limited to European countries (Arts and Gelissen, 2002).

The historical development of welfare politics can be examined in two periods. Afterwards of the Second World War showed an increasing trend among Western countries regarding welfare provision in line with the requirements of the post-war economic recovery. Overlap of Keynesian rationale with the economic prosperity brought by Fordist industrial expansion made generous welfare provisions possible (Quadagno, 1987, p. 111). This development pattern was challenged towards the end of 1970s when global economy faced a serious economic crisis announcing the collapse of Keynesian consensus. In response to the failure of demand-side economics, supply-side economics was offered as a solution for recovery. Promoted by the Thatcher government in the UK and the Third Way in the US, supply-side policies were defended on the ground that they enable trickle-down in which the accumulation of wealth ultimately benefits to the poor as the increased wealth trickles down from rich to poor. For this, state intervention into economy was charged with inefficiency and welfare spending was reflected as an economic burden on states. Instead, deregulation, privatization and financialization were started to be promoted and neoliberalism has started to penetrate into all fields of life through creatively destructing the existing social, political and economic structures (Harvey, 2007). However, as Harvey asked, this raised an important question mark: “In whose particular interests is it that the state take a neoliberal stance and in what ways have those interests used neoliberalism to benefit themselves rather than, as is claimed, everyone, everywhere?” (ibid, p. 24)

2.2 Urbanization and Social Policy

2.2.1 Capitalist State and Urbanization

In advance of discussing the relationship between housing and welfare, it would be helpful to have a brief look on the advance of neoliberalism as an economic and

political ideology and its position vis-à-vis the welfare state. Besides, the role of urbanization within neoliberal policies should also be mentioned.

In “Contradictions of the Welfare State”, Offe speaks of four functional conditions of the capitalist state (which he deemed as the guardian of the ‘class society’) that are private production, taxation constraints, accumulation and democratic legitimation. While private production ensures that the means of production are used in line with the interests of capital, taxation provides political power with necessary means, i.e. materials for political ends. Thirdly, as the accumulation process requires more than a state power, maintenance of this cycle is crucial for the survival of state mechanisms. Finally, for parliamentary regimes, political power can only be obtained through elections but right to vote is manipulated as a legitimation tool in front of the electorate to cover the fact that policies are directed towards increasing revenues rather than meeting public needs and demands (1984, p. 120-122).

In the same vein, in “Urbanization of Capital”, Harvey points the foundation of capitalist society as “accumulation for accumulation’s sake, production for production’s sake”. Linking capitalist logic with urban improvements, he elaborates on the strong tie between revenues, which is embodied in the concept of “rent” in Marxist urban account, and capital accumulation. Rent is essential for capital accumulation to maintain free market economy by providing necessary means for the reproduction of the system. For this purpose, investment in built environment becomes crucial especially after 1980, the date marking the advent of neoliberalism. What is significant at this point is the macro aim of the investments in question from the perspective of capital. Rather than investing in use-value, the focus is on the exchange-value since capital’s investments should return as profits to be able to maintain accumulation cycle (Harvey, 1985, p. 1). Here, urbanization constitutes an important component of capital accumulation in which state takes on a regulatory mission in favor of capital and the market. Relatedly, Harvey indicates that “State policy, particularly in its welfare aspects, has often been dedicated to achieving more efficient structures for the circulation of revenues in relation to the circulation of capital” (1985, p. 99; 2008, p. 25). For the sake of an example, urban expansion in the US played a

world-wide role such that it could stabilize the global economy during the 2008 economic crises through boosting housing sector (Harvey, 2008, p. 29). Similarly, the abovementioned crises tried to be tackled with the government-led boom in construction sector in Turkey which will be discussed in the next chapter. In this context, following section looks at the relationship between housing issue and capitalist urbanization to reveal the role of housing as a commodity.

2.2.2 Housing Question Under Capitalist Urbanization

Bearing both use and exchange value in it, housing differs from other social policy areas like education and health since, from the very beginning, it has been provided with the cooperation of the state and the market. In other words, there is not a universal provision of housing by means of state. On the relationship between the market and the state, Bo Bengtsson refers to latter as a provider of “correctives to the housing market” (2001, p. 257). This, however, covers the right based aspect of housing and gives way to “non-paternalistic conception of housing needs” (ibid, p. 259). From the needs and demands side, state is charged with needs whereas market handles with demands through supply of goods and services. Thus, we may say that when any services are transformed into commodities, a thing to be bought and sold, it becomes controversial whether it is an individual market commodity or a public good under the responsibility of the state. Since market interests are priority in liberal logic, the universalist principle of social policy is to be ignored in a capitalist economy (ibid, p. 259, 261).

At this point, discussing use value and exchange value, pointed as “the two aspects of the commodity” by Marx (as quoted in Harvey, 1988, p. 155) is considered useful to understand the relationship between the need as a social and the demand as an economic notion (ibid, 1988, p. 154). For this, Marxist account of use value and exchange value, which is derived from the conceptions of classical liberal thinkers like Smith and Ricardo, is tried to be analyzed and linked with the main arguments of this study. In this way, it is expected to deduce arguments on housing policies centered

upon capital accumulation. Here, land-use and the rent extracted from it serve as starting point. Relatedly, Harvey remarks

The Marxist device for bringing use value and exchange value into a dialectical relationship with each other demands consideration for it offers the dual prospect of breathing new life into geographical and sociological studies of land-use, and of building a bridge between spatial and economic approaches to urban land-use problems (ibid, p. 157)

If any objects are capable of satisfying a need, we can say that they bear a use value. At the same time, a commodity should involve in an exchange process in which it gains an exchange value, to be able to bear a use value. Briefly, the dialectical relationship between use and exchange value converts any object into a commodity. Given that the use value corresponding to the need aspect of a commodity, surplus value which is supposed to be attained through the exchange of any commodities and essential for the reproduction of capital raises conflict. This stems from the investment preferences of capital aiming at securing the profits that put financial purposes forward (Harvey, 1985).

2.2.2.1 Land Rent and Landed Property

The meaning of the concept of rent has changed according to different historical contexts. However, the evolution of its meaning, Haila argues, should not be understood as a struggle of a better understanding of the concept. Rather, the process has developed via adaptation of land rent into different social problems of various historical periods (2016, p. 49).

By ascertaining the source of rent, who receives it, and why, land rent theory points out that rent as a social relation involves a power relationship and social control. These can be arranged in different ways: land can be private, common, public, collective, state, municipal and shared. Different arrangements have different consequences. Property relations create inequalities and need justification, and differ among different cultures (ibid, p. 58).

At the beginning, the concept of rent emerged with reference to the agriculture and values of agricultural products. In time, the theory of land rent is tried to be applied to the urban context (ibid, p. 59). Classical economists used the concept in relation to land whereas modern economic theory treated rent “as a payment made for factors of production”. In this context, what is crucial about rent becomes the general perception in neo-classical urban land-use theory of the concept as “the return to a scarce factor of production” which blurs the difference of rent from labor and capital. Classical and neo-classical economists suggest that land rent plays a residual and neutral role in capitalist economies. For them, rent comes after the building techniques whereas Marxist theory argues that the potential of land rent should not be ignored as it can affect the production process of the construction.

In this direction, Michael Ball argues that “The object of the analysis of rent, therefore, is to investigate the significance of rent on production; only in this way can the allocative and distributional consequences of rent be clearly understood. For urban development this means that the impact of rent on the construction industry cannot be ignored” (1982, p. 72-73). With a similar point to this perspective, Ball, Bentinegna, Edwards, & Folin argue that,

The rent relation is consequently structured by the dynamic of the accumulation process. Variations in the rate and form of accumulation and the concrete social circumstances in which accumulation is occurring, all in various ways structure the effects of the rent relation (1982, p. 4).

Briefly, land and developments on it should be approached as the components of struggle for rent within accumulation cycle. Hence, we cannot separate the analysis of accumulation process from the analyses of land or location since “The exploitation of rental opportunities, of differences between places, between labor forces and between jurisdictions is an integral part of accumulation” (ibid, p. 11).

In order to explain how accumulation creates inconsistency between rent and welfare, Harvey takes attention to the inherent characteristics of the land as follows: land is one

of the commodities occupying a certain place which is immovable. Also, nobody can maintain a life without occupying a place and this fact restricts consumer preferences. Although the land and improvements on it like housing in an enduring use, their exchange does not occur frequently. The permanence of land, on the other hand, makes it suitable for storing wealth. Besides, since land is one of the properties requiring considerable amount of payment, financial institutions play an important role in the exchange of land via lending opportunities. Finally, land can function in many different and intertwined ways such as space or shelter (1988, p. 157-159).

Among the discussions on the types of rent, most common are monopoly, differential and absolute rents. As it is explained in Marxist account, monopoly rent is determined according to consumer's purchasing power and their eagerness to buy. Here, the production cost or the value of the product is not significant. For Marx, under certain conditions, only this type of rent can explain the revenues obtained from housing and land which makes it important regarding urban land-use (Harvey, 1988, p. 179). Differential rent stems from changing productive capacity of any lands and the excess profit coming from the producer's surplus which is appropriated by the land-owner (Harvey, 1988, p. 181; Park, 2011, p. 46). Finally, absolute rent is the minimum value in return for renting out a land without which the use of land by capitalists is out of question. Here, it should be noted that the aforementioned conceptualizations are based on the agricultural production process belonging to feudal mode of production although it is not possible to understand the current urban improvements without referring to these three types of rent. In line with the main concern of this study, we will be dealing with rent in non-agricultural context through elaborating on the concept of 'urban rent'.

On the functions of the land Harvey remarks "Exactly how these different functions acquire political-economic significance depends upon the kind of society we are dealing with and the kinds of activities set in motion". Agriculture, for instance, is the activity in which land is used as a means of production. For building industry dealing with the construction of immovables on the land, land serves as one of the elements of production. Once buildings are put on it, land becomes a condition of production

(Harvey, 1985, p. 91). Relatedly, Pianta states “In recent years, the concept of “conditions of production” has often been used in urban and regional research in order to relate the emergence of specific spatial and social structures to the process of production. The provision of adequate “general conditions of production” has been seen as a specific function of the state” (1989, p. 129). For housing issue, then, we can approach the land as one of the conditions of production provided by the state. The problem, though, occurs as the capitalist state acts in line with market’s rent-seeking interests and assumes control over the spatial organization of land uses accordingly (Harvey, 1985, p. 90).

“The appropriation of rent is that economic form in which landed property is realized” (Marx quoted in Harvey, 1988, p. 178). Landed property can be seen as one of the facilitators of the process of accumulation. Therefore, restrictions on the use of land pose obstacles for land and capital owners as it directly decreases profits. This simply explains the significance of urban rent relations which became more visible by 1980s bringing about neoliberal restructuring in cities. Triggering factor of this was the international fiscal crises of that period having considerable repercussions on housing finance, though housing was not the only field. On the consequences of economic crises, Ball, Bentivegna, Edwards & Folin state that “The results, in virtually every advanced capitalist country, were private housing booms, property speculation and office development of unheard-of magnitudes” (1982, p. 7). Since housing is both an asset and an arena of consumption, it could be valued not only as a shelter but also as an opportunity for capital accumulation. “The social policy implications of housing in the present decade, therefore, must be assessed in terms of a broader debate concerning the restructuring of the welfare state” (Clapham, Kemp, & Smith, 1990, p. 47).

On the relationship between landed property and rent, Ball, Bentivegna, Edwards & Folin indicate “Rent is the economic payment to landed property resulting from its monopoly ownership of land and/or the buildings standing on it. Strictly, there is no such thing as ‘a theory of rent’, instead there are theories of the economic place of landed property within a given type of class society (capitalist etc.)” (1982, p. 13).

Accordingly, what characterizes capitalist rent extracted from the landed property is that,

When the promoter 'buys' a building site, he doesn't advance his capital in the same manner as when he buys materials, machines or labor power. What the promoter is buying is a legal right which he doesn't pay for as a part of his productive capital, but as an advance on the surplus profit he expects to make (beyond the average profit that he reserves for himself). This is why land prices don't exist by themselves, but are created by the promoter's activities which give land a determined use; so capital may be multiplied on the same spot in a few years (Lipietz, 1982, p. 137-138).

As can be deduced from Lipietz's statement, rent is an unearned revenue arising from capitalist interventions into land and housing market is one of the rent-generating sectors developing upon urban lands.

2.2.2.2 Capitalist State and Housing Market

Harvey mentions six groups who are acting within the housing market, being occupiers, realtors, landlords, developers, financial institutions and government institutions. Occupiers refers to home owners and renters. Realtors, or real estate agents, aim at obtaining exchange value (or rather, a certain amount of that value) via mediating transactions among consumers, landlords whose objective is exchange value and developers who produce use values to get exchange values. Within this cycle, financial institutions also obtain exchange value through offering credit facilities to both developers and consumers. Finally, government institutions intervene in housing market as regulator agents when use values cannot fulfill the housing needs of consumers. Harvey sums up government intervention into housing as follows,

Production of use values through public action (the provision of public housing for example) is a direct form of intervention; but intervention is frequently indirect. ... The latter might take the form of helping the financial institutions, the developers and construction industry to gain exchange values by government action to provide tax shelter, to guarantee profits, or to eliminate risk (1985, p. 166).

When we look at the historical process of state intervention into housing provision, some common trends among advanced capitalist countries stand out. In the 1940s, the need for state intervention into housing was a general acceptance since market was falling behind in provision of housing to the workers. This attitude, however, was not stemming from the considerations of individual welfare or right to housing but rather the focus was on the necessity of adequate housing to the workforce necessary for economic development. Hence, state involvement in the issue is named as liberal-interventionist. This perception also demonstrates the roots of the ideological orientations towards housing question. Following years proposed “rent controls” for the agenda since the equilibrium between wages and housing had to be provided. Yet, state intervention into labor market by way of increasing wages was not acceptable as it directly meant the decrease in profits of capital owners. Thus, the solution became the reduction in rental prices again with the hand of the state. On the other hand, in order to prevent the decrease in housing supply which is expected to occur after rent controls, state should also provide subsidies. At this point, in order to ensure that the subsidies will not be manipulated in the hands of landowners and financiers, state undertook social housing as a part of rental housing and left the remaining to market. These state of affairs emerging across Europe naturally varied among countries with different perceptions, practices and institutions. Among them, for example, Britain and the US showed strong intervention patterns through state landlordism in which housing is provided by local authorities. Another form of state intervention was developed upon land-use planning with the idea that land and infrastructure costs can be reduced via reasonable planning. All in all, state’s position against housing question and concerned institutional reforms “fell firmly within the liberal-interventionist view: market should be constrained or restructured but never fundamentally questioned”. With the 1980s, the statist side of liberal-interventionist perception has started to decline gradually vis-à-vis the emergent neoliberal ideology. In other words, the focus of state intervention shifted towards market-oriented policies. Although the state never withdrew from the field, the new conjuncture started to increase inequalities in housing provision as intervention was in favor of higher-income groups. On the other hand, the rise of middle-class and their housing demand introduced new spatial restructurings such as gentrification. As a result, lower-income groups had difficulties in accessing

affordable housing. Since "... after the early 1980s' slump, many capitalist institutions became aware of profitable opportunities arising from involvement in owner-occupied housing provision", institutional framework of housing has also started to change (Ball, Harloe, & Martens, 1990, p.10-19). Aforementioned developments, as it was noted earlier, are the general course of events concerning housing policies among Western countries belonging to advanced capitalist regimes. At this point, however, it should be noted that these type of Western rooted policy patterns and institutional structures are somehow the specific examples within universal free-market order (ibid, p. 23). Hence, it would be proper to argue that similar repercussions can be found all over the world as capitalism and neoliberalism are no more unique to Western economies. In this direction, for today, the overall tendency of government intervention in housing issue is realized under neoliberal restructuring leaving the provision of social housing aside (Harvey, 1988) and this trajectory, it can be argued, is closely related with new approaches to urban governance although it is possible to observe changing patterns among them.

2.3 New Urban Governance and Housing Policies

As neoliberal ideology has started to advance and undermine the Keynesian demand-side economics, supply-side economics came to the fore rendering urban areas into the places yielding profit. One of the important ways in which these changes occurred is neoliberal restructuring changing traditional governance patterns. Under neoliberal restructuring, firstly, governance is rescaled making national authorities fall behind subnational and supranational bodies. By this means, local authorities supposed to take more responsibilities in economic growth. Secondly, policy aims are directed towards competition rather than redistribution. Finally, state duties are transferred to non-governmental or quasi-governmental bodies such as regional development agencies (Purcell, 2002, p. 100-101). In this process, cities are perceived as the principal drivers of economic growth and competition in which "economic, political and social innovations" occur (Jessop, 2002, p. 465) and all these changes made urban policies critical in restructuring process. With reference to these new formations, Wilson states,

They, as something constituted rather than imposed in cities, are made through different economic bases, social hierarchies, political cultures, and institutional frameworks to create different rules, regulations, policies, capitals privileged, and locals demonized. At the national scale, we have cities caught up in the same economic circumstances and desires to restructure. But in the world of evolving places, we see a patchwork of wildly varying neoliberal governances that often barely resemble each other (2004, p. 772).

What makes neoliberal restructuring problematic in terms of urban dwellers' welfare is put by Purcell as "Although these changes have been complex and have led to a range of outcomes, the literature argues that overall they have tended to decrease the control urban residents have over the decisions that shape their city" (2002, p. 99).

One of the strategies of this process is the shift from urban managerialism to entrepreneurialism in which local governments retire from managerial duties including provision of social services and benefits and take on entrepreneurial role aiming at regional and local economic development through increasing employment opportunities and thereby providing competitive edge (Harvey, 1989).²

Urban regeneration has been one of the methods in which governments perform entrepreneurial duties through serving public lands to private developers. Relatedly, Roweis & Scott state,

Through this type of intervention, government plays a key role in producing privately developable urban land and in shaping the spatial configuration of urban land prices and uses. Yet, ironically, and despite its crucial role, this type of intervention remains virtually incapable of dealing with real urban land problems. Publicly serviced land is left to be exchanged and utilized by innumerable private owners and users, all of them following specific private interests and oblivious to the collective consequences of their actions. This anarchical process leads to uncontrolled, unexpected, and unintended spatial configurations of differential locational advantages; and hence or urban land prices, uses, and problems (1981, p. 129).

² In Turkey, policy-making concerning urban is demonstrating a slightly different pattern trending towards centralization which will be elaborated in the following chapter.

As one of the prominent schemes of urban regeneration, gentrification has been a widely used strategy in creating new forms of accumulation. Referring to the cases emerged in New York towards the end of the 1990s, Neil Smith discusses new urbanism as a consequence of globalism and gentrification as a central feature of this new urbanism pattern and says “the process of gentrification, which initially emerged as a sporadic, quaint, and local anomaly in the housing markets of some command-center cities, is now thoroughly generalized as an urban strategy that takes over from liberal urban policy” (2002, p. 427). This mainly implies the deliberate strategy of urban regeneration leaning towards gentrification, the process in which “poor and working-class neighborhoods in the inner city are refurbished via an influx of private capital and middle-class homebuyers and renters— neighborhoods that had previously experienced disinvestment and a middle-class exodus” (Smith, 2005, p. 30). This process mostly results in displacement of locals via creating several problems like housing affordability (Slater, 2006, p. 738). From social policy perspective, policy-making should aim at minimizing displacement yet current patterns show a general tendency in displacement through gentrification (Marcuse quoted in Slater, 2006, p. 747). On how this complex process occurs, Slater states,

The current era of neoliberal urban policy, together with a drive towards homeownership, privatization and the break-up of ‘concentrated poverty’, has seen the global, state-led process of gentrification via the promotion of social or tenure ‘mixing’ (or ‘social diversity’ or ‘social balance’) in formerly disinvested neighborhoods populated by working-class and/or low-income tenants (ibid, p. 749-750).

‘Rent gap’, first uttered by Neil Smith in 1979, is another crucial concept to understand the underlying causes of today’s conflicts developing on urban lands. Based on the Marxist theory of land rent, Smith describes rent gap as the difference between the value obtained from the present use of a land and its potential value which is higher than the current one (1987, p. 462). If a land could be used in a way that the landowner would gain more profit, the rent gap occurs which can be attained through new methods provided by neoliberal urban governance. By linking rent gap and gentrification, he argues “it would be expected that rehabilitation began where the gap

was greatest and the highest returns available” (1979, p. 546).

When considered within the discussions of economy, gentrification falls under a different context known as ‘uneven development’. In contrast with the idea that gentrification is a short-term, temporary strategy for the revival of cities, critical urban scholars argue that gentrification is one of the leading edges of a broader process of ‘uneven development’ and one of the tools to restructure urban space within the agenda of neoliberal governance bearing wider economic targets to overcome the crisis of capital accumulation (Smith, 1982, p. 139). As a unique feature of capitalist societies, uneven development directly stems from the capitalist mode of production and its inherent crisis. Why uneven development is, in a sense, necessary for capital is put by Harvey as,

Surplus value must be produced and realized within a certain timespan. If time is needed to overcome space, surplus value must also be produced and realized within a certain geographical domain. ... If surplus value has to be produced and realized within a ‘closed’ region, then the technology of production, structures of distribution, modes and forms of consumption, the value, quantities and qualities of labor power, as well as all necessary physical and social infrastructures must be all consistent with each other within that region (2006, p. 416-417).

Accordingly, if there emerges a change within any of these processes, the region in question should readapt other components in order not to fall behind the accumulation process. Ultimately, all the efforts to maximize surplus value result in geographical differentiation. Although this pattern is not consistent with universalist aims of capitalists, regional differentiation is inevitable in the long-run since the main impulse of investments would always be to attain the highest profit. Thus, whenever capital faces devaluation, it will go for where the profit is higher. Similarly, workers also tend to move where the living standards are better (ibid, p. 417). In this direction, the three main aspects of uneven development are proposed by Smith as tendencies toward differentiation and equalization, valorization and devalorization of capital invested in the built environment and reinvestment and the rhythm of unevenness. Initially, in order to make profit and sustain economic expansion that are both vital for the survival of capitalist production, larger amounts of capital should first be accumulated and then reinvested consistently. For this, conditions of production are tended towards

equalization in accessing to the factors of production such as raw materials and transport facilities. In contrast, when it is considered on the urban context, differentiation, stemming from the changing ground rent levels in cities, is inevitable creating unevenness among places. Secondly, since capital invested in built environment loses its value over time, there emerges a necessity to make new investments to maintain accumulation cycle (Smith, 1982, p. 142-147). Thus, economic decline of certain spaces, like inner-city neighborhoods becomes desirable for market-forces because, within an accumulation-driven economy, the most logical way of maintaining profit for capitalists becomes investment in large scale construction rather than “small scale, piecemeal repair activity” (ibid, p. 148). Lastly, the frequency of the aforementioned investment affairs “undergo periodic but relatively rapid and systematic shifts in the location and quantity of capital invested in the built environment” (ibid, p. 150). This stems from the inherent nature of accumulation causing excessive production of commodities and thereby decreasing rates of profits in industrial sector. In that case, to overcome the crisis of over-accumulation, investment in built environment becomes an alternative way in which the rent-gap determines where to invest and deduce more profits.

At this point, it should be pointed out that urban regeneration and gentrification are not the only causes of displacement. Development-led displacement and displacement by disasters and conflicts are other forms in which local dwellers have to abandon their living spaces. Development-led displacement arises from large-scale infrastructure projects such as railways, power plants, factories etc. and mostly results in forced eviction of masses. Yet, in certain cases, gentrification may accompany development-led displacement (Lees, Shin & López-Morales, 2016, p. 174).

Besides, Naomi Klein argues that disasters –natural or man-made- can be manipulated by governments to ease the way of new economic and/or political agendas since “shocked societies often give up things they would otherwise fiercely protect” (2007, p. 17). She gives the example of displacement occurred in Arugam Bay at Sri Lanka after the massive tsunami happened in Indian Ocean in 2004. Due to the tsunami, Sri Lanka’s coasts were significantly damaged and during the reconstruction process,

majority of Arugam Bay locals who earn their living by fishery were displaced from the region since disaster victims were banned from rebuilding their houses on the beach. The pretext for the ban was put upon the risk of another possible disaster. However, this ban was not valid for touristic hotels and resorts (ibid, p. 385-388). Hence, Klein states, the government used its authority in favor of tourism industry since “The catch they used to pull from the waters had been enough to sustain their families, but did not contribute to economic growth as measured by institutions like the World Bank, and the land where their huts once stood could clearly be put to more profitable use” (ibid, p. 388). In a similar vein, analyzing 2005 dated hurricane Katrina in US and the earthquake happened in Haiti in 2010, Pyles, Svistova and Ahn find that neoliberal disaster governance use displacement as a tool in fulfilling capital’s interests (2017).

All in all, in most cases, the common problems concerning displacement stem from the fact that cities are “major basing points for the production, circulation, and consumption of commodities”. Hence Lees, Shin and Lopez-Móralles put that, “fast-expanding neoliberal policy prescriptions and financial capital are reproducing similar trends of displacement and exclusion in wide array of different cities across the world” (2015, p. 449).

So far, the abovementioned literature tried to cover the relationship between capitalism and urbanization through elaborating on neoliberal governance patterns. Accordingly, displacement and uneven development emerged as macro results that reflect on housing policies in a rent-seeking manner. Under this context, following section aims to relate housing and social policy with reference to residualization of housing and the promotion of home ownership that are to be linked with accumulation and rent-generating processes.

2.4 Social Policy of Housing

Almost all social policy literature on housing refers to the famous statement of Ulf Torgersen qualifying housing policies as a “wobbly pillar under the welfare state” (1987). Housing issue and related policies can be considered under a wide range of topics in which housing acts as a tool of environmental management, as a citizenship right and as a market commodity. Based on the ideas emphasizing right to shelter, housing has become an important component of social policy discussions including several puzzles like social housing, affordable housing, homelessness and so on. What distinguishes housing from other social policy areas is its commodity feature which further complicates the issue. Thus, “In the case of housing, it is particularly important to take this wider public policy focus, because housing policy has always had a broader remit than just that of meeting social needs” (Clapham, Kemp, & Smith, 1990, p. 21).

2.4.1 Commodification of Housing

Looking at the historical development of housing problematic, public health concerns in European countries lays the foundations of policy efforts aiming at improvements in environmental and building standards. Subsequently, the first examples of social housing emerge with the contribution of industrialization. At the beginning of the 20th Century, principles of welfare state have gradually embraced the notion of right to decent housing so that social housing was expanded further through rent regulations. Towards the last decades of the 20th Century, deregulation, financialization and privatization moves developing the direction of liberal policy-making started to undermine social housing principles. As a result, market came to the fore as the mere provider of housing need. Commodity feature of housing and its reliance on private sector rendered this service to the market provision more than other welfare fields. This can best be understood from “the close ideological and practical association between the ownership of domestic property and of property rights in general” (ibid, p. 27).

At the same time, state intervention into housing has always been in question in one way or another. State subsidies, for example, can be seen as one of the minimal interventions supporting owner-occupation (ibid, p. 21-23). However, it should be noted that,

This subsidy merely indicates that government eagerness to widen and extend the market can overrule the ultimate 'ideal' of non-intervention in the market itself. Such subsidies are therefore a form of intervention required to sustain the market in conditions where it might not otherwise operate at all or as extensively. Consequently, housing may be regarded as being at the leading edge of the move to privatize responsibility for social welfare (ibid, p. 27-28).

Malpass and Murie categorize the objectives of housing policies under two different theories that are functionalist and Marxist. Accordingly, functionalist theory suggests that state intervenes in housing policy in order to prevent undesirable social results of industrialization such as unhealthy shelter and problematic dwelling. From this perspective, state is in favor of society and aims at the improvement of social conditions. On the other side, Marxist view perceives housing policy as one of the products of class struggle and argues that state is not the guardian of welfare but is "an arena for class struggle". Within this struggle, state policies favor dominant class at the expense of the welfare of needy groups. Both theories, however, hold that the reason of state intervention into housing stems from the market failure in production and distribution of adequate housing. This results in extensive role of market in provision of housing since states cannot preclude private sector from the field (Malpass & Murie, 1982, p. 2-4). Although individuals have freedom of choice within market, price of commodities and consumers' ability to pay restricts them in meeting their needs such as shelter. This is because,

Suppliers respond to effective demand, not to what people want or need but to what they can on balance afford. Effective demand is that portion of a person's wants that can be satisfied from available resources. Therefore, although the market has certain advantages as a method of determining production and distribution, in the case of necessary items of consumption such as housing it has the major drawback that access is entirely related to ability to pay, rather than need. Essentially what happens is that those with the most power in the market (that is, most

money or credit) have the greatest choice and naturally obtain the best houses (in terms of space, construction, fittings and location), leaving the worst accommodation for the least well-off in society. In one sense the housing problem is merely an aspect of the poverty problem. (ibid, p. 7-8)

From this perspective, it is seen that besides being an individual need, housing has become crucial component of the market as a commodity. Hence, it is inevitable to widen inequalities through market-oriented housing policies since government cannot provide housing with its own resources even though it has a major responsibility in urban developments. As a result, housing is condemned to the interests of private realm. This brings us to another important point which is ‘class monopoly’. Relatedly, Harvey states,

... within the complex matrix of urban development, situations arise in which space can be collectively monopolized and a given pattern of the circulation of revenues trapped within its confines. Even the concept of “housing class” makes sense when projected and understood against such a background (1988, p. 102).

As it was mentioned, Harvey introduces six groups within housing market. In today’s conjuncture, principal actors collaborating in the urban context as power groups are finance capital and real-estate pursuits. Finance capital represents banks whereas real-estate is in the hands of developers, construction companies and so on. Coalition among these groups arises class monopoly since they are able to exert control over improvements on urban land, particularly on the housing market. In this way, they can manipulate the spatial organization of land thereby extract rent “from the mass of powerless users of urban land” (Roweis, & Scott, 1981, p. 132). Another consequence of leaving a major part of housing provision to the hands of market is put by Clapham, Kemp and Smith as,

...the increasing polarization of society into those able to provide for themselves through the market system and those reliant on state or voluntary provision, with the latter receiving, or being seen as receiving, an inferior (and hence stigmatized) service. This kind of polarization can be seen most clearly in housing, but less so in areas

such as health care where universal state provision is still the norm. (1990, p. 27)

On the other side, Rex and Moore argue that beyond being or not being a home owner, multiple types of housing classes can emerge based on the types of access to housing. Accordingly, in the British context, they propose six situations in which one can dwell in a house as an outright owner, a mortgaged owner, a council tenant, a tenant of a house owned by a private landlord, the owner of a house with short term loans or the tenant of a room in a lodging house (1979, p. 274).

Under this context, the prominent reason of the abovementioned conflict emerges as housing affordability. In his work titled “Shelter Poverty”, Michael Stone approaches housing issue from this perspective and states “Affordability expresses the linkage between the well-being of individual families and the mechanisms of housing provision and income determination. ... It is not income alone, but housing costs together with incomes, that determine the overall standard of living of most of us” (1993, p. 1). Moreover, he argues that housing affordability mirrors the “tensions between labor market and housing market” in that the tendency of employers to keep the wages at minimum means families do not have a guarantee of being able to pay for an adequate shelter as well as other necessities for living (ibid, p. 2). As it was mentioned, in the direction of industrialization moves, the early interventions into housing on the part of states aimed at providing workers with housing to ensure the minimum living standards of the workforce required for capital accumulation. Then, World War II brought about a significant housing deficit, especially in Europe, and states had involved in extensive public housing programs within the scope of post-war recovery efforts. This trajectory has been interrupted with the welfare retrenchments towards 1980s where social housing has started to be residualized.

2.4.2 Residualisation of Social Housing and Promotion of Home Ownership

As a result of increasing commodification of housing, social housing has gradually been residualized moving governments away from redistributive policies. Residualisation of social housing meant the restriction of groups that are included in

social housing provision to the lowest income and the most disadvantaged (Marsh, 2013). At the beginning, public housing provided by governments was appealing to a broader range of income groups. However, “social housing is now increasingly seen as an “ambulance service” for those unable to support themselves” (Harloe, 1978 as quoted in Pearce and Vine, 2013, p. 658). In other words, the concept of ‘public housing’, once referring to government-led housing provision gave its place to ‘social housing’ in which dwellers face social exclusion and stigmatization due to belonging to the lowest income group (ibid, p. 658).

In parallel to the global economic trajectory developing under neoliberal agenda, housing has become one of the sectors in which private sector became the principle actor. The most important reason why governments were refraining from social housing expenditures was the increasing pressure of capital owners aiming at housing industry’s profits. From welfare perspective, the unfavorable result of this turn was stated in 2001 dated Habitat Report as “The unwillingness to subsidize ‘unproductive’ investment in housing is a consequence, at least in part, of the pressures felt by governmental leaders from perceived global competition; it has led to heightened segregation and inequality in housing provision around the world” (p. 39). Relatedly, Ronald argues that,

Although housing has always been embedded in relations among families, communities, labor markets and the state, the growing household dependence on housing property and mortgage debt, and state reliance on housing markets as drivers of economic and social stability have placed housing more centrally in social relations. This shift aligns specifically, I suggest, with the intensification of globalization and is associated with the restructuring of governance, the redistribution of risk and intensified experiences of individualization (2008, p. 2).

At this point, it should be noted that although the market is the leading actor of housing affairs, it would be wrong to assert that state is totally withdrawn from the fields. In contrast, as Wilson suggests, “neoliberalism impels rather than reduces state action. Public resources (subsidies, power) continue to be put in the service of assisting capital but in new ways” (2004, p. 781).

One of the ways in which governments undertake promotive role to extend the scope of private sector in housing provision has been home ownership which became an outstanding phenomenon towards 1980s, especially in Western countries where fiscal incentives such as tax reduction and mortgage credits were initiated by governments to foster home ownership (Pearce and Vine, 2013, p. 659-660). Globalization in housing affairs led to a more stratified housing tenure in terms of income levels, social classes, ethnicity etc. due to decreasing purchasing power (Kenna, 2008, p. 455). On the other side, “the myth of home ownership” created an illusion that “security of tenure can only be achieved through conventional ownership of housing” covering the possibility of alternative forms of tenure which can protect tenure rights (Marcuse, 2012, p. 221). Yet, it should be noted that long term debts for the sake of home ownership pose a particular danger for low-income groups by exposing them to economic fluctuations (Rolnik, 2013, p. 1062).

In 1980, Kemeny stated that the accepted opinion was that homeownership is an indicator of wealth. In other words, high rate of homeownership was taken for granted as an evidence of high-living standards in a country. However, studies found reverse relationship between these two (Kemeny, 1980; Castles, 1998). Moreover, some other impacts of widespread home ownership on a society that are detrimental for welfare were put forward by Kemeny as,

... an overwhelming emphasis on home ownership created a lifestyle based on detached housing, privatized urban transport and its resulting “one-household” (and increasingly “one-person”) car ownership, a traditional gendered division of labor based on female housewifery and the full-time working male, and strong resistance to public expenditure that necessitated the high taxes needed to fund quality universal welfare provision (2005, p. 60).

Besides, the discourse assigned home ownership with new meanings such as “the ultimate achievement of autonomy, a better life for the next generation and full-citizenship” (Saegert, Fields & Libman, 2009, p. 298).

To sum up, all the above mentioned processes, beginning from the emergence of landed property which developed towards the privatization of commons ends up in what Marcuse and Madden names as ‘hyper-commodified housing’. They argue “profit-seeking businesses inserting themselves into residential system and siphoning off resources, making housing more expensive while contributing nothing to the ability of the system to meet residents’ need” (2016, p. 42). As a result, social dimension of housing that can be deemed as the main components of urban spaces are destroyed.

2.4.3 From Right to the City to Right to Housing

Critiques of new urbanism try expose inequalities created by capitalist urbanization and search for “possibilities for more progressive, socially just, emancipatory, and sustainable formations of urban life” (Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer, 2012, p. 5). Lefebvre’s right to the city is one of the prominent concepts in critical urban studies containing abstract and concrete dimensions. The abstract dimension is formed with reference to the concept of ‘oeuvre’ which means the use value produced by city dwellers. The concrete dimension refers to the claims for basic rights in an urban context such as shelter, recreation, education, health and so on. On whose right to the city that the critical urban theory deals with, Marcuse emphasizes that “Some already have the right to the city, are running it now, have it well in hand ... They are the financial powers, the real estate owners and speculators, the key political hierarchy of state power, the owners of the media” (ibid, p. 32). Hence, the right to the city of those who are deprived and alienated is the key concern for the critics of current urban affairs in which urban space is exploited by the exertion of exchange value over the use value.

As it was mentioned, when we approach social policy from a right-based perspective, the degree of decommodification in provision of welfare services becomes the main indicator meaning the extent to which citizens can access basic welfare services without relying on market. In this context, housing, as a commodity, becomes one of the components of right to the city which has been more controversial in terms of social policy and welfare in recent years. This stems from, “the subordination of social

use of housing to its economic value” in which housing is produced for profit-making rather than meeting dwelling needs (Madden and Marcuse, 2016, p. 17).

In Habitat II Agenda, it is stated that right to adequate housing, as one of the standards of right to an adequate standard of living, “means more than a roof over one’s head”. It includes privacy, security, physical durability, environmental quality and many more that are expected to be at affordable prices. Moreover, the level of adequacy should be determined in consideration of regional differences as well as gender and age factors (United Nations, 1996, p. 34). On the other side, in order to ensure urban dwellers’ rights, a city should increase individual and social reproduction opportunities and city dwellers should access recreation facilities regardless of age, sex and income (Tekeli, 2011, p. 196-197). In this sense, certain public services like transportation and healthy environment should be seen as the fundamentals of an integrated housing policy.

2.4.3.1 Community Participation

One of the ways in which social policy principles can be improved in housing provision has been proposed as community participation in decision making. Community participation in housing and urban regeneration first became a topic in UK and it refers to inclusion of locals into decision making processes, especially to empower vulnerable groups.

In her 1969 dated work, Sherry Arnstein discusses citizen participation by linking it to citizen power and proposes a typology composing of eight levels being manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power and citizen control. Arnstein’s typology takes form around three examples of US social programs concerning urban issues and poverty. “...the extent of citizens’ power in determining the end product” is the criteria defining the rungs of this ladder. (Choguill quotes from Arnstein, 1969). Furthering Arnstein’s arguments, Choguill asserts that in an underdeveloped country, communities needs more than power since,

...there appear to be far more constraints in the underdeveloped as against the developed world. These are not just political and financial, but also technical and motivational, considering the nature of the services requires and the time involved in the community mutual-help effort (ibid, 433).

According to Choguill, a community organization gathers around two main goals. First is to build or up-grade the physical and social infrastructure of the neighborhoods and the second is to affect the decisions in the political arena. Besides, in order to make community participation effective, support of NGOs and governments (both local and central) is crucial (ibid, p. 432). More recent classifications regarding the levels of community participation particularly address consultation, representation and empowerment. Consultation process includes opinion gathering via survey or panel kinds of tools whereas representation provides community with membership in boards. As the final level, and the ultimate aim, empowerment enables communities to have a voice on decisions concerning themselves through associations (Carley, 2000, p. 15; Ball, 2004, p. 124).

Maginn argues that participation is important to provide democratic and pluralistic policy structures although it bears certain costs regarding time, money and political concerns. Moreover, it can contribute to the social learning process among policy makers (2004).

2.4.3.2 Post-disaster Housing Reconstruction

When considered in a post-disaster context, issues related to the protection of right to housing and provision of participatory policies become more critical. Relatedly, Davidson et al. argue that problems faced during housing reconstruction in a post-disaster environment share similarities with the challenges of low-cost housing projects conducted in developing countries. Besides, in a post-disaster situation, some additional challenges emerge such as chaotic environment, scarce resources, simultaneous projects launched by local as well as international organizations and the urgency to complete the projects as soon as possible. However, projects implemented in post-disaster recovery period can also be a good opportunity to initiate several

activities that will contribute to the development of the region and reduce the vulnerability against future disaster, if managed in the direction of sustainability principle (Davidson, Johnson, Lizarralde, Dikmen & Sliwinski, 2007, p. 101).

Coburn and Spence propose ‘sectoral recovery plan’ as an approach to post-disaster recovery since reconstruction of different facilities such as houses, schools, hospitals etc. requires different skills. They also see reconstruction as a process more than the physical construction of damaged built environment. Disaster reconstruction can be seen as an opportunity to start from the scratch and used to revitalize economy, job markets as well as social ties. Thus, a recovery program should consider the economic structure of the region where the disaster happened and simultaneously contribute to economic and physical recovery. This is because, not only the living spaces but also the vehicles of local economy such as factories and shops become incapacitated after any disasters and it would be unlikely to provide a thorough amelioration without economic recovery.

Another point to be considered is that exclusion of local sectors from construction activities creates several drawbacks like loss of skills and emigration that eventually result in the downturn of local economy. In contrast, earthquake reconstruction can be used to attract capital investments which may relieve the negative effects of uneven development in the long run. Regarding the cost of reconstruction, economic potential of affected groups needs utmost attention since high repayment obligations cause the suffering of low-income groups. If it is possible, special financial schemes targeting low-income groups should be initiated (Coburn & Spence, 2002, p. 141-175).

Finally, it is important to create familiar spaces for communities to protect the senses of identity and place. “Whichever method of housing procurement is used, the more familiar it is and closer to the pre-earthquake method of obtaining living accommodation, the better reconstruction will develop into recovery (ibid, p. 161).

Under this context, a vast literature defends disaster recovery through the usage of local opportunities. In order to achieve this, it is argued, communities should be

allowed to contribute decision making, to decide their own representatives and to shape their future. Seeing disaster victims as helpless beings needing state aid does not help them in returning their pre-disaster lives but rather passivate them. Thus, outside help had better to be used only if there are not any other choices. Central administration could also utilize disasters to strengthen local authorities and civil society. Correlatively, local units can contribute to the recovery process by supporting central government when it remains incapable (Habitat, 2001, p. 187-188).

To sum up, this study aims to elaborate on housing issue in Turkey on the basis of the abovementioned literature which emphasizes how exertion of exchange value of housing over its use value fosters commodification and covers the possibility of alternative ways in housing supply observing right to shelter and urban dwellers' welfare. To this end, next section aims to look at urbanization patterns of the country with a specific address to state-led urban regeneration and mass housing schemes. In addition, the role of construction industry having direct effects on housing policies is discussed to understand the reasons behind the promotion of home ownership as a new trend in the discourse of policy makers.

CHAPTER 3

SOCIAL POLICY OF HOUSING IN TURKEY

3.1 The Development of Social Policy in Turkey

Turkish modernization which was initiated with the establishment of Republic did not bring about fundamental changes regarding welfare issues. Political discourse of the early Republican period somehow contradicted itself as it ignored state's responsibilities on social welfare. Even though the period of single-party government was perceived as statist in which the state had a centralized role on political and economic issues, social assistance and elimination of poverty were set apart from the duties of political authorities. Social welfare was laid on voluntary efforts and non-governmental organizations. Hence, the concept of social aid is excluded from public funding thereby invalidating the principle of statism in fight against poverty. At that time, rural poverty was an outstanding issue since majority of the people were living in countryside. However, purposive policy measures supporting agriculture prevented rural population flow to urban areas and also restrained urban poverty (Buğra, 2007, p. 39). At the same time, these 'peasantist ideologies' aiming at the protection of socioeconomic conditions in rural areas, made possible for governments to disregard the requirements of capital accumulation. This trajectory of single-party period was interrupted by the World War II and the post-war era paved the way for transition to multi-party system with the effect of both national and international economic and political conjuncture (Buğra, 2007, p. 34-36; 2013, p. 98).

Referring to the changes in the social policy environment of the post-war period, Ayşe Buğra argues that Turkey was responsive to the global developments bringing about the establishment of welfare states. On the issue, certain examples were the establishment of social-security organization for workers in 1945 and the Retirement Chest for Civil Servants in 1949. Besides, academic discussions on social policy started in that period addressing several problems such as the deficits of the existing

social security systems, working poor and the needs for social assistance schemes. However, these improvements could not provide a right-based approach towards social policy and welfare provision remained limited to certain groups. Rural poverty continued to constitute the main agenda that governments chose to deal with and peasantry was favored through land-distribution schemes and price-support mechanisms. On the other side, tax exemptions created serious economic problems since agricultural sector, which was corresponding to nearly half of the domestic product at that time, was only contributing to the less than the one-tenth of the total public revenues. This blocked capital accumulation and industrial development in urban areas. At the same, rural poverty increased in spite of the aforementioned measures causing rural-urban migration (Buğra, 2007, p.41-44)

3.2 Turkey's History of Urbanization

Towards the 1950s, start of migration flow from rural to urban brought about urbanization and housing question in Turkey. Rapid and unplanned urbanization put obstacles on livable and qualified shelter. Migration was concentrated on metropolitan areas creating squatter settlements which meet the dwelling needs of urban poor. Briefly, Turkey's urbanization process can be examined under two periods. In the first period, comprising the years between 1950 and 1980, national developmentalist model had been adopted in economy. Meanwhile, Turkey started to become a part of the US agenda aiming at integrating the Third World countries into global neoliberal restructuring. With the help of US-led Marshall plans, mechanization in agriculture disadvantaged Turkish peasants and entailed emigration from rural areas. At that time however, unlike Western industrialized countries, Turkish industry was lack of enough potential to employ migrant workers. Thus, Tahire Erman marks this period as "urbanization without industrialization" in which migrants were obliged to make their living from informal sector (2012, p. 293). Similarly, they had to handle accommodation problem through informal housing, namely squatter settlements³ since

³ In Turkey, 'gecekondu' is the name given to squatter houses meaning built over night. At that time, villagers migrating from rural areas to metropolitan cities had to construct their own houses in vacant

cities did not have sufficient housing stocks to shelter them. Inability of formal policy measures aiming at housing question as well as deliberate vote-hunting strategies of politicians resulted in the expansion of squatter settlements with the help of amnesty laws demonstrating populist approaches of governments. Also, low-cost housing handled by dwellers' own efforts was serving to the purpose of capital as it decreased the cost of reproduction of labor as well as of landowners in the form of rent like Harvey said,

The emergence of a 'floating' industrial reserve army in the main urban centers is, furthermore, a necessary condition for sustained accumulation. The crowding together of laborers in the midst of an 'accumulation misery, agony of toil, slavery, ignorance, brutality, mental degradation', all exacerbated by various secondary forms of the exploitation (such as rent on housing), became the hallmark of the capitalist form of industrialism (2006, p. 418).

With the "Gecekondu Law" passed in 1966, the problem rather deepened as squatter settlements once "... built on no man's land, turned into established neighborhoods" (Erman, 2012, p. 296). Thus, lands that were occupied by squatter settlements as well as potential ones that would be occupied in the future became important in the eyes of land speculators by 1970s that turned squatters into market commodities. When it comes to 1980s, national developmentalist model gave its place to neoliberal economic policies and real estate sector became one of the main locomotives of the market. Government created opportunities for private sector through regulating the legal status of squatter settlements by means of integrating them into formal housing. In this way, urban lands opened to rentiers which also laid the foundations of today's conflicts ongoing on urban and housing issues.

Briefly, even though modernization has begun with the proclamation of Republic in 1923, Turkey could not evolve in the direction of welfare states and this reflected on the failure to develop policies concerning social housing. This is because, housing policies have never supported lower-income groups but rather promoted owner-

areas of cities. These construction activities mostly took place at night due to illegality hence creating the term 'gecekondu'.

occupancy. As a result, squatter settlements became the main solution for meeting shelter needs among urban poor which, in time, transposed into an important issue concerning housing. Early reactions of governments against squatter problem were not preventive but rather promotive as squatter dwellers were potential voters and governments who were driven by power ambitions supported these groups by giving legal status to their houses as well as providing infrastructures to the squatter neighborhoods (Türkün, 2011, p. 63).

Having a brief background on Turkey's urbanization process until the 1980s, following section aims to look at political and economic developments of the post-1980's urban conjuncture where metropolitan cities gain more importance in line with neoliberal globalization. In this way, it is aimed to link the tensions between urban processes and housing problem.

3.2.1 The Political Economy of Neoliberal Urbanization

After the 1980 coup d'état, Turkey's efforts to integrate into global economy became more visible. Especially under Turgut Özal governance as the first civil government after the coup, significant changes in economic policies laid the foundations of neoliberal restructuring. While neoliberal policy implementations were rapidly penetrating into welfare politics, urban policies started to constitute the core area since cities were deemed as the new engines of economic growth. Beginning from metropolitan areas, state-led urban regeneration has started to expand all over the country by the late 1990s. 1999 Marmara Earthquakes can be seen as a sort of triggering factor helping neoliberal agenda in restructuring urban governance. Starting from this, disaster risks, illegal settlements, urban decay and damaged historical urban fabrics were all put forward as justifications of government interventions into urban areas through several legal arrangements. Before going into the details of the post-1990 period, it is considered useful to have a brief look on the institutional foundations of housing issue in Turkey. For this purpose, following section provides the historical background of institutional developments regarding urbanization and housing starting

from the establishment of Republic as well as current legal framework enabling government to restructure urban spaces through state institutions.

3.2.1.1 Institutional Developments and Legal Framework

Early years of Republic particularly focused on the establishment of a new nation-state which went hand in hand with Western oriented modernization project. For this purpose, development of national economy emerged as the first precondition requiring industrial and infrastructural investments across the country. In order to spread industry to different regions, formation of a countrywide transportation network became the priority of the state policies. Besides, foreign architects and planners laid the foundations of city and regional planning. Within this period, capital city came to the fore and urbanization affairs were mostly formed around Ankara. In time, accelerated urbanization became visible in other cities creating housing issue that was also recognized as a national problem by the state. Yet, state attempts to solve housing shortage was limited to the projects targeting the workers of State Economic Enterprises. In the 1940s, low-income housing was tried to be supported through credit subsidies and mass housing projects led by Turkish Real Estate and Credit Bank and Social Insurance Fund. However, the result of the projects in question was appealing to middle and upper income groups rather than provision of social housing (Buğra, 1998, p. 308).

Within the efforts to solve housing problem, law of property ownership was an important legal arrangement of that period. Besides legal arrangements, issues were embraced in development congresses starting from the mid-1990s. Eraydın remarks that the most important developments of that period were institutionalization attempts among which the establishment of İller Bankası in 1945, Ministry of Development and Housing in 1958 and the enactment of laws on municipal revenues in 1948, TMMOB (Union of Chambers of Turkish Engineers and Architects) law in 1954 and reconstruction law in 1956 took place (2006, p. 32). In this direction, aforementioned improvements brought the concept of city planning to the fore and debates on planned urbanization concurrent with Western norms contributed to the increasing research on

the issue between 1960 and 1980. Another crucial point for this period is the increasing importance of local governments that were ascribed new functions in the process (Eraydın, 2006, p. 33-39).

Afterwards of 1980 witnessed important changes in institutions in line with global neoliberal restructuring. ‘Global city’ discourse started to shape urban policies implemented throughout İstanbul in which numerous projects are embarked on both by central and local governments. In this period, local government of İstanbul acted in accordance with entrepreneurial approach in urban policy-making (Sakızlıoğlu, 2014, p. 209; Öktem, 2005, p. 39).

On the other side, TOKİ as the national mass housing administration was established by the Mass Housing Law no. 2985 effectuated in 1984 with the directives of the then prime minister Turgut Özal. Targeting low-income groups, TOKİ provided cheap credits to help the establishment of housing cooperatives. On the other side, squatter areas were started to be open up to free-market in order to legalize informal housing. By the 1990s, government changed its discourse such that squatter neighborhoods and their ‘residents’ were transformed into ‘invaders’. In 2004, squatter construction was banned with the law no. 5237. In this way, squatter settlements were put in the center of urbanization issues and their ‘regeneration’ was proposed as a solution, which indeed prepared their destruction (Türkün, 2011, p. 65).

Succeeding legal arrangements related to regeneration include the enactment of articles 73a and 73b of the Municipal Law no. 5393 and the enactment of the Law no. 5366 (both dated 2005) and amendments done in the Law no. 5609 (known as law on squatter settlements) in 2007. Besides, in 2011, Ministry of Environment and Urbanization was established and municipal authorities related to planning were delegated to the ministry (Güzey, 2014, p. 70-71). Finally, the enactment of Law no. 6306 in 2012 opened a new phase in urban regeneration issues targeting the buildings located in disaster-risky areas.

Aforementioned legal arrangements are criticized on certain grounds. First of all, they are accused of being unscientific. The article 73, for instance, gives municipalities the authority to implement urban regeneration and development projects in decayed areas, yet, it does not define the qualities of the areas in question. According to the legislation, an area should be located within the boundaries of municipal and adjacent area covering fifty thousand square meters at least in order to be included in regeneration projects. Özden remarks that in modern regeneration implementations, areas to be renewed are specified in consideration of corresponding scientific criteria such as decayed urban and housing fabric, unhealthy environment, dysfunctional educational facilities, inadequate social reinforcements and many more based on the socio-spatial qualifications of any areas. Hence, absence of these may pave the way for abuse of the law (2010, p. 197-199).

Other criticisms rest on the social and spatial problems created by regeneration projects. As Kuyucu argues, implementation of urban transformation projects targeting informal settlements progress upon legal ambiguity widening existing inequalities among urban dwellers. Besides, absence of participatory mechanisms excludes local dwellers from decision-making processes. Moreover, since arrangements do not have any reference to “transformation in-situ”, which is regarded as one of the main principles of urban regeneration, locals face the risk of forced migration and displacement (2013; 2016, p. 57-63).

Briefly, current legal conjuncture contains many issues conflicting with the basic principles of social policy as they engender displacement experiences, nondemocratic processes, gentrification and market-oriented solutions. Another reason of undermining social policy is that housing issue has been embraced mostly within ‘urban regeneration’ schemes obscuring the concept of ‘social housing’. In this context, following section aims to look at the reflections of legal framework to actual implementations through examples of state-led urban regeneration practices based on selected case studies throughout Turkey.

3.2.1.2 State-led Urban Regeneration

Keleş states that urban transformation (as one of the ways of urban regeneration) comes into being as a result of an external intervention aiming at the use of urban spaces with social, economic, cultural and even political reasons. Preservation, revival, reconstruction, redevelopment can all be counted as among the efforts of transformation activities. Not only squatter settlements but also disaster-risky and decayed areas and deteriorating historical and cultural places can be subject to transformation. In order to fit these areas in line with the current requirements, public authorities should cooperate with private sector as well as benefit from the support of non-governmental organizations. At this point, main target of legal arrangements should be rendering the spontaneous transformation processes into planned ones. However, when rent-seeking motives involve in transformation processes, the principle of public benefit is damaged (Keleş, 2015, p. 402).

Although urban transformation practices exist beginning from 1950s in Turkey, urban regeneration has started to be used as a concept in 1970s and first practices have been initiated after 1980 aiming at the transformation of squatter areas. Dikmen Valley and Portakal Çiçeği Valley projects in Ankara are the first ones in line with this object (Bilecen, 2015, p. 145-146).

In general terms, post-2000 regulations marked the end of informal urbanization era, especially for metropolitan cities. Lands once occupied by squatters are golden opportunity for real estate sector which has becoming the main engine of cities' economic growth and global competitiveness (Karaman, 2012, p. 719). As a result, populist treatments in housing provision gave their way to "a fully commodified market in which exchange-rights prevail over use-rights and private property rules are strictly enforced" (Kuyucu & Ünsal, 2010, p. 1483). In this process, real estate investment companies, state institutions and private sector became the main interest groups benefitting from urban rents and "urban regeneration" became an umbrella term encompassing wide range of rent-seeking activities.

With reference to the actors of urban regeneration in İstanbul who became more powerful after 2000, Asuman Türkün analyses the relationship between the “urban coalition” and the legal basis of its activities in her work “Urban Regeneration and Hegemonic Power Relationships”. Türkün argues, new laws and regulations strengthened this coalition’s hand as they remove the obstacles on new urban transformation policies. Local authorities, on the other hand, do not impede neoliberal urban policies since most of them are already under the control of the ruling party. This causes sprawl of the government’s hegemonic discourse and also legitimates new policies across Turkey since all activities that are carried out are in legal compliance (2011, p. 62). Hence, Türkün states,

The tautological character of this way of thinking leads to the situation in which laws are changed in order to make the intended urban transformations, and these are then justified by pointing out that they are legal. In the end, the gap between the frameworks of legality and legitimacy, which in principle ought to complement each other, has been widening every day. These changes are legitimized on the basis of ‘planned development’; however, in practice, they open the way to ‘urban regeneration/renewal projects’ (ibid, p. 62).

In another study, Türkün reveals the facts on urban transformation in İstanbul based on field researches that were conducted in six neighborhoods between 2008 and 2010. Findings suggest that different methods of transformation are used for different urban areas causing discrimination and double standards among urban dwellers. While property owners can share extra rent and have bargaining power against developers in certain projects, some projects are implemented via top-down policies in which property owners are obliged to give in what is offered by authorities. Hence, regeneration policies are built upon property owners who can afford the cost and their implementation is left to the market. This also means the exclusion of tenants from the process. Some areas carrying potential of high-levels of rent are gentrified within free-market mechanisms. Another type of transformation emerges in areas that are attractive for developers regarding their central location. Third type of transformation occurs through enactment of laws for the places that are declared as transformation areas under certain plans and projects (Türkün, 2014, p. 6-7).

In certain cases, it is possible to observe more than one method practiced together. For instance, regeneration projects conducted in Tarlabası and Sulukule neighborhoods of İstanbul are the ones that were announced as renewal areas based on the Law no. 5366. However, whereas the project for Sulukule involved public actors only (municipality and TOKİ), Tarlabası project conducted by public-private partnership. Within the scope of these projects, common emphasis was on the rehabilitation of the environmental structure of the neighborhoods by paying special attention to the protection of historical and cultural heritage. Ultimately, both processes ended up with gentrification of inner-city areas displacing majority of local residents towards peripheries. In Tarlabası, luxurious building including hotels, residences and offices were built that completely changed the socio-spatial characteristics of the neighborhood (İslam & Sakızlıoğlu, 2015). Relatedly, Bahar Sakızlıoğlu states that,

After years of disinvestment, municipality, initiated the renewal of Tarlabası to turn it into Champs-Élysées of İstanbul, which meant displacement for many. The Tarlabası case is typical for the phase of radical neoliberalism in İstanbul: the (local) state uses its discretion afforded by recent legislations and forms a coalition with large-scale developers in an effort to take over and transform the neighborhood (2014, p. 217).

Based on a field research in İstanbul Başbüyük neighborhood, Ozan Karaman deduces that urban regeneration projects not only cause dispossession and displacement but also function as a mechanism in which lower-income urban dwellers are incorporated into market through going into debt. Karaman argues that, TOKİ is fulfilling two functions at the same time. It both creates spaces for real estate market by demolishing squatter neighborhoods and oblige former squatter residents to be involved into mortgage system with long-term liabilities. Besides the reconfiguration of spaces, “TOKİ’s policies also aim to change residents’ orientation to time, locking their everyday lives into peculiar chronological span of the mortgage” (Karaman, 2013, p. 727).

To sum up, urban regeneration projects are criticized as missing social side of policy-making and disadvantaging lower-income groups. Güzey argues that regeneration

phenomenon is perceived within a unique approach on the part of policy-makers, namely as ‘a recipe to be applied in every city and every location with the same rules of place-marketing, ending with an unfair level of rent increase and rent transfer, displacement, and increased social exclusion’ (Güzey, 2014, p. 67). Relatedly, Kuyucu makes an important statement: “Given the centrality of real estate investments for economic development in the JDP [Justice and Development Party] period, as evidenced by this countrywide construction craze, it is certain that UTPs [urban transformation projects] will become more widespread, especially following the JDP victory in the 2011 general elections” (2013, p. 613). When combined with the aforementioned issues, this argument makes the next section’s point examining the political economy of urban affairs throughout Turkey with reference to the economic growth rising on the construction-based industry.

3.2.1.3 Accumulation through Construction Industry

When AKP won the power in 2002 general elections, it taken over a huge burden of social depression brought by 2001 economic crisis. Boratav notes that one of the factors of AKP’s electoral victory was its ability to embrace public opposition through hiding the neoliberal agenda dictated by international finance institutions which will be government’s main economic pathway later on. In this context, after a while, structural adjustment programs have become the core economic moves reducing welfare expenditures. On the other side, AKP governments’ political ascent is also linked with economic boom occurred throughout the 2000s. Liquidity abundance coinciding right before the global financial crisis of 2008 was both in favor of the government as it enabled economic growth and of the electorate who could benefit from increasing employment opportunities as well as public expenditures and social protection mechanisms albeit in small proportions. Health reform, investments on urban transportation and construction businesses led by TOKİ were among the strategies aiming at gaining public’s appreciation. However, the important point was the current deficit created by the growth in question which was to be handled by an attack against public expenditures through austerity measures and this required the restructuring of both central and local public administrations that are also connected

to the legal arrangements mentioned above. In this way, legal obstacles on the realization of neoliberal economic policies were removed (Boratav, 2012, p. 192-203; Sönmez, 2015, p. 17-27).

Consequently, this reflected on urban economy such that the growth was built on the construction industry driven by domestic demand. Mustafa Sönmez argues that there are both economic and political reasons why government promoted construction industry. Firstly, the party came to power in a period in which agricultural policies were damaged causing regional disparities and thereby increasing rural to urban migration. As a result, existing housing deficit was multiplied by new housing demand. In the meantime, investments for urban infrastructure services, new airports, train stations and alike also expanded the market for construction sector and state investments in industry and energy sectors declined. Moreover, investment in built environment served as an indicator of economic growth, development and government's performance since its outputs are observable through houses, shopping malls, skyscrapers and so on. The sector is capable of providing vast employment opportunities such that between 2004 and 2014, the number of employees in construction sector has risen as much as %115 and the share of construction sector within total employment has risen from 5,1% to 8,3%⁴. The preference of construction over industry and energy is also interpreted by Sönmez as a political choice in that construction-driven growth would enable AKP government to attract potential electorate as well as to create its own financiers (2015, p. 28-32). Relatedly, the omnibus bill dated 2011 was an important regulation as it exempted all state activities on construction from the Public Procurement Law in 2011. In this way, TOKİ gained the ability of bestowing public lands into the service of privileged financiers (Gülhan, 2016, p. 42-43). In this context, place-marketing strategies to attract capital has come to fore rendering metropolitan cities as the engines of accumulation and ever increasing project-based urban interventions (Güzey, 2014; Karaman, 2013; Kuyucu & Ünsal, 2010).

⁴ According to the latest update of Turkish Statistical Institute, the share of employees within construction sector is 7,4 % as of April, 2018.

To sum up, as Yeşilbağ argued, capital accumulation regime under AKP governance is totally dependent on construction sector whose rapid growth was enabled by the strategic moves of the government that are formed around TOKİ (2014). Yet, it should be noted that the perspective of these strategic tendencies are short-termed whose social and environmental costs are huge (Saraçoğlu & Yeşilbağ, 2015, p. 883).

3.3 TOKİ: Rescaling Backwards

All the economic and political processes mentioned above led to the commodification of housing as an investment tool and TOKİ's role has started to expand until it becomes the most powerful authority in housing affairs. Since construction sector became the locomotive of national economy, it was in favor of the government to task TOKİ with new functions through legal regulations that will enable the share of urban rents among capital owners who are in cooperation with the government. Among these new functions are the transfer of public lands to private companies and involving in these projects with them. In this direction, duties of the Land Office once responsible from the administration of public lands were transferred to TOKİ in 2004 and this empowered the institution with an unlimited land possession. Public lands enabled TOKİ to create its own capital that rendered the institution autonomous from government budget. Within the process, Emlak Konut that became a real estate investment company in 2002 has been the main commercial actor as the largest subsidiary of TOKİ. In time, new housing glut started in İstanbul and developed through conservative cities has spread across the country under the leadership of TOKİ (Bilecen, 2015, p. 147; Sönmez, 2015, p. 81-82).

In its official website, the section related with the establishment and the history of the TOKİ begins with a reference to earthquakes experienced in Republican History as a triggering factor of housing construction moves by the state. Following, it is stated that, although there were certain actions in fulfilling the public duty of housing construction within the understanding of social state until 1980s, these efforts did not succeed resulting in a squatter problem as the core of Turkey's urban issues. On the other side, 1999 Marmara Earthquakes are mentioned in that they caused to request

the state's deficiencies besides its function and duties in housing provision. In this context, it is reported, certain arrangements were done including the affiliation of TOKİ to the Prime Ministry which laid a new vision to the institute under the framework of "Planned Urbanization and Housing Production" which is a part of governments' emergency action plan ("TOKİ", 2018).

The latest housing production report of TOKİ indicates that the 86,46% of the total housing production covers social housing whereas the 13,54% corresponds to the productions related to fund raising ("TOKİ Konut Üretim Raporu", 2018). Within social housing production, 44,73% is for middle and lower-middle income groups, 17,01% is for slum transformation, 18,91% for lower-income groups and the poor, 4,75% is for disaster homes and 0,76% is agricultural village projects ("TOKİ Konut Üretim Raporu", 2017). Although official declarations and reports of TOKİ assert that their policy goals are directed towards housing needs and demands of citizens, legal regulations and ensuing implementations are disputed on several grounds.

Dilek Özdemir criticizes TOKİ as being the direct provider of housing, with the argument that, in Europe, common trend in policy-making concerning housing has becoming more and more open to community participation and strong involvement of local governments. However, in Turkey, although the law requires that development plans prepared by TOKİ should be approved by local governments, TOKİ has a right to implement these plans with its own initiative even if it is rejected by local authorities (2011, p. 1106). In the same vein, Keleş argues that urban transformation planning is a local public service in essence and, it should be left to the authorization of local governments according to the requirements of European Charter of Local Governments. Thus, rendering TOKİ into the most powerful agent in urban regeneration contradicts with government's approach towards localization as Turkey is one of the parties of the charter mentioned (2015, p. 410-411). Here, it would be proper to argue that, urban policies in Turkey follow a different path in terms of rescaling as the central government strive to be the only authority in urban affairs and it is demonstrated by the legal arrangements granting TOKİ with the ability to make and implement reconstruction plans independently from municipal authorities.

Another problematic is related with ‘revenue-sharing’ model in which TOKİ offers vacant public lands to private construction companies in return for a certain percent of the share of the revenues coming from the sale of houses. Relatedly, Karaman states,

The cornerstone of these projects is the state-owned land that is given under the authority of TOKİ. TOKİ values the land at less than its actual market price. This works as a hidden subsidy to the developer, which is able to sell units for less than its competitors in the market. TOKİ itself admits that this creates unfair competition (TOKİ, 2010), but claims that this is an inevitable side-effect of the government’s affordable housing campaign. As a consequence of this unfair competition, TOKİ has increased its share of the housing market from a mere 1.1% in 2003 to 18.6% in 2007 (Karaman quotes from Toruneri, 2008).

Upon revenue-sharing model, TOKİ generates income and this income is asserted to be invested in housing provision for lower-income groups and the poor at affordable prices. However, Gülhan notes that we are lack of information on how revenue-sharing projects are drawn up a contract and by whom the urban rent that the public renounce (in both use and exchange value) is shared (2016, p. 43).

3.3.1 Earthquakes as a Pretext for Urban Regeneration

As it was mentioned in the second chapter, disasters are crucial in terms of succeeding reconstruction activities that bring about important changes on built environment. Besides, in Turkey, ‘disaster risk’ has been a widely used phenomenon on the part of policy-makers in asserting urban regeneration as an obligatory measure against future disasters. In this line, most of the urban regeneration and housing projects initiated after Marmara and Van earthquakes were legitimized with reference to the concept of ‘disaster-risk’.

Following 1999 Marmara Earthquake, some important steps had been taken against earthquake risk. In 2001, National Earthquake Council was established as an independent organization composed of experts from different fields. Council’s aim

was to inform public in the direction of scientific data, to offer suggestions to the authorities and to support necessary legal arrangements. However, in 2007, it was dissolved with the notice signed by the then prime minister. In 2003, İstanbul Earthquake Master Plan was prepared by four major universities of Turkey (İstanbul Technical University, Yıldız Technical University, Boğaziçi University and Middle East Technical University) yet it was laid aside as well. Relatedly, Eyüp Muhcu from the Chambers of Architects argues that the following studies were in conflict with the master plan which was a basic scientific document on disaster mitigation and modern planning (2008, p. 85).

‘Disaster-risk’ has become the main concept of urban regeneration throughout the country especially after the 2011 Van Earthquake. Although discussions on the necessity of transforming disaster risky areas have begun with 1999 Marmara earthquakes, disaster-oriented urban regeneration has gained legal status in May 2012, with the law No. 6306. On October 2012, at a public ceremony where the big transformation wave against disaster risk has been started, the then prime minister explained why they were initiated the activities of urban transformation with following words,

Under this law, we aim a multi-directional transformation. First of all, we will construct new buildings, living spaces with an environment friendly approach protecting natural resources, considering the energy efficiency and green spaces. ... This new reconstruction approach was also directed towards economic recovery, and alleviation of unemployment and poverty. Of course, above all is the replacement of existing insecure buildings with new ones guaranteeing the safety of life and property. In the direction of these targets, the disaster law in question is a regulation providing us with a rapid and effective results.

From the abovementioned discourse, it is clearly seen that urban transformation is one of the methods among many and the government purposively chose this method to deal with disaster-risk. For that end, the disaster-law not only acted as a legal

⁵ Source: <http://www.csb.gov.tr/gm/altyapi/index.php?Sayfa=haberdetay&Id=5129> (last accessed on July, 2018)

foundation but also as a pretext which is difficult to resist. In her study analyzing Marmara Earthquake and urban politics in İstanbul, Elizabeth Angell explains this with reference to ‘urban assemblage’ and remarks that earthquake acted not only as a destructive disaster but also as a productive phenomenon providing social and political bases of the reassembling of the cities throughout the country. Based on the concerns of city dwellers about their living spaces, i.e. houses, she argues, political authorities could govern the issue as a political matter (Angell, 2014, p. 676).

In the same vein, with reference to Bourdieu’s concept of ‘doxa’, Çılgin, Strutz and Çavuşoğlu argue that the dominant (i.e. government) pictures housing as a vital security, a symbol of prestige and a real estate investment and emphasizes its exchange value. In this way, it creates ‘doxa’, through expanding economic thinking over against the perspective looking housing as a home and living space prioritizing its use value. Within the process, the government is able to lower the standards expected from a social state through guaranteeing the minimum damage with the promises of formalization, modernization and increasing buildings resistance against disasters. As a result, the use value of neighborhoods as well as houses are subordinated by modern city and housing imaginations (as well as a strong urge of ownership triggered by government discourses) and housing becomes a tool in advancing one’s social class (2011, p.10-17).

In this context, it is seen that by using earthquakes as a pretext, the concept of ‘urban regeneration’ comes to the fore in governmental discourse and TOKİ is invested in extensive powers through legal regulations. For this purpose, the law no. 6306 narrows down the concept of ‘transformation’ restricting it to disaster prevention in accordance with the concepts like risk identification, vulnerability, resilience etc. (Keleş, 2014, p. 413; Güzey, 2016, p. 41). On the other hand, it expands the geographical area in which implementations are to occur. According to the law, Ministry of Environment and Urbanization is authorized in making surveys, maps, plans and subdivision plans at all kinds and scales. Although the article number 2 indicates that administration refers to municipalities, the most powerful authorities in enforcing the law are the ministry and TOKİ (2014, p. 413-414). Thus, Bilecen states, thanks to the law, being free from taxes

and charges and being not controlled by the Exchequer and Audit Department, TOKİ became a state within a state (2015, p. 157). Defenders of the law emphasize credit facilities which helps to receive public consent as well as spur middle class on home ownership. According to the law, indeed, people do not have a right to choose and people are not perceived as citizens but rather objects yielding to the given decisions on their behalf. Hence, Özdemir states that, as a result of top –down decisions, “existing residents could become targets of the policy, rather than participants in policy formation” (2011, p. 1109).

Under these conditions, TOKİ as the main authority possessing extensive powers on urban regeneration and housing policies, has been accused of extracting rent from disasters through opening urban lands to construction industry and ignoring the needs and demands of urban dwellers. Moreover, studies focusing on the results of transformations in question from the eyes of displaced dwellers mainly finds that people are having certain difficulties in adapting to new conditions due to economic, social and environmental challenges.

To exemplify, within the scope of a case study conducted in İzmir in, Eranıl Demirli, Tuna Ultav, and Demirtaş-Milz analyze the urban transformation process resulting in the relocation of Kadifekale inhabitants from the old inner-city neighborhood to TOKİ houses located at the peripheries of the city. Their analysis focuses on the relocation process and its socio-spatial consequences. In a nutshell, authors came to the conclusion that the project that was initiated against landslide risk in 2005 have failed in responding socio-spatial needs of former Kadifekale inhabitants. This is because, “Kadifekale is a space where social interactions within the neighborhood make it a ‘place’ for its inhabitants whereas TOKİ Uzundere remains primarily a space of its producers rather than the users, as seen in the cases of the neglected playgrounds, shopping mall and coffee house” (Eranıl Demirli, Tuna Ultav & Demirtaş-Milz, 2015, p. 159). Although Kadifekale project was initiated long before the enactment of the Law no. 6306, the way in which transformation is legitimized can be seen as a small illustration of what is intended by putting disaster-risk forward as a pretext for urban regeneration which is stated by Saraçoğlu and Demirtaş-Milz as,

The problems of neoliberal urban governance and the effects of forced migration in Turkey have unfolded during the UTP in Kadifekale. The importance of this case lies in the ways in which the discourse of ‘urgency’ and that of ‘natural disasters’ has served to conceal these structural problems and to depict the project as an unquestionable technical intervention to address the imminent dangers posed by a landslide. The notion of ‘natural disasters’ plays a significant ideological role in this respect, ‘naturalizing’ the number of problems that are social in origin, such as inequality and urban poverty (2014, p. 196-197).

Beginning from the enactment of the disaster law, 191 cabinet decisions have been taken comprising more than 400 neighborhoods that are identified as risky throughout Turkey. Moreover, within the scope of the law, all areas of squatter settlements are deemed as disaster-prone since they were mostly built in risky zones such as river basins or sloppy areas. Qualifications of the dwellings on these areas are also low as their owners belong to lower-income groups making difficult for them to afford necessary changes in mitigating disaster hazards (Güzey, 2016, p. 44-49). Referring to these areas, Güzey states that,

Process of depression is visible in terms of not only physical structure but also in social structure, thereby the social acceptability of their populations decreases within the societal harmony process. ... Thus, the last legal regulation has put another but more precise criteria, namely disaster risk, in order to bring a wider and more acceptable understanding to the depression process (ibid, p. 51-52).

According to Balyemez, since construction industry is the core of Turkey’s economy, disaster law seems to serve for increasing this sector’s production volume in the shortest time. The way for it is to transform majority of the population into customers through home ownership. In this process, masses are charged with long-term debts regardless of their needs or purchasing powers. Hence, in a way, construction industry seems to be financed by homeowners who do not want to lose their property rights (2012, p. 69). Home ownership is frequently promoted through government discourse and side-effects of the transformation are tried to be concealed. For instance, in the 2016 declaration of the president of TOKİ, it was stated that when beneficiaries accept

to move from the transformed area to any mass housing area offered by TOKİ, they can become homeowners even cheaper prices ⁶.

3.4 Alternative Policy Recommendations

To sum up, beginning from 2000s, state-led urban regeneration has been used as a principal tool in reorganizing Turkish cities in favor of capital accumulation. Within the process, successive legal arrangements have strengthened the hand of central administration and eased the way of ‘urban coalition’ in enjoying revenue-generating activities, particularly within the construction industry. As it was discussed, afterwards of 2008 brought about the reorganization of the mass housing administration TOKİ in line with the interests of construction and real-estate sectors. Although TOKİ is expected to contribute to countrywide housing deficit by providing affordable houses especially for lower income groups, partnerships established upon subsidiary firms such as Emlak Konut and large-scale urban regeneration projects contracted to private construction companies pushed back the social mission of the institution. Top-down decisions have started to be spread across the country and housing issue was dealt with the directives of central government excluding local platforms such as NGOs, professional chambers and the city councils. As a consequence, participatory mechanisms in decision-making have remained unfulfilled and social side of the interventions have been ignored. Gentrification, displacement and indebtedment came to fore as a result of project implementations.

According to Şevkiye Şence Türk and Willem K. Korthals Altes, Turkey’s urban planning system does not promote land provision for the production of social housing and housing markets does not intend to balance housing types and tenures. Both formal and informal housing markets remain limited in provision of land for social housing. On the other side, land tenures are regularized in the way that they benefit to speculators and construction companies rather than low-income groups. Besides,

⁶ Source: <http://www.haberturk.com/ekonomi/emlak/haber/1330450-toki-istanbulda-13-ilcede-15-bin-konut-donusturecek> (last accessed on July, 2018)

urban regeneration projects turn out to profit-making activities through the production of luxury houses for middle and upper-income groups (Turk & Korthals Altes, 2013a, p. 514). As a result, housing policies induce displacement in which part of local dwellers are excluded. This stems from the fact that urban renewal areas are not homogenous in terms of tenure structures and “As a general approach in the renewal projects, while de jure ownership might remain after urban renewal, de facto use rights and occupiers without de jure ownership are displaced from urban renewal areas” (ibid, p. 511).

As a criticism against this conjuncture, Özdemir stated that “in Western Europe, and especially in the UK, the main theme of the urban regeneration debate has moved from property-led regeneration projects in which private-sector interests were overtly represented, to area-based strategic partnerships that emphasize community empowerment in neighborhood regeneration schemes” and this led to an understanding in which social housing principles are combined with regeneration projects (2011, p. 1105). In this line, a vast literature highlights the value of community participation in housing albeit in different ways. Community participation embraces several approaches such as “decentralization, local democratization, spreading decision-making among local organizations, community involvement in the development of urban policies” (Davidson, Johnson, Lizarralde, Dikmen & Sliwinski, 2007, p. 101) and advocates of community participation take a stance against centralist, top-down decision-making since,

Top-down approaches to reconstruction too often ignore the complexity of the built environment, the local conditions and the users’ need and potentials. Consequently, the outcomes in such ‘symbolic schemes’ rarely go beyond producing expensive and alien housing units and frequently result in abandonment or alterations to the dwellings (Davidson et al. quotes from El-Masri and Kellett, 2001).

In Republican era, the earliest examples of community participation in housing affairs were housing cooperatives firstly initiated in capital city, Ankara, in 1935. Housing cooperatives were the most important examples of community participation between 1950 and 1980, although their share was only 10 percent in total building licenses.

Changing patterns and perceptions in urbanization towards 1980s necessitated a new approach towards cooperatives which laid the foundations of urban cooperation. This new system was based on the collaboration of civil society organizations, municipalities and the central government and 1984 dated Law no. 2985 (Mass Housing Law) allocated important missions to urban cooperatives. Before the law, cooperatives were only producing housing units for their members and the cooperation was terminated once housing project is complete. Mass Housing Law provided cooperatives with additional tasks including the design and construction of the physical and social infrastructure of the projects. The founder of the Kent-Koop (Urban Cooperation) Murat Karayalçın stated that,

The essence of urban cooperation is the multifaceted and democratic approach adopted by the urban dwellers under the aegis of local administrations as a panacea for the unhygienic urbanization trends. In this model, the erection of housing schemes is taken up together with the physical, societal, and cultural environment as opposed to individual housing cooperation (1986, p. 7).

On the other side, an important drawback of cooperatives was that the funds provided by TOKİ were appealing to middle and upper-middle income groups thereby excluding the lower-income groups who were supposed to be the actual target of affordable housing. For this reason, it was argued that housing cooperatives were not beneficial in terms of social housing as they turned into profit-making organizations (Berkman & Osmay, 1996, p. 118-123).

As a solution for current issues related to housing, Şevkiye Şence Türk and Willem K. Korthals Altes suggested inclusionary housing in which planning system is used to provide social housing and promote social inclusion. For them, Turkey has most of the characteristics specified in inclusionary housing literature like “high rates of urbanization, a dual market structure which includes variations in responsiveness to new demand between legal and illegal housing supply, unequal income distribution, a lower average income level and a construction boom” (2013a, p. 509). To this end, the use of ‘land readjustment’ method is recommended as an alternative way of providing land for urban redevelopment policies. In simple terms, land readjustment first consolidates the divided lands in an area, and then transfers it to the temporary owners

(public authorities, private developers, cooperatives etc.) for the projected redevelopment. Finally, the renewed land is redistributed to the original owners which ensures that the profit as well as the risk are shared by all parties. TOKİ is argued to have the potential of using this method in order to overcome affordability problem at a national scale. However, considering the fact that the affordability levels of each region varies, land readjustment can and had better to be used at local level yet it requires certain legal changes (Turk & Korthals Altes, 2011, p. 8; 2013a, p. 517-518).

In a similar vein, based on three case studies conducted in Columbia, El Salvador and Turkey, Davidson et al. conclude that beneficiaries should involve in reconstruction projects from earlier stages to get positive results regarding user satisfaction (2007, p. 112). Yet, Ganapati and Ganapati argue that participation should not remain limited to the beneficiaries. The definition of ‘public’ should be broadened to include other stakeholders being local governments, and community-based organizations. Besides, according to the conclusions of their case study examining reconstruction project in Şirinköy neighborhood of Gölcük city after the 1999 Earthquake which was funded by World Bank, they recommend planners and policymakers to put the feedbacks of the participants before the plans to obtain more effective results in the long-run (2008).

In addition to the necessity of participatory mechanisms, policies related to housing, or urban improvements in a broader sense, are expected to be in line with sustainable development principles. With respect to the issue, Osman Balaban draws attention to the economic, environmental and spatial consequences of construction boom in Turkey. In this process, public sector plays a crucial role through deregulating the planning system and development controls causing several issues like urban sprawl, environmental degradation and pollution. Balaban states that, public authorities are called for action against the negative consequences of construction activities in many countries. In contrast, while engaging in partnerships with private construction firms, TOKİ does not give importance to maintain these activities in a sustainable way. This result in waste of resources as well as violation of the right to live in a healthy environment (2012, p. 26-30). From the perspective of sustainable development, any shelter policy should put people in its center and should be integrated with thorough

policies considering economic, social and environmental development together (Habitat, 2003).

In the light of aforementioned discussions, following chapter aims to analyze housing question that was emerged after the earthquake in Van city as it is considered necessary to look at how the process has been functioning since the earthquake in an Eastern city from the perspective of social policy. At the beginning of the study, main assumption was that post-earthquake housing reconstruction in Van undermined the welfare of local dwellers as a result of top-down policies. In order to question this assumption, Van case was analyzed on the basis of policy implementations and roles of governmental and non-governmental bodies within the reconstruction process.

CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDY: POST-EARTHQUAKE HOUSING RECONSTRUCTION IN VAN

4.1 Socioeconomic Context and Administrative Structure

Van is the easternmost city of Turkey and 19 069 square meter in size corresponding to the 2,5 % of country's surface (the sixth largest city of the country in terms of the surface area). Its population is 1 106 891 in total and population density is 57 per square meter as of 2017 ("Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu", 2018). The city is under the influence of continental climate and weather conditions are harsh especially in the winter.

Animal husbandry is the main source of income of the city since majority of the provincial surface is composed of grasslands. Total employment rate of agricultural workers is also above the country's average. Other economic activities include border trade on Kapıköy border gate with Iran and industry processing raw materials (Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu, 2013). As a border town, Van's location is strategically important and it functions as the 'metropole of the East'. Lake Van, the largest lake of the country, contributes to the marine tourism activities (on a small scale when compared to Western touristic centers of the country) by attracting tourists especially from the Eastern neighbor countries. The settlement history of the city dates back to 7th millennium BC, hosting plenty of civilizations including Hurrians, Urartians, Persians, Armenians and Ottomans successively. This contributed to the cultural heritage of the city providing a potential for historical tourism with major assets such as Van Castle and Akdamar Island. The city also hosts Yüzüncü Yıl University which was founded in 1982.

Gaining city center status, modern history of Van starts with the establishment of Republic in 1923 yet this period is marked with political and social conflict between

the Turkish State and Kurdish people who constitute the ethnic majority of the region. These tensions intensified towards 1980s making the region problematic in terms of administration. Van has gained the status of metropolitan city in 2012 with the Law no. 6360 and there are 13 district municipalities within the city besides the metropolitan municipality. Currently, two of the district municipalities (Tuşba and Gevaş) are governed by AKP mayors whereas the metropolitan municipality and 11 of district municipalities (İpekyolu, Edremit, Bahçesaray, Başkale, Çaldıran, Çatak, Erciş, Gürpınar, Muradiye, Özalp and Saray) are governed by district governors who were appointed in place of elected mayors of the People's Democratic Party (HDP) as one of the opposition parties in the Turkish Assembly ⁷.

4.2 Urbanization Process of Van

The fact of forced migration, stemming from the political tensions and armed conflict between Turkish State and Kurdish ethnic groups demanding autonomy, is one of the core issues of the city of Van having profound changes on urban spaces. Across the Eastern and South Eastern Anatolian Regions, rural-to-urban migration wave has started towards the end of 1970s, mostly in the form of evacuation of the villages, and Van has become one of the hubs of this forced social movement. Under these circumstances, socio-economic conditions of the city and its dwellers have been strictly formed under government policies creating numerous issues of urbanization, education, health, woman and housing.

In order to meet the process of urbanization, any places should experience demographic, economic and socio-cultural transformations at a minimum. Yet, Özer states that, in Van, as well as in other principal cities of the region such as Diyarbakır, Şanlıurfa and Gaziantep, only demographic aspect of urbanization was observed whereas economic, social and physical structures did not transform enough to

⁷ With the decree law initiated in 2016, trustees have started to be appointed in place of elected mayors within the scope of counter terrorism efforts led by the AKP government. The total number of suspended mayors is 107 as of January 2018. Source: <https://bianet.org/bianet/siyaset/194424-son-2-senede-toplam-107-belediye-baskani-gorevden-uzaklastirildi> (last accessed on July, 2018).

compensate the population growth. Therefore, the fact of ‘overurbanization’ occurred pointing that the region in question is underdeveloped. There are three main triggering factors of this process: uncontrolled population growth, uneven development between rural and urban areas as well as interregional unevenness and forced migration under political and social tensions (Özer, 2009, p. 66).

As it was mentioned in Chapter 3, urbanization affairs in Turkey has started after 1950 with state-led industrialization moves. In this process, Eastern and Southeastern Anatolian Regions could not take their share from economic and industrial developments. Since state policies favored metropolitan cities such as İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir, capital has started to accumulate in specific regions, especially in the Western side. As a result, Eastern regions were left disadvantaged producing uneven development within the country. On the other side, feudal structure of the region had continued to exist for quite a long time which further prevented economic expansion and this resulted in increasing poverty, unemployment and related problems that local population has been suffering. Besides, having caught between terror incidents and state policies, locals had to abandon their homes in rural areas to find safer places in neighboring or metropolitan cities. As it was pointed in the previous chapter, those who moved to metropolitan areas had to settle in the suburbs and were marginalized as squatters. On the other side, those who could not afford to go to the West moved to the centers of neighboring cities that were already underdeveloped compared to their counterparts located in Western Anatolia and they tried to create new living spaces in vacant areas devoid of infrastructure and minimum sanitary requirements. Since agricultural activities were the only means of existence for the victims of forced migration, it was also difficult to find employment opportunities in hub cities deepening poverty issue among these groups (Sami, 2009, p. 26-27).

Reflections of aforementioned developments on Van’s urban fabric have also been problematic in terms of urban planning. When the fact of forced migration evaluated regarding urban development, the fact of ‘forced urbanization’ comes into question creating different results compared to metropolitan cities (Keskinok, 2009, p. 216). Keskinok argues that urban issues across the region resulting from forced migration

were hardened by the economic impacts of capitalist integration process of 1990s and new logic of liberal policymaking. Hence, it should be highlighted that the timing of forced migration coincides with the heyday of privatization policies across the country. Besides, efforts on restructuring of local governance deepened regional disparities as it freed local governments from the responsibilities of nation-state and opened them to the interventions of capitalist economy.

Under these conditions, urbanization process could evolve in a positive direction if sustainable rural development was provided. However, since rural economy was totally collapsed after forced migration, Van city has become one of the sufferers of aforementioned policies along with other cities of the region. Cuts in state subsidies for agricultural production and dissolution of state institutions went hand in hand with forced migration worsening the poverty problem of city dwellers. Although 1993 dated master plan of Van met the requirements of anticipated population growth of 2005, healthy environments within planned areas could not be established. This stem from the fact that production costs of planned urban areas were burdened to the poor who could not afford it (Keskinok, 2009, p. 224, 226).

All these factors pushed Van back in socio-economic development level. 2014 dated field research conducted in Van's city center found that the 52,7 % of the urban dwellers came to the city by migration. Besides the fact of forced migration, socio-economic factors were determined as the major reason of this condition. In addition, unemployment was the most important problem and monthly household income of two thirds of the city was below the hunger threshold. Those who were involved in this study also indicated that food, house rent and education are the top three expenditures pushing their household budget (Tümtaş & Ergun, 2014). According to Turkstat's well-being index, Van is the 71st among 81 provinces in 2015.

4.2.1 2011 Earthquake

Located on an earthquake-prone region, Van had experienced serious earthquakes throughout the history. Below, the earthquake zoning map of Turkey and the city of

Van show the seismicity degrees of regions (Figure 4.1 & 4.2) Ali Özvan, İsmail Akkaya, Mucip Tapan and Alper Şengül made earthquake hazard analysis of the city center of Van in their work presented to the Earthquake Symposium held in Kocaeli in 2005. Accordingly, settlement areas within Van city are found to carry liquefaction risk. Thus, in case of a possible earthquake, they argued, buildings on the Van plain will experience the earthquake during a longer period due to soil properties. Moreover, since these buildings did not conform to the standards, loss of life and property were expected to increase. Therefore, Erdemkent neighborhood (location of the current Edremit TOKİ area) was suggested as the new settlement area as it is composed of rock soil eliminating the risk of earthquake and flood (Figure 4.3). Another important point made by this study is that active faults of the region are close to the breaking point increasing the risk of a possible earthquake.

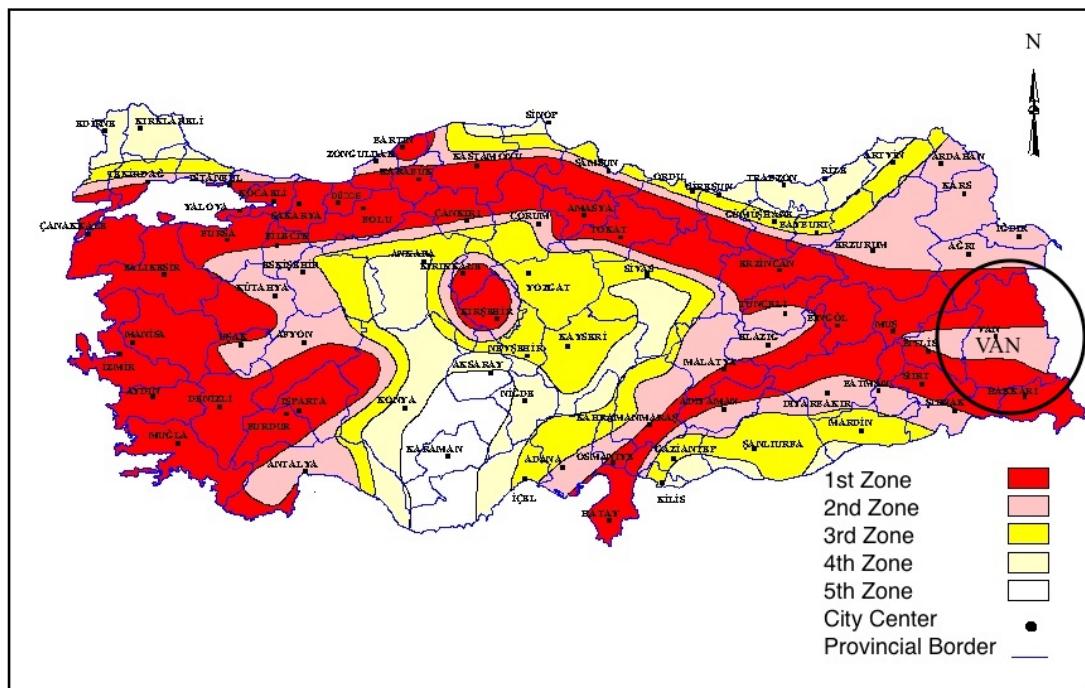


Figure 4.1 : Turkey Earthquake Zoning Map, modified and translated from Turkish to English by the author (Retrieved on July, 2018 from <https://depem.afad.gov.tr/depem-bolgeleri-haritasi>)

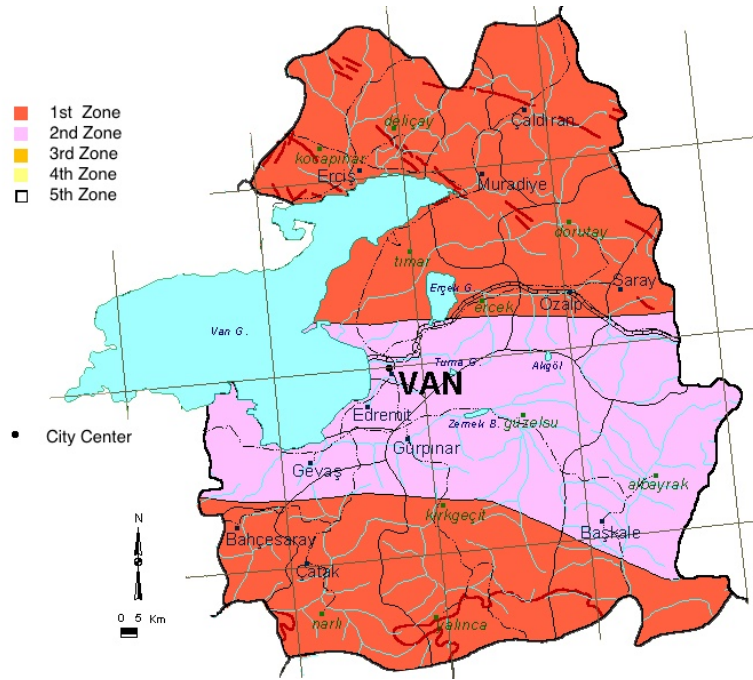


Figure 4.2 : Van Earthquake Zoning Map, modified and translated from Turkish to English by the author (Retrieved on July, 2018 from <https://deprem.afad.gov.tr/deprem-bolgeleri-haritasi>)



Figure 4.3: Edremit TOKİ Houses & Erdemkent Neighborhood (Source: Google Earth)

In 2011, two earthquakes hit the city of Van on 23 October and 9 November. AFAD reported that, due to earthquakes, 644 people died, 1966 people injured and 252 people were saved from debris alive (AFAD Deprem Dairesi Başkanlığı, 2011). Aids for material needs supplied by the Governorate of Van, central and local governments and NGOs were found as positive factors increasing post-earthquake resilience. Psychosocial works were also supported by non-governmental organizations besides public institutions, such as Turkish Psychological Association. Yet, certain hindering factors were detected such as inefficiencies in aid distribution. Political differences between central authorities and municipality pointed as one of the reasons of this issue (Doğulu, Karancı & İkizer, 2016, p. 110-111). According to the 2015 dated study of Başbuğ Erkan et al., search and rescue activities were more successful compared to the 1999 Marmara earthquake. However, initial damage assessment process was found inadequate which was also demonstrated by the Bayram Hotel case ⁸. Another criticism was made upon the issue of cooperation and coordination among institutions. Authors argued that the support of the experts from professional chambers should be utilized in earlier stages (Başbuğ Erkan et al., 2015).

17005 dwelling units collapsed or heavily damaged after the earthquakes (AFAD Deprem Dairesi Başkanlığı, 2011). Besides the magnitudes of earthquakes, certain reasons were highlighted that worsened the severity of damage. Lithologic character of the ground on which the dwellings were built and the material used in the construction of dwellings were the leading factors that increased the loss. The city center was built on a risky area composing of made-up grounds. Moreover, old and high-rise buildings as well as the lack of construction inspection increased the loss (Alaeddinoğlu, Sargın & Okudum, 2016, p. 136). Relatedly, in 1998, Architect Yonca Hürol Al had stated that civil war and forced migration stemming from it impelled the victims towards illegal housing. This made poor neighborhoods more vulnerable against disasters since houses were mostly built in dangerous places with nondurable

⁸ Bayram Hotel located at the city center of Van was collapsed in the second earthquake occurred in November 9 causing 24 deaths. Relatedly, it was claimed that the building was assessed by AFAD and reported as ‘damaged yet habitable’ right after the first earthquake. Source: <http://www.diken.com.tr/vanda-24-kisiye-mezar-olan-bayram-oteline-hasarli-oturulur-raporu-verilmis/> (last accessed on July, 2018)

materials (1998, p. 46). Yet, Alaeddinođlu, Sargın & Okudum found that death toll and physical damage stemming from the earthquake are less severe in lower income neighborhoods thanks to the existence low-rise buildings. In contrast, high rise buildings in higher income neighborhoods increased the loss of life and property.

According to Özceylan's 2011 dated study analyzing the social and economic vulnerability of Turkish cities against disasters, Van was ranked as the seventh, falling within the most vulnerable cities in terms of social and economic aspects. In this line, Özceylan & Coşkun argued that high social and economic vulnerability of the city of Van reflected on response and recovery efforts in a negative way after the earthquake. This stemmed from the fact that physical vulnerability studies were conducted efficiently such that the number of dead and injured was exactly estimated and announced by the Kandilli Observatory and Earthquake Research Institute. Yet, there was not any study concerning social and economic dimensions of disaster vulnerability causing unexpectedly huge damage although the earthquake's impact area was relatively small (2012, p. 178).

After the earthquake, opposition parties suggested to declare Van as disaster-area yet it was rejected by the then Prime Minister with the argument that in case the city is declared as a disaster area, it would not be possible to initiate any public works or housing. Thus, authorities preferred to reconstruct Van through TOKİ that embarked on an extensive mass housing construction across the city. Relatedly, the then Minister of Environment and Urbanization Erdoğan Bayraktar stated that it is difficult and risky to declare Van as disaster area. Rather, they intend to build a new city through making the people of Van homeowners⁹.

⁹ Sources:

http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/diger/297214/Van_afet_bolgesi_ilan_edilsin_cagrisi.html (last accessed on July, 2018)

<http://www.haberturk.com/yasam/haber/687480-van-neden-afet-bolgesi-ilan-edilmedi> (last accessed on July, 2018)

<http://siyasihaber3.org/van-depreminin-uzerinden-6-yil-gecti-afet-bolgesi-ilan-edilsin-onerisi-reddedilmisti> (last accessed on July, 2018)

4.3 Post-earthquake Housing Reconstruction

Before going into the details of housing recovery, following questions were tried to be answered in order to have a background about the roles of public agents, local professional chambers and non-governmental organizations within the process:

- What were the main roles of the central government, the local government, and public institutions that are responsible from the post-earthquake recovery?
- Was there a difference regarding the approaches of the central and the local government during decision-making and implementation processes?
- Could professional chambers and non-governmental organizations take part in the reconstruction process?

Interviewees from public institutions concurred that there was not any problem regarding the collaboration and coordination between central and local authorities. E1¹⁰ indicated that,

It was a huge disaster such that local bodies could not handle on their own. Besides, decisions had to be made within a very short period. Thus, in general, decisions were taken by the center, representatives of the central institutions were in the field. Yet, local conditions were known by local authorities better so that their opinions were also considered. I saw that there was a special effort to provide the collaboration between the center and the local. The governor tried to make decisions with the mayor. There was not any serious opposition or conflict. Professional chambers and NGOs also participated into the process. For instance, professional chambers and universities took part in the damage assessment process. When state means were inadequate, the support of NGOs and universities were also received.

In contrast, representatives of local professional chambers complained as their suggestions were disregarded. Only one informant from a public institution, E2¹¹, put that,

¹⁰ Interviewee 1: Male, civil engineer, public official

¹¹ Interviewee 2: Male, geological engineer, public official

In our technical tasks, we do not have a close contact with NGOs. Indeed, it should be. As a self-criticism, we should improve ourselves on this issue.

On the issue of collaboration between central and local governments, E3¹² stated that,

Interests and conflicts ongoing between the local and central governments politicized the issue. As a result, the actions of authorities were directed towards pulling votes. On the other hand, local government hold meetings with local professional chambers and NGOs. I have also participated. During these meetings, the major emphasis was on the necessity of a scientific approach in meeting shelter needs. Although this would extend the time, a livable city could be built after the completion of reconstruction. Yet, the center chose to build TOKİ houses in a year.

Accordingly, it can be concluded that mass housing provided by the collaboration of TOKİ and AFAD emerged as the main solution to meet post-disaster housing need. From the points made by interviewees, it is understood that non-governmental bodies could be integrated into the reconstruction process more efficiently. Although both central and local governments put certain efforts for the issue, this could not be reflected on implementation. Besides, political differentiations between central and local authorities had negative effects on the process.

4.3.1 Mass Housing

Since 2004, 92 mass housing projects have been initiated in Van by TOKİ and 43 of them comprise disaster homes. Prior to the earthquake, one project had been completed in the category of ‘disaster home’ in Hangediği Village after the flood that occurred in June 2007. Other 42 projects followed 2011 Earthquakes. In order to solve housing deficit stemming from the earthquake, construction works had started within 1 months, and disaster-homes had started to be delivered after 10 months¹³. Site selection for disaster-homes was conducted by AFAD and construction works were carried by

¹² Interviewee 3: Male, survey engineer, member of the City Council of Van

¹³ Source: <https://www.afad.gov.tr/tr/2146/Van-ve-Ercis-Deprem-Konutlari-Teslim-Edildi> (last accessed on July, 2018)

TOKİ. Accordingly, mass housing regions were located in 4 regions around the city center being Edremit, Bostaniçi, Kalecik and Kevenli (Figure 4.4). Social reinforcements (see Appendix C) were also provided within mass housing projects. Infrastructure works were carried out by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization and municipality.

While evaluating decision making and implementation processes concerning mass housing from social policy perspective, the issues of displacement, affordability and sustainability come to the fore. According to field observations and prior knowledge obtained from media sources, distance of mass housing regions from the city center, the prices of houses and economic implications of mass housing projects seemed problematic in terms of dwellers' economic and social welfare. Hence, following questions were posed to interviewees:

- Which criteria were considered in site-placement of mass houses?
- Was purchasing power of earthquake victims paid attention in determining the prices of mass houses?
- What are the advantages and disadvantages of post-earthquake reconstruction process in terms of local economy and environmental issues?
- Considering social, economic and environmental structure of the city, can we say that reconstruction policies have an integrated approach?
- Given that six years have passed over the earthquake, can we say that the needs of local dwellers were met in terms of housing?

4.3.1.1 Site Selection

E2, who took part in the site selection process informed that three main criteria were paid attention when choosing the site of mass houses. He stated that, firstly, areas that are earthquake resistant and composing of firm soil were chosen. Secondly, the distance of chosen areas to the city center was observed in order to protect socio-economic conditions of the dwellers. Finally, property relations were considered to protect legal rights. Although most of the construction works were carried out on

public lands, certain private lands had to be expropriated. Expropriation mostly covered the areas where roads and routes of the infrastructure are to be constructed. Finally, development lines of the city were considered.

On the other side, informants from local professional chambers concurred that houses were constructed at the peripheries of the city that are distant from the center and local dwellers were displaced. E4¹⁴ stated that,

In my opinion, the only criteria in site selection was choosing public lands at the peripheries of the city. This not only increased the distance between the homes and workplaces but also transportation expenses.

Similarly, E5¹⁵ said that,

They chose public lands as it was cheap and large in terms of space.

As it was confirmed in field observations, some homeowners choose to rent or sell these houses rather than using them as living spaces (Figure 4.5). This is expressed by E3 as,

Central government focused on constructing as much as housing units in the shortest period by way of TOKI. As a result of this hasty approach, mass housing regions that are distant as 20 kilometers from the center were created. Today, it is seen that, the spending done for the houses would not be wasted if a proper, well-organized planning was conducted. TOKI houses are not expected to remain as permanent living spaces. Current TOKI owners want to rent these houses and turn back to the city center.

The concept of displacement was not accepted on the part of public officials in that transformation in-situ would not be efficient as the scale of the disaster is huge. In spite of several problems arising out of the location of mass housing regions such as transportation and isolation from the city center, the discourse of homeownership was

¹⁴ Interviewee 4: Male, architect, member of a local professional chamber

¹⁵ Interviewee 5: Male, architect, member of a local professional chamber

highlighted by public officials and TOKİ houses are presented as a golden opportunity for those who want to be homeowners the shortest term. For instance, E1 put that,

We can compare Japan with us in terms of the frequency of earthquakes. Even in there, they do not construct new houses immediately like us. Since some social conditions are important in our country, we provide the right to shelter within a very short period through permanent houses.



Figure 4.4: Locations of Kalecik, Bostaniçi, Kevenli and Edremit TOKİ regions (Source: Google Maps, last accessed on July, 2018)



Figure 4.5: A real estate advertisement from Kalecik TOKİ (Photo by the author, August, 2017)

4.3.1.2 Affordability and Indebtmnt Issues

All public officials who were interviewed agreed that disaster houses are affordable and emphasized the advantage of the long term loans. E6¹⁶ stated that,

What is done in Van is unique in terms of the prices of houses and indebtment. They sold the houses at cost price, infrastructure expenses were covered by the state, and loans were given for 20-years period without any payment for the first two years. This was never done anywhere else in Turkey.

According to E1,

It would be wrong to consider the price of disaster houses as a price of a normal house. In this respect, what is provided by the state is quite advantageous when compared to buy a house under normal circumstances.

On the contrary, E4 criticized high margins of the houses since housing prices are the twofold of the costs although authorities stated that the houses built in Van after the

¹⁶ Interviewee 6: Male, high-school graduate, public official

earthquake are the cheapest of TOKİ houses ¹⁷. K7¹⁸ highlighted another point related with affordability as

TOKİ dwellers once resided the city center now have to use two medium of transport to work every day generating extra financial burden. Considering the fact that most of the dwellers work for minimum wage, transportation expenses as well as monthly dues for the common costs such as heat and cleaning create economic difficulties for lower income groups. Those who are well off economically do not live in TOKİ ¹⁹.

4.3.1.3 Economic Implications of Mass Housing Construction

According to the information obtained from TOKİ's website, among contractor companies charged with housing construction by TOKİ after the earthquakes, only one company was local whereas other contractors are from across Turkey, mostly centered in Ankara and İstanbul. This was criticized by the informants from professional chambers on the ground that local firms who were already damaged by the economic loss after the earthquake were not given a chance to involve in the reconstruction of the city which would contribute to the recovery of local economy. Construction economy was also interrupted with the decision to remake the master plan of the city. Meanwhile, since TOKİ can act independently from construction plans, numerous houses were built at the peripheries of the city right after the earthquake without the

¹⁷ Housing cost per unit determined by Ministry of Environment and Urbanization was 560 Turkish lira for a square meter in 2012. For TOKİ houses, this cost was calculated as 1050 Turkish lira. Considering the earthquake victims, 300 Turkish lira discount was made per a square meter and houses in 98 square meter size were sold to people 75000 Turkish lira in total (about 42000 USD according to the average rate of exchange in 2012). This meant a profit around %60. Data was obtained from the announcement of Ministry of Environment and Urbanization published in the website of the official gazette no. 28277 dated April 28, 2012. Statements of public officials on this issue can be accessed from:

<https://www.milliyetemlak.com/dergi/vandaki-toki-konutlari-indirimli-verilecek/> (last accessed on July, 2018)

¹⁸ Interviewee 7: Woman, financial advisor, member of a non-governmental organization

¹⁹ Complaints of TOKİ dwellers who were having difficulties in paying common expenses was also reported by newspapers:

http://www.cumhuriyet.com.tr/haber/diger/394792/Van_da_TOKi_depremi.html (last accessed on July, 2018)

integration of local sectors that could otherwise benefit to local economy. This also caused cash outflow from the city in the long run through the repayment of mortgage loans²⁰. Relatedly, E5 stated that,

Master plan could not be developed over two years. Thus, as technical staffs, we could not do anything during this period. Given that Van's economy mostly depends on construction, many people had financial difficulties. All firms were chosen from other cities and this firms brought their materials and work force also from the outside. At that time, our chamber and several NGOs made criticisms about this, but it was not paid attention. We can say that disadvantages are more than the advantages. TOKİ houses were used in a transition period and it was obvious that they cannot be permanent. Now, people are building new houses in the center and they will turn back in a short period. In my opinion, TOKİ regions will be inactive in the future.

On the part of public officials, reconstruction process provided economic recovery. According to E2,

The policies in question not only provided reconstruction but also recovered local economy. It brought about employment opportunities to locals. Thanks to state funds, infrastructural facilities were also provided. In this manner, we not only built resistant buildings against future disasters, but also regenerated the city.

Similarly, E1 stated that,

After the earthquake, Van was like a ghost town. Reconstruction works revived the city.

To sum up the issues related with mass housing, it would be proper to argue that the approaches of the agents of public and non-governmental bodies differ. When we evaluate the information given by public officials, it is seen that policy priorities were given to produce the required housing units in the shortest time. To this end, majority of the means were provided from the external sources and this was defended on the ground that the extent of the damage is substantial. Similarly, decision making seems to be dominated by the center resulting in the exclusion of local non-governmental

²⁰ Media news on the issue can be accessed from:
<http://www.habervan.com/van-haberleri/vanda-insaat-sektoru-can-cekisiyor-van-haberleri-h1654.html>
<http://www.gazetevan.com/STKlardan-Insaat-Sektorundeki-Sorunlar-Icin-Cagri-68040.html> (last accessed on July, 2018)

organizations and professional chambers. Consequently, post-disaster mass housing schemes seems to be implemented in line with the common housing provision method of the government which is construction oriented with a top-down approach in decision-making.

4.3.2 Reconstruction of the City Center

Apart from those who moved to TOKİ regions, certain part of earthquake victims whose buildings were damaged yet who were able to afford building costs chose to construct their own houses in the city center. However, since the Law no. 6306 has passed after the Van earthquake, buildings in Van were not in the scope of urban transformation implementations covered by that law. Thus, who demolished their damaged buildings and want to build the new ones that are earthquake resistant could not benefit from the credits given within the scope of the law. In order to include these buildings into urban transformation, a new law has passed from the parliament, right before the general elections held on June 7, 2015, with the proposal of Van AKP deputies ²¹. Following questions were posed to interviewees in order to observe the reflections of the Law no. 6306 on Van's city center:

- Which groups were targeted by urban transformation policies?
- Would it be possible to provide transformation in-situ by adopting a different policy approach? How can we evaluate the current urban conjuncture of Van's city center?
- Do urban transformation activities taking place within the city center meet the criteria of the Law no. 6306?

E3 informed that,

Urban transformation policies mostly targeted cooperatives and high-rise buildings. The main target should be risky buildings and the houses of those who belong to lower income groups. Municipalities and local governments were insufficient in terms of resources. Thus, the central government could use the Law no. 6306 as a rent-generating tool. After the earthquake, monetary issues of tradesmen came to the fore pushing

²¹ Source: <http://www.radikal.com.tr/van-haber/vanli-depremzedelere-kentsel-donusum-mujdesi-1328794/> (last accessed on July, 2018)

urban issues back such as the deficiency of green-areas throughout the city or traffic problem.

With reference to the negative effects of the transformation of the city center, K7 argued that lower income groups were pushed to the peripheries as a result of transformation and added,

Newly built shopping malls appeal to tourists, mostly coming from Iran, making the center more crowded and worsening traffic problem.

According to E4,

It was possible to provide transformation in-situ by providing credits to earthquake victims who lost their houses. In this way, neighborhood relations could be protected.

Contrarily, public officials were positive about the transformation process. They expressed reconstruction process as a full-fledged effort to create a new city from the ruins. E2 state that,

We tried to provide transformation in-situ as far as possible. Yet, it was quite impossible in the city center. If we chose to wait transformation in-situ after the earthquake, it would take quite a long time. For instance, in Japan, this process took 20 years. We handed in disaster houses just one year after the earthquake.

In Van, urban transformation is not implemented on the basis of large-scale projects like other metropolitan cities. It is implemented on-demand and on the basis of land parcel. After the earthquake, owners of damaged buildings could not benefit from the credits given under the Law no. 6306 over three years and since the year of 2017 was determined as the deadline of benefiting from the law, currently there is a construction boom in Van's city center. According to field observations, urban transformation activities at the city center mostly comprise high-rise buildings and shopping malls (Figure 4.6). As it is indicated by K7, this reduces the size of public spaces and prevents certain groups from benefitting the social and recreational facilities of the city. Finally, although the current governor of Van stated in October 2017 that the

traces of the earthquake were totally removed from the city, there still exist some vacant buildings²² (Figure 4.7).



Figure 4.6: High-rise buildings under construction beside a new shopping mall (Photo by the author, August 2017)

²² Source: <http://www.trthaber.com/haber/turkiye/van-depremin-izlerinden-kurtuldu-338888.html> (last accessed on July, 2018)



Figure 4.7: Damaged building at the city center (Photo by the author, August, 2017)

4.3.3 Housing Problem of Vulnerable Groups

Tents and containers were temporary solutions for shelter problem after the earthquake. 35 container cities (31 in the city center and 4 in Erciş district) were built by TOKİ in Van to meet temporary shelter needs of those who lost their houses or whose houses were severely damaged. (AFAD, 2014). After the completion of construction works, beneficiaries started to move from container cities to TOKİ houses and container cities were started to be removed. However, those who were not in the status beneficiary under the Law no. 7269 were not eligible for TOKİ houses and they continued to live in container cities. After 3 years have passed over the disaster, 64 families were still living in temporary shelters which transformed into permanent

homes²³. Container dwellers mostly comprised of vulnerable groups (woman, children, elder) demanding permanent social housing as well as employment. Considering these groups as the primary target of social policies, following questions emerge:

- What were the policies for those who were not homeowners before the earthquake?
- After the completion of disaster homes built by TOKİ, certain households continued to dwell in containers. Did central and local governments come up with specific solutions for these groups?

One of the most controversial issues after the earthquake emerged in determining beneficiaries since those who were not home owners before the earthquake are not in the status beneficiary under the Law no. 7269. Yet, 2000 families who were tenants before the earthquake were given TOKİ houses by lot. 92 families accepted rent allowance provided by Social Assistance and Solidarity Foundation and moved from container to rental housing. Those who did not accept this option have continued to dwell in containers²⁴. E6 described the ones who continued to dwell in containers after the completion of TOKİ houses as occupants and stated that,

They do not have a right to stay in containers, they occupied them. Nevertheless, they were provided with electricity and water. Even for those who were tenants before the earthquake, TOKİ houses were provided with the directions of the central government. This implementation was unique to Van.

On the other side, K7 mentioned certain issues causing discrimination among beneficiaries. She stated that,

²³ Source: <https://kdk.gov.tr/haber/van-depremi-sonrasi-gerceklestirilen-calismalar/498> (last accessed on July, 2018)

²⁴ Sources: <http://www.aljazeera.com.tr/haber/44-aile-hala-konteyner-kentte> (last accessed on July, 2018)
<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/gundem/van-valisi-feyzioglundun-aciklamalari-gercegi-yansitmiyor-26392472> (last accessed on July, 2018)

For instance, one of the requirements of being beneficiary was that one should either married or son in order to be beneficiary. This meant single woman living with their parents cannot benefit from beneficiary rights. Because of that, there are many women who could not be beneficiary and any special policies were not available for them. As an NGO, we could buy only four houses for the most disadvantaged families, yet making a selection among them was quite difficult. Those who insisted to stay in containers were criminalized. In order to force them to quit containers, authorities cut their electricity and water. Then they resorted to hunger strike for permanent housing claims²⁵.

In this context, it is seen that, although the government could provide with alternative housing solutions for those who were not homeowners before the earthquake, certain groups were ultimately excluded from the process. According to field observations, 15 families were still living in Anadolu Container City as of August 2017 without basic infrastructural facilities like water and electricity. From a short, informal conversation with two of the container dwellers, it is understood that remaining households were mostly comprised of widow or divorced women and their children (Figure 4.8 & 4.9) confirming the above cited point made by K7.

²⁵ Related media news can be accessed from:
<http://www.milliyet.com.tr/depremedeler-zor-durumda/gundem/detay/1802934/default.htm> (last accessed on July, 2018)
<https://m.bianet.org/bianet/insan-haklari/150054-birileri-olurken-digerleri-ne-yapiyor> (last accessed on July, 2018)
<http://www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/vanda-aclik-grevi-100-gununde-cocuklar-soguktan-hasta-oldu-1164466/> (last accessed on July, 2018)



Figure 4.8: Anadolu Container City (Photo by the author, August, 2017)



Figure 4.9: A household in Anadolu Container City (Photo by the author, 2017)

4.4 Concluding Remarks

Evaluation of policy making and implementation processes concerning post-earthquake housing recovery of Van show that promises seem fulfilled in terms of quantity yet questions on the social side of policies still remain. Although the priority is expected to be the most vulnerable and needy in an emergency case like a disaster, authorities seemed to fail to meet these groups' demands even over 6 years. Rather, solutions are directed towards producing more and more housing units that are sold in return for a long term loans. Those who do not settle for these policies and do not want to be indebted are left helpless so that their right to shelter is violated. On the other side, those who buy TOKİ houses have to live at the peripheries of the city. Accordingly, main conclusions are as follow:

- Although construction has become the main engine of Turkey's economy under AKP governance, Van could not get its share from the cake as foreign firms dominated building sector after the earthquake. This demonstrates how neoliberal policies ultimately engender uneven development even damaging the economic recovery process of a ruined city.
- By exerting the use-value of housing over its exchange value, mass housing schemes promoted home ownership with affordable prices and this is reflected as social housing. Yet, additional expenses (transportation, monthly dues) of TOKİ dwellers should also be considered within affordability issue as they are reported as causing extra financial burden on local dwellers.
- Urban regeneration as an inevitable part of country-wide housing policies was not implemented in Van on the basis of large-scale projects like other metropolitan cities. It is implemented on-demand and on the basis of land parcel. For the current conjuncture, high-rise buildings seem dominated the urban fabric of Van's city center and busy traffic and decreased public spaces constitute main issues.

- Housing policies in question are not inclusive of all groups in need and this contrasts with universalist approach of welfare provision. Those who are not beneficiaries are excluded from the process which is demonstrated by the existence of the Anadolu Container City although 7 years have passed over the earthquake. Permanent container dwellers are expected to be the main targets of social policies since they vulnerable groups mostly being children and women. Rather than providing these groups with social housing, public authorities use force against them and they legitimized it through the concept of 'beneficiary'.

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Main aim of this study is to analyze Turkey's housing policies in terms of social policy and welfare issues. For this purpose, the city of Van was chosen as investigation area since a major earthquake happened in 2011 initiating a large scale recovery period under the directives of the AKP government. These included the construction of mass housing by the central housing administration TOKİ and a new legal arrangement for urban regeneration under the Law no. 6306. Van Earthquake is considered important in that it conducted to a massive urban regeneration campaign across the country in which officials started to use disaster-risk as the justification of a major part of the legal arrangements and project implementations. Although disaster risk and housing came to the fore after 1999 Marmara Earthquakes, Van case made the issue more visible.

This study asserts that, in order to ensure right to shelter, housing policies should be freed from the profit-oriented impositions of private sector. As it was discussed, housing cannot solely be provided by state mechanisms which makes private sector an inseparable part of housing supply. Yet, the fact of capital accumulation which changed its course from industrial production to investment in built environment towards 1980s has rendered housing a crucial asset for capital owners in that exchange value of housing as well as public spaces is exerted over the use value and the rent extracted upon land and landed property became the main concern in policy-making. As a result, urban affairs became more problematic regarding the welfare of city dwellers due to the emergence of certain issues like displacement, gentrification and many more.

For Turkey, the trajectory went parallel with global developments turning cities into the main engines of neoliberal economic order. Although large scale urban projects

are concentrated in metropolitan cities, similar patterns spread across the country via top-down policies. Within the process, the notions of welfare, social housing and affordability has always been in evidence in the discourse of public authorities, yet the policies in question are inconsistent with universalist social policy principles. Hence, the emphasis on the concept of 'home ownership' has been paid special attention by public authorities to cover the deficiencies in mass housing and urban regeneration projects.

Under this context, the law No. 6306 brought a new dimension into the process as it enabled policy-makers to justify top-down decisions by putting disaster-risk forward. Yet, the literature is lack of a study on the initiator of the country wide urban regeneration campaign, namely the 2011 Van Earthquake. Hence, it is considered necessary to evaluate the policies conducted within the post-earthquake recovery process of Van's city center. This not only provided a picture of an Eastern city hit by an earthquake creating a huge housing deficit but also helped to improve policy recommendations that may contribute to the welfare of urban dwellers in the future. In this context, following questions were tried to be answered in the first place:

- 1) What are the policies carried out by the government following 2011 Van Earthquake aiming at the housing needs of earthquake victims?
- 2) What is the role of public actors, (i.e. the government, TOKİ and AFAD and local governments) within the post-earthquake housing recovery process after Van earthquake?
- 3) What are the implications of housing policies regarding the housing needs of earthquake victims?

To answer the aforementioned questions, reports of government agencies as well as non-governmental organizations and post-earthquake media news are utilized. Then, eight expert interviews were conducted with public officials and the representatives from local NGOs and professional chambers who took part in the reconstruction process. Besides, individual observations were made in the city center, in mass housing

regions and in Anadolu Container city where 15 households were still dwelling as of August 2017.

Based on the analysis of mass housing and reconstruction implications covering Van's city center, main issues regarding housing welfare were deduced as follows:

- Overemphasis on the concept of 'home ownership' in mass housing provision,
- Displacement of urban dwellers towards the peripheries of the city,
- Long-term indebtedment and unaffordable prices in housing,
- Lack of sustainable policies regarding social, economic and environmental aspects,
- Exclusion of vulnerable groups who are not beneficiaries under the law.

All in all, results of Van case as well as other implementations throughout the country demonstrate that a new approach is necessary to overcome above identified problems. In this line, first policy suggestion is formulated around the concept of community participation. This idea bases on a point made by one of the informants asserting that if they had a city council in Van before 25 years, many of the current problems would not exist.

In order obtain more effective policy outcomes, integration of community participation into the relevant policies seems crucial both in reconstruction and regeneration processes. Participation is to be strengthened by recognizing local stakeholders such as municipalities, NGOs, professional chambers and city councils. The negative effects of top-down policy making can be refrained if the opinions and suggestions of local representatives are incorporated into policy implementations since they are the closest agents having practical knowledge regarding the needs and demands of local communities.

As Başbuğ et al. argued with reference to the Van case, community participation is crucial during post-disaster recovery in order to ensure sustainability and resilience

(2015, p. 539). Additionally, this study suggests the ways in which community participation in housing reconstruction could be improved.

In the first place, Van case shows the importance of proactive measures against disasters. Although the city is located on an earthquake prone region, any specific action plan was not available for Van prior to the 2011 Earthquake concerning housing reconstruction. As a result, mass housing left as the mere solution to meet the permanent shelter needs of local dwellers. Since disaster houses had to be delivered in the shortest time with affordable prices, public lands that are costless were chosen as new settlement areas on which construction works were carried by private companies contracted by TOKİ. Yet, this could not ensure the housing welfare of urban dwellers due to several issues including displacement and long-term indebtedment.

This study argues that, both for the context of Van as well other disaster prone regions, proactive plans concerning post-disaster housing recovery should be developed in advance. To this end, government proposed the Law no. 6306 as a solution yet, as it is demonstrated by Van case and other existing studies, methods prescribed by law mostly ignore local conditions and remain incapable of ensuring the collaboration among the stakeholders. In order to articulate the opinions, needs and demands of communities that will be directly affected by the policies in question, it is necessary to strengthen the position of local stakeholders within decision making and implementation processes. City councils are considered to have potential in achieving participatory policies as they can represent the interests of each locality. These councils are also crucial regarding knowledge exchange between local experts as members and the agents of central institutions as policy makers. Therefore, it is recommended to improve community participation in housing upon city councils where future plans can be developed through the collaborative work of public institutions, professional chambers, NGOs and civil society representatives. In this way, it can also be possible to benefit from local sources and means for reconstruction more efficiently which would help to provide local dwellers with familiar living spaces (Coburn & Spence, 2002). Secondly, as it was discussed in previous chapters, affordability is one of the requirements of social housing provision. Within a city,

housing stock should be affordable and sufficient in diversity, especially for those who cannot afford housing under market conditions. In Turkey, social housing is financed not through the state budget but through entrepreneurial activities in which TOKİ collaborates with construction firms and real-estate investment companies in a revenue-sharing model and raises its funds by selling public lands ²⁶. Yet, as Kuyucu argued, this undermines redistributive mechanisms of social policy and deepens existing inequalities among urban dwellers (2016) which can also be seen in the case of vulnerable groups who became homeless after Van Earthquake. The main housing provision method of TOKİ is indebting households with long term loans by using the promises of ‘home ownership’. Upon mortgages or credits, the residents of mass housing are burdened with production costs as well as additional expenses like maintenance charges. As Van case demonstrated, most of the TOKİ owners are suffering from loan payments as well as extra charges such as monthly dues (see Erman, 2016) demonstrating that social housing policy of the government is problematic in terms of affordability.

On the part of public authorities and policy makers, TOKİ’s mission is constantly reflected as being in line with the requirements of a welfare state. It is asserted that housing production undertaken by TOKİ comprises not only shelter needs but also the projects highlighting the social reinforcements, environmental planning and aesthetical living places. In this process, lower-income groups who cannot afford home ownership under market conditions are said to be put in the center. On the other hand, legal arrangements are frequently justified with reference to ‘disaster risk’ reflecting urban transformation as an obligation. At this point, it should be noted that the discourse of ‘home ownership’ is overemphasized in order to make the projects in question more attractive. This also helps to cover the problems generated by construction driven policy-making and top-down implementations. At this point, this study suggests that policies aiming at provision of affordable social housing should be

²⁶ Here, the concept of ‘social housing’ does not refer to the social rental housing as it is in European examples but rather to the houses that are built under the initiative of a government institution for selling at affordable prices.

distinguished from the policies promoting home ownership through mass housing and urban regeneration schemes.

To this end, as Stone argued, we should rediscover the concept of 'social responsibility' and make amendments in economic institutions to solve housing issue (1993, p. 1). This is because, market-oriented policy approaches cover the possibility of a housing provision system based on social principles where private sector's interests are subordinate to housing preferences of dwellers (1993, p. 1, 6). From this perspective, the study concludes that policy-making process concerning housing should be revised in the direction of redistributive methods in which construction sector has a subordinate role vis-à-vis social housing provision. In this way, those who cannot afford home ownership under current conditions may have a chance to benefit from the surplus coming from the projects appealing to high-income groups. For this, policy approaches focusing on quantitative concerns should be replaced with people oriented policy goals.

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APPENDICES

A. INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

- What were the main roles of the central government, the local government, and public institutions that are responsible from the post-earthquake recovery?
- Was there a difference regarding the approaches of the central and the local government during decision-making and implementation processes?
- Could professional chambers and non-governmental organizations take part in the reconstruction process?
- How scientific objectivity was provided in damage assessment?
- Could earthquake victims who lost their houses or whose houses were severely damaged after the earthquake voiced their demands in decision-making process?
- Considering social, economic and environmental structure of the city, can we say that reconstruction policies have an integrated approach?
- What are the advantages and disadvantages of post-earthquake reconstruction process in terms of local economy and environmental issues?
- Which criteria were considered in site-placement of mass houses?
- Was affordability issue for earthquake victims paid attention in determining the prices of mass houses?
- Given that six years have passed over the earthquake, can we say that the needs of local dwellers were met in terms of housing?
- Which groups were targeted by urban transformation policies?
- Would it be possible to provide transformation in-situ by adopting a different policy approach? How can we evaluate the current urban conjuncture of Van's city center?
- Do urban transformation activities taking place within the city center meet the criteria of the Law no. 6306?
- What were the policies for those who were not home owners before the earthquake?

- After the completion of disaster homes built by TOKI, certain households who were composed of vulnerable groups (woman, children, elder) continued to dwell in containers. Did central and local governments come up with specific solutions for these groups?
- When the policies in question are evaluated from the perspective of an expert, what would be the implications regarding right to shelter and social welfare?

B. INTERVIEWEE INFORMATION LIST

Interviewee 1: Male, civil engineer, public official

Interviewee 2: Male, geological engineer, public official

Interviewee 3: Male, survey engineer, member of the City Council of Van

Interviewee 4: Male, architect, member of a local professional chamber

Interviewee 5: Male, architect, member of a local professional chamber

Interviewee 6: Male, high-school graduate, public official

Interviewee 7: Female, financial advisor, member of a non-governmental woman's organization

Interviewee 8: Female, sociologist, public official

C. PHOTOGRAPHS FROM FIELD OBSERVATIONS



Center for Education of Woman and Children at Kalecik TOKİ providing service under the collaboration of Ministry of Family and Social Policy and Tuşba Municipality (Photo by the author, August, 2017)



Family Health Center at Kalecik TOKİ operating under the Ministry of Health (Photo by the author, August, 2017)



Playground for children at Bostaniçi TOKİ (Photo by the author, August, 2017)



Culture and Art Center at Bostaniçi TOKİ (Photo by the author, August, 2017)



Women's Bazaar to sell handcrafts at Bostaniçi TOKİ (Photo by the author, August, 2017)



Public bakehouse used by women to cook bread at Edremit TOKİ (Photo by the author, August, 2017)



A view from Edremit TOKİ (Photo by the author, August, 2017)

D. TURKISH SUMMARY / TÜRKÇE ÖZET

GİRİŞ

Bu tezin temel amacı 2011 yılında meydana gelen depremlerin ardından Van’da gerçekleştirilen yeniden inşa sürecinde uygulanan konut politikalarının sosyal politika açısından incelenmesidir. Depremlerin il genelinde yol açtığı konut sorununu çözmeye yönelik uygulanan kamu politikaları, barınma hakkı ve konut refahı bağlamlarında değerlendirilmiştir. Deprem olgusunun ülke çapında uygulanan konut politikalarının şekillenmesinde önemli bir faktör olduğu ve Türkiye’de konut politikaları üzerine yapılan çalışmaların İstanbul ve Ankara gibi şehirlerde yoğunlaştığı düşünülerek Van şehri araştırma sahası olarak seçilmiştir. Ülke çapında afet riski altındaki alanların dönüştürülmesine yönelik tartışmalar 1999 yılında meydana gelen Marmara depremlerinin ardından başlamış olsa da 2011 Van Depremi’nin konuyu daha görünür hale getirdiği söylenebilir. Deprem sonrasında çıkarılan ve ülke geneline yayılan bir ‘kentsel dönüşüm’ akımının tetikleyicisi olan 6306 sayılı “Afet Riski Altındaki Alanların Dönüştürülmesi Hakkında Kanun” da söz konusu tartışmaları yasal zemine taşımıştır.

Türkiye’de doğal afetlerin ardından ortaya çıkan konut açığı, Toplu Konut İdaresi (TOKİ) tarafından sağlanan afet konutlarıyla karşılanmaktadır. TOKİ, gelecekteki olası afetlere yönelik tedbirler almakla da yetkilidir. Konut temininin yanı sıra, konut kredilerinin sağlanması, altyapı ve sosyal donatı çalışmaları da kurumun sorumlulukları arasındadır. 2002 yılında Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi’nin (AKP) iktidara gelmesinden itibaren yapılan yasal düzenlemelerle TOKİ’nin giderek merkezileştiği gözlemlenmekte ve konut politikalarının çoğunlukla toplu konut ve kentsel yenileme projeleri etrafında şekillendiği görülmektedir. Bu süreçte ‘afet riski’ politika yapımcıların söylemlerinde sıklıkla yer almakta ve kentsel yenileme çalışmaları konut sorunun çözümünde bir gereklilik olarak sunulmaktadır.

Bu çerçevede çalışma kapsamında cevap aranan temel soru, depremleri takiben uygulanan konut politikalarının kent sakinlerinin refahını nasıl etkilediğidir. Bu soru ‘sosyal konut’ kavramı üzerinden incelenirken kavramın Türkiye bağlamında yeniden tanımlanması gerekli görülmüştür. İlk olarak Batılı ülkelerde ortaya çıkan sosyal konut kavramının Türkiye’de uygulanan konut politikalarında tam anlamıyla yer bulmaması sebebiyle çalışma boyunca değinilen sosyal konut kavramı, alım gücü ve barınma hakkını gözeten politikalara işaret etmektedir. Bu bağlamda Van’da uygulanan konut politikalarının kent sakinlerinin refahı açısından ortaya çıkardığı sonuçlar, kapitalist kentleşme sürecinin neden olduğu sorunlar -konutun metalaşması, yerinden edilme- üzerinden incelenmiştir. Van’ın durumunun değerlendirilmesinin ardından, evrensel ve yeniden dağıtımcı sosyal politika yaklaşımları üzerinden ileriye dönük sosyal politika önerileri sunulmuştur.

LİTERATÜR TARAMASI

Bu çalışma AKP hükümetinin şekillendirdiği konut politikalarının ve politika uygulamalarının sosyal politika gerekliliklerini karşılamadığı varsayımından yola çıkmıştır. Bu varsayım, ağırlıklı olarak inşaat sektörü ekseninde gelişen ülke ekonomisinin güncel durumu üzerinden geliştirilmiştir. İnşaata dayalı sermaye birikimi ile konut politikaları arasındaki ilişki incelenerek söz konusu politikaların kamu arazilerinin özel sektörün kullanımına sunulmasında nasıl bir rol oynadığına dikkat çekilmiştir. Bu doğrultuda çalışma kapsamında eleştirel kent kuramları literatüründen yararlanılarak kapitalist kentleşme süreçleriyle konut sorunu arasındaki ilişki ortaya konulmuştur.

Çalışmada kullanılan temel kavramlar (sermaye birikimi, konutun metalaşması vb.) Marksist yazından alınmıştır. Bu kavramların yorumlandığı neoliberal yeniden yapılanma süreçlerinin incelenmesinde de David Harvey (1989) ve Neil Smith’in (1991, 2002) çalışmalarına atıfta bulunulmuştur. Kentleşme ve sosyal politika arasındaki ilişki kapitalist kentleşme süreçleri üzerinden okunarak konut sorununun kökeni, sosyal konut kavramının gelişimi ve konut refahıyla ilgili güncel sorunlara değinilmiştir. 1970lerin sonlarından itibaren sanayi sonrası toplumun ana mekanları

olan kentleri ilgilendiren konular sosyal, siyasal ve ekonomik tartışmaların merkezinde olmuştur. 1980ler sonrasında Keynesyen ekonominin yerini neoliberalizmin almasıyla da kent mekanları sermaye birikiminin merkezi konumuna gelmiştir. Bu süreçte sermaye birikiminin sürekliliğinin sağlanması için gerekli olan değer elde edilmesinde önemli bir unsur olan konut, sermaye sahiplerinin çıkarını gözeterek politikaların kent sakinlerinin barınma refahını arka plana itmesiyle sosyal politika tartışmalarına konu olmuştur.

Sosyal konut, erişilebilir konut ve evsizlik gibi konuları da içinde barındıran konut sorununu diğer sosyal politika alanlarından ayıran temel olgu bir meta olarak piyasada edindiği değişim değeridir. Devletin yalnızca kendi imkanlarıyla konut temin etmesinin mümkün olmaması sebebiyle özel sektör bu alanın önemli bir aktörü haline gelmiştir. Sermaye birikiminin sürekliliği ve piyasa koşullarının gereklilikleri doğrultusunda konutun değişim değerinin (piyasada gerçekleşen alım-satım üzerinden kazanılan değer) kullanım değerine (kişisel ihtiyaçların karşılanmasıyla elde edilen değer) baskın gelmesi de barınma refahını etkileyen temel sorun olarak karşımıza çıkar. Bu çerçevede eşitsiz gelişim, soylulaştırma, yerinden edilme ve konutun metalaşması kent sakinlerinin refahını etkileyen başlıca sorunlardır.

Konut refahına yönelik sosyal politika tartışmaları herkesin ulaşılabilir ve güvenli bir barınma hakkına olduğu prensibine dayanır. Barınma hakkının sağlanması ve korunmasına yönelik politikalar geliştirilmesi ise devletlerin temel sorumlulukları arasındadır. Ancak özel sektörün konut teminini sürecindeki rolü konutun değişim değerini ön plana çıkarmakta ve sosyal prensiplere dayanan bir konut temini sisteminin oluşturulmasını engellemektedir. Bu çalışma boyunca sosyal politikaların, özellikle de kırılgan gruplar için, kapsayıcı olması gerektiği varsayılmıştır. Bu nedenle politika yapımında sermaye birikimi kaygısının yerini yeniden dağıtımcı yöntemlere bırakması gerektiği vurgulanmıştır. Bu noktada toplum katılımını destekleyen literatürden yararlanılarak refah odaklı bir konut temininin nasıl sağlanabileceği tartışılmıştır.

Türkiye'nin güncel durumuna bakıldığında ekonomik büyümenin inşaat sektörü etrafında şekillendiği görülmektedir. Özellikle AKP hükümetinin iktidara gelmesinin ardından konut sorununa dair yapılan yasal ve kurumsal düzenlemelerin, sosyal prensiplere dayanan bir konut temini sisteminin oluşturulmasından ziyade inşaat sektörünü büyütme odaklandığı tartışılmaktadır. Bu süreçte ortaya çıkan en önemli olgulardan biri kentsel yenilemedir. Van Depremi'nin ardından çıkarılan 6306 sayılı “Afet Riski Altındaki Alanların Dönüştürülmesi Hakkında Kanun” la yasal zemin kazanan kentsel dönüşüm aktiviteleri, politika yapıcılar tarafından bir gereklilik olarak sunulmuş ve ülke çapında uygulanan konut politikalarının temel yöntemi haline gelmiştir.

Özetle, devlet eliyle yürütülen kentsel yenileme çalışmalarının, kent mekanlarının inşaat sektörünün çıkarları doğrultusunda yeniden yapılandırılmasına hizmet ettiği söylenebilir. Bu süreçte geniş yetkilerle donatılan TOKİ'nin gelir paylaşımı yöntemiyle dahil olduğu konut projeleri çeşitli yönlerden eleştirilmektedir. Söz konusu konut projelerinin dar gelirli gruplar için ekonomik açıdan erişilebilir olmaması, çevresel açıdan sürdürülebilirliği bulunmaması ve tepeden inmece yaklaşımlarla katılımcı politika süreçlerini engellemesi bu eleştirilerden bazılarıdır. Bu çalışma kapsamında da 2011 depremi sonrasında Van kentinde uygulanan konut politikaları incelenerek mevcut sorunlar Van özelinde değerlendirilmiştir.

METODOLOJİ

Deprem sonrası yeniden inşa uygulamaları kapsamında yürütülen çalışmalar araştırmanın başlangıç noktasıdır. Bu amaçla öncelikle yeniden inşa sürecinden sorumlu kamu kurum ve kuruluşlarının raporları (TOKİ ve Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı) ile Van Mimarlar Odası'nın 6. ve 7. Dönem raporları incelenerek Van'daki konut sorunun genel durumu ortaya konmuştur. Ardından yazılı dokümanların desteklenmesi için uzman mülakatları gerçekleştirilmiştir. Uzmanlar yeniden inşa sürecinde aktif rol alan kamu görevlileri, meslek odaları temsilcileri ve sivil toplum örgütlerinden seçilmiştir. Son olarak, kentsel dönüşüm çalışmalarının yoğunlaştığı Van şehir merkezi, TOKİ konutlarının inşa edildiği bölgeler ve 2017 yılı

Ağustos ayı itibariyle 15 ailenin ikamet etmeye devam ettiği Anadolu Konteyner Kenti'nde gözlemler yapılmıştır.

İlk aşamada bilgi kaynakları hükümetin konut sorununa nasıl yaklaştığı ve sorunun çözümü için hangi yolları tercih ettiğiyle ilgili bir çerçeve oluşturmak amacıyla kullanılmıştır. Bu noktada kamu yetkililerinin söylemlerine dikkat edilmiş ve bu söylemlerden söz konusu politikaların erişilebilir (uygun fiyatlı) konut sunumuyla konut refahını sağlamayı amaçladığı çıkarımı yapılmıştır. İkinci aşamada merkezi yönetimi temsil eden politika yapıcılarının meslek odaları ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarıyla olan ilişkisi incelenmiştir. Bu sayede söz konusu politikaların yerel katılımı hangi ölçüde sağladığı gözlemlenmeye çalışılmıştır. Son aşamada temel bulguların değerlendirilmesinin ardından tespit edilen sorunların çözümüne yönelik sosyal politika önerileri geliştirilmiştir.

Durum tespitine ek olarak alternatif politika önerilerinin sunulması bu çalışmanın mevcut literatüre sağlayacağı önemli bir katkı olarak düşünülmüştür. Diğer yandan depremi takip eden süreçte merkezi ve yerel yönetim arasındaki yaklaşım farklılıklarına dair ilk elden bilgiye ulaşmanın mümkün olmaması çalışmayı kısıtlayan bir unsur olmuştur.

TEMEL BULGULAR

23 Ekim ve 9 Kasım 2011 tarihlerinde Van'da meydana gelen depremler nedeniyle 17005 yapı yıkılmış ya da ağır hasar görmüş olarak tespit edilmiştir. Depremin ardından muhalefet partilerinin Van'ın afet bölgesi ilan edilmesi önerisine karşılık dönemin başbakanı şehrin TOKİ eliyle yeniden inşa edileceğini duyurmuştur. Bu kapsamda Edremit, Bostaniçi, Kalecik ve Kevenli olmak üzere 4 ayrı bölgede 42 toplu konut projesi planlanmış ve konutlar 10 ay süren inşaat sürecinin ardından teslim edilmeye başlanmıştır. Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı (AFAD) 7296 sayılı "Umumi Hayata Müessir Afetler Dolayısıyla Alınacak Tedbirlerle Yapılacak Yardımlara Dair Kanun" kapsamında hasar tespiti, hak sahipliği ve borçlandırmayla ilgili konulardan sorumlu olmuştur.

Bu çalışma kapsamında karar alım ve uygulama süreçlerinin incelenmesiyle depremin ardından ortaya çıkan konut ihtiyacının karşılanmasına yönelik taahhütlerin nicelik bakımından karşılandığı sonucuna ulaşılmıştır. Ancak söz konusu politikalar kentlilerin refahı açısından değerlendirildiğinde belirli sorunların ortaya çıktığı görülmüştür.

Öncelikle, karar alım süreçlerinde meslek odaları ve sivil toplum kuruluşları gibi yerel paydaşların önerilerinin arka planda kaldığı tespit edilmiştir. Kamu görevlileriyle yapılan mülakatlarda yerel katılımın sağlanması için çaba gösterildiği ifade edilse de meslek odası ve sivil toplum kuruluşu temsilcileri görüşlerinin dikkate alınmadığını belirtmişlerdir. Bir kamu görevlisinden alınan bilgiye göre hasar tespit çalışmalarında meslek odalarından yardım alınmıştır. Meslek odası temsilcileri ise bu süreçte geç kaldığını söylemişlerdir. Bir kamu görevlisi ise teknik çalışmalarında sivil toplum kuruluşlarıyla yakın temas içinde olmadıklarını ve bu anlamda kendilerini geliştirmeleri gerektiğini belirtmiştir. Depremin ardından başlatılan yeniden inşa sürecinde merkezi ve yerel yönetim arasında yaklaşım farkının bulunup bulunmadığı konusunda kamu görevlilerinden alınan bilgiye göre tüm merciler işbirliği içerisinde sorumluluklarını yerine getirebilmiştir. Diğer yandan yerel temsilciler, merkez ve yerel arasındaki siyasi uyumsuzluğun süreci olumsuz yönde etkilediğini bildirmişlerdir.

Toplu konut alanlarının çevresel koşulları değerlendirildiğinde TOKİ bölgelerinin kent merkezine olan uzaklıklarının çeşitli sorunlara yol açtığı ve görülmüştür. Kamu görevlileri afet konutlarının en kısa sürede ve en düşük maliyetle inşa edilme zorunluluğunun TOKİ bölgelerinin yer seçiminde etkili olduğunu belirtmişlerdir. Bu nedenle afet konutlarının kamulaştırmaya gerek duyulmayan ve depreme dayanıklı zeminlerden oluşan hazine arazileri üzerinde inşa edildiği bilgisi verilmiştir. Yerel meslek odaları ve sivil toplum örgütleriyle yapılan görüşmelerde ise ulaşım ve çevresel faktörler nedeniyle TOKİ bölgelerinin uzun vadede kalıcı yaşam alanlarına dönüşmeyeceği vurgulanmıştır. Saha gözlemlerinde de bazı TOKİ sakinlerinin afet konutlarında ikamet etmek yerine evlerini kiraya vermeyi tercih ettiği tespit edilmiştir.

Afet konutlarına dair tartışılan bir diğer konu konutlarının erişimde karşılaşılan ekonomik sorunlardır. Kamu görevlileri tarafından afet konutlarının 20 yıl vadeli borçlandırılmayla teslim edildiği ve bu sayede de alım gücünün gözetildiği belirtilmiştir. Sivil toplum örgütü temsilcileri ise ulaşım ve aylık apartman ödentisi gibi ek maliyetlerin neden olduğu ekonomik sorunlara değinmiştir. Ayrıca, yerel meslek odalarından temsilciler konutların inşaat sürecinde yerel firmaların tercih edilmemesinin kent ekonomisini olumsuz yönde etkilediğini ifade etmişlerdir.

Depremi ardından Van kent merkezinde yoğunlaşan kentsel dönüşüm çalışmaları büyük ölçekli projeler yerine parsel bazında ve talep üzerine dönüşüm yöntemiyle uygulanmıştır. 6306 sayılı kentsel dönüşüm yasasının Van Depremi'ni takiben çıkarılması, depremde evi yıkılan ya da ağır hasar görenlerin bu yasa kapsamında sağlanan konut kredilerinden yararlanamamasına sebep olmuştur. Bu sorun, 2015 yılında yapılan yasal düzenlemeyle deprem mağdurlarının da yasa kapsamına dahil edilmesiyle çözüme kavuşmuştur. Kent merkezinin güncel durumuna bakıldığında yüksek katlı binaların çoğunlukta olduğu görülmüştür. Merkezde yoğunlaşan inşaat çalışmaları, trafik sorunu ve park ve bahçeler gibi kamu alanlarının yetersizliği sivil toplum örgütü temsilcileri tarafından eleştirilmiştir.

Son olarak, konut politikalarının hak sahibi olmayan ve piyasa koşullarında ev sahibi olma imkanı bulamayan grupların barınma sorununu çözmekte yetersiz kaldığı tespit edilmiştir. Depremi ardından geçici barınma ihtiyacını karşılamak amacıyla kurulan konteynerlerde 2017 Ağustos ayı itibariyle barınmaya devam eden ve çoğunlukla kadın ve çocuklar olmak üzere kırılgan gruplardan oluşan depremzedeler için alternatif bir politika geliştirilmediği görülmüştür. Kamu görevlileri bu grupların hiçbir yasal hakkı bulunmadığını ve konteynerleri işgal ettiklerini ifade etmişlerdir. Sivil toplum kuruluşları tarafından bu gruplara konut sağlanmasına yönelik çalışmalar yürütülmesine rağmen kısıtlı imkanlar nedeniyle tüm ailelere yardım edilmesi mümkün olmamıştır. Sivil toplum örgütünden bir temsilci, hak sahiplerinin belirlenme sürecinde de sıkıntılar yaşandığını belirtmiştir. Örneğin hak sahibi olmak için evli olma şartının aranması, hak sahipliğinin ailesiyle yaşayan yalnız kadınları kapsamaması bu süreçte ayrımcılığa neden olan bazı sorunlardandır.

SONUÇ VE ÖNERİLER

Daha önce de belirtildiği gibi bu tezin temel amacı Türkiye’de uygulanan konut politikalarının sosyal politika ve refah kavramları açısından incelenmesidir. Bu amaçla Van şehri araştırma sahası olarak seçilmiş ve 2011 yılında meydana gelen depremlerin ardından şehirde başlatılan yeniden inşa sürecinde uygulanan toplu konut ve kentsel dönüşüm çalışmaları kapsayıcı ve yeniden dağıtımcı sosyal politika yaklaşımları açısından değerlendirilmiştir. Çalışma sonucunda ulaşılan sonuçlar;

- Meslek örgütleri ve sivil toplum kuruluşları gibi yerel paydaşların karar alım süreçlerine etkin bir biçimde katılamaması,
- Konut sunumunda ev sahipliği kavramının ön plana çıkarılması,
- Kent sakinlerinin şehrin çeperlerinde bulunan TOKİ konutlarında taşınmak zorunda bırakılması,
- Uzun süreli borçlanma ve ulaşım ve aidat gibi ek maliyetlerin neden olduğu maddi sorunlar,
- Sosyal, ekonomik ve çevresel açıdan sürdürülebilir politikaların eksikliği,
- Hak sahibi olmayan kırılgan grupların konut temini sürecinden dışlanmasıdır.

Bu çerçevede tespit edilen sorunların çözümü için farklı bir politika yaklaşımı gerekmektedir. Bu doğrultuda ilk öneri toplum katılımı kavramı üzerinden sunulmuştur. Karar alım süreçlerinde toplum katılımının sağlanmasının tepeden inme politikaların ortaya çıkardığı sorunların aşılmasına katkı sağlayacağı düşünülmektedir. Meslek odaları, kent konseyleri ve sivil toplum örgütleri temsilcilerinin yerel halkın ihtiyaç ve taleplerini dile getirebilecek potansiyele sahip olması, toplum katılımının bu paydaşlar üzerinden güçlendirilmesini gerekli kılmaktadır.

Van özeline bakıldığında ilk olarak afetlere karşı önleyici ve ileriye dönük önlemlerin alınmasının önemi görülmektedir. Kentin deprem riski taşıyan bir bölgede yer almasına rağmen 2011 Depremi öncesinde olası bir afete yönelik güçlendirme ve yeniden inşa planına sahip olmaması bir çok sorun barındıran toplu konut alanlarının

barınma ihtiyacının karşılamasında tek çözüm olarak kalmasına neden olmuştur. Bu durum, konut refahını uzun süreli borçlanma ve yerinden edilme gibi olumsuz yönde etkileyen sonuçlar doğurmuştur.

Bu çalışma kapsamında, hem Van özelinde, hem de diğer afet riski taşıyan alanlarda ileriye dönük yeniden inşa politikalarının önceden planlanması önerilmektedir. Bu amaçla düzenlenen 6306 sayılı “Afet Riski Altındaki Alanların Dönüştürülmesi Hakkında Kanun” un yerel koşulların göz ardı edilmesine sebep olduğu ve toplum katılımının sağlanmasında yetersiz kaldığı görülmektedir. Bu noktada kent konseyleri, farklı yerelliklerin talep ve ihtiyaçlarını belirleyebilmenin yanı sıra yerel paydaşlar ile merkezi kurumlar arasında bilgi alışverişine ortam sağlayabilme potansiyelleri açısından da önemlidir. Bu nedenle ileriye dönük planların kamu kurumları, meslek odaları ve sivil toplum kuruluşlarının ortak çalışmalarıyla geliştirilmesine aracılık edebilecek kent konseyleri üzerinden karar alım ve uygulama süreçlerine toplum katılımının sağlanması önerilmektedir.

Diğer yandan, güncel koşullara bakıldığında piyasa odaklı politika yaklaşımlarının özel sektörün sosyal prensipler üzerinde şekillenen bir konut temini sistemine tabi olduğu alternatif yöntemlere baskın geldiği görülmektedir. Bu çalışma ise yukarıda bahsedilen sorunların çözümü için politika yapım süreçlerinin yeniden dağıtımçı yöntemler üzerinde yeniden şekillendirilmesi gerektiğini savunur. Bu sayede, piyasa şartlarında konut sahibi olma imkanı bulamayan gruplar, yüksek gelir grubuna hitap eden konut projelerinden elde edilen karlardan yararlanma olanağı bulabilecektir. Sonuç olarak, nicelik odaklı politikalar yerine toplum odaklı politikaların geliştirilmesine önem verilmeli ve toplum katılımı da bu süreçte asıl yöntemlerden biri olarak değerlendirilmelidir.

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