

DIMENSIONS OF HOUSING SATISFACTION: A CASE STUDY BASED ON PERCEPTIONS OF RURAL MIGRANTS LIVING IN DİKMEN

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INTRODUCTION

Housing satisfaction is a complex concept that attracts researchers from various disciplines such as economics, sociology and planning. The studies in the literature show that housing satisfaction refers to more than physical satisfaction from the dwelling (e.g. Fried and Gleicher, 1961; Duncan, 1971; Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Galster and Hesser, 1981; Lu, 1999; Burby and Rohe, 1990; Kamp et al., 2003; Parkes et al., 2002; Kelekci and Berköz, 2006; and Erdoğan et al., 2007). It includes satisfaction from environmental setting, quality and aesthetic aspects (e.g. Varaday, 1983; Enosh et al., 1984; Cook; 1988; Burby and Rohe, 1990; and Kamp et al., 2003), satisfaction from the economic value of housing (e.g. Varady and Carroza, 2000; and Boyle and Kiel, 2001), community satisfaction (e.g. Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Galster and Hesser, 1981; Parkes et al., 2002; and Erdoğan et al., 2007), and satisfaction from urban services in the housing environment (e.g. Onibokun, 1974; Campbell et al., 1976; Fried, 1982; Türkoğlu, 1997; and Kelekci and Berköz, 2006). Although these dimensions shape the overall housing satisfaction, its definition is a subjective and context-dependent phenomenon (Campbell et al., 1976; Bardo and Hughey, 1984; Wiesenfeld, 1992; Lu 1999). It depends on the current conditions, needs and characteristics of inhabitants. With the help of this understanding, this study intends to reveal the content of housing satisfaction for a specific group.

This paper aims to explore dimensions of housing satisfaction from the perceptions of rural migrants. This exploratory research was designed as a case study in the Dikmen district which is one of the oldest rural migrant settlements in Ankara. Currently, in the district, rural migrants who convey both rural and urban characteristics live in both squatter housing neighborhoods and former squatter housing neighborhoods transformed through improvement plans and urban transformation projects (Kahraman, 2008). This study investigates the perceptions of rural migrants living

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in physically different neighborhoods of the Dikmen district in order to demonstrate the diversities when defining housing satisfaction within the same district. By this way, in defining housing satisfaction, it uncovers the differences and similarities in perceptions of rural migrants living in squatter houses, and apartment buildings built in improvement plans and urban transformation projects.

This paper contributes to the existing literature in two ways. Firstly, it enriches housing literature theoretically. It extends the meaning and dimensions of housing satisfaction by exposing housing satisfaction perceptions of rural migrants. Secondly, the study has the potential to contribute to the literature practically. Uncovering factors affecting the housing satisfaction of inhabitants takes a critical role in increasing the quality of housing layout and environment, and quality of life. Therefore, the results of this study may assist architects, city planners, and housing authorities in designing and constructing more qualified, sensitive and livable housing settings with reference to the needs and expectations of rural migrants.

This paper includes four major parts. The first part reviews the literature on housing satisfaction presenting various indicators and dimensions of housing satisfaction. The second part summarizes the changing features and lifestyles of rural migrants in relation to the history of squatter housing transformation. The third part of this paper discusses the case study applied in a squatter housing neighborhood, and former squatter housing neighborhoods transformed through improvement plans and an urban transformation project located in the Dikmen district in Ankara; including the contextual setting of the study area, the data collection and data analysis processes, and the findings of the analytical procedures. The last part presents the summary and discusses the findings and contributions of the study in relation to the existing literature.

LITERATURE REVIEW ON HOUSING SATISFACTION

Housing satisfaction depends on the current conditions of inhabitants and their housing expectations (Campbell et al., 1976; Wiesenfeld, 1992). Housing need and demand shape expectations (Bardo and Hughey, 1984). When expectations are reduced, housing satisfaction increases. In the literature, many researchers in different fields have examined the personal, physical, economic, social, institutional and managerial dimensions of housing satisfaction.

The personal dimension of housing satisfaction identifies the personal characteristics of households. Lu (1999) explains individuals' satisfaction with dwellings through the combination of housing, neighborhood and household characteristics. Many researchers (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Hunter, 1978; Hourihan, 1984; Satsangi and Kearns, 1992; Mohit et al., 2010; Caldieron, 2011) examine the relationship between duration of time stayed in the housing environment and housing satisfaction. According to Barrasi et al. (1984) and Mohit et al. (2010), the degree of housing satisfaction of different age groups may differ from each other. Additionally, Mohit et al. (2010) use family size and the existence of working wife in the family in their objective measurement model of housing satisfaction. According to them, these predictor variables have negatively correlated with housing satisfaction. Yi (1985) finds out that the lower density housing (area per person) is residentially more satisfied

than those with higher density. Mustapha et al. (1995) and Mohit et al. (2010) explore the positive correlation between satisfaction and sex, and occupation type. Adams (1992) takes the factors of marriage, education and race into account in housing satisfaction studies. However, there is no consensus about the direction of these factors on satisfaction. For instance, low education is sometimes led to greater satisfaction (Lee and Guest, 1983), but in some cases it is associated with greater dissatisfaction (Miller et al, 1980; Yi, 1985; Lu, 1999). The income level of households also defines the housing satisfaction of inhabitants (John and Clark, 1984; Mustapha et al., 1995; Mohit et al., 2010). Individuals with different income levels may display different housing satisfaction on similar housing environments. Marans and Rodgers (1975) use socio-demographic variables in perceptual assessment process of housing satisfaction. They support that these variables involve a smaller portion of housing satisfaction than does the neighborhood features.

The physical dimension of housing satisfaction includes the house type, physical quality, size, functionality, aesthetic aspects and location of housing layout and housing environment. The house type naturally affects physical and social life quality of residents. The house type which provides privacy might be evaluated as a feature that results in satisfaction (Kaitilla, 1993; Ukoha and Beamish, 1997; Baiden et al, 2011). Moreover, the common use of some areas and amenities outside the house might also be seen as a factor of satisfaction in some cases (Konadu, 2001; Sinai, 2001). Ukoha and Beamish (1996) who investigate the effect of different housing types on housing satisfaction in Nigeria not only include modern housing provision types such as apartment, single-family house and single room, but also traditional and cultural ones such as townhouse and bungalow. Onibokun (1974) bring the factor of structural and internal quality to housing satisfaction discussions. Satsangi and Kearns (1992) argue that the low quality of construction results in the need for frequent maintenance, this in turn leads to dissatisfaction with the home. Moreover, dissatisfaction with home maintenance causes some dissatisfaction with home use. Physical or environmental quality is another factor that influences housing satisfaction (Galster and Hesser, 1981; Enosh et al., 1984; Burby and Rohe, 1990; Kamp et al., 2003; Kelekçi and Berköz, 2006). Physical problems (Burby and Rohe, 1990), noise (Soen, 1979; Varaday, 1983; Dahman, 1985), odour (Baiden et al., 2011), safety problems (Miller et al., 1980; Varaday, 1983; Anderson et al., 1983; Dahman, 1985; Cook, 1988; Kelekçi and Berköz, 2006; Salleh, 2008; Caldieron, 2011), security problems (Mustapha et al, 1995; Mohit et al., 2010), heavy traffic, uncontrolled growth (Galster and Hesser, 1981; Varaday, 1983), and number of accidents (Mohit et al., 2010) in the neighborhood all negatively influence housing satisfaction. According to Rohe and Stegman (1994), homeowners adapt the house in terms of their needs to improve the functionality of the house and consequently their housing satisfaction. Soen (1979) and Mustapha et al. (2006) discuss the positive correlation between housing satisfaction with functions inside the house such as sanitary, washing and cooking facilities, and ventilation. The varieties in room types (living room, bedroom, kitchen, dining space etc.), number and size of rooms (Yi, 1985; Kaitilla, 1993; Mustapha et al., 1995; Ukoha and Beamish, 1997; Salleh, 2008; Mohit et al., 2010), location of rooms in the house (Ukoha and Beamish, 1997), toilette type (Zanuzdana et al., 2012), existence of space for children to play (Mustapha et al., 1995; Ukoha and Beamish, 1996; Ukoha and Beamish, 1997) and of the balcony (Mustapha et al., 1995), and brightness and sunshine (Mustapha et al.,

1995) are also used as variables to measure housing quality and housing satisfaction. Onibokun (1974) sums up all these variables related with the internal space, amenities and household services under the adequacy of the housing unit. The aesthetic aspects of the home such as design of the housing unit (Hourihan, 1984), sidings and landscaping also affect the housing well-being (Rohe and Stegman, 1994). Zanuzdana et al. (2012) uncover the strong association between the materials of walls, roof and floor and housing satisfaction. Dökmeci and Berköz (2000), Kelekci and Berköz (2006) and Baiden et al. (2011) add the location of the residence into the discussions of housing satisfaction. They found out that preference on the location of the house varies according to age, income level and family size. Mustapha et al. (1995) assess the location of the house through distance to the work, shops, markets and schools. Mohit et al. (2010) use distance to the town center and bus/lrt stations in their satisfaction study based on low-cost public houses in Kuala Lumpur in Malaysia. Additionally, Baldassare (1982) and Adams (1992) predict the inverse association of housing satisfaction with size of the neighborhood and density of the population.

The major factor defining the economic dimension of housing satisfaction is home ownership (Kaitille, 1993; Varady and Carroza, 2000; Baiden et al., 2011). Boyle and Kiel (2001) discuss that the decrease in house price leads to dissatisfaction in housing. They explained the effect of physical upkeep of neighboring homes on the value of the house. Therefore, housing satisfaction depends on satisfaction with the neighborhood. Mustapha, et al. (1995) add payments to own a house in order to measure housing satisfaction in Yemen.

The social dimension of housing satisfaction includes satisfaction with the community. Many researchers have studied different aspects of community satisfaction. Erdoğan et al. (2007) indicate that social and environmental living conditions positively influence housing satisfaction. They emphasize different drivers of social and environmental living conditions in traditional and modern neighborhoods. This finding uncovered that the perception of housing satisfaction in modern and traditional neighborhoods differ from each other (Galster and Hesser, 1981). Parkes et al. (2002) advocate the relationship between housing satisfaction and feelings toward neighbors. Similarly, Mustapha et al. (1995) and Westaway (2006) use satisfaction with neighbors in their neighborhood satisfaction model. Baiden et al. (2011) consider the peace in the social environment in their housing satisfaction research in Ghana. Zanuzdana et al. (2012) elicit the positive effects of establishing strong social relations through membership in a community or NGO and community leaders on housing satisfaction in urban slums in Bangladesh. Many researchers (Fried and Gleicher, 1961; Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Galster and Hesser, 1981; Kelekci and Berköz, 2006; Salleh, 2008; Mohit et al., 2010) prove that social interaction within the neighborhood not only influences the satisfaction with neighborhood social life but also improves the overall housing satisfaction. Duncan (1971) argues that the degree of integration with society depends on social habits such as customs and traditions in the housing environment. Furthermore, there is double-sided relationship between housing satisfaction and social integration. The findings of Hashim (2003)'s study about low cost housing in Malaysia imply that those who are satisfied with their residence are more likely to be more integrated into the community as compared to those who are not satisfied. In parallel with this argument, Rent and Rent (1978), Adams (1992) and Kelekçi and Berköz (2006) reveal that social

homogeneity increases user satisfaction. The stability of the neighborhood in terms of low turnover of residents and the existence of relatives in the neighborhood improve the satisfaction level (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974). Parkes et al. (2002) supported the contribution of the presence of a good social network in housing satisfaction. Availability of such networks in the neighborhood which provide baby-sitting, social support and sharing food, materials and experience are exposed as fundamentals of housing satisfaction in shantytowns in Puerto Rico (Caldieron, 2011). Hourihan (1984) supports that belonging to a social class and local social attachments shape housing satisfaction of residents. Morris and Winter (1978) propose a normative model in which cultural standards in relation to social dimension of housing satisfaction are set as changeable according to the cultural and ethnic environment of each country rather than universal standards.

Some researchers have evaluated the role of accessibility to urban services and infrastructure, and management of the housing environment on housing satisfaction. This aspect of housing satisfaction is related to an institutional and managerial dimension. Marans and Rogers (1975) and Mustapha et al. (2006) present the positive relationship between accessibility and quality of urban services and housing satisfaction. These services include educational (Campbell et al., 1976; Fried, 1982; Türkoğlu, 1997; Kelekçi and Berköz, 2006), medical (Campbell et al., 1976; Türkoğlu, 1997; Kelekçi and Berköz, 2006), shopping (Campbell et al., 1976; Fried, 1982; Salleh, 2008), recreational (Duncan, 1971; Campbell et al., 1976; Türkoğlu, 1997; Kelekçi and Berköz, 2006; Mustapha et al., 2006; Salleh, 2008; Zanuzdan et al., 2012) and public transportation (Türkoğlu, 1997; Kelekçi and Berköz, 2006) facilities. Additionally, Westaway (2006) explores police services and street lighting as predictors of housing and neighborhood satisfaction. Similarly, parking arrangements, fire protection, telephone service, maintenance and repair services (Mustapha et al., 2006; Salleh, 2008), electricity and water supply, and drainage system (Mustapha et al., 2006; Zanuzdana et al., 2012) in the neighborhood are used as variables in housing satisfaction studies in underdeveloped or developing countries. Mohit et al. (2010) support the contribution of the existence and sufficiency of pedestrian walkways in the housing environment to the satisfaction. Onibokun (1974), Ukoha and Beamish (1997), Salleh (2008), Mohit et al. (2010) and Zanuzdan, et al. (2012) state that garbage collection of city administrations may affect the residential satisfaction of residents. Similarly, cleanliness of the housing environment (Enosh et al., 1984), the air and water quality (Salleh, 2008; Zanuzdana et al., 2012) are stressed as a direct or indirect influence on user satisfaction. Moreover, social facilities and cultural activities have positive impact on physical quality and the housing satisfaction of inhabitants (Amerigo and Aragon'es, 1990; Kelekçi and Berköz, 2006). The studies about managerial dimension of housing satisfaction are limited in number. Onibokun (1974) stresses the relationship between management of the housing environment and housing satisfaction. Westaway (2002) uses activities and performance of local governments as a predictor of housing satisfaction. Their studies display the objective and subjective aspects of managerial dimension of housing satisfaction.

In Turkey, there are very few studies on the housing satisfaction of rural migrants. Dökmeci et al. (1994) discuss housing satisfaction in transformed squatter housing areas and middle-class neighborhoods in Istanbul. Türkoğlu (1997) investigates perceptions of residences in planned and

squatter housing environments in Istanbul. Kelekci and Berköz (2006) assess user satisfaction in housing and environment of mass housing areas in İstanbul. Erdogan et al. (2007) compare urban housing satisfaction in modern and traditional neighborhoods in Edirne. Although these studies compare the realities of housing environment with the needs and expectations of rural migrants, none of these studies attempted to elicit dimensions of housing satisfaction from the perceptions of rural migrants. They examine housing satisfaction in terms of factors reviewed in the literature.

CHANGING FEATURES AND LIFESTYLES OF RURAL MIGRANTS

In the 1950s, a rapid expansion in the urban industrial and service sectors took place in Turkey. This transformation in the economic structure of the country attracted the unskilled, inexperienced and untrained rural people suffering from a decrease in rural type job opportunities. However, since the growing industrialization needed a trained and skilled labor force, rural people who migrated to cities in order to improve their socio-economic status remained on the margins of the urban labor force (Şenyapılı, 2004). The efforts of rural migrants to find a job in the city displayed their intention to integrate into urban life economically.

At the beginning of the rural migration process, migrants constructed their low-standard shanties by using their own labor force on geographically disadvantaged sites of the cities. They tried to maintain their rural style daily life routines in those environments such as growing vegetables in the garden, eating pulse-based meals, and cleaning the house very rarely (Yasa, 1970).

Not long after this, the first Squatter Housing Act, Law number 775, issued in the second half of the 1960s, provided infrastructure and some services to the squatter housing areas that were in relatively good condition. This Act led to the transformation of owner occupied squatter houses into low-density residential neighborhoods and, consequently, to improvements in the physical quality of squatter housing environments (Şenyapılı, 1982). In those years, rural migrants displayed homogenous characteristics such as low level of education and income, big family size and low level of participation in mass communication practices such as reading newspaper and listening to the radio (Yasa, 1970).

In the 1970s, the continuous migration from rural areas to the cities decreased the availability of land for the new migrant groups. These groups rented the squatter housing which was constructed by the first rural migrant groups in order to get rental income. Therefore, the first comers made a profit on their squatter houses and upgraded their economic status (Erman, 2001). On the other hand, the types of jobs available for rural migrants were limited. However, rural migrants were open to the use of urban facilities and services such as educational and medical services when they were available (Eke, 1981). They displayed both rural and urban characteristics such as strong ties with their village (Suzuki, 1966 and 1964), dressing style in-between an urbanite and a villager (Yasa, 1970), and having low-skilled, low-paid or unregistered jobs in the city (Şenyapılı, 1982 and 1978).

The military intervention, liberal economic policies and increase in unemployment rates in the 1980s resulted in an unstable economic structure in Turkey. Additionally, for rural migrants in the city getting

job became more competitive in both the public and private sector. Those negative developments created severe poverty in the squatter housing settlements, especially for new migrant groups who were excluded from the stable and old migrant networks (Erder, 1995; Erman, 2001). In addition to social changes in the urban environment, a new amnesty law for squatter houses, the Redevelopment Law (Law No 2981) legalized the illegally developed housing areas and provided development rights to owners or users of land through improvement plans. Through these developments, the owners of squatter houses have become the owners or shareholders of apartment buildings constructed on squatter housing land (Erman, 2004).

Since the end of the 1980s, squatter housing transformation projects have provided living environments with residential units and urban services for squatter housing inhabitants by transforming the entire squatter housing area. Therefore, the commercialization of squatter houses through improvement plans and the application of urban transformation projects have both improved the physical quality of the living environment of squatter housing inhabitants and mitigated economic conditions for them. However, transformation processes weakened and change the character of social relations. Moreover, the number of the second and third generation migrants has increased over time (Kahraman, 2008).

By the 1980s onwards, the characteristics of rural migrants have varied in terms of age, income, education, physical conditions, ethnicity, regional and sectarian background, social relations and integration levels into the urban way of life (Güneş-Ayata, 1990/1991; Kahraman, 2011). The first group of rural migrants who were early comers to the city has socially and economically integrated to the urban way of life better than the others. The time spent in the city together with economic and physical regeneration has upgraded the adaptation level of early comers to the urban lifestyle. On the other hand, some of the late coming rural migrants are still living in squatter houses, working in low-paid or unregistered jobs, having a low level of integration into the urban way of life, and experiencing social exclusion in the city (Kahraman, 2008).

Today, the rural migrants constitute demographically, economically, socially and physically heterogeneous groups. Physically, they are living in squatter housing neighborhoods and former squatter housing neighborhoods transformed through improvement plans and urban transformation projects. The physical transformation in their living environment in cities has affected their social behaviors (Sencer, 1979; Kahraman, 2011). They have constituted new social systems in the urban environment in which they have sustained their rural habits and attempted to integrate into an urban lifestyle (Erman, 1998; Kahraman, 2011). This process has represented the reproduction of rural lifestyles in the city and reinterpretation of urban lifestyles by rural migrants.

THE CASE STUDY

This study which examined the attributes and dimensions of housing satisfaction attempted to determine them through the perception of rural migrants about housing satisfaction. To reveal them, I designed this exploratory research as a case study in the Dikmen district in Ankara. Furthermore, to extract different housing satisfaction perceptions, I conducted the study in three different housing provision areas including a squatter housing neighborhood, a former squatter housing neighborhood

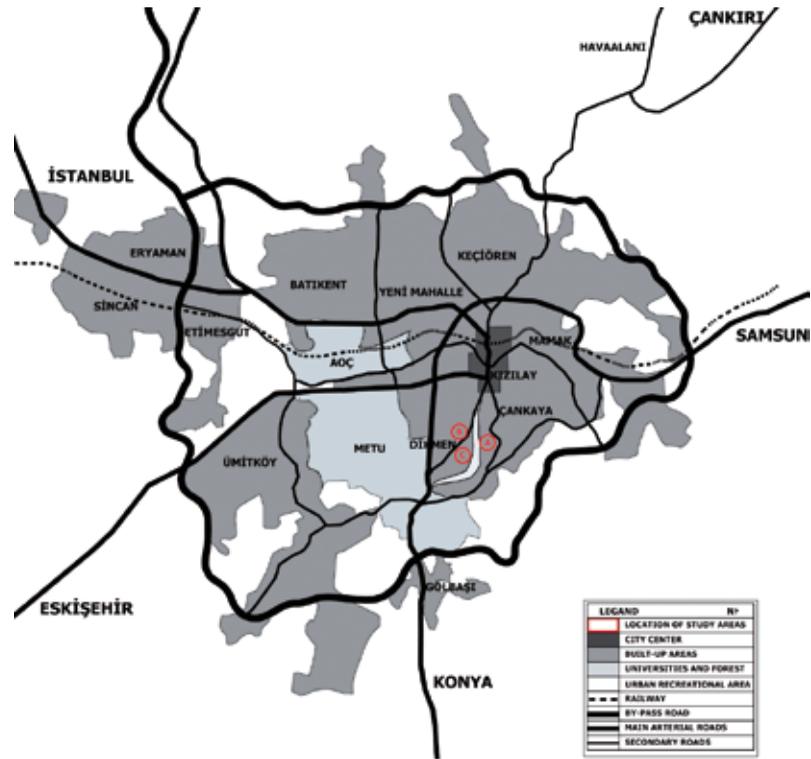


Figure 1. The Location of The Study Areas in Ankara (A: Dikmen Valley Housing and Environmental Development Project area -Efe and Yeşil Vadi Streets, B: Sokullu Neighborhood, C: Mürsel Uluç-Malazgirt Neighborhood) (Source: Adapted from google maps)

transformed through an improvement plan, and a former squatter housing neighborhood transformed through an urban transformation project. These neighborhoods, respectively, are Mürsel Uluç -Malazgirt Neighborhoods, Sokullu Neighborhood, and the Dikmen Valley Urban Transformation Project area in Dikmen (see **Figure 1** for the study areas). The following sections discuss the contextual setting of the study areas, the data collection and analysis processes and findings of the research.

The Contextual Setting of Study Areas

The Dikmen district which is located in southern urban development zone of Ankara is 2.5-3 km far away from the central business district of the city. The district which is still experiencing the urban transformation process includes both squatter housing neighborhoods, and former squatter housing districts transformed through improvement plans and urban transformation projects.

The squatter housing development process in Dikmen started in the 1960s with the migration from Anatolian villages. In parallel with the increase in the population of rural migrants, the number of squatter houses rapidly increased over time. Mürsel Uluç- Malazgirt Neighborhoods as the case for a squatter housing neighborhood in this research are located in the southern part of Dikmen. They still include a number of squatter houses, although they have been in the process of physical transformation through improvement plans since the 1990s. Most of the squatter houses in these neighborhoods have turned into 7-8 storey apartment buildings (Kahraman, 2008). According to the interviews with neighborhood muhktars, the dwelling units in these buildings vary between 100 m² to 150 m². Although they have very low aesthetic and architectural quality, facilities and amenities inside houses have attracted many new inhabitants to the area. New inhabitants who belong to the middle income



Figure 2. Photographs, respectively, from a squatter housing neighborhood (Mürsel Uluç-Malazgirt); a transformed squatter housing neighborhood through improvement plans (Sokullu); and a transformed squatter housing district (Dikmen Valley Urban Transformation Project area) (Photographed by the author in April, 2008).

group of the city of Ankara generally work in the public sector. According to the numbers of 2008, approximately 40-50 squatter houses are left in this area. The inhabitants of squatter houses some of whom are the owners of houses are living in 60-85 m² houses. These houses have low construction and material quality (Kahraman, 2008). Interviews with neighborhood muhtars display that the income level of rural migrants living in squatter houses is higher than rural migrants living in the rest of Dikmen. All these information exhibit the physical, economic and social duality in the area.

After the 1970s, speculative house builders transformed the squatter houses of Dikmen into apartment buildings with the help of improvement and development laws. The Sokullu Neighborhood which represents the transformed squatter housing area through an improvement plan in this research is located in the middle of the district. It completed its urban transformation 10-15 years ago. In this neighborhood, speculative house builders mainly obtained the land of squatter houses by contracting the owner of the squatter houses. They got the necessary permits and the building project, demolished the squatter houses, and constructed four-five storey apartment buildings. Therefore, both the rightholders and the house builder have become shareholders of apartment buildings. Speculative house builders generally circuit their shares to new owners and use their profit to build new apartment buildings (Kahraman, 2008). According to interviews with the neighborhood mukhtar, new property owners in these apartment buildings are also second and third generation rural migrants who do not want to leave their customary physical and social environment. In short, the squatter housing transformation process through improvement plans has created uniform physical housing environment which is deprived of green areas, and identical economic, social and cultural structures in the Sokullu Neighborhood.

At the end of the 1980s, the housing authorities applied a new squatter housing transformation model in Turkey. Dikmen Valley Housing and Environmental Development Project area which is the first application area of the urban transformation project model in the country represents the former squatter housing area transformed through an urban transformation project in this study. This planned area is located in-between Ayrancı (in the east) and the Dikmen district (in the west). The rightholders of this area who are ex-squatter house owners were living in squatter houses of Ayrancı and Dikmen until the end of the 1980s. The project started with the demolition of squatter houses. The squatter housing inhabitants were moved out of the area to temporary residences as tenants whose rents were paid by the municipality. After the demolition, small, prefabricated apartment buildings were built for squatter housing residents (Dündar,

2001; Türker-Devecigil, 2003). Some of these rightholders who were the owners of small squatter houses before transformation had to make payments to be owners of housing units in the project area. Although the project area includes five implementation zones, the case study focuses on the first and second implementation zones in which rural migrants are living in 5 storey and 10 storey prefabricated apartment buildings. Dikmen Valley Housing and Environmental Development Project also provided luxury residential units for the high-income group. In addition to its residential purposes, it aims to transform the valley into a recreation area on a city scale, to create a commercial, cultural and social urban node for the city (Metropol İmar; 1994; Uzun, 2003; Kahraman, 2008). This means the project area has the most qualified urban facilities among three neighborhoods of this study. Interviews with the neighborhood mukhtar show that most of the rightholders have sold their houses to new owners who belong to the middle and high income group. According to 2008 numbers, there are approximately 50 rightholder families regularly living in two implementation zones. These developments have produced joint social, cultural and economic structures in the same physical setting. Compared to the rest of the Dikmen district, rural migrants' neighborhood relations and ties with their relatives have weakened over time. This is one of the outcomes of the integration process to the urban lifestyle and the urban transformation process in the area (Kahraman, 2008).

To summarize, the Dikmen district is one of the oldest rural migrant settlements in Ankara in which rural migrants constitute the major part of the population. This settlement involves physically different housing provision environments including squatter housing units, apartment buildings of the transformed areas through improvement plans, and prefabricated apartment buildings of the urban transformation project area. Subject to the spatial differentiation, different parts of the district contain different social, cultural and economic patterns.

Data Collection Process

The data collection process of this study started with short interviews with neighborhood mukhtars and primary school principals. Through those interviews, the author attempted to obtain background information about the neighborhoods, characteristics of rural migrants to determine the potential sample of the research and their place of residence. Neighborhood mukhtars oriented me to find first interviewees in each neighborhood. Their assistance contributed to this study in means of establishing the initials of the trust relationship between the researcher and the sample. Then, the author contacted with other rural migrants in these areas with the help of first interviewees.

To extract the perceptions of rural migrants about housing satisfaction, I performed in-depth interviews with rural migrants who are living in the Dikmen district. In this process, another researcher (see acknowledgment) helped the author. We started to interview in Mürsel Uluç-Malazgirt Neighborhoods since there is limited number of rural migrants still living in squatter houses. Then, we interviewed with equal number of rural migrants living in the Sokullu Neighborhood and the Dikmen Valley project area. The sample included 25 rural migrants from each neighborhood who volunteered to participate in our study.

Interviews each of which took at least two hours were conducted in the houses of rural migrants. At the beginning of the interviews, we explained

the purpose of this study and its potential contributions to the academic society and future studies about housing environment of rural migrants. Furthermore, we got permission from each of them to report and record interviews. The overall data collection process including 75 interviews took four months from September to December 2008.

The resulting sample had different age, birthplace, gender, family size and income backgrounds. The sample had 84% females and 16% males. It had 45.3% from the 35 and 50 age group, 33.3% from the 20 and 35 age group, and 22.7% from the 50 and 65 age group. It had 69.3% from Central Anatolia, 28% from Eastern Anatolia, and 2.7% from the Black Sea. The family size of 60% of the sample was equal to 4; 36% of it was larger than 4 persons, and the rest was smaller than 4. The income level of 54.5% of the sample was between 1000TL/month and 1500TL/month, 24% of it was less than 1000TL/month, and 21.5% of it was greater than 1500TL/month. Finally, 77.3% of the sample was living in the houses that they owned (see Table 1 for details).

Additionally, 82.7% of the resulting sample sustained their rural habits such as preparing food supplies for winter, and washing and beating carpets and wool beds. This ratio was 100% for the sample in Mürsel Uluç-Malazgirt Neighborhoods, 80% in Sokullu Neighborhood and 64% in the Dikmen Valley project area. The interviewees who leaved these habits explained the reason through spatial constraints in the house and housing environment. The entire sample had 76% rural migrants who sustained rural ties such as having a relationship with relatives in the city, going to their hometown, and spending holidays in hometown. 80% of the sample in Mürsel Uluç-Malazgirt Neighborhoods, 88% of the sample in the Sokullu Neighborhood and 52% of the sample in the Dikmen Valley project area sustained their rural ties. The interviewees who did not carry on these relations connected its reasons with the availability of economic conditions in Mürsel Uluç-Malazgirt Neighborhoods. In the Sokullu Neighborhood, the interviewees whose relatives and townsman also migrated to the city or who did not have any relatives living in the hometown anymore had rare relations with their hometown. In addition to this reason, the sample whose rural ties weakened over time in the Dikmen Valley project area evaluated the melting social relations among relatives and townsman living in the city as a result of the adaptation process to the urban lifestyle and the urban transformation process in the area.

The housing units of the resulting sample displayed different characteristics in terms of size, room for children, additional room for guests and the type of heating system. According to Table 2, 34.3% of the size of housing units was smaller than 90 m², 50.7% of them was 90 m², and 11.1% of them was larger than 90 m². 70.6% of the housing units of the sample included room for children, and 24% of them included additional room for guests. The heating system of 33% of the housing units used a centralized heating system, 33% used natural gas and the rest used a coal stove.

Through in-depth interviews, I aimed to extract perceptions of rural migrants in order to derive attributes and dimensions of housing satisfaction. To do this, the author asked three structured questions about housing satisfaction. These questions are as follows: i) What do you need/expect from a housing unit and a housing environment?; ii) To get satisfaction from the house, what do you need/expect/prefer to have inside the house such as size, color and material?; and iii) Which physical, social,

Properties of the Sample			Sample in			Total
			Dikmen Valley	Sokullu	Mürsel Uluç/ Malazgirt	
GENDER	Female	% within Neighborh.	80%	84%	88%	84%
	Male	% within Neighborh.	20%	16%	12%	16%
AGE	Between 20-35	% within Neighborh.	16%	40%	44%	33.3%
	Between 35-50	% within Neighborh.	40%	48%	48%	45.3%
	Between 50-65	% within Neighborh.	44%	12%	12%	22.7%
BIRTH PLACE	Central Anatolia	% within Neighborh.	80%	84%	44%	69.3%
	Eastern Anatolia	% within Neighborh.	12%	16%	56%	28%
	Black Sea	% within Neighborh.	8%	0	0	2.7%
FAMILY SIZE	< 4	% within Neighborh.	0	8%	4%	4%
	= 4	% within Neighborh.	92%	19%	11%	60%
	> 4	% within Neighborh.	8%	73%	85%	36%
INCOME	≤1000TL/month	% within Neighborh.	4%	4%	56%	24%
	Between 1000TL-1500TL/month	% within Neighborh.	68%	60%	36%	54.5%
	≥1500TL/month	% within Neighborh.	28%	36%	8%	21.5%
HOME OWNERSHIP	Yes	% within Neighborh.	100%	84%	48%	77.3%
	No	% within Neighborh.	0	16%	52%	22.7%

Table 1. Distribution of the sample according to the neighborhood lived, gender, age, birthplace, family size, income differences and home ownership.

cultural and economic factors shape and increase your satisfaction in a housing unit and a housing environment?

In the data collection process, I recorded and reported the answers of these open-ended questions in rural migrants' words and conceptualization. The subjective descriptions of the sample on housing satisfaction gave me the raw data on perceptions of housing satisfaction. The following section discusses the data analysis process and findings of the study.

Data Analysis Process

The data analysis process of this study followed three steps: (i) exploration of perceptual attributes of housing satisfaction; (ii) classification of perceptual attributes as dimensions of housing satisfaction; and (iii) statistics on citation of perceptual attributes of housing satisfaction.

To explore the perceptual attributes of housing satisfaction, the author used content analysis. Content analysis produced perceptual attributes of housing satisfaction from the perceptions and reactions of rural migrants on housing satisfaction. Content analysis which is an appropriate technique to obtain the respondent-generated variables or the concepts that correspond to the source of information discovered the existence and

Properties of the Housing Unit			Sample in			Total
			Dikmen Valley	Sokullu	Mürsel Uluç/ Malazgirt	
SIZE	< 90m ²	% within Neighborh.	0	20%	84%	34.3%
	= 90m ²	% within Neighborh.	100%	36%	16%	50.7%
	> 90m ²	% within Neighborh.	0	44%	0	11.1%
ROOM for CHILDREN	Yes	% within Neighborh.	100%	94%	20%	70.6%
	No	% within Neighborh.	0	6%	80%	29.4%
ADDITIONAL ROOM for GUESTS	Yes	% within Neighborh.	16%	56%	4%	25.3%
	No	% within Neighborh.	84%	44%	96%	74.7%
TYPE OF HEATING SYSTEM	Central	% within Neighborh.	100%	0	0	33.3%
	Natural gas	% within Neighborh.	0	100%	0	33.3%
	Coal stove	% within Neighborh.	0	0	100%	33.3%

Table 2. Distribution of the housing units of the sample according to size, room for children, additional room for guests, and heating system differences.

frequency of concepts of housing satisfaction (Krippendorff, 1980; Weber, 1990; Druckman and Hopmann, 2002). The analysis procedure included three steps. In the first step, the author created tables of information from the text of in-depth interviews to see the relationship among groups of information about perceptions of housing satisfaction. Second, these perceptions were reduced to themes of housing satisfaction. Third, the author developed a label for these themes. This process conceptualized the data as perceptual attributes of housing satisfaction.

In the second part of the data analysis process, to derive the dimensions of housing satisfaction, the author categorized attributes uncovered in content analysis. To do this, these attributes were grouped under meaningful dimensions with reference to the existing literature on housing satisfaction.

Finally, to display the neighborhood differences and similarities in terms of frequency of citation of each perceptual attribute, descriptive statistics were conducted. To prepare the data for this analysis, the association matrix of attributes was used for each neighborhood and the total sample. The author used dummy coding to determine the perception of each attribute for each respondent of the sample in total and in each neighborhood. When the sample cited the attribute, the author coded the score of that attribute as "1", on the contrary, when the sample did not cite that attribute, the code was "0".

Findings

When carried out in terms of the three steps noted in the previous section, the study revealed that perceptions of rural migrants could be broken down into six dimensions of housing satisfaction. These were:

- Architectural features, size and quality of the house;
- functionality of the house;
- interior features of the house;
- location of the house;
- social features of the housing environment; and
- economic features of the house

altogether covering 25 perceptual attributes of housing satisfaction, as listed in **Table 3**. Each attribute under these dimensions contributes housing satisfaction in a positive way. These attributes display needs, preferences and expectations of rural migrants to get satisfaction from the housing unit and/or the housing environment.

First four dimensions of housing satisfaction display the physical characteristics of the house. These characteristics include architectural features, size, quality, functionality, interior features, and the location of the house. Since there are various attributes involved under these characteristics, the author prefers to assess the physical characteristics in four separate dimensions of housing satisfaction.

The first dimension of housing satisfaction, architectural features, size and quality of the house, covering six perceptual attributes expresses needs and preferences of rural migrants about the type of the house, size, heating system, openings, and age of the house to get satisfaction from the house. These attributes are living in a low-rise, at least 100 m² and younger than ten years old house, living in a house with garden (or a large balcony instead), use of natural gas heating system in the house, and existence of small windows in rooms to minimize heat loss.

Table 3. Dimensions and perceptual attributes of housing satisfaction.

Architectural Features, Size and Quality of the House	Functionality of the House	Interior Features of the House	Location of the House	Social Features of the House	Economic Features of the House
Living in a low-rise house Living in an at least 100 m ² house Living in a house younger than ten years old Living in a house with garden (or a large balcony instead) Use of natural gas heating system Existence of small windows in rooms	Existence of room for children Existence of room for guests Existence of storage room Existence of a large kitchen Existence of a balcony for hanging clothes Appropriateness of the house for preparing stored food for winter Appropriateness of the house for washing and beating carpets and wool beds	Use of enduring construction materials Use of smooth material on the floor Use of bright colors in rooms Use of fluorescent lighting in rooms Existence of in-built modular furniture Existence of squat toilet	Proximity of the house to the work place Proximity of the house to urban services	Proximity of the house to the homes of existing neighbors Proximity of the house to the homes of relatives	Affordability of the house Being the owner of the house

“The functionality of the house” as the second dimension of housing satisfaction indicates the spatial and functional needs of rural migrants from the house to maintain their rural habits in a housing unit. Under this dimension, seven perceptual attributes were collected including existence of room for children and guests, a storage room, a large kitchen and a balcony for hanging clothes in the house, and appropriateness of the house for preparing stored food for winter, and for washing and beating carpets wool beds.

The third dimension of housing satisfaction, “interior features of the house”, includes six perceptual attributes about material, color, lighting and furniture inside the house and type of the toilette. These attributes are use of enduring construction materials especially in the kitchen and bathroom, smooth materials on the floor (e.g. wall-to-wall carpet, parquet, laminate), bright colors in rooms (e.g. white, champagne-colored, pale pink, yellow), fluorescent lighting in rooms (to have brighter interior space), and existence of in-built modular furniture (e.g. kitchen and bathroom cupboards, in-built wardrobe) and squat toilet in the house. These attributes both exhibit the understanding of rural migrants on comfort and their needs/preferences for maintaining what they accustomed to have inside the house.

Since rural migrants introduced the location of the house as a physical and social factor for their housing satisfaction, the author preferred to examine these two groups in two separate dimensions of housing satisfaction. The fourth dimension in housing satisfaction is “the location of the housing environment”. This dimension explaining the physical characteristics of location of the home contains the perceptual attributes of proximity of the house to the work place and urban services (i.e. educational, medical and shopping services). “Social features of the housing environment” as the fifth dimension of housing satisfaction including the attributes of proximity of the house to the homes of existing neighbors and relatives emphasizes the importance of the sustainability of social relations in the housing environment.

The last dimension of housing satisfaction uncovered in this study is “economic features of the house”. It reflects the desires about the economic features of the rural migrants and the house itself. This dimension covers the perceptual attributes named as affordability of the house and being the owner of the house. These attributes not only focus on the price or payment conditions of the house but also income level of rural migrants.

According to the citation of perceptual attributes, three housing provision areas accommodate differences and similarities. **Table 4** displays the frequency of citation of each perceptual attribute. In the total sample, the most frequently cited perceptual attributes to describe housing satisfaction were owning a house (64%), use of natural gas heating system in the house (61.3%), existence of large kitchen in the house (60%), living in a house with garden (or a large balcony instead) (57.3%), proximity of the house to the homes of existing neighbors (56%), use of enduring construction materials in the house (54.6%), and affordability of the house (50.7%). Whereas, the least frequently cited attributes were use of fluorescent lighting in rooms (5.3%), existence of a squat toilet (6.7%) and in-built modular furniture (8%) in the house, existence of small windows in rooms (8%), living in a low-rise house (10.7%), and existence of a balcony in the house for hanging clothes (10.7%).

Attributes	Within Neighborhood			Total
	Dikmen Valley	Sokullu	Mürsel Uluç/ Malazgirt	
Being the owner of the house	40%	64%	88%	64%
Use of natural gas heating system in the house	72%	32%	80%	61.3%
Existence of a large kitchen	76%	36%	72%	60%
Living in a house with garden (or a large balcony instead)	76%	60%	36%	57.3%
Proximity of the house to the homes of existing neighbors	32%	68%	76%	56%
Use of enduring construction materials	36%	52%	76%	54.6%
Affordability of the house	56%	40%	56%	50.7%
Existence of room for children	52%	40%	44%	45.3%
Proximity of the house to urban services	40%	44%	44%	42.7%
Proximity of the house to the work place	44%	48%	32%	41.3%
Proximity of the house to the homes of relatives	24%	40%	52%	38.6%
Living in an at least 100 m ² house	52%	36%	28%	38.6%
Existence of room for guests	24%	28%	44%	32%
Appropriateness of the house for preparing stored food for winter	24%	28%	32%	29.3%
Living in a house younger than ten years old	24%	28%	12%	21.3%
Appropriateness of the house for washing and beating carpets and wool beds	16%	28%	16%	20%
Existence of storage room	28%	12%	12%	17.3%
Use of bright colors in rooms	20%	12%	12%	14.6%
Use of smooth material on the floor	16%	8%	12%	12%
Existence of a balcony in the house for hanging clothes	20%	12%	0	10.7%
Living in a low-rise house	20%	12%	0	10.7%
Existence of small windows in rooms	0	20%	4%	8%
Existence of in-built modular furniture	12%	8%	4%	8%
Existence of a squat toilet	12%	8%	0	6.7%
Use of fluorescent lighting in rooms	0	8%	8%	5.3%

Table 4. The frequency of citation of housing satisfaction attributes within samples in each neighborhood and in the total sample.

In the Dikmen Valley project area, the most frequently cited perceptual attributes were existence of a large kitchen in the house (76%), living in a house with garden (or a large balcony instead) in the house (76%), use of natural gas heating system in the house (72%), affordability of the house (56%), existence of room for children (52%) and living in an at least 100 m² house (52%). In this neighborhood, nobody cited use of fluorescent lighting in rooms, and existence of small windows in rooms.

In the Sokullu Neighborhood, the most frequently cited perceptual attributes were proximity of the house to the homes of existing neighbors (68%), being the owner of the house (64%), living in a house with garden (or a large balcony instead) (60%), and use of enduring construction

materials (52%); whereas the least frequently cited attributes were existence of squat toilet in the house (8%), and use of fluorescent lighting in rooms (8%) and smooth materials on the floor (8%).

In the Mürsel Uluç-Malazgirt neighborhoods, the most frequently cited perceptual attributes were being the owner of the house (88%), use of natural gas heating system in the house (80%), proximity of the house to the homes of existing neighbors" (76%), use of enduring construction material (76%), existence of large kitchen in the house (72%), and affordability of the house (56%). In this neighborhood, nobody cited existence of a squat toilet in the house, living in a low-rise house, and existence of a balcony for hanging clothes. Other least frequently cited attributes were existence of in-built modular furniture (4%), and existence of small windows in rooms (4%).

CONCLUSION AND DISCUSSION

This paper addressed to discuss the attributes and dimensions of housing satisfaction with the help of a case study conducted in one of the oldest rural migrant settlements in Ankara. It elicited these attributes from the perceptions of rural migrants about housing satisfaction. To collect these perceptions through in-depth interviews, the author worked in three different housing provision areas including Mürsel Uluç-Malazgirt Neighborhoods (a squatter housing neighborhood), Sokullu Neighborhood (a former squatter housing neighborhood transformed through an improvement plan), and Dikmen Valley Urban Transformation Project area (a former squatter housing neighborhood transformed through an urban transformation project). Content analysis helped the author to reveal perceptual attributes. Then, the procedure of grouping these attributes with reference to the existing literature derived dimensions of housing satisfaction. Finally, descriptive statistics on the frequency of citation of each attribute served for putting the importance of these attributes into order for housing satisfaction of rural migrants. These statistics, additionally, uncovered similarities and differences of housing satisfaction perceptions in different housing provision areas in the Dikmen district.

This study showed that it is possible to examine housing satisfaction components, and similarities and differences in these components in different housing provision areas through perceptions of inhabitants. This exploratory study as one of the limited attempt in number to discover housing satisfaction perceptions in Turkey extracted twenty five perceptual attributes and six dimensions of housing satisfaction. The findings supported that housing satisfaction is a multidimensional phenomenon including physical, social and economic dimensions, in general. Although multidimensionality of housing satisfaction has already been discussed in the literature, some of the dimensions and attributes uncovered in this study enriched the theoretical discussions on housing satisfaction.

The significant contribution of the study was the attributes appearing in the dimension of interior features of the house. Existence of smooth materials on the floor, fluorescent lighting in rooms and in-built modular furniture in the house, use of bright colors in rooms, and existence of a squat toilet included under this dimension are the new attributes for the existing literature. These attributes demonstrated needs of rural migrants inside the house shaped by their ongoing daily habits sustained since the beginning of their urban life in squatter houses, and preferences of rural migrants

exhibiting their tastes inside the house. Their preferences for lighting, color and furniture reflected their need for 'large' and 'bright' interior spaces or showing the interior space as if larger than it really is due to their big family size and boarding guests or the limited space inside their house.

Moreover, other new attributes for the literature covered in the architectural features and functionality of the house dimensions in this study were living in a low-rise house, a house with garden (or a large balcony instead) and younger than ten years old, existence of a storage room, a room for guests, a large kitchen, and small windows in rooms, appropriateness of the house for preparing stored food for winter and for washing and beating carpets and wool beds, and use of a natural gas heating system in the house. In the traditional lifestyle of rural migrants whether realized in towns or squatter houses, they live in houses with garden. This type of housing avails to have strong spatial relations outside the house. The willingness to pursue their customary lifestyle and their reaction to high-rise apartment blocks produced in the squatter housing transformation process generated their preferences to live in a low-rise house and a house with garden. They expected to use the garden for multi-functional purposes such as having their meal, being with their neighbors, preparing their stores for winter, washing and beating carpets and wool beds or just spending some time as they got used to do in their squatter houses. In parallel to this, the habit of preparing and storing food for their future use, especially for winters, which contributes to the budget of the family produced preferences for a large kitchen, a storage room inside the house and appropriateness of the house for preparing stored food for winter. The need for an additional room for guests displayed their continuous social ties with their relatives and fellows in the hometown. On the contrary to the tendency to evaluate many existing physical features of squatter houses positively for housing satisfaction, the preference for the use of natural gas heating system in the house and living in a house younger than ten years old might be seen as a criticism to the challenging life conditions in squatter houses. This perceptual attribute of housing represented rural migrants' expectations for better physical conditions and comfort in the house. Furthermore, a shift in the heating system from coal stove to a heater working with natural gas has the potential to improve hygiene practices of rural migrants such as cleanness of the house and the frequency of having a shower.

Some attributes revealed in this study were reminiscent of the previously examined attributes in the literature. These were affordability of the house, proximity of the house to homes of existing neighbors, appropriateness of the house for preparing stored food for winter, and for washing and beating carpets and wool beds. Revealed as one of the significant factors for housing satisfaction in this study, the attribute of affordability of the house transferred similar meaning with previously used attributes called payments to own a house (Mustapha, et al., 1995) and price of the house (Boyle and Kiel, 2001). Moreover, the proximity of the house to homes of existing neighbors matched with many denotation in the existing literature such as social habits in the housing environment (Duncan, 1971), existence of relatives in the neighborhood (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974), strong social relations in the community (Zanuzdana et al., 2012), social interaction within the neighborhood (Fried and Gleicher, 1961; Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974; Galster and Hesser, 1981; Kelekçi and Berköz, 2006; Salleh, 2008; Mohit et al., 2010), and social networks in the neighborhood (Parkes et al., 2002).

Other perceptual attributes elicited in this study related with construction materials (Onibokun, 1974; Satsangi and Kearns, 1992; Zanuzdana et al., 2012), room for children (Mustapha et al., 1995; Ukoha and Beamish, 1996; Ukoha and Beamish, 1997), balcony (Mustapha et al., 1995), location of the house with reference to the work place (Mustapha et al., 1995), urban services (Duncan, 1971; Marans and Rogers, 1975; Campbell et al., 1976; Fried, 1982; Türkoğlu, 1997; Kelekçi and Berköz, 2006; Mustapha et al., 2006; Salleh, 2008; Zanuzdan et al., 2012) and to the homes of relatives (Kasarda and Janowitz, 1974), and home ownership (Kaitille, 1993; Varady and Carroza, 2000; Baiden et al., 2011) were consistent with attributes used in the existing housing satisfaction literature.

This study found that the frequency of citation of each perceptual attribute varied within the total sample and in the neighborhoods' samples. Attributes concerning home ownership, some functions inside the house, heating system, construction materials and affordability of the house, spatial proximity to the homes of neighbors, and existence of the garden were the most frequently cited ones to explain the content of housing satisfaction in the Dikmen district. These attributes underlined the importance of economic and physical aspects of housing satisfaction. The differences and similarities in lifestyles, daily life routines and physical conditions of rural migrants living in physically different neighborhoods identified the frequency of citation of housing satisfaction attributes.

In Mürsel Uluç-Malazgirt Neighborhoods, representing a squatter housing environment, rural migrants were living in decrepit houses as tenants or owners, suffering from economic problems, physical quality and limited spatial facilities in their squatter houses, and in need of maintaining their customary lifestyle, existing social relations, ties and networks in their housing environment. Their housing environment stood just beside the ones of middle-high income group and produced by urban transformation. They were following physical improvements and comfort somehow served by the transformation of squatter houses by means of news in the media and their spatial proximity to the transformed areas. Therefore, in this area, it was expectable to explore findings associated with homeownership, heating system, construction materials and functions of the house, and spatial proximity to the house of neighbors as the most frequently cited housing satisfaction attributes. On the other hand, it was remarkable that most of the rarely mentioned attributes designated some features of their squatter houses such as living in a low-rise house, existence of small windows and garden, and appropriate of the house to maintain rural habits. Therefore, these features were naturally taken for granted by rural migrants living in squatter houses. Additionally, the interior features and functions of the house such as use of fluorescent lighting, in-built furniture and squat toilet did not stand at the center of their housing satisfaction perceptions since their life conditions and habits resulted in ranking economic and social dimensions of housing satisfaction superior than other dimensions.

In the Sokullu Neighborhood, rural migrants were experiencing both advantages and disadvantages of the urban transformation process. The quality and facilities of their homes were better than those of squatter houses, and the size of their houses was larger than those of squatter houses and apartment blocks in the urban transformation area. Moreover, the builders of their houses who had generally rural origins took spatial needs and habits of rural migrants into account in constructing these

housing units. Therefore, in this neighborhood, interior space needs/ expectations of rural migrants did not forged ahead other physical, social or economic needs. This explained the reason of mentioning housing satisfaction attributes related with interior features and functions of a housing unit such as use of smooth materials on the floor, squat toilette and fluorescent lighting very rarely. On the other hand, these rural migrants were facing with the physical and social limitations of the life in apartment buildings. Life in apartment buildings constituted obstacles in the sustainability of neighborhood relations and rural habits mostly realized in the garden of the house such as preparing food stores for winter, and washing and beating carpets. Consequently, for housing satisfaction, they most frequently mentioned the importance of living in a house with garden and spatial proximity to the homes of neighbors. Furthermore, the general tendency of using poor quality materials in such transformed areas to increase the amount of the profit of the house builder negatively affected satisfaction from the house. This might be the reason of indicating the use of enduring construction materials as one of the significant attributes in this area. Although these rural migrants some of whom were not the owners of the house agreed with the ones living in squatter houses on the dominance of home ownership in housing satisfaction, their spatial experiences differentiated their priorities from rural migrants of squatter houses. In the transformation process of their squatter houses through improvement plans, the process of constructing apartment blocks in the place of each squatter house parcel to increase the profit as much as possible developed a settlement pattern with a minimum amount of recreational areas in the overall area. This shortage of improvement plans matched with the weight of living in a house with garden in housing satisfaction perceptions of rural migrants who got used to use the garden of the house for physical and social reasons as much as the house itself in squatter houses.

In the Dikmen Valley project area, rural migrants were benefiting from home ownership, spatial configuration inside the house and the physical rehabilitation of their housing environment. Compared to rural migrants in the Sokullu Neighborhood, these migrants were living in smaller houses and paying more fees for heating in the central heating system. Moreover, most of them still prepared food supplies for the winter for which they needed a house with a large kitchen or a garden. Thus, they prioritized the attributes of housing satisfaction associated with size, function and heating system such as existence of a large kitchen, use of natural gas system and living in a house with garden. Although they were living in a housing environment which accommodated a recreational area on a city scale, they needed private gardens to maintain their traditional lifestyle. This need generated the superiority of living in a house with garden in their housing satisfaction. Similar to rural migrants living in Sokullu and Mürsel Uluç-Malazgirt neighborhoods, they frequently highlighted the importance of economic dimension of housing satisfaction. However, they evaluated the affordability of the house much important than ownership in housing satisfaction. The possible reason of this difference might be the payments some of them who had small squatter houses obliged to load in the squatter housing transformation process to own the legal housing units in the project area. Another striking finding in this area appeared in the social dimension of housing satisfaction. As a result of their integration process to the modern lifestyle of the city and the life continuing in apartment blocks, the structure of social relations changed over time. Compared to rural migrants living in Mürsel Uluç-Malazgirt and Sokullu neighborhoods, they

had more remote social relations and weak neighborhood ties. Due to these facts, the frequency of citing related attributes were lower than those in other neighborhoods.

To conclude, this study proved that housing satisfaction is a multidimensional concept in which the definition changes subject to the perceptions of inhabitants. The perceptions of people vary with their physical, social, economic and cultural characteristic. Moreover, different social and spatial experiences, needs and expectations shape priorities of rural migrants in housing satisfaction. This study found that the physical environment in which inhabitants are living and the experiences in this environment have significant effects on the perceptions about and priorities in defining housing satisfaction. Correspondingly, housing satisfaction of rural migrants living in different housing provision areas differed from each other. However, their common background and ongoing rural habits produced similar housing satisfaction perceptions. The study not only enriched the discussions in housing satisfaction, but also supported the context-dependent disposition of this concept. Therefore, this study has the potential to inspire the following researches which may deal with housing satisfaction for different profile of inhabitants, and in different places and periods. Furthermore, findings of this study may be utilized by authorities and professionals who put this theoretical knowledge into practice and focus on rural migrant settlements and squatter housing transformation processes. In other terms, architects, city planners, and housing and urban transformation authorities and companies might use housing satisfaction perceptions of rural migrants to create more qualified, sensitive and livable housing settings. They may take perceptions for architectural, functional and interior features of the house into consideration in planning and designing these environments. Additionally, decision-makers in these processes may evaluate social and economic dimensions of housing satisfaction elicited in this study to achieve high level of inhabitants' satisfaction in these areas.

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KONUT MEMNUNİYETİNİN BOYUTLARI: DİKMEN'DE YAŞAYAN KIR KÖKENLİ KİŞİLERİN ALGILARINA DAYALI BİR ALAN ÇALIŞMASI

İçinde yaşanılan konuttan fiziksel olarak memnun olmanın ötesinde bir kavram olan konut memnuniyeti yaşam kalitesini şekillendiren temel bileşenlerden biridir. Bu çalışma, kır kökenli kişilerin konut memnuniyetinin boyutlarını bu kişilerin kendi algılarıyla tanımlamayı amaçlamaktadır. Bu amaçla çalışma Ankara kentinde kır kökenli kişilerin yaşadığı en eski bölgelerden olan Dikmen bölgesinde bir alan çalışması olarak tasarlanmıştır. Dikmen bölgesinde üç farklı konut alanında yürütülen çalışma ile gecekondu ve gecekondu dönüşüm alanlarında (ıslah imar planları ve kentsel dönüşüm modelleri ile dönüşmüş) yaşayan kır kökenlilerin konut memnuniyeti algılarındaki çeşitlilik belirlenmeye çalışılmıştır. Herbir alandan 25, toplamda 75 kişilik bir örneklem ile derinlemesine görüşmeler yöntemi kullanılarak veri toplanmış, içerik analizi ile konut memnuniyetini tanımlayan 25 adet algısal kavram

(unsur) belirlenmiştir. Bu kavramların literatürde yer alan tartışmalar ışığında gruplanmasıyla konut memnuniyetinin boyutları tespit edilmiştir. Memnuniyetin boyutları konutun mimari özellikleri, büyüklüğü ve kalitesi; fonksiyonları; iç mekan özellikleri; konumu; ekonomik özellikleri; ve konut çevresinin sosyal özellikleri başlıkları altında değerlendirilmiştir. Tanımlayıcı istatistikler ile memnuniyeti tanımlamada kullanılan algısal kavramların ifade edilme sıklıkları belirlenerek, hem tüm alanda memnuniyeti tanımlamada ön plana çıkan kavramlar belirlenmiş hem de farklı konut sunum alanlarında memnuniyet algıları açısından benzerlik ve farklılıklar ortaya çıkarılmıştır. Çalışmanın bulguları konut memnuniyetinin konut kullanıcılarının algılarıyla tanımlanabilir olduğunu, bu algıların kullanıcıların fiziksel, sosyal, mekansal, ekonomik ve kültürel deneyimlerine, ihtiyaç ve beklentilerine göre şekillendirilip, önceliklendirildiğini ve memnuniyetin çok boyutlu yapıda olduğunu göstermiştir. Çalışma kır kökenlilerin yaşadığı fiziksel çevrenin algıları üzerinde etkisi olduğu sonucuna ulaşmıştır. Buna paralel olarak, farklı konut alanlarında konut memnuniyeti algıları farklılık göstermektedir. Diğer yandan, bu kişilerin ortak geçmişleri ve devam eden kırsal alışkanlıkları benzer algılar üretmelerini sağlamaktadır.

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