

Gecekondu (Informal settlements) formation and transformation process in Turkey

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Abstract

Similarly, other developing countries, after WW II, Turkey experienced a process of rapid urbanisation and neither job neither opportunities nor housing stock were sufficient to meet new migrants' needs (Balaban, 2012). As a result of insufficient housing production informal settlements (*gecekondu*) emerged in the larger cities of Turkey from the 1950s onwards. The first migrants built their houses on public lands, but over time buying and selling *gecekondu* outside of formal markets and building *gecekondus* without construction permission became a common practice (Yonder, 1987). Over time, the approach of the government and academics to *gecekondu* and *gecekondu* dwellers has changed in line with the prevailing economic social and political background of the period (Erman, 2001).

The thesis has three main aims. Firstly, to examine of the evolution of *gecekondu* formation in Turkey after WWII up today. Secondly, to examine of the changes in local and government response to *gecekondu* (as illegal housing settlements) in the context of Ankara and finally to examine the outcomes for households of government upgrading programmes for *gecekondu*, through a case studies of two areas in Ankara's Sentepe District, one affected by a 1980s IDP (Improvement and Development Plan), and a second subject to a 1990s UTP (Urban Transformation Project). The case study is Sentepe District. The outcomes of two different approaches for households of government upgrading programmes for *gecekondu* will examine through of Sentepe District.

Interview used as a primary data collection method, In this context, 30 structured interview with in different families and with 2 expert in Municipality conducted at the Sentepe District. Interviews are conducted in 6 different part of the Sentepe according to different stages of the upgrading projects by using snowball sampling method.

According to structured interview with former *gecekondu* residents the outcomes of the government upgrading programmes for *gecekondu* owner is the increase of housing standards, but creation of many social problems. Some of the problems are distribution of neighbourhoods' relations, replacement of *gecekondu* owners, increasing rent and other costs due to move another house. Also; there are the implementation problems of the plans based on resident's green area, sport fields, health and education areas are not enough. Also, as a result of IDP the basic infrastructure is provided, but all the land use decisions (green areas, sport fields, commercial areas, health and education areas) are under the construction regulations (Act No: 3194)

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Chapter 1- Introduction

A new urbanization process occurs in developing countries during last decades, in the contrast of first urbanization which is started in America and Europe during 18 century the new wave is much bigger and faster than the first one. In the first time in human history human population surpassed rural history in 2008 (UN-HABITAT, 2003). The massive increasing of the urban population cause pressure on housing, infrastructure, public services and the lack of the capacity of national and local government increase urban poverty. (UN-HABITAT, 2003)

Similarly other developing countries, After WW II developing countries, Turkey experienced a process of rapid urbanisation and neither job neither opportunities nor housing stock were sufficient to meet new migrants' needs (Balaban, 2012). As a result of insufficient housing production informal settlements (*gecekondu*) emerged in the larger cities of Turkey from the 1950s onwards. The first migrants built their houses on public lands, but over time buying and selling *gecekondu* outside of formal markets and building *gecekondus* without construction permission became a common practice (Yonder, 1987). Over time, the approach of the government and academics to *gecekondu* and *gecekondu* dwellers has changed in line with the prevailing economic social and political background of the period (Erman, 2001). However *gecekondu* has always been a focus in Turkish social science and urban science literature (Akbulut, Baslik, 2011).

Gecekondu has been one of the central topics of the Turkish social science and urban science literatures. Starting with the definition, as a term "gecekondu" first appeared in the 1940's and literally means "built overnight". Since being illegal, it was a necessity to finish construction in one night before authority's intervention (Akbulut & Başlık, 2011). Due to a legal loophole, if squatters can finish their building in the same day then the next day a legal proceeding must be begun by authorities to demolish the building. Due to the long characteristic of legal process, squatters are permitted to use the building until demolition. (Neuwirth, 2004 pp. 8) Gecekondu is used in different scientific fields (urbanism, architectural, sociology, anthropology, ethnology, geography or political sciences) with different meanings and that might cause misuse and misconception. (Pérouse, 2004). However in terms of planning context it means: "1 Built on an occupied land; 2. Constructed in a way that does not conform to building codes and regulations; 3. Not conform to hygiene and engineering rules; 4. Constructed hastily" (Akbulut & Başlık, 2011).

The aim of this study; to investigate the dynamics of *gecekondu* (informal settlements) development and changing responds of the of national governments local municipalities from the first appearance of *gecekondu* up to today.

Three main objectives will guide the research

- 1) To examine of the evolution of *gecekondu* formation in Turkey after WWII up today.

This part will provide a brief overview about the economic, social and politic reasons of formation of informal settlements in Turkey. What was the economic development policy that implemented during different period of time? How the number of informal settlements changed over the time? What was the condition of the informal settlements for different period of time? What was the dynamics of informal housing sector?

- 2) To examine of the changes in local and government response to *gecekondu* (as illegal housing settlements) in the context of Ankara

This chapter will examine the respond of local and national government to informal housing in Ankara. How planning authorities respond to informal settlements? What were the approaches for providing housing to low income groups? Why 1980 was a breaking point for informal settlements and the reasons of massive slum cleaning and redevelopments projects will examine. After explain the basic approaches two main strategies will discuss deeply. The differences between two approach and the results of the approaches will demonstrate.

- 3) To examine the outcomes for households of government upgrading programmes for *gecekondu*, through a case studies of two areas in Ankara's Sentepe District, one affected by a 1980s IDP (Improvement and Development Plan), and a second subject to a 1990s UTP (Urban Transformation Project).

Primary research of the dissertation will be contained during this chapter. The case study is Sentepe District. The outcomes of two different approaches for households of government upgrading programmes for *gecekondu* will examine through of Sentepe District.

This dissertation consists of 5 chapters; following chapter provide a literature review about *gecekondu* formation process in Turkey. Squatter settlements problem has economic, social and

political reason related literature about Turkey will focus about economic development polices, housing policies and how they are evolved from the II WW to current. The chapter after literature review will focus about methodological approach and research methods. The research methods which are used during the research and the reasons of using those methods will explain. In the fourth chapter the responds of the national and local governments to formation of squatter settlements examine will examine according to historical process. Furthermore, planning approaches of these different periods will examine. Due to vast nature of topic, policies will examine in Ankara context. And during the last chapter different implementation of UTP and IDP plans and the result of the plans understand the result of the projects from resident's perspective.

Chapter 2- Literature Review

Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to provide a literature review of the relevant literature in order to explain the context of the squatter settlement formation in Turkey. After explain contemporary trends in developing countries about migration and slum formation, the issue will discuss in the Turkish context. Squatter settlements problem has economic, social and political reason related literature about Turkey will focus about economic development polices, housing policies and how they are evolved from the II WW to current. The formation process is demonstrated from historical perspective from 1923 (establishment of new national state) to 1950, from 1950 to 1980 (Import substitution industrialization) and from 1980 to up to day. The reason of periodical allocations is basic economic development strategies implemented during the period.

Contemporary Urbanisation

The year of 2008 was a turning point for the world: for the first time in the human history that the urban population surpassed the rural population. (UN-HABITAT, 2003) 3.6 billion people were living in cities in 2007 and urban population is expected to reach 5 billion until by 2030. (UNPF, 2007) Most of the increase is expected to occur in developing countries. In contrast to the first wave of the modern transition, which started in Europe and North America in the 18th century, the contemporary wave of economic, demographic and urban transitions is much bigger and faster than the first. Contemporary developing countries have experienced a process of rapid urbanisation within a few decades and affecting billions of people. Therefore cities of developing countries are facing massive problems (urban poverty, informal settlements, and inadequate infrastructure) which are much larger than those occurred during the 19th century industrial revolution. (UNPF 2007), Due to inadequate capacity of government and formal sector development agencies, many countries facing rapid urbanisation are unable to provide shelter, employment or urban services to newcomers ant the informal sector provides these necessary services to migrants. (UN-HABITAT, 2003)

A contemporary estimation about slum population of world is approximately 1 billion, 32% of urban world population. % 20 of that slum population lives in informal houses which is the most visible type of slums. Rural-urban migration is not the only reason of slum formation, but also unplanned unprepared migration and increasing inequality due to neo liberal policies are other pillars of slum formation problem (UN-HABITAT, 2003). While globalization reduces national governments' power in terms of social policies in global context, changing perspective of instructional frameworks has waked

support mechanism of urban poor at the national level. At the local level, lack of the capacity of local government or institutions, leave the urban poor to informal sectors as only way of surviving in urban areas (UN-HABITAT, 2003). Informal live of migrants, prevent urban poor from using urban services (waste collection, public transportation), access to formal jobs, basic services (education, health) and access to finance. (UN-HABITAT, 2003)

There are many words to use to describe of slums in many languages. The contemporary definition of slum dweller of UN-HABITAT is; households who live in urban area and lack of one or more the following

1. Durability of housing against nature and climate condition
2. Adequate Living space
3. Access to water
4. Access to adequate sanitation
5. Security of tenure (UN, 2007)

On the other hand, the definition of squatter settlement is a residential area that has developed without land title and/or construction permission. The main characteristic of squatter settlements non-legal status and due to the non-legal status, usually they do not have adequate basic infrastructure and urban services. (Srinivas, 1994) The plot used for squatter settlements might be government, private or unfavourable land parcel like railways and usually squatter residences are low income groups. (Srinivas, 1994)

Squatter Settlements in Turkey

Gecekondu has been one of the central topics of the Turkish social science and urban science literatures. Starting with the definition, as a term “gecekondu” first appeared in the 1940’s and literally means “built overnight”. Since being illegal, it was a necessity to finish construction in one night before authority’s intervention (Akbulut & Başlık, 2011). Due to a legal loophole, if squatters can finish their building in the same day then the next day a legal proceeding must be begun by authorities to demolish the building. Due to the long characteristic of legal process, squatters are permitted to use the building until demolishment. (Neuwirth, 2004 pp. 8) Gecekondu is used in different scientific fields (urbanism, architectural, sociology, anthropology, ethnology, geography or political sciences) with different meanings and that might cause misuse and misconception. (Pérouse, 2004). However in

terms of planning context it means: “1 Built on an occupied land; 2. Constructed in a way that does not conform to building codes and regulations; 3. Not conform to hygiene and engineering rules; 4. Constructed hastily” (Akbulut & Başlık, 2011). With another definition; illegal settlements built by low income families on public or private land without any land title and does not conform development and construction rules due to inadequate land and housing supply by governments. (Keleş, 2006)

Years	Urbanization rate (%)	Numbers of squats
1923	17	-
1955	22	50,000
1960	25	240,000
1965	30	430,000
1970	33	600,000
1980	45	1,150,000
1990	51	1,750,000
1995	55	2,000,000
2002	62	2,200,000
2011	71.5	4,000,000

Table 2.1 The Lorcher Plan with the limits of the town in 1924 Source Çaliskan, 2004.

Like other developing countries, Turkey has experienced rapid urbanisation and problems of it especially after World War II. Changing development policies (international and internal) and practicing (politic, economic, and social) factors are decisive factors for urbanisation. (Keleş, 2006) While Turkey has % 22 urbanization rate and 50 000 squatter settlements in 1955, in 2002 Turkey had 4.000.000 squatter settlements with % 71, 5 urbanization rate in table: 2.

To understand Turkey’s informal housing formation, historical process will be explained with three headings. These are 1923-1950 establishment of new national state, 1950-1980 (Import substitution industrialization) multi-party system and post 1980 (neo-liberal, Export-oriented industrialization) economic liberalization. (Çoban, 2012)

1923-1950 Establishment of New National State

During the nation-state building period, main objective was developing a national economy by recovering heavily indebted and dependent economy inherited from the Ottoman Empire. Due to lack of capital and the Great Depression, a state driven industrialization program, etatism doctrine, had been implemented. New railroad constructions, nationalisation of existing companies, industrialisation, and creation of new national bourgeoisie and building new factories by the government were its implementation. (Korfalı at all, 2010, TMMOB, 2007) Due to the limited capacity of the state and bad economic conditions of before and during WW II, economy stayed to be based on agriculture and the majority of population continued to live in rural areas.(see table 1) During the nation-state building stage, housing production was not a priority for the national government and municipalities. State could not allocate its limited capital for housing and municipalities did not have ability to produce housing. Few housing projects implemented in Ankara (Yenimahalle and Bahceli Evler) was for civil servants. (Çalışkan,2004). The rent control system which started in 1940 due to bad economic conditions of WW II was abolished in 1963. To summarize, during this period, state intervention to housing was limited based on few housing projects and inadequate urban land supply. (Özdemir, D. 2011)

1950-1980 Multi-Party System

After WW II, Turkey has experienced an essential economic and a politic structural change to become a member of Development World and Export-oriented industrialization development strategies approach started to be implemented with USA's Marshall Aid programs (Batuhan, 2012). The increasing mechanizations of agricultural production lead to surplus labour in agriculture. Also real increase of labours' and civil servants' salaries started to pull the surplus labour force to urban areas. Furthermore "poverty prevailing in most Turkish villages as a result of overpopulation, lack of arable land, low crop yields, and high taxation" are other reasons to let people migrated to cities (Karpas, 1976). "Neither job opportunities or the housing stock in major cities were sufficient to accommodate such migration" (Yonder, 1987).

However, similar to other developing countries, urbanization appeared rapidly than industrialization.(Rogers & Williamson, 1982, pp.463-482) According to general census, the distribution of labour force by industrial sector occupation was 9.6 in 1960, 11.0 in 1975 and 12.5 in 1980. However, the distribution of labour force by service sector was 15.4 in 1960, 25.1 in 1975 and

29.5 in 1980. (Baharoglu, 1996). Therefore, increasing urban population was employed by service or informal sector but limitedly by industry sector. Due to low range of income, the only possibility for urban poor to solve housing problem was informal settlements (Baharoglu, 1996).

After 1960's, housing started to be seen as a public utility and self-help strategies started to be implemented by housing loans and technical supports. (Çoban, 2012) Few amnesty laws came into effect during this period. However, limited supply of urban land and increasing demand for housing led to commercialization of gecekondu areas with these laws. (Keleş, 2006,) Some real estate speculators established monopolies on treasure lands and migrants had to pay them to build houses. Moreover, gecekondu dwellers started to build more gecekondus and rent or sell them. (Şenyapılı, 1998). On the other hand, these amnesty laws were not only a consequence of international policies; legalising gecekondus land was also politically beneficial for governments; firstly, migrants had massive vote potential and with amnesty laws governments could take these votes easily. In addition, gecekondus have provided housing for low income groups without any costs for employers and governments. Finally, with increasing populations in the cities gecekondu dweller became an important consumer for the system. (Şenyapılı, 1998) As it can be seen from table 2 most of the gecekondus were built between 1960-1980 periods.

YEARS	<i>Istanbul</i>	<i>Ankara</i>	<i>Izmir</i>
1915–49	1.1	1.5	0.7
1950–59	7.1	4.5	5.8
1960–69	21.7	16.9	19.6
1970–79	47.3	58.7	45.7
1980–87	22.8	18.4	28.2
	100	100	100

Table 2.2 number of gecekondu construction in major cities of Turkey (Source : Keleş, 1993 pp.384 cited in Özdemir, N. 1990).

Industrialization's effort in concert with international organizations and policies increased urbanisation rate rapidly between 1950 and 1980, and with the concentration of migrants group in few cities, (Ankara, Istanbul, Izmir, and Adana) due to job opportunities, created an increasing demand for land and housing. , (Şenyapılı, 1998) The increasing demand, and inadequate housing supply leads to a dramatic increase of housing prices. Moreover, using their resources for long term housing

mortgagees was prohibited to the banks by state's regulations to encourage industry due to economic development policies (Baharoglu, 1996). The only bank in terms of housing finance was the Real Estate Bank, a government institution, established in order to support civil servants for housing, and some other government organizations; Security Agency for Armed Forces and the Workers' Social Insurance Agency were able to provide housing loans for their members, but low income groups could not take advantages of housing loans (Özdemir, D. 2011). Also abolishment of rent control system leads to increase on housing rents. With the combination of all factors, dramatic increase experienced in authorised housing production in Turkey. However, supply of authorised housing production was not enough to meet housing need especially low income groups. (Baharoglu, 1996)

While informal housing production was provided by urban poor, formal housing was provided by yap-satci (one-man-firms); due to small partial land ownership and high prizes of construction materials large companies were not entered housing production (Çoban, 2012). Yap satci (one-man-firms) dominated formal housing production until 1980's and they made agreements with landlords to minimize starting capital to construction. According to the agreements, land lord take between %30-%50 of finished building. The constructor provides necessary capital to continue by selling the finishes floors and can finish the construction without using bank credits. As a result of Yap-sat type and squatter settlements type, housing production urban areas densely built and empty plots stay middle of the buildings (Baharoglu, 1996).

1980-2013 (Export-Oriented Industrialization)

In the Post 1980 (liberalization- Export-oriented industrialization) period, dramatic changes have been experienced in terms of political economic and urbanization. Similarly, international development implementation on the other developing countries, a transition aiming being a neo-liberal economy and integrating with the global markets started (Korfalı at all, 2010, TMMOB, 2007). Turkey experienced high inflation, privatization and fluctuation of exchange rates. Economy could not continue to grow and two major economic crises 1994 and 2001 observed. Turkey had to sign different protocols for economic support programs with IMF (Korfalı at all, 2010). Increasing interest rates for both deposit and investment credits to increase capital accumulation for investment and export business, keeping the wages at the low level and devaluating Turkish Lira were economic precepts of IMF's 'Stabilisation and Liberalisation' policy package for Turkey (Özdemir, N. 1999). Hence, a shift of national income from wages to profit and interest has been created and wages decreased 14 % of GNP in 1988 when compare to 27 % in 1980. Daily wages decreased 45 % in real terms in public sector and

20 % in private sector. (Baharoglu, 1996). Increasing inflation and interest rates lead to decreasing on housing investments, also increasing prices of construction materials and lack of urban land lead to a dramatic decrease on formal housing sector. Even for middle income groups could not effort formal housing (Coban, 2012). To respond housing crises, the government established housing loan (Act no: 2487) 100 billion TL (1 billion Dollars). 8 % of the found was planned to give consumers with long-term (15-20 years) repayment, however minimum income level required for participation for credits was high and excluded low income groups. (Özdemir, D. 2011) State continued to play a regulator role rather than direct investor and private sector dominant housing production continued. (Keles, 2006) Also long and expensive bureaucratic procedures lead to informal housing; for developing a vacant land in peripheral area for residential use takes seven years and approximately 250 signatures (Özdemir, D. 2011).

As a matter of fact, the aim of the government was to support construction sectors rather than provide housing for low income, because construction has been seen a key sector to follow economic growth and to create job opportunities. (Coban, 2012) However, due to economic recession, government could not allocate adequate money for housing funds from central budget and establish another funds with based on tax. (Act no: 2985, Mass Housing Production Act). This fund could be used not only for individuals but also companies and cooperatives. Indeed, government intervention leads to a significant increase private housing investment, the ratio of housing investments to total investment was 29.4 in 1977, 28.4 in 1988, 50.9 in 1990 and 37.4 in 1992. (Baharoglu, 1996) Increasing of housing credits lead to cooperative housing production. While the ratio of cooperative type of production to general housing production was 13 during 1970's, it increased 30 during 1980's; however decreasing of housing credits and changing strategy of Housing Development Administration of Turkey from regulator to direct investor in late 1990's decreased cooperative type of housing production. (Keles, 2006) Moreover, also cooperative type production was for middle income groups rather than low income groups (Özdemir, D. 2011).

Although same neo-liberal and expert oriented model were implemented, Turkey has experienced another transformation in political, economic and social life. The reasons of transformation; 1) the intensification of the Europeanization process, 2) the severe economic crisis in 2001, and 3) the majority rule of a single party government (Korfalı at all, 2010). The 2001 economic crises dramatically affect economy. While state-economy relation has been re-structuring according to IMF's recommendations, in political avenue, most of the members of existing parties left outside of the parliament; also with an annual growth of 5 % of GDP Turkey economy became one of the dynamic economies in Europe (Korfalı at all, 2010).

With increasing economic power state became an important actor in housing production TOKI (Housing Development Administration of Turkey) should have been a non-profit organisation aiming housing production for low income and middle income groups establish in 1984 with mass housing act (Uzun, B., Çete, M., and Palancioğlu, H. M. (2010). With the new legislations in 2003 administration can establishment companies, execute projects with the purpose of creating new founds use public land without charge (Guzey, 2009). Other institutions related to housing and urban land production were abrogated and their duties and assess were transferred to TOKI (64.5 million square metres of public lands). Due to this legislation, TOKI has planning, expropriation and redevelopment of squatter areas, slum clearance, and historical preservation authority (Batuman, 2012). Furthermore, it became major housing producer. 445.00 houses have been built by TOKI between 2003 and 2010, while the numbers of houses were 43.000 between 1984 and 2003. It can be seen that while first phase (1980-2002) housing production under neo-liberal policies was dominated by cooperative type of housing production, second phase dominated by TOKI (Coban, 2012).

Between 2001-2007 years the average annual growth of GDP of construction sector in Turkey was 11.6, while annual GDP growth was nearly half of it; differently from 1980's the increase is not only from domestic forces. The values of foreign direct investment was 1.08 billion dollar in 2002, however it increased 22 billion in 2007(Balaban, 2012). With legal arrestment to support construction (new mortgage system) the amount of mortgages increased from TL 97.8 million in 2001 to TL 15.6 billion in 2006. Moreover during this period 78 laws, 10 by-laws (totally 198 legal arrangements) enacted and most of them were deregulation to ease urban planning framework (Balaban, 2012).

TOKI projects have been criticized severely; firstly, with TOKI projects, governments support housing middle and upper income classes rather than low income groups (Batuman, 2012). Moreover all decision making, planning and construction process occurs without public participation and with the aiming of profit maximization (Özdemir, D. 2011). Urban transformation process became the main toll to shape urban areas and projects lead to conflicts with local plans development descriptions. Environmental consequences of TOKI projects ignored. Another critic to TOKI houses are, in some cases, low standards of construction materials, same type housing implementation for every region of Turkey, which are not met with local needs.(Kazaz and Birgonul, 2005).Finally, having all institutional benefits (land, tax cut) creates unfair competition business environments for other companies (Balaban, 2012)

Conclusion

After providing a brief of contemporary urbanisation trends of developing countries, this chapter will provide a brief outline of squatter settlement formation in Turkish political, economic development and housing policy concept that can be summarised as during 1923-1950 period Turkey was basically rural and there were not squatter settlements. (Keles, 2006., Akbulut & Başlık, 2011) However, with the fast industrialization period which started in the end of the 1940's, a massive and unpredictable migration started to cities. (Şenyapılı, 1998) Due to limited source of the governments, they failed to provide adequate housing and job opportunities for migrants, therefore migrants had to solve their housing problems and squatter housing was the only possibility for the urban poor (Keles, 2006). Furthermore, to support economic development during the period, the government did not evolve the housing production urban poor. During the period, the main actor of housing production was scale firms which based on a housing production with low capital. After 1980, construction sectors have been the trigger of the economic growth and new policies based on housing loans allocation and very limited government housing production targeting civil servants (Baharoglu, 1996). With changing the paradigm of the national government in 2003 and increasing power and budget of TOKİ (Housing administration of Turkey) became main housing producer in Turkey, however an institution which establishes with low income housing production is mainly criticise for housing production for medium and upper class. (Balaban, 2012)

Chapter 3 Methodology

Introduction

The aim of the chapter is providing an explanation the methodological approaches and research methods which are used for the study, the chapter also will explain how the data collected and how analysed to examine research questions.

Research Question and Topics

After WW II developing countries, also Turkey experienced a process of rapid urbanisation and neither job opportunities nor housing stock were sufficient to meet new migrants' needs (Balaban, 2012). As a result of insufficient housing production informal settlements (*gecekonudu*) emerged in the larger cities of Turkey from the 1950s onwards. The first migrants built their houses on public lands, but over time buying and selling *gecekondu* outside of formal markets and building *gecekondu*s without construction permission became a common practice (Yonder, 1987). Over time, the approach of the government and academics to *gecekondu* and *gecekondu* dwellers has changed in line with the prevailing economic social and political background of the period (Erman, 2001). However *gecekondu* has always been a focus in Turkish social science and urban science literature (Akbulut, Baslik, 2011). The aim of this study; to investigate the dynamics of *gecekondu* development and changing responds of the of national governments local municipalities from the first appearance of *gecekondu* up to today.

Three main objectives will guide the research

- 1) To examine of the evolution of *gecekondu* formation in Turkey after WWII up today.

This part will provide a brief overview about the economic, social and politic reasons of formation of informal settlements in Turkey. What was the economic development policy that implemented during different period of time? How the number of informal settlements changed over the time? What was the condition of the informal settlements for different period of time? What was the dynamics of informal housing sector?

- 2) To examine of the changes in local and government response to *gecekondu* (as illegal housing settlements) in the context of Ankara

This chapter will examine the respond of local and national government to informal housing in Ankara. How planning authorities respond to informal settlements? What were the approaches for providing housing to low income groups? Why 1980 was a breaking point for informal settlements and the reasons of massive slum cleaning and redevelopments projects will examine. After explain the basic approaches two main strategies will discuss deeply. The differences between two approach and the results of the approaches will demonstrate.

- 3) To examine the outcomes for households of government upgrading programmes for *gecekondu*, through a case studies of two areas in Ankara's Sentepe District, one affected by a 1980s IDP (Improvement and Development Plan), and a second subject to a 1990s UTP (Urban Transformation Project).

Primary research of the dissertation will be contained during this chapter. The case study is Sentepe District. The outcomes of two different approaches for households of government upgrading programmes for *gecekondu* will examine through of Sentepe District.

Epistemology of method

“An epistemological issue concerns the question of what is (or should be regarded as acceptable knowledge in a discipline. A particularly central issue in this context is the question of whether the social world can and should be studied according to the same principles, procedures and ethos as the natural science”(Bryman, 2012,pp :27).While there are different epistemological considerations such as social constructionism; this research approach positivism. Positivism described as “epistemological position that advocates the application of the methods of the natural science to the study of social reality and beyond” (Bryman, 2012, pp.: 28). “The principles of positivism; only phenomena and hence confirmed by the sense, the purpose of theory is generate hypothesis that be tested and that will thereby allow explanations of laws to be assessed, knowledge is arrived at through the gathering of facts that provide the basis for laws, science must (and presumably can) be conducted in way that is values free (Bryman, 2012, pp.: 28). “

An objectivist ontological approach will be used for the research. Objectivism is explained as “ontological position that implies us as external facts that are beyond our reach or influence.”

(Bryman, 2012, pp.: 32). Objectivist approach explain organization as a system which has “rules” and “regulation”. Social orders, which are created by the regulation and rules lead pressure on individuals to conform the norms. (May, 2011, p; 9) Objective approach described as value free and explains the world as a system which effected individuals. In term of the research, objective approach allows the researcher to determine and explain existing planning implementation related to *gecekondu* and how these affected residents. (Bryman, 2012, pp.: 26). Inductive approach will be used as in the research. Inductive theory explained as” theory is the outcome of the research”, therefore the theory was claimed as a result of the academic review and fields works analyses.

Although time, bugged and world limitation do not allow to make wider research with more interviewers and data, the underlying hypothesis of the research is that, since construction is seen as a trigger for economic growth, the implicit aim of the all the transformation projects was to support the construction sector rather than the betterment of conditions for *gecekondu* dwellers through improvements in housing, infrastructure or environment.

Research Design and Research methods

In first chapter the evolution informal settlements formation process will examine in Turkey context, because the problem of *gecekondu* have variety of social, economic and political reasons and it cannot be explain by one of them. Therefore the formation process will explain by the help of economic policies, housing policies and political concept in Turkey. Later the respond of local and national government will examine in Ankara context because Ankara was seen always a symbol of new republic and after being capital the first problems (first informal housing, first speculative income from land) and the first interventions always experienced in Ankara, in this concept Ankara has an important role in the Turkish urbanization process (Keles& Duru,2008). Finally, Sentepe District was chosen as a case study because both of the different approaches to upgrading - IDP (Improvements and Development Plans) and UTP (Urban Transformation Projects) - have been implemented within the same area. In this chapter the outcomes and implementation process of the two different approaches and the ideas and experiences of the *gecekondu* residents are examined.

Structured interview is “one of the two main ways of administering a survey research instrument, and the aim of structured interview to obtain answers for the same question in same

order. Questions are usually very specific and very of the offer the same interviewee a fixed range of answers.” (Bryman, 2012 pp.:210)

Interview used as a primary data collection method, since the aim of the research is understand the outcomes of the projects for individuals and their experienced during planning and implementation process; therefore qualitative research method have been used. In this context, 30 structured interview with in different families conducted at the Sentepe District.(Appendix 1).Interviews are consists of 5 sections; general information about residence, information about the upgrading process experience, the outcomes of upgrading program for housing, neighbourhood, social and economic outcomes of the upgrading programs. For the first part general information focus on number people live in the house and their economic, education vocation backgrounds. In second part of the interviews, their experience about upgrading projects is the focus concept, how does the upgrading project implemented, where they stay during the process, what is their expenditure during the upgrading. Third stage of the interview focus on housing outcomes; the problems of the former informal housing units, the quality and facilities of former and existing housing units will compare. Forth stage focuses social outcomes of upgrading projects and they are asked to evaluate existing situation in terms of green area, sport fields, commercial area, of their neighbourhoods for different age groups. Furthermore the effects of upgrading projects to their neighbourhood relation examine. For final chapter the, interviewers to ask compare the existing condition of their neighbourhoods whit former condition to understand the effect of the upgrading project.

The case study area was due to implementation of two different upgrading projects; therefore to understand the effect of the projects in Sentepe residents, interviews are conducted in 6 different part of the Sentepe according to different stages of the upgrading projects by using snowball sampling method. Snowball sampling method explained as “the researcher makes initial contact with a small group of people who are relevant to the research topic and uses these to establish contacts with others” (Bryman, 2012, pp.: 202). The reason of using snowball sampling method is able to contact wide variety of sample, because Sentepe is a conservative area and it was not too easy to me make interviews with female resident. Furthermore snowball sampling methods gave the opportunity to find old informal housing owners without losing time, otherwise it will be difficult distinguish the old gecekondur residence and other residence. Bryman (2012,pp.:209) claims the problems of snowballing method is not representative for all population; however in our cases since the sample should has certain features (having an informal housing and being a participant of an upgrading project) snowball sampling is more useful.

Semi structured interviews were made with 2 expert and professional in Municipality. The reason of chosen the experts is they are a team of planner who were responsible of preparation of UTP (urban transformation plan) and they still work in the municipality and have experienced all the improvement process of the plan. Making interviews has several give the opportunity of investigate the issue deeply and give the opportunity to analyse personal experience of responders; according to Bryman (2012) interview is probably most used method in qualitative research.

In terms of interviews with experts interviewees were selected due to their experience on the project, being an active participation of planning process. In this way the perspective of professionals to informal settlements issue and the problems of implementation process will examine. On the other hand 30 residences were interviewed by using structured interview methods.

Interviewer A is an expert, urban planner, in municipality and one of the members of planning team which has worked during the (UTP) period. Interview B is another municipality expert has experienced about the implementation process of UTP. The other interviewees are Sentepe residents and have live in Sentepe between 15-35 years and all of them houses are in the transformation project area different families totally 30 person.

The observation consists of walking and looking around the gecekondu neighbourhood and construction area, where the upgrading project already was implemented. Furthermore, photographs were taken in appropriate place and time. The problems about area were documented by photographs. In social science, when observation researchers examines the process of change by listening and experiencing. (May, 2011)

Case study is defined as “an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context; when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident; and which multiple sources of evidence is use. Also he states “case studies are preferred strategy when how or why question are being posed, when the investigator has little control over events, and when the focus is on a contemporary phenomenon within some real-life context. (Yin, 1994, p. 13) Also it is claimed studies are useful in making research about city and regional planning research, such as examine a plan our neighbourhoods. (Yin, 1994, p. 13) Therefore, case study is used as a research method and the two different types of the plans examine in a case study in Sentepe. Since two different plan strategies have been implemented in Sentepe using case study method provides the researcher saving time and money in the field. Also in terms of evolution of gecekondu settlements Ankara has been chosen because wide nature of the topic it was the possibility analyse

the formation process of gecekondu. Another reason of the analysing gecekondu evolution in Ankara is the phenomena cannot explain without a social, politic, economic and planning perspective.

During research process variety of secondary data has been used by researcher. The most important secondary data was collected from the Yenimahalle Municipality, which include Urban Transformation Project (UTP) plan report and the analyses which were made by the municipality during the planning process. The analyses consist of infrastructure analyses, compared land use decision, plan policies, and implementation of different approach. Also plan report of Ankara Great municipality is another important secondary data, Ankara plans is examined from a historical perspective related to gecekondu development.

Difficulties and Limitation

The primary difficulty for the researcher was time and the wide nature of the topics. Since gecekondu phenomenon has a long history and a wide economic social and political reasons and the context of gecekondu has evolved with related to general social, economic and politic structure of the Turkey, it is really difficult to summarise the wide concept of gecekondu whit in the limited time and words. Furthermore, access to old documents of the IDP (Improvement and development Plan), there is very limited research and government reports exist on the IDP upgrading projects. Since the plans start to implement in 1984, there was not adequate accessible document, report and person about IDP. Another difficulty about the site was accessibility of the gecekondu residents; since most of the gecekondu are demolished and replaced it was difficult to find former gecekondu owners. Also due to cultural reasons making interview with women was difficult.

Another important difficulty is since similar respond of all family members, while snowballing method was useful for contact different members of families but since there are in the same environment and heard the question before they did not want to answer all question and affected to each other during interviews. Therefore answers became similar to each other.

Overcoming the Challenges

To overcome the wide nature of topic the two different project were examine in an area which both of them implemented, in addition to provide a summery both of the approach, by choosing Sentepe researcher also overcome the limited information about IDP. To overcome the challenges and

provide a sample which demonstrate all member of community a snowball sample method was used, initially researcher make contact that he knows before and then the other residents reached through him. In this way researcher able make interview with all adult members of the family and provide collecting a data which represent all members of community.

Chapter 4

Introduction

The aim of the chapter is examine the responds of the national and local government in Turkey to gecekondu formation process. The responds of government will examine according to historical process. Furthermore, planning approaches of these different periods will examine. Due to vast nature of topic, policies will examine in Ankara context. After the explanation of the development of Ankara policies which targeting the gecekondu areas will examine in three period. The first period that will examine in the chapter is the period of first slum formation 1950-1960 .After than the second period 1970's which is the period of fast increasing of gecekondu numbers and the last period is after 1980, which is the big scale urban upgrading projects started.



Figure 4.1. Ankara City in Turkey Map Source: Ankara Greater Municipality 2007

The Policies Targeting Gecekondus

The Period of between 1923-1950

Due to its centre position, trains rail connection and inhabitants support to independent war Ankara became capital of new republic in 1923. After Ankara became the capital, had been seen a symbol of new republic and construction of it as a modern capital has been accepted a success of new republic. (Kacar, 2010) Majority of urban policies has been first implemented in Ankara than the rest

of the country therefore, Ankara is the place where the problems of Turkish cities first appear and first implemented. (First modern plan, first cooperative housing, first public housing, first gecekondu, first gecekondu amnesty act) (Keleş & Duru,2008).

The aim of new regime was create a new modern and westernised nation and country.(Akdeniz, 1997) First urban plan of Ankara was produced by German architect Carl Christoph Lorcher in 1924 because there was urgent need of infrastructure and physical structure for new government building. (Kacar, 2010)The proposal of Locher related to historical city centre was rejected but new city was implemented and the area around historical centre is still problematic present (Keleş & Duru,2008). Locher's proposal was development of old city towards to the train station and constructing a new city (Yenisehir) south of the railway. There would be green areas between old and new city (Ankara Greater Municipality 2007). The Locher Plan determined the main development zone and Main Street of Ankara, while the new city was consisting of government buildings, residences for state employees and old city had still the role of being market place for local people. (Kacar, 2010)

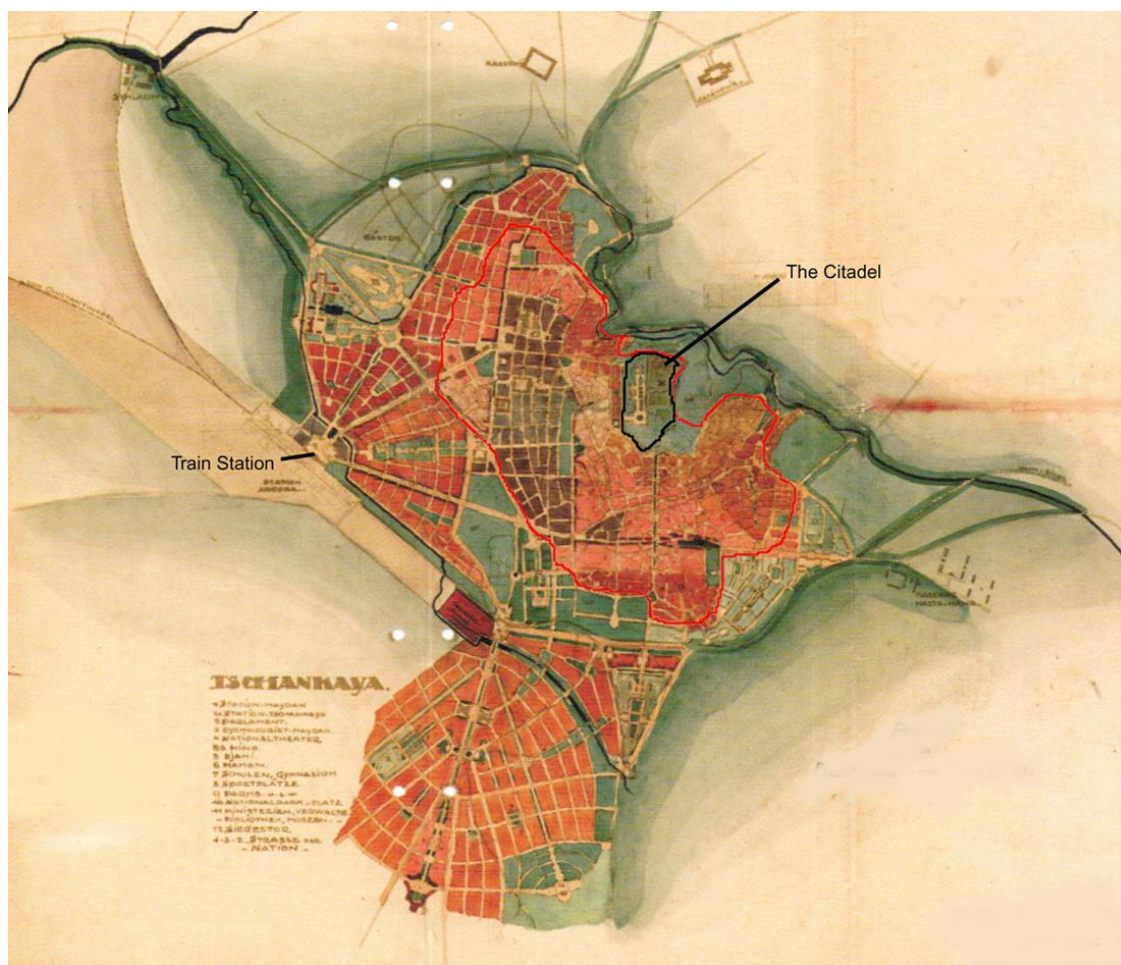


Figure 4.2 Locher's Plan for Ankara 1924 Source: Ankara Great Municipality, 2007

Actually, the Locher's Plan was a development schema for urgent needs, main target create an urban area from a rural cadastral system and a more comprehensive planning approach was needed due to rapid increase of the population during at the end of the 1920's (Keles, Duru 2008). An international competition was organized to plan for the requirements 300.000 population for next 50 years, constructing a new city rather than using existing one. **Prof Hermann Jansen** won the competition in 1927. (Ankara Greater Municipality, 2007) Jansen confirmed the Locher's to proposal for a new city and connecting the old and new with a wide boulevard, used green corridors between land uses and low density housing development to achieve public health. (Kacar, 2010)

Although in the beginning southern part of plan was implemented successfully, following unplanned expansion of city was appeared out of plan borders due to land speculation (Akdeniz, 1997). Areas North west area of castle were planned as residential area for low income groups (mainly construction workers) and the south of train station was planned as industrial area, but they did not implemented due to speculative pressure for housing development. Other innovations (eg: implementing an education area inside of housing west border of the plan, changing from circular to West-East linear by the development in the western and eastern part) were appeared due to dramatic increasing of population (Akdeniz, 1997). While the population target was 300.000 for the year of 1978, it reached 300,000 by the beginning of 1950s. (Table 4.1) Land prices in the planned areas were high even for government bureaucrats; therefore they preferred to build at the city edge. (Ankara Greater Municipality, 2007)

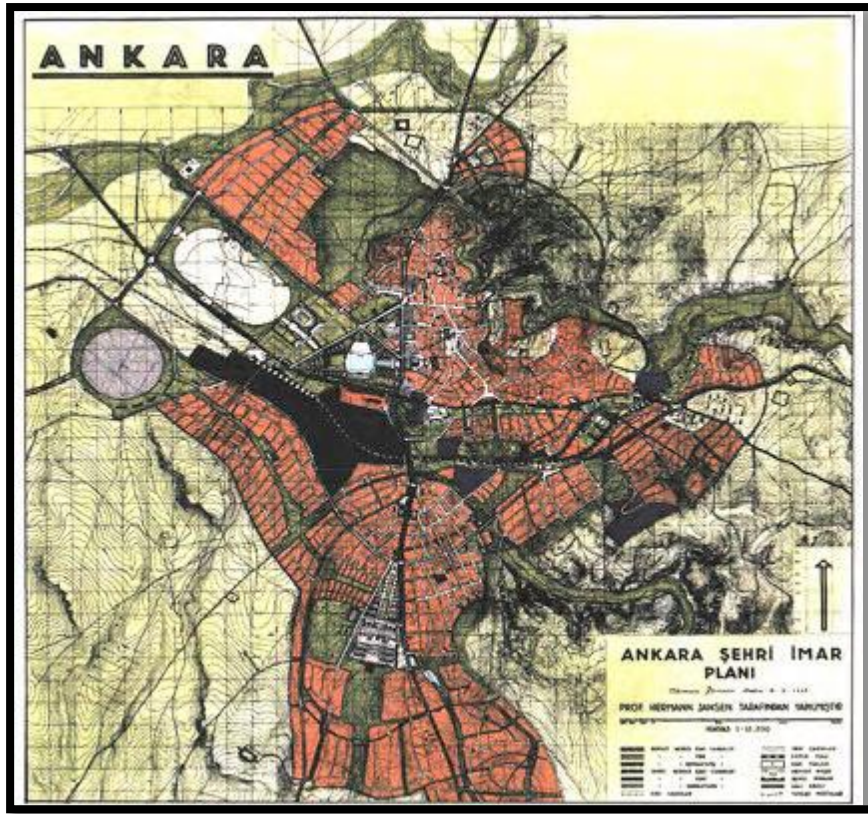


Figure 4.3.Jansen Plan for Ankara in 1927 Source: Çalışkan, 2004

YEARS	POPULATION	YEARS	POPULATION	YEARS	POPULATION
1880	27,825	1960	650,067	2007	4,466,756
1900	32,051	1965	905,660	2008	4,548,939
1927	74,553	1970	1,467,404	2009	4,650,802
1935	122,720	1975	1,997,980	2010	4,771,716
1940	157,242	1980	2,561,767	2011	4,890,893
1945	226,712	1985	2,879,157	2012	4,965,542
1950	289,197	1990	3,326,626		
1955	451,241	2000	4,007,860		

Table 4.1 Ankara Populations from 1880-2012 Source: Batuhan, 2012.



Figure 4.4 Existing typical houses, prepared by Jansen Plan Source: Çalışkan, 2004

The Jansen Plan proposed was with low density a city with, low rise family houses and green area to achieve public health. However the population and speculative rent pressure on the urban land led to faster and unplanned development. Therefore urban plans had to follow behind the physical development, leaving a legacy of many problems for Turkish cities (Ankara Greater Municipality 2007)

The Period of between 1950-1980

The changing global political structure after WW II also affected Turkey. The increasing power of the Soviet Union was perceived as a threat to the country and led to more integration with developed countries. The obligations of Marshall Aids for agricultural modernisation and highway construction created a labour surplus in rural areas (Balaban, 2012). Agricultural modernisation combined with high birth rates, inadequate agriculture lands, and inefficient agriculture products, inadequate social-physical infrastructure of rural areas mass amount of rural dwellers started to migrant to urban areas and Ankara was one of the favoured destinations of migrants. (Keleş, 2008) Fail of existing agriculture model had changed with import substituting industrialization model. Being the capital Ankara experienced the development earlier than the other cities and increasing construction raised demand for labours and the first gecekondu was seen in Ankara in 1933. (Keleş, 2008)

As the city's population had city exceeded the projections in the Jansen Plan by the 1950s, a new plan was produced for Ankara in 1957 by Nihat Yucel ve Rasit Uybadin , whit target population was 750.000 on an area of 12,000 he area. The Uybadin Plan proposed a peripheral highway on the western and north-eastern parts of the city with an oil-drop growth pattern, mono-centric city centre, and without gecekondu for 1985. (Ankara Greater Municipality 2007)The inner city structure was organic with low storey single family houses, and plan boundaries were strictly limited within the municipality borders (Kacar, 2010).

However proposed population for 1985 was reached in 1965, and limiting the planed area to municipality borders raised land values, so residences started to pressurise local governments to revise the plan (increasing buildings height etc), and gecekondu appeared in unplanned areas.

(Ankara Greater Municipality 2007) In 1961 just only four years after the Uybadin Plan was approved a new District Height Regulation was proposed. With the Apartments Act in 1965 single family houses started to rebuild as more storey apartments due to the limited urban land supply. Middle income families could not afford a single family house (Çaliskan, 2004). The increase of building heights also led to the loss of green areas, inadequate infrastructure, air pollution (Ankara suffers from air pollution during 1970's and 1980's until using natural gas in heating) and poor quality of urban life (Keleş, 2006). While density of areas proposed as 200-350 it increased 600-650 in these transformed areas. (Çaliskan, 2004)



Figure 4.5 Urban districts, transformed/developed by Yucel Uybadin Plan and District Height Regulation Plans, between 1957-75 (Source: Caliskan, 2004)



Figure 4.6 Gecekondur Areas in Ankara Source: Caliskan

While middle income groups tried to solve housing problem within planning areas by increasing building heights, low income groups had already settled down around the historic city centre and on hills of the northern and southern parts of Ankara (Senyapli,1986). By using sun dried bricks, timber and stones and tin from factories waste material or elsewhere, gecekondu dwellers built houses with the help of their neighbours (Senyapli,1986). The hard economic conditions and lack of any support created a social support mechanism between gecekondu owners, with strong kinship and social groups based on migrants' town of origin and they distribute geographically according to their hometown. Houses are situated in the reference of topography (Senyapli, 1986)

Houses are generally built in small groups, where migrants and their relatives build houses close to each other, with remaining spaces used as garden. The areas between houses uses as unpaved paths. (figure: 4.8) Therefore the paths are shaped according to houses location and generally between 7-10 metres wide. The paths in *gecekondus* are important places of socializing, and serving as a playground, park or sport area for children, while women sit and talk with neighbours on the paths. In terms of shopping, facilities were basic (Senyapli, 1986). *Gecekondur* neighbourhoods usually had one or two general storea. The stores were frequently located at the junction of the main path within the *gecekondur* with a city road. When the number of *gecekondur* dwellings increased, new stores opens inner areas (Senyapli,1986). During 1950s and 1960s the links between migrant households and their areas of origin was strong, with families attending weddings and going to village during summer (especially women and children); sending food from the rural to urban households

was only security of family (Senyapli,1986). From 1950-1960 onwards, *gecekondu* dwellers were seen as cheap labour with voting potential, therefore, although, general policy was to demolish existing *gecekondu* and ban new construction, a few amnesty laws were reacted to give legal status to *gecekondus* (Keleş, 2008). Primary reason of these amnesty laws were political advantages rather than increasing life quality of *gecekondu* dwellers (Keleş, 2008). The first amnesty law (Act no 5218), which is only for Ankara was enacted in 1948. Although the 1963 (Act no: 327) and 1966 (Act no: 775) amnesty laws aimed to prevent new *gecekondus*, *gecekondu* construction continued. What was important about act 5218 was that with the act municipalities allowed with land provision to low income groups. And few projects implemented in Ankara (including Yenimahalle), but the land and loans were used by middle income government workers (Keleş, 2008)

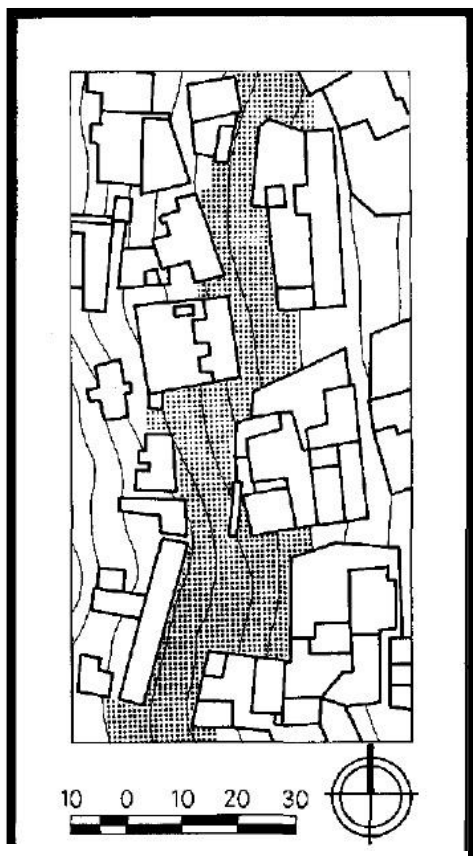


Figure 4.7 A Street in Gecekondu District Source Senyapili, 1996

By the end of 1960's and during 1970's real increase of wages in economy and self-help upgrading improved the quality of life for *gecekondu* dwellers. According to Senyapili (1981), by the end of the 1960s 60% of Ankara's population (low income and middle income groups) were living in *gecekondu*. The infrastructure system was inadequate and air pollution became a real problem for all residents. A new plan was commissioned to control unplanned expansion of city. (Çaliskan, 2004)



Figure 4.8 Gecekondu Areas in Ankara in 1966 in Ankara

In 1970 in Ankara 1,467,404 people was living in a city planned for 750,000 people and physical and social infrastructure capacity was exceeded 10 years earlier (Ankara Greater Municipality, 2007). By the beginning of the 1970s, increased density in the city centre, use of low quality coal for heating, and increasing car numbers made air pollution a serious problem for Ankara (Ankara Greater Municipality, 2007). Thus, the Ankara Metropolitan Area Master Bureau was founded in 1970 to prepare a new plan, as a department of the Ministry of Development and Housing with more authority than Ankara municipality (Tucalan, 2008)

1980-Today

The Metropolitan Bureau Plan was a comprehensive and structural development plan, unlike the previous plans of Ankara which were implementation plans (Keleş, 2008). As an outcome of deep analysis between 1970 –1975 years, a plan for a target date of 1990 with a population projection ranging from 2.8 million (low migration rate) to 3.6 million (high migration rate) was produced. For the first time, the population projection was accurate and the population of Ankara in 1990 was 3.3 million (Ankara Greater Municipality, 2007)

Since Ankara is surrounded by hills in the northern, southern and eastern parts, all developed for informal settlements, the most convenient direction for urban growth was the western corridor (Çaliskan, 2004). The 1990 Plan's proposal was to change the existing northern-southern development corridor and canalise the eastern corridor, and for the first time to integrate the land use and transportation plan (Ankara Greater Municipality, 2007). Another important decision of plan was decentralisation of industrial areas to the western corridor. As consequences of the 1990 Plan several new areas were developed: Sincan, Batikent for middle and low-income housing, Cayyolu for middle and upper middle income housing, and Ostim and Sincan as industrial areas (Çaliskan, 2004). Both housing and industrial areas were successfully connected to the city centre by subway and rail systems



Figure 4.9 Housing #areas, developed by the initiatives of Ankara 1990 Plan. Çaliskan, 2004

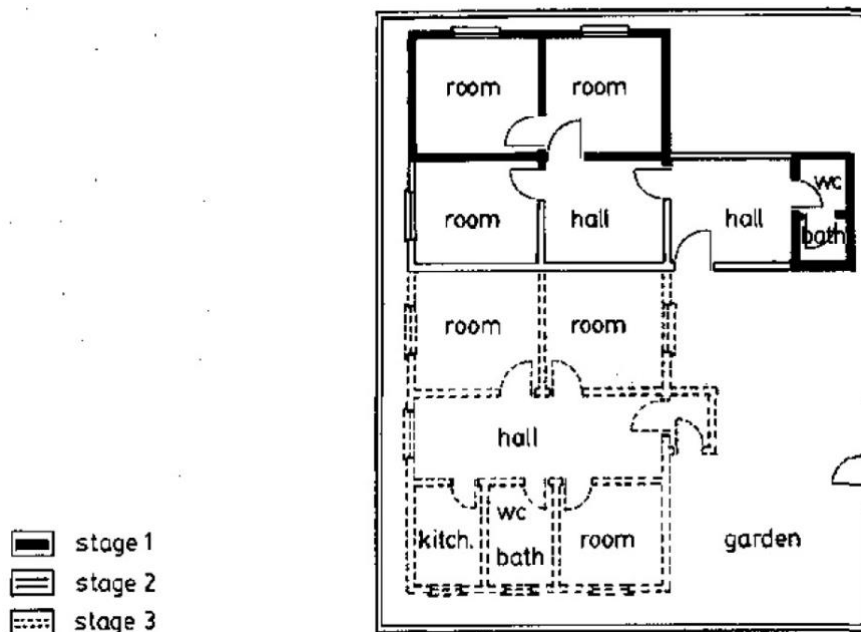


Figure 4.10 Development of a Gecekodu, to Senyapili (1981)

Although the 1990 Plan had a strategic approach to the development of new housing and industrial areas, there were no decisions about the surrounding *gecekodu* areas, which were merely shown as "informal housing areas" on the plan (Çalışkan, 2004). Although during 1950s and 1960s *gecekodu* dwellers provided cheap industrial labour, during the 1960s and 1970s increasing real wages *gecekodu* residents make investment in housing, with both renewal and expansion of the *gecekodus* and the development of former vegetable gardens (Figure 4.11). Through self-help initiatives, *gecekodu* neighbourhoods acquired basic infrastructure and other public services (transportation, garbage collection...) from the 1970s Senyapili (1981). Increasing population and incomes, led to growth in family size, which increased the potential for economic activities in *gecekodu* and many new stores were opened (Senyapili 1981).

Figure show how a typical *gecekodu* dwelling was transformed from 1956 to 1977. The *gecekodu* made by A. O. and his wife on government land in Ankara Senyapili 1981. While in the beginning they had just one room and small hall totalling 22.75 m², by 1977 they had built 114.05 m² usable areas. If a *gecekodu* family had enough income to build a new and better *gecekodu*, they rent the existing one and move to their new house. Also if they have enough income from renting, moving to formal apartments was another option. (Senyapili 1981)

The increasing rental markets in *gecekodu* neighbourhoods, created opportunities for speculations, as some groups acquired monopoly control over the *gecekodu* building process,

including land, construction materials, and the construction process (Senyapili 1981). New *gecekondu* developers could only develop on the plot allowed by speculators, who supplied the material and labour, or otherwise they would inform authorities about illegal construction and let them demolish it. If there were a problem during *gecekondu* construction under their control they “solved the problems.” (Keleş, 2008)

As mentioned before, during 1970’s increasing land values, urban land scarcity and massive migration waves to Ankara lead to increasing density of development in planned areas, overloading infrastructure and leading to air pollution (Keleş, 2008). Upper income groups moved out of polluted central areas, while middle income groups also tended to move out along the main road axes. The increase land values made *gecekondu* land more valuable than the houses, especially, the areas with good public transportation connections to the city centre Çalışkan, 2004. *Gecekondu* owners of the 1950s now own half of the urban land in Ankara (Senyapili 1981). Developers started buying *gecekondu* land on the city periphery and building apartments. During the 1970s densification of *gecekondu* areas was evident. *Gecekondu* areas thus experienced two different types of expansion; first during the 1950s-1960s a process of urban sprawl took place due to increasing income level and tenure secure (amnesty laws), and after 1970 most illegal building led to vertical expansion during to increasing land values and housing shortages(Keleş, 2008, Senyapili 1981)

In the beginning of 1980’s Turkey experienced a major social economic and political structure change. After a military coup in 1980 and new constitution in 1982 a new election has been made in 1983. New government economic strategy was replaced import subsidise industrialisation model with export oriented market based policies (Batuman,2012). In terms of administrative system decentralization in local has been important for urban policies. In 1984 with “Metropolitan Act” revenues were expanded and planning power was granted to Great municipality. With increasing power and resources Great municipality became major actor in Ankara in terms of guiding urban growth and manage urban economy (Keleş, 2008. Three typical feature of municipalities during this period; firstly, privatization of public services. Secondly, let to usage of municipal funds by private companies and finally use grand amount of national and international loans. (In 2010 municipality budget was 2.27 billion TL, while it was owed to 14, 6 billion TL to treasure.) (Batuman, 2012)

While gecekondu areas became a subject of illegal commodification (illegal buying and selling activates) before 1980, after economic conjunctural change commodification became legal; legalisation, clearance and building high rise apartments. **Use values** of gecekondu were changed by **exchange values** due to open market economic strategies. (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007:65) Under this circumstances IDP was brought to agenda. The aim of IDP “mass” and “fast” was transformation of gecekondu areas to housing and commercial areas up to 4 floors. The IDP was implemented in 6 municipalities and 188 neighbourhoods in two phases. First phrase was implemented from 1984 to 1990 and second was form 1990 to 1996. (Buyukgocmen-Sat, 2007)In terms of relation with the existing 1990 plan, while 1990 plan main proposal was decentralization of housing and industrial areas through east-west corridor, IDP raised population and density of inner areas in contrary to 1990 development plan. So the neighbourhoods created by IDP are basically the legalization of vertical expansion process of gecekondu, which started in the 1970’s. (Keleş, 2008)

Although plan has comprehensive and structural approach and accomplished decisions during implementetion municipality could not manage to transportation invesment (Çaliskan, 2004). Furthermore a highway surrounded Ankara was constructed in contradictory to plan. Most importantly, increasing of density and population, in contrary to plan leads to a new plan for Ankara. Not a master plan but a structure plan was produced by Middle East Technical University Group (Çaliskan, 2004). Actually the purpose of this plan was prepare an urban macro form analyses to coordinate new transit system but then it used to manage for urban growth. Basic strategy of plan was same with the 1990 plan, decentralization and proposal population was 5 million) (Çaliskan, 2004. Moreover to control decentralisation proposal was star shape city structure based public transport. The aim of the proposal was prevent widespread decentralization with car based transport system.

Implementation of IDP

During implementation first step was preparing land use maps of areas. Then a percentage of plots expropriated (maximum 35 % of plot size) for public facilities (school, hospital, parks). The rest of the plots randomly combine to reach minimum 400m², which was necessary to construction. If

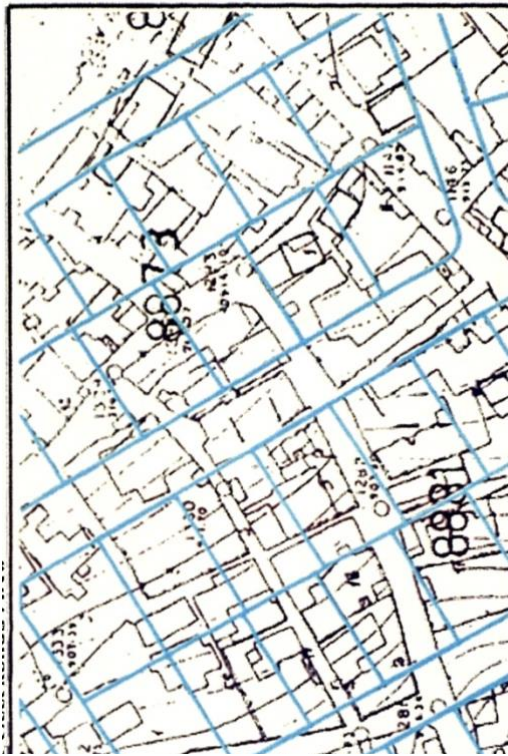


Figure 4.11 IDP Parcels Source : Sonmez, 1999

totally of a plot is used for public facilities, than another plot is given to owner. Finally plots are redistributed and gecekondu if necessary dwellers replaced another plots in the planning area. (Figure 4.15) shows a implementation of IDP. The construction of new the apartment on former gecekondu areas were made by private developers. Most advantageous centre city areas have been transformed by big construction companies. Although before 1980 big construction companies were not tented to enter housing production in Turkey due to low rate of return, after 1980 improvement plans and increasing of return rate made housing construction profitable for them. Having enough capital and political power big companies were able to solve complex ownership and bureaucratic problems. So inner city gecekondu areas were transformed to prestigious residential neighbourhoods. Less advantageous gecekondu areas (not inner city but close to main transportation axes, close to city centre or recreational areas) were transformed by built and sell (yap-sati or one-man-firms). While built and sell (one-man-firm) system was major construction system of Turkey for housing production until 1980, with entering processional companies to the construction market they lost their market share. According to the agreement they did with gecekondu owner, constructors give apartments units to the owner in exchange for plot. Finally, if gecekondu areas not advantageous owner had to option. Transforming the housing to small scale family apartment whit own saving or waiting until increase of land value to enough transform. Buyukgocmen Sat 2007 states that the aim of IDP not only legalize the existing geckkondu areas but also redistribution of urban rent between gecekondu owner and constructors.

As a result of IDP enormous increase of population in plan areas appeared. (See table 4.3.)Proposal population of IDP was 5 million for 1990 for Ankara but it was 3.3 million. As it can be seen from table plan propose enormous increase on the population. The minimum increase of population was for Yenimahalle. While the population of Yenimahalle was 194,834 before the plan,

new plan proposal was 302,126. (155.06 increase). Furthermore for Etimesug, for example, proposal population was 267,080, while existing was 32, 942. (810, 76 increase). However the plan proposal population (5 million) was much higher than the actual population.

Districts	ExistingGecekonu Population	Proposed Population	Population Increase (%)
Altindag	159,126	419,265	263.48
Cankaya	53,101	243,694	458.93
Etimesgut	32,942	267,080	810.76
Kecioren	118,295	498,550	421.45
Mamak	210,187	680,036	323.54
Yenimahalle	194,839	302,126	155.06
Total	768,490	2,108,625	274.38

Table 4.2.Existing *gecekonu* population Proposed population by the IDL Population increase (%)

Source Büyükgöçmen Sat , 2007.

Districts	Existing Density (Person/Hectare)	Proposed Density (Person/Hectare)	Density Increase (%)
Altindag	97	368	379.38
Cankaya	83	272	327.71
Etimesgut	99	386	389.89
Kecioren	87	355	408.04
Mamak	75	266	354.66
Yenimahalle	223	286	122.74

Table 4.3.Existing *density in IDP areas and* proposed density by the IDP, Density increase (Source

Büyükgöçmen Sat , 2007.

On the other hand, lack of technical and social infrastructure has been showed the most important problem on the squatter areas, in the end of the IDP social and technical infrastructure stayed limited. (Büyükgöçmen Sat , 2007) The standards for infrastructure were determined according to act no: 3194, however as it can be seen from table 4.4 IDP could not reach adequate standards in terms of education, health, green areas and social-cultural area. In terms of land prizes table 4.4. the prize of areas on the city edge increased more than inner city areas. Finally IDP basically led to increase

on density, population and land prices on implemented area without enough social and technical infrastructures. (Büyükgöçmen Sat , 2007)

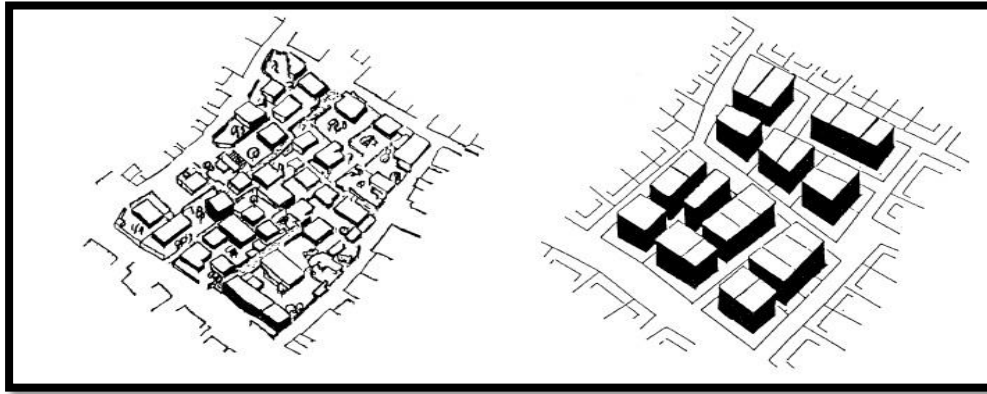


Figure 4.12 IDP Left, settlement pattern of the *gecekondu*. Right, settlement pattern of the improvement plans Source: Dundar, 2001

A new plan produced by Ankara Great municipality in 1997 for 2025 Ankara Greater .The approach of new plan was improvement of unbalanced partial development by decentralising existing crowded inner city areas. The proposal population of plan is 7.200.000 for 2025 (Çalışkan, 2004). Other criteria of new plans are; supporting regeneration and transformation project inner city areas not any development of existing industrial areas and industrial development on the city edge. Decentralisation of existing military areas and supporting new sub-centre, growth poles formation are other important plan decisions (Çalışkan, 2004). However there is not any limit to restrict to city expansion, plan proposal to development all possible development areas. Therefore all new development occurs according to market mechanism. However, due to chaining Development Law Act no: 3194 and municipal Law no: 3030 the 2025 plan was not approved by ministry of Public Works and Housing. With the new act Great municipality was given the right to produce 1/25,000 and 1/50,000 development plans in 2004. Before this municipality could have produced only 1/5000 development plans. (Çalışkan, 2004)

Urban Transformation Projects

While IDP was continuing and other type of gecekondu transformation implementation started in Ankara. (Urban Transformation Projects).Which started in Dikmen Valley and Portakal Cicegi

Valley in Ankara (Güzey, 2009). In the beginning Urban transformation projects had a different approach that aim the public participation to planning process, self-financing, not replacement existing gecekondu population from the area and creating large scale recreational areas, which serve all city residence (Turker-Devecigil, 2005).

Dikmen Valley is 290 he areas one of the important green valley of Ankara. From the beginning of the 1950 gecekondu construction occurred in the area. In the year of 1989, 4000 gecekondu and 10000 gecekondu dwellers was living in the area (Uzun, 2003). A company was establish as an institution of Great Municipality and project aims was conservation of natural characteristic of Valley, creating recreational area for all city (Uzun, 2003) . Project consists of houses for gecekondu owner and luxury apartments for financing project. However changing local municipality with the election of 1994 affected the project dramatically. The proportion of housing for upper income groups increased (Turker-Devecigil, 2005). According to surveys only %38 of gecekondu owners live in the same area, rest of the title holders sell or rent their houses and move (Turker-Devecigil, 2005). The reasons of replacement are firstly houses given gecekondu owner were small and they did not meet their needs, secondly changing socio economic structure of area and losing neighbourhood relations (Uzun ,2003) Although the project changed during implementation process, it was a new approach for Turkish planning system. Similarly, Portakal Cicegi Valley is another green area covered by gecekondus; a development plan which aims providing a green valley and luxury apartment has been produced (Uzun, 2003). However, gecekondu dweller replaced 20 km far from the area and green area proposal could not achieve due to high land value of area (Uzun ,2003). Although there are problems on the implementation process and proposal could not achieve the importance of UTP brought a new perspective to transformation process. According to Uzun 2005 as a result of projects dual social structure was create in the project area and gecekondu dwellers moved from the area after they lived awhile.

During 2000 urban regeneration (gecekondu clearance and building apartments in the areas) became a legal tool for Turkey; firstly a new act for transforming gecekondu areas in the north eastern part of Ankara reacted (Turker-Devecigil, 2005) Just with this project 16 million metre square area consist of 10500 gecekondu were redevelopment as upper and middle income housing areas and commercial areas. Gecekondu owners obtain one of the apartments if they have legal title for their gecekondus (Turker-Devecigil, 2005) Eviction process occurs peacefully because it was guaranteed to them move back to new houses by 2008 the construction process was still continuing in 2011.

Whit the act for the Areas under the risk (2012), authority of the TOKI for urban transformation project is increased, and the transformation projects started implemented by TOKI in

all Turkey. According to Elicin, (2013) with the Act the development the regeneration strategy of TOKI became main development strategy of national government to create attractive urban space for investment for both national and international capital. (Elicin,2013) Government played an important role on increase of number of construction both as regulator and producer; however TOKI projects have serious consequences in terms of urban sprawl and Greenfield development. Since TOKI use public lands and has own planning authority most of the developments are outskirts of cities mostly without proper transportation links. Moreover most of projects are different from general spatial growth strategy of cities. (Balaban, 2012)

In terms of implementation, TOKI usually interments the most problematic areas (historical city centre, areas of under earthquake risk, gecekondu areas) of Ankara, which cannot transform by IDP due to not seeing profitable by developers. There are two strategies of TOKI gecekondu clearance and replacement or rebuilt again on site. (Uzun, et al.2010) However in any condition renters could not stay in the area, is gecekondus rebuilt only resident who have a title from IDP period can have deserve obtain a house in redevelopment site. Furthermore even the owners cannot usually stay in the site because before the project right holders and the value of their houses are determined by TOKI if the value of the house is less (mostly) than a new house, gecekondu owner have to pay the rest of the money in long term. For gecekondu owners mostly low income groups it led to evictions (Kuyumcu., Unsal, 2010).

Although there are many critics against to TOKI projects (Chapter 2) the cooperation of Great Municipality and TOKI is continued and the number of project is increase. According to Balaban, (2012) in the year of 2012 totally 34,284.80 ha and %14 of metropolitan area (Figure ;) are decelerated as “regeneration area”.



Figure 4.13 IDP Areas in Ankara Source: Guzey, 2001

Conclusion

There are three different approaches, which targeting gecekondu in Ankara; from 1950 to Until middle 1960 years slums settlements has been seen illegal, temporary and source of the urban problems. Clearance and redevelopment was main strategy of government with limited resource. (25) However in redevelopment areas slum dwellers replaced by middle income groups (civil servants). (3) With global and national policy change 1970 brought self-help approach to agenda. Upgrading and rehabilitation of gecekondu areas were main approach during 1970's. With the neo-liberal (Export-oriented industrialization) strategies after 1980's construction sector was seen as trigger of economic growth and mass and big scale transformation process started (25) the different policies will examine in the case of Ankara with their relation to planning development

Chapter 5 Case Study

Introduction

The aim of this chapter to understand different implementation process of UTP and IDP plans also examine two result of the project from resident's perspective. Therefore the chapter starts with background information about Yenimahalle, where in the Sentepe is. Than the result of the IDP will discuss, the built up area which proposed by IDP and its failure and successful implementation discuss. While providing about information about UTP, the land use decision and other plan decision of UTP compare with the standards and IDP. Finally, to understand the of residents' perspective the result of structured interview showed with help of graphs. The survey result will present in 5 ; general information about residence, information about the upgrading process experience, the outcomes of upgrading program for housing, neighbourhood, social and economic outcomes of the upgrading programs.

Sentepe (Yenimahalle)

The main findings of the primary research for the dissertation will be discussed in this chapter. The case study is Sentepe District, which was chosen as a case study because both of the different approaches to upgrading - IDP (Improvements and Development Plans) and UTP (Urban Transformation Projects) - have been implemented within the same area. In this chapter the outcomes and implementation process of the two different approaches and the ideas and experiences of the *gecekodu* residents are examined, through analysing the 35 household questionnaires and from interviews with experts and professionals in the municipality. In this context, the outcomes for



Figure 5.1 Location of Sentepe with the istance to city centre

households of government upgrading programmes for *gecekondu* will be examined through of Sentepe District.

Sentepe is in Yenimahalle County; Yenimahalle means 'new quarter', as the area was one of the first planned as a housing district for low income housing groups, but as explained in Chapter 3 and Chapter 4 mostly civil servant and government workers took up the housing loans and plots provided by municipalities. In 1948 under Act no: 5128, the role of producing new building plots with infrastructure was given to municipalities, and under Act 5228 in the same year municipalities gained the authority for the provision of housing construction loans to low income groups (Kucuk 1995). An obligation of finishing construction within the three years was imposed to guarantee a fast construction process. Yenimahalle was one of the first low income housing projects in Ankara and Turkey, and early construction used 5 different types of house designs (Kucuk, 1995). The rapid increase of Yenimahalle's population (Table 5.1) and insufficient housing production led to new regulation to increasing housing height in legal housing stock; while squatter settlements started surround the planned area (Pelen, 2009) (Figure: 5.1).

1965	122,166
1970	175,528
1975	246,154
1980	330,908
1985	382,205
1990	351,436
2000	553,344
2007	614,778
2009	609,887
2008	625,826
2010	648,160
2011	668,586
2012	687,042

Table 5.1 Yenimahalle Population, 1965-2012.

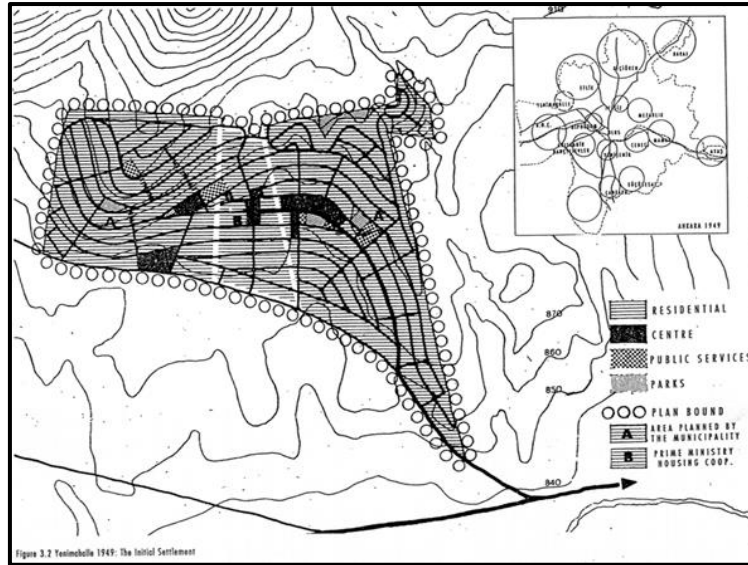


Figure 5.2 2 (Pelen, 2009) Initial planned houses of Yenimahalle

Squatter Settlement in Ankara, Şentepe

Sentepe is within the borders of Yenimahalle municipality and one of the oldest squatter areas of Ankara. The site is located northern part of the Ankara and approximately 12 km from the city centre of Ankara (Figure 5.2). Sentepe consists of 11 quarters; Burclar, Baristepe, Cigdemtepe, Kayalar, Kaletepe, Guventepe, Eegenekon, Avclar, Guzelyaka, Anadolu and Pamuklar and the population of the area is approximately 90,000 people living 425 hectares, according to the 2010 census. (Figure 5.3) The Karsiyaka graveyard lies to the north of the site, Kecioren district to the east, with the original Yenimahalle houses to the south, and Ivedik and Demetevler in the west.

After the initial housing units were constructed in the beginning of the 1950s, *gecekondus* started to be built on the site north of the planned development in Sentepe. With amnesty laws in 1965, in 1981, in 1983 all the *gecekondus*

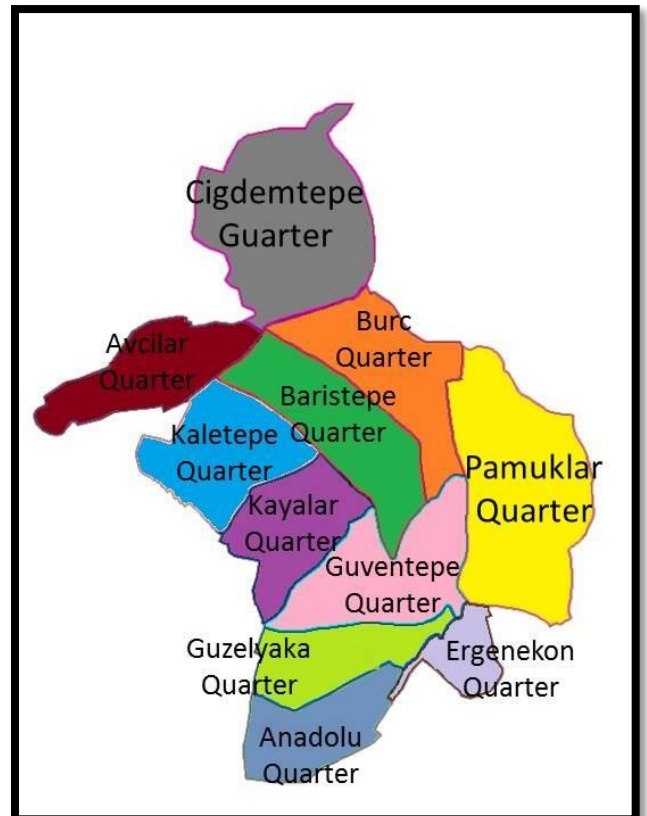


Figure 5.3 Eleven quarter of Sentepe District
Source: Şentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality

which had built till the dates of regulation were legalized and some basic infrastructure provided by the municipality, however until 1989 there was no plan for Sentepe. The first IDP plan was prepared in 1989; nearly forty years after the original invasions took place. However due to the approach of the IDP, which required that demolish and built new apartments by private constructors, the legal but substandard housing units stayed on the site and only 10%-15% of the plan could be implemented. As a result of IDP there are building with variety of height in the site (figure: 2), and although and the IDP was proposed a target population of 175.000 the area's social services are not adequate even for the present 90.000 inhabitants. (Yenimahalle Municipality, 2004)

Since the IDP was approved in 1984, the aim of the plans were to provide parcels large enough to accommodate apartment construction through a process of land readjustment to combine the existing *gecekondu* parcels. The author was unable to locate any IDP plan reports for this research, and the few sources about the IDP were limited (1997 Büyükgöçmen Sat, 1997, 2004 UTP reports, and this 2013 fieldwork).

The first plan for the Sentepe area was approved in 28.08.1984 with the name of “1/5000 Scaled Development Plan for Sentepe Squatter District” by Ankara Great Municipality. The IDP for Sentepe consisted of eleven 1/1000 scale development plans with the plans approved by Yenimahalle Municipality from 1986 (Table 5.2) (Yenimahalle Municipality, 2004). Implementation started in 1989, but by 2004 only 10-15% of the plan had been implemented. The main reason for the limited implementation of the upgrading project was the size of the parcels. According to planners in the municipality (Interview 1) and the UTP report (2004), private developers think they cannot make enough profit small parcels which do not allow them to build apartments which meet contemporary consumer needs. (Yenimahalle Municipality, 2004)

The stages of the plans	The Date of Development Plans	The Date of Parcelization Plans
Çiğdemtepe 1.Stage	22.12.1986	19.11.1987
Çiğdemtepe 2. Stage	25.11.1988	18.02.1997
Çiğdemtepe 3. Stage	17.02.1989	02.03.1990
Güventepe 1. Stage	04.09.1987	17.11.1987
Güventepe 2. Stage	04.09.1987	16.08.1988
Burç-Kayalar	23.12.1988	07.06.1990
Kaletepe 1.-2. Stage	17.03.1989	26.06.1990
Pamuklar	15.11.1989	12.08.1991
Güzelyaka 1. Stage	04.09.1987	26.04.1988
Güzelyaka 2. Stage	26.08.1988	22.03.1990
Avcılar	17.02.1989	06.03.1990

Table 5.2 the 1/1000 scaled improvements and developments plans and dates Source: *Urban Resource: Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality.*



Figure 5.4 Physical condition of gecekondu neighbourhoods'
Physical condition of Şentepe Squatter Settlement (Source: personal
achieve)

Although the Şentepe IPD proposed a population of 175,000 for the area, there was insufficient land allocated for public services (socio-cultural activities, sanitation, green areas, playground areas, sports fields, schools, health centres) to comply with building regulations and standards; moreover, existing roads will be inadequate if development continues according to IDP standards (Yenimahalle Municipality, 2004). In the interviews, the problems of insufficient infrastructure were also emphasised by residents, as explained in more detail below. However, during one interview, a resident said that one of the main problems in Şentepe is accessibility, especially in winter, due to the narrow roads and steep slopes (Field interviews, 2013). Furthermore, according to planners in the municipality some of the proposed roads in the IDP cannot be constructed due to the slope.

So in 2004, another upgrading plan, called the Şentepe Urban Regeneration Project was produced by Yenimahalle municipality, which aimed to increasing urban services and infrastructure and transform substandard housing units to modern apartments.

As it can be seen from the Figure 5.6 and building height analyse in the UTP (Figure 3), as a result of IDP there are limited numbers of 3-4 storey apartments, and most of the area is covered one or two storey *gecekondus*. Although *gecekondus* have been granted legal plot ownership, they are not built to construction standards. Although the initial IDP was not implemented completely, by 2004 all the area was serviced by basic infrastructure, clean water, electricity, sewerage and part of the area was served by natural gas (Appendix 2) (Yenimahalle Municipality, 2004). In terms of accessibility,

while the main roads provided good transportat connections to the area, there are accessibility problems within the site due to narrow roads, and on-street parking (Field study, 2013).

The main problems of the Sentepe IDP, like other implementation areas in Ankara, was sub-standard land use decision; although all the basic infrastructure facilities exists in Sentepe(Appendix: 2), a core problem is the limited space for urban services, and about half those provided are sub-standard according to construction regulations (Büyükgöçmen Sat,2007; Yenimahalle Municipality, 2004) (Table 5.2). Although there are minimum legal standards for urban services areas according to Construction Regulations (Act no: 3194) which is imposed by Ministry of Public Works and Housing, it obvious that they were not implemented properly during the planning process. This raises the question as to whether the construction regulations are appropriate for application in *gecekondu* upgrading schemes, of which there are many in the country, or whether site-specific standards should be applied, which means that facilities built in upgrading programmes may be of a lower standard than those elsewhere in the country.

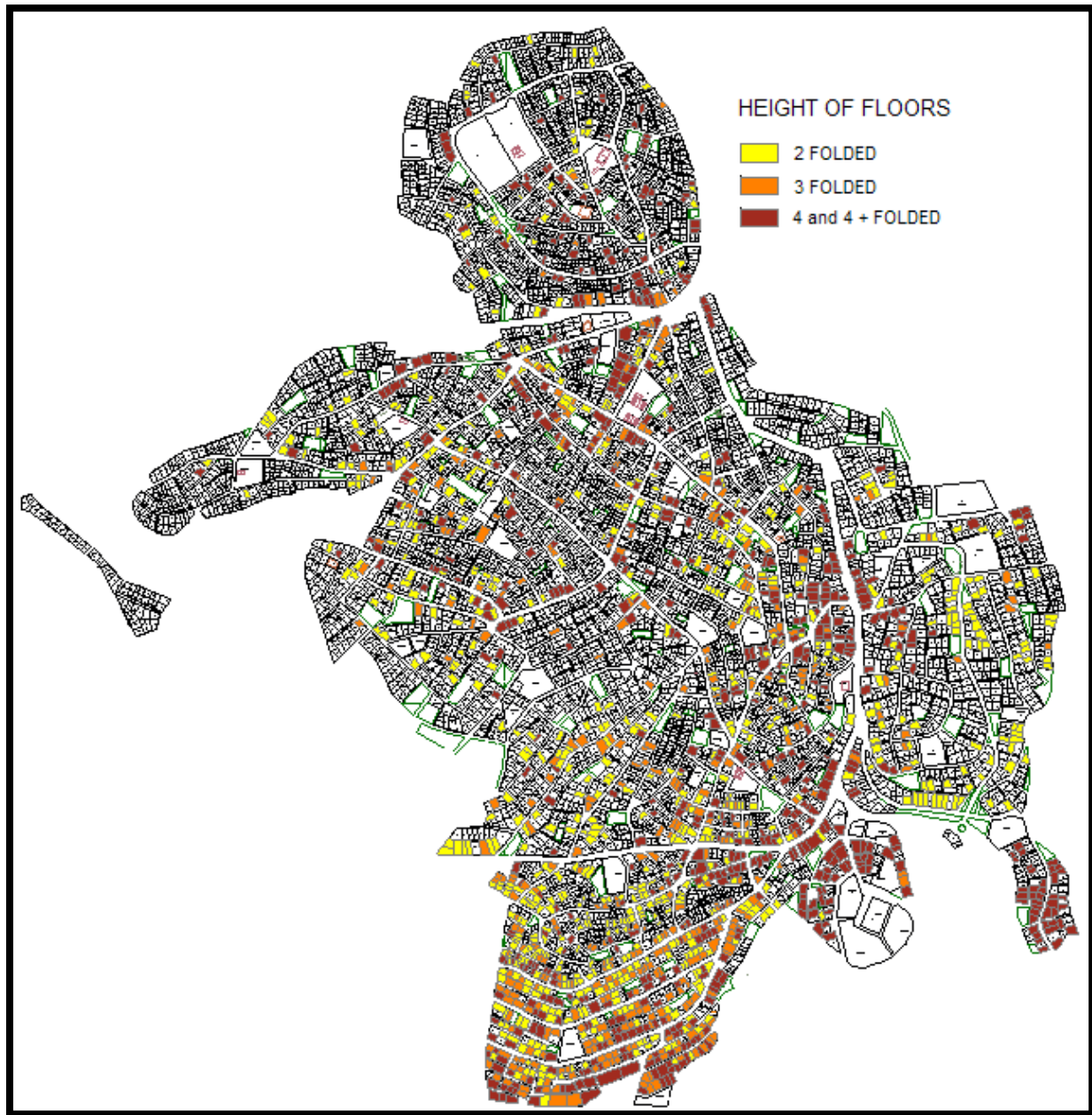


Figure 5.5 The Height of the Buildings in Sentepe District Source: *Report of Report Şentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality*

The figure also demonstrates the implementation areas of IDP, because since all the area was cover with the gecekondu settlements until 1980's; however after first IDP plan only most advantageous areas(Chapter 4) has been built up until 2004. The reason behind that is as explain chapter for market based approach of the IDP; while the IDP legalize all the buildings and give the permission of building 4-5 store houses in the former gecekondu areas, all the construction upgrading depend on the private developers. In this context private developers made investment where ever they could make profit, therefore gecekondu in the advantageous areas (more accessible areas, close the city centre) were regenerated as apartments, but disadvantageous areas inner Sentepe areas due to topography and small(150-350m²) parcels which even not fit the construction regulations Act no:3194) could not upgrading. The only areas that IDP could be implemented in Sentepe is south of the area where the topography is more suitable for development and plots near

	IDP Proposal			Regulation		Difference
Land Use	Number	Area(HA)	Percent%	M ² / Kişi	Area(Ha)*	ALAN (Ha)
Housing	685	241	55,53			
Commercial+Housing	20	4.9	1.12			
Commercial	12	2.3	0.52			
Commercial+recreation	2	2.1	0.48	1.1	18.7	9.4
Primary School	16	9.3	2.14	4.5	76.5	67.2
Secondary School	3	6.2	1.43	3	51	44.8
Kinder Garden	4	1	0.23	1	17	16
Socio-Cultural Facility	1	0.1	0.02	2.5	42.5	42.4
Health Facility	5	1	0.23	4	68	67
Raligious Facility	23	2.6	0.60	0.5	8.5	5.9
Community Education Facility	1	0.09	0.02	0.4	6.8	6.71
Green Area	408	34.9	8.00	10	170	134.9
Sport Field	1	0.2	0.04			
Municipality Service Area	7	1.4	0.32			
Bazaar	3	0.7	0.16			
Water Tank	1	0.1	0.02			
Police Station	1	0.09	0.02			
Telecominication	1	0.5	0.11			
Roads and pathways		126	29.01			
Total	1194	434	100			

Table 5.3 IDP PROPOSALS, LEGAL STANDARDS AND DIFFERENCES *Report Şentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality, 2004.*

All land use decisions of the IDP are required to meet the legal standards, but very few do. There are 16 primary schools, 3 secondary schools and 4 kinder garden (Figure: 5.9), all education facilities areas under the city planning standards. Primary schools cover a total 93 000m² area but according to construction regulation standards the area which should be provided for the target population) is 765 000 m², so the difference is 672 000 m². According to the interview with the residents D on the fields, they complained about the distance of the primary schools, primary school (figure; 5.10) students have to walk long distance every day and lacks of the pedestrians create danger for them. "Since they are so young and there are not enough pedestrian ways on the site I have to walk with my children every day to school to make sure they are safe" said a Sentepe resident. Although there are only 4 kindergartens in the area, there not many specific complaints about kindergartens, and the main critics of residents were about primary schools. The reason behind that might be low pre-school enrolment rate.

In addition to that there is lack of parks, sport field and socio-cultural activity centres in the site. (Table; 3) This was one of the key issue that residents mentioned; "the only playing areas for children are streets where they are always under the danger of car crash, also due to lack of the outdoor and indoor sport facilities the only places for teenagers are cafés or internet cafés, where can they get the bad habits such as smoking or swearing "said a resident in the field interviews. Local play areas are insufficient for the children, they are small and in bad condition, toys are broken and corroded. Furthermore, parks in the area are small and functionless. (Field observation and interviews).In terms of sanitation, there are 5 health centres (figure: 5.11) and they have totally 10,000 m² area; however according to construction regulation standards the area should be 680 000 m². Due to absence of a shopping centre, all shops and stores are on the ground floor of apartments along the main roads. Furthermore there are TV masts on the site and residents complain that they affected their health, but there is no research related to this topic. (table 2). The shops, cafes, bakeries, pharmacies are only thought the main roads and in the ground floor of the apartments. (Field observation, 2013)



Figure 5.6 Parks, Green Areas and sport fields' report: Şentepe Urban Transformation Project Report. Yenimahalle Municipality

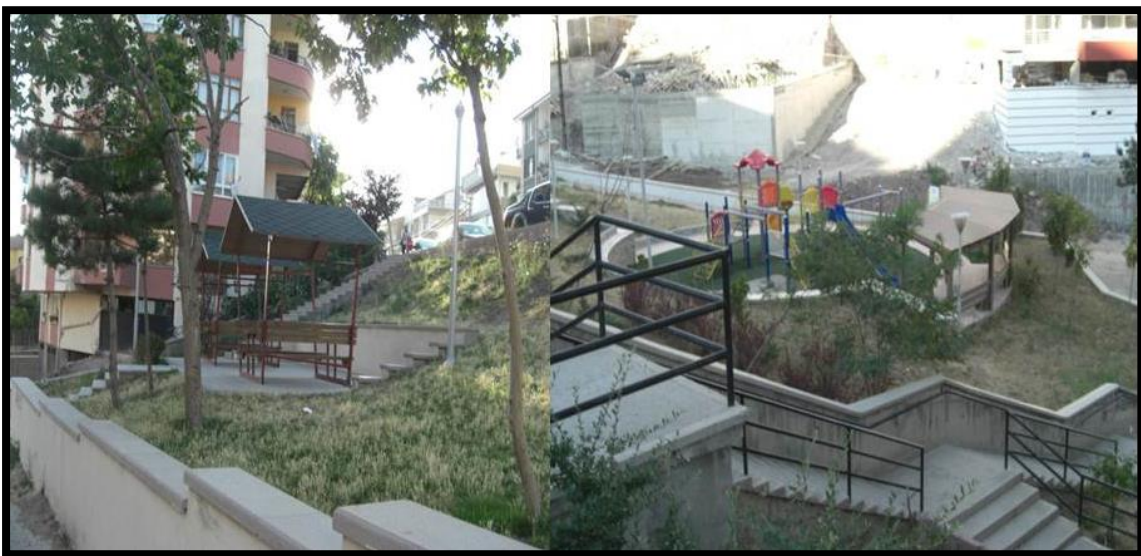


Figure 5.7 an old park in IDP area and a new park in UTP Area (Resource; Personal Achieve)

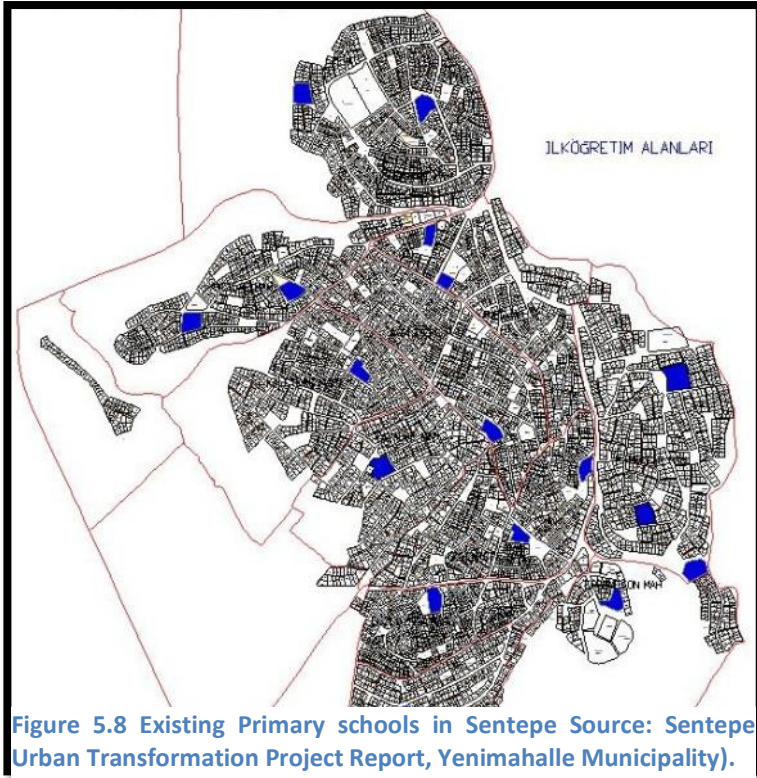


Figure 5.8 Existing Primary schools in Sentepe Source: Sentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality).

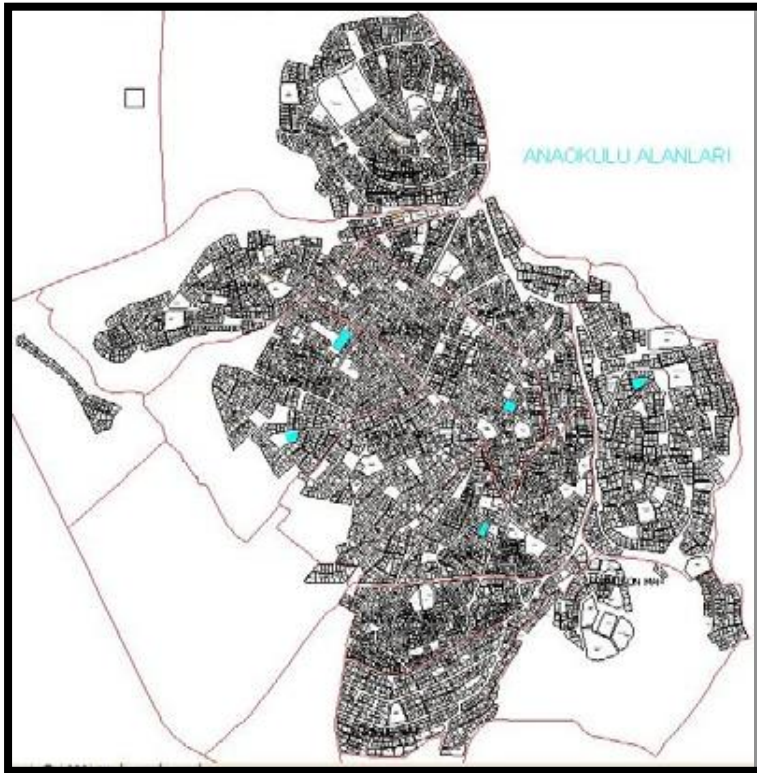


Figure 5.9 Existing Kinder Garden in Sentepe Source: Sentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality

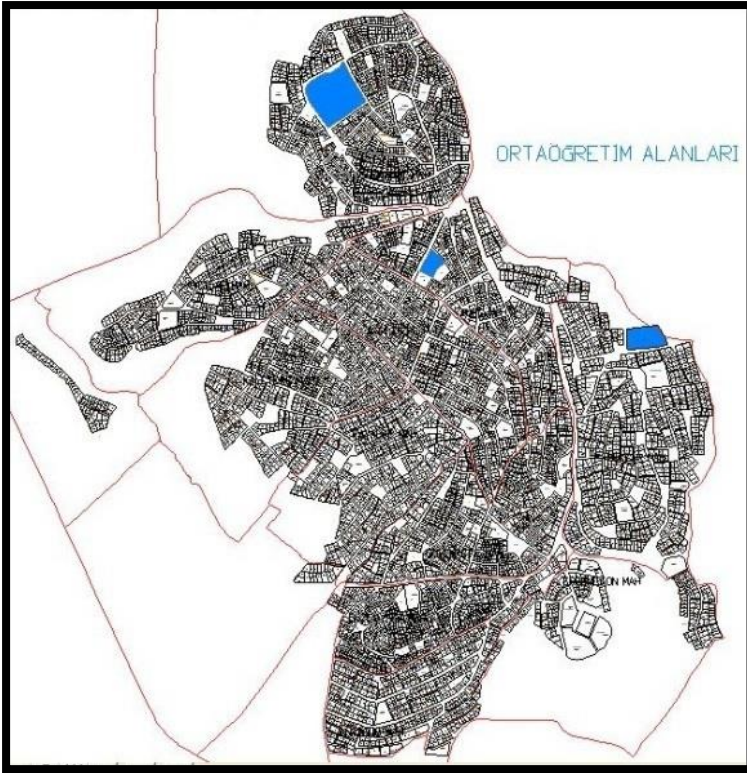


Figure 5.10 Existing Secondary schools in Sentepe Source: Sentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality).

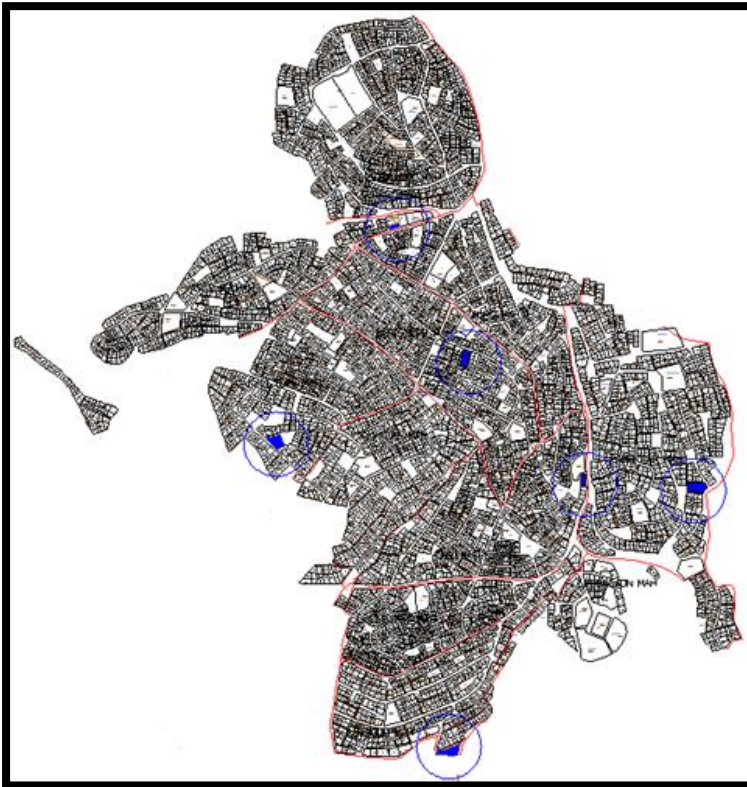


Figure 5.110 Existing Secondary schools in Sentepe Source: Sentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality).

To summarise, the problems in the area and the reasons of another upgrading projects needed are: the small parcels and slope of the area led to unattractiveness for private developers; therefore, majority of the 85-90% *gecekondur* housing still existed in the area until 2004. According to the construction regulations, the minimum parcel size for housing construction should be 400m²; however there are many parcels in the site between 150-250 m² that have not changed as a result for IDP (Yenimahalle Municipality 2004). Although basic infrastructure was provided in the area, land reservations for urban services were insufficient and below the construction regulation standards (Yenimahalle Municipality 2004). The size and site area of primary, secondary schools and kindergartens were insufficient and children have to walk long distances, while open and green spaces areas are functionless and insufficient (Field surveys, 2013; Yenimahalle Municipality, 2004). In terms of accessibility, the main transportation roads provide good connection to the city centre, but the internal circulation is still problem due to sloping land especially in the winter, and the lack of a shopping centre and TV masts also cause problems. .

UTP 2004 PROJECTS

Thus, due to unpleasant living environment which was basically shaped by the IDP, another upgrading was needed in the site and Yenimahalle Municipality proposed urban transformation (UTP) upgrading project in 2004. “The aim of Sentepe Urban transformation project is increasing life quality and attractiveness of the site in terms of economic, social and cultural aspect by preventing green areas” (Yenimahalle Municipality, 2004). The core objectives are given in Table: 5.4.

Objectives

Transportation

- Reinforce transportation connection within the area,
- Reorganize transport system according to population proposal and topography,
- Determine the roads which will be close according to analyses.

Trade

- Provide sufficient trade centres which will meet needs of the site and also surrounding area,
- Making Sentepe an attractive place to live, visit and shop.

Housing

- Provide variety of housing typology, which are more suit topography feature of the site (terraced houses, high store buildings).
- Construction of model apartments in particular areas to encourage local people participation of the transportation project.
- Developed a new participatory and coordinated approach to housing, which meet needs of the residences.

- Implemented different approaches, models and methods for particular upgrading sites.

Social

- Providing enough infrastructure and social center, green areas, park and sport area for the proposed population 170,000 and increasing accessibility of the facilities.
- To protect valleys in the site by planning as a green space
- Increase the number of green spaces and provide more useful park and green spaces in the site.

Table: 5.4. Core objectives of the UTP *Source: Sentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality).*

Strategies

Like IDP, the new UTP project all the constructions do by private companies, with demolition and construction undertaken by private companies; what municipality wanted to achieve through the planning process was to make the upgrading project more attractive for both residence and developers. Developers did not want to invest in the area because the parcels sizes were too small (150-350 m²), so parcels had to be combined, but since the entire parcels are legal with construction rights, stakeholders had to make the agreements themselves (Interviewee: H Resident and Real Estate Broker, 2013) (Yenimahalle Municipality, 2004). To encourage agreements of stakeholders, the municipality strategy was to increase construction rights for larger parcels. Increasing construction rights provided necessary rent gap (Chapter 3) for upgrading. However according to field reportages with residents there are several residents who brought civil litigation against each other because perceived the allocation of apartments units to stakeholders were unfair.

The other important strategy of plan was offering unrestricted height limits for buildings within the approved Floor Area Ratio giving flexibility in the design: the coefficients for the plots of varying sizes were as follows: 750-1,000m² is 1.98; 1,000-1,500m² is 2.07; 1,500-2,000m² is 2.16, and for larger plots is 2.25 (Yenimahalle Municipality, 2004) By increasing coefficient the aim of municipality was to providing higher buildings with more open spaces for the same population. Also with new construction rights, larger housing units were constructed, while average construction size was 90m² in IDP areas it became 125 m² for the new development site (İveyinat, 2008).

Participation: Although one of the objective was to develop a participatory approach to plan implementation, according to residents was no participation; a resident said: “nobody asked me my opinion about the plan or anything else”. However the planner in the municipality stated that during planning process there were meetings with the *mukhtar* (local leader) and local authority councillors.

Intervention Areas and Stages of Project

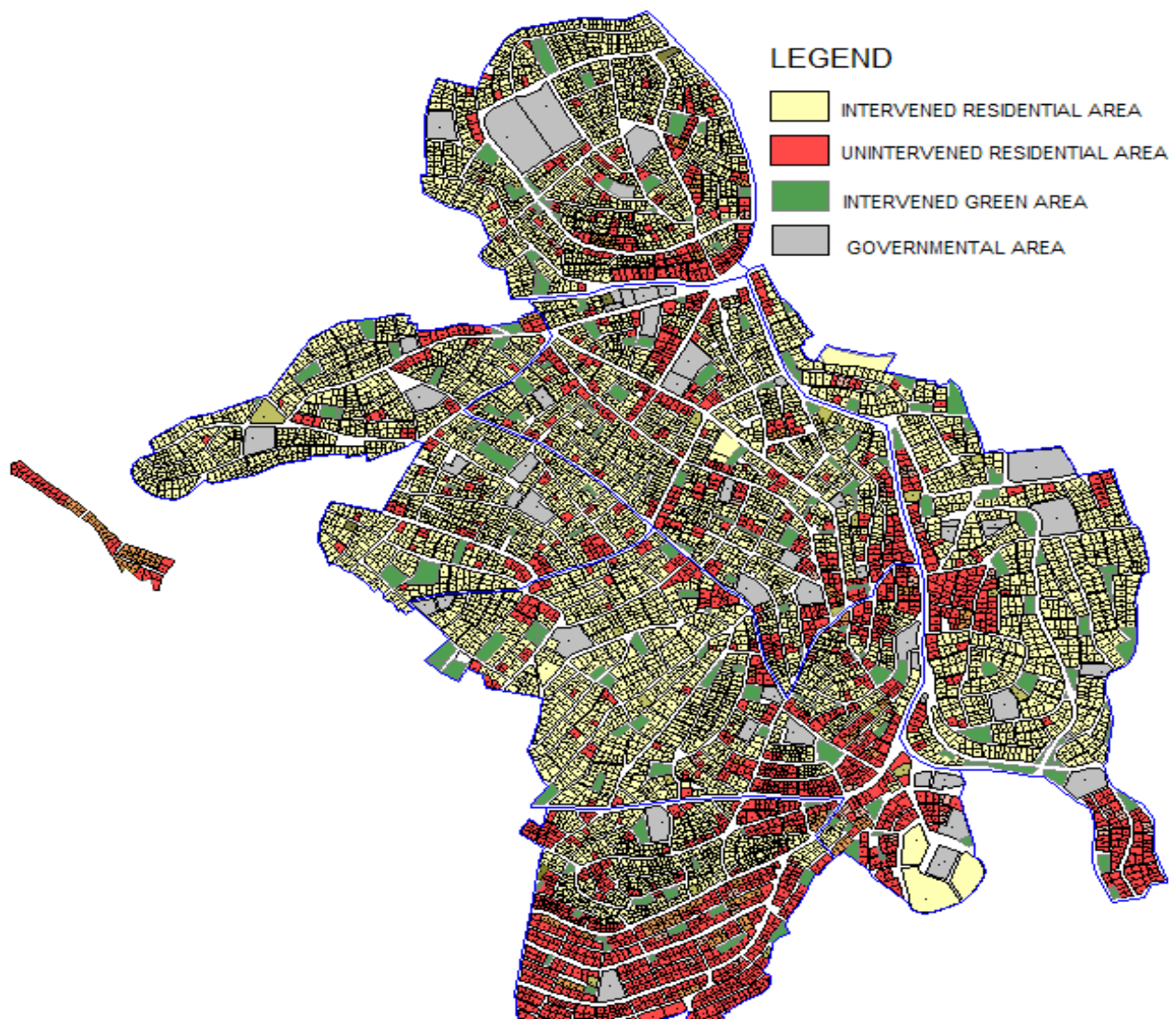


Figure 5.111 Intervention Areas and Stages of Project Source: Sentepe Urban Transformation Project Report,

After detailed physical and social analyses, the borders of the project were determined and the area divided to two main parts - an intervention area and non-intervention area (Figure 12). Non-intervention areas consisted of buildings which are 3 or more storey, legally built according to construction regulations and in good condition. Due the large size 400 ha of the area, the project was divided into 6 different stages (figure 13) as follows:

- 1 Burc and Baris Tepe (Commercial Centre)
- 2 Kayalar, Guventepe and Ergenokon (Social Centre and Recreation Area)

- 3 Cigdemtepe Quarter
- 4 Avcilar and Kaletepe
- 5 Guzelyak and Anadolu Quarters
- 6 Pamuklar Quarter (A district park in the valley)

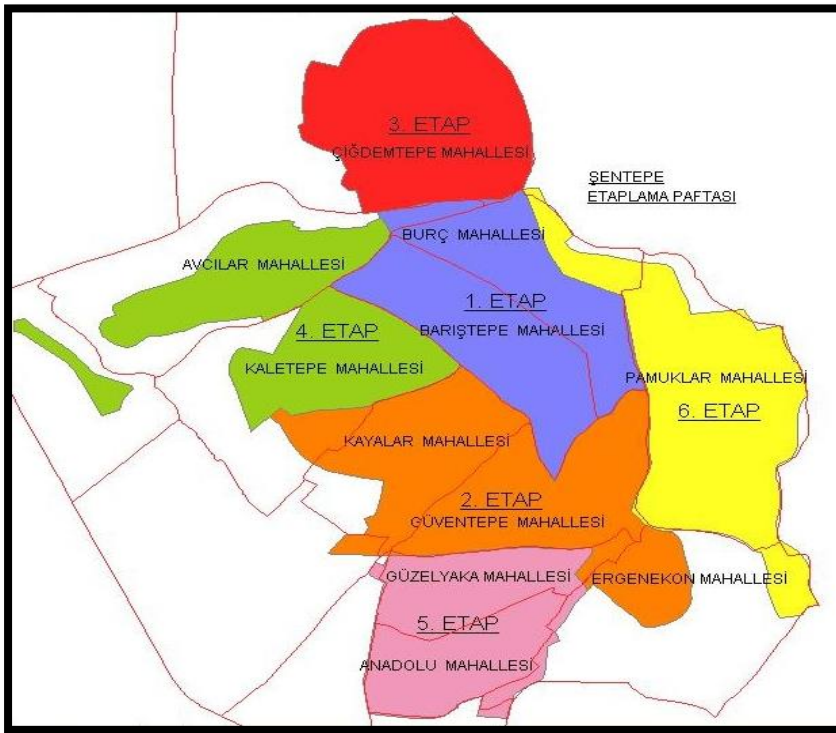


Figure 5.112 Sentepe Transformation Project implementation Zones (Source : Sentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality, 2004)

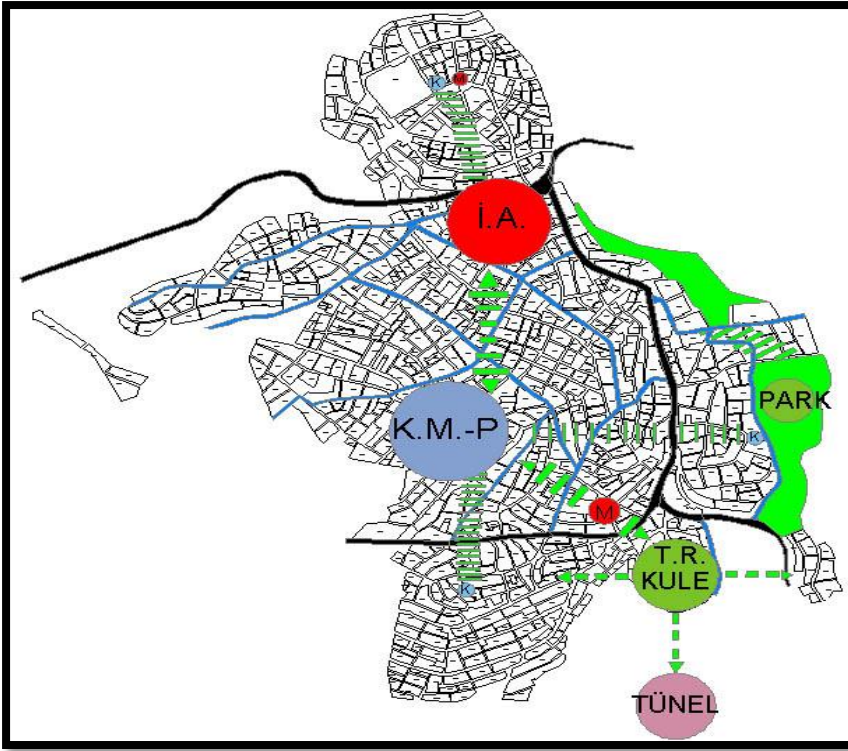


Figure 5.113 Main decision concept shame of Sentepe Transformation Project (Source: Şentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality).

To make the area more attractive for development first implementation focussed on the commercial centre (red circle in Figure 13) in the most accessible area in the site. To catalyse the first stage of development a recreation and culture centre was identified, and the second was a special project area where the TV towers will be located (blue circle in Figure 13) Furthermore another park is in proposed in Pamuklar Quarter. Other areas surrounding the main land uses decision are designated as housing areas. Furthermore for all areas, sub centres are defined and sub-centres connected to each other with pedestrian ways.

Stage 1

The first stage of plan consisted of Baristepe and Burc Quarters, the area totals 75ha and has a population of 32,000. Since one of the main strategies of municipality's increase of plot sizes was make the site more attractive for private developers, the minimum size for housing plots was determined as 750m², and housing plots reorganizing according to this standard. In terms of transportation, 3rd-class roads proposed by IDP, but which could not be implemented, were closed or pedestrianized, new roads were proposed and a few existing roads widened. The roads in the commercial centre were pedestrianized as a part of new footpath schema (Figure 15) (Yenimahalle Municipality, 2004). The most notable changing in terms of land use is a new commercial centre and increasing size of green areas - parks and play spaces. Table 9 shows that while the existing sport areas was 2,270 m² under

the IPD, the size of the sport areas increased to 6,900 m²; Furthermore the size of the green areas increased from 28,670 m² to 42,750 m² ; existing parks are combined to provide bigger and more functional parks. Furthermore, a new commercial centre which is 22,350 m² is proposed north of the site (Figure 15)

Land Use Decisions	Existing (M ²)	Proposed (M ²)	
Housing Areas	422.720	Housing	402.650
		Housing+ Commercial	22.350
		Total	425.000
Bazaar Areas	2720	2720	
Education	21.770	22.900	
Government	4410	9570	
Health Facilities	5360	6150	
Social-Cultural	1010	1020	
Religious Facilities	4500	4500	
Green Areas	28.670	42.750	
Sport Fields	2270	6900	
Parking lot	0	1950	
Road + squares	257.100	227.370	
Total	750.830	750.830	

Table: 5.6. First Stage and exiting Land use Desitions Source: *Şentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality*).

The stage of the plan is the most implemented most completed part of the project, nearly all the building are finished and former gecekondü owners have already started to live in apartments. According to interviews there are problems between former gecekondü owners and new comers, about the way of they live in the apartments. For, example resident, complained about their neighbours and explain their arguments about smoking in the buildings. “I was going out from the apartment and I light the cigarette and my neighbour warned me about smoking in the apartment. There was not need to do that all the window of apartment is open and the smoke do not stay in the apartment” (Interview C). Also former gecekondü owner women criticise new comer about their way of dress and do not talk with local women (Interviewee D). Furthermore another problem between new comers and former gecekondü owners are about leaving stuff in front of the doors (Shoes, old furniture) (Interviewee D). Also women are more pleasant about housing condition, almost all women

point out about their bad housing condition; their main problem about gecekondus were mud, smudge due to stove using for heating, cold and accessibility (Interviewee D). However; the critic of women about the project are allocation of old neighbour different part of the sites. They cannot not see their old neighbour or have to walk a lot to meet old neighbours (Interviewee D). So even the projected finish and people have new apartments which meet to contemporary housing comfort, there might be other social problems due to external implementation of municipality and state.

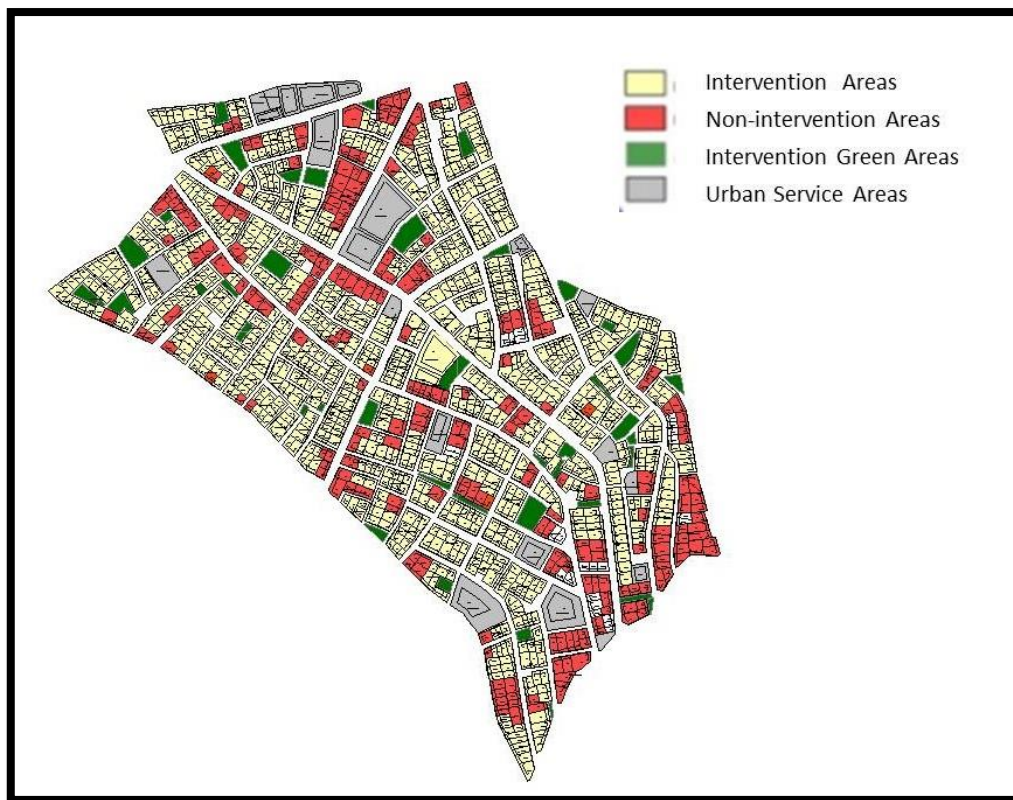


Figure 14.15 IDP and intervention of UTP (Source: Nevirat, 2008)

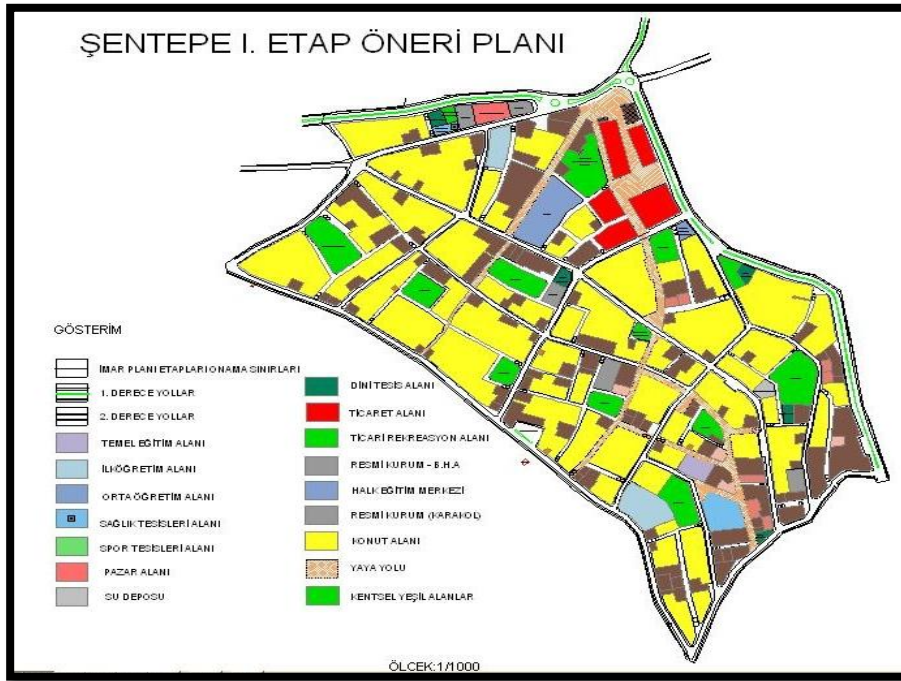


Figure 5.115 First Stage of Şentepe Transformation Project (Source: Şentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality)

Stage 2

The main UTP strategy was also implemented in Phase 2, which required minimum housing plots of 750 m²; and alteration to the roads through closures, widening and realignments. The main new function proposed for the area is a secondary school in Kayalar Quarter; there were just 3 secondary schools in the area with sub-standard plot sizes. Another important decision of the plan is a new recreation area (6 Ha) in a valley, which includes a cinema, auditorium, public education centre, indoor and outdoor sport facilities, cafés, restaurants and kindergartens (Figure...). Although there are 150 *gecekondu* houses left they will be replaced to municipality plots on the site. Furthermore the Hill where the TV transmitter exists is designated as a special project area and the area surrounding transmitter will be upgraded as a 4.6 ha recreation area (Figure 5.18). According to new design there will be cinemas, shopping centre, TV studios, sport fields, play areas, restaurants and an open air theatre, but for the project also 143 *gecekondu* will be replaced. Both the TV tower leisure area and the commercial and recreational areas are connected to Suadiye, where the main transportation links are, to increase accessibility to side.

Although the plan was approved 9 years ago, the projects have not started yet. According to (Interview A) the problem of implementation is due to change of the manager of planning department. There is not a current project about starting the project however the municipality expert inform that even their houses are demolish, since they have legal title form IDP a new plot will provide them for their house and a fee will give them for demolish. The new plots will provide form the municipality

plots on the site. (Interview A) However, the decision of demolishing the houses can only be implemented without legal title. Also according to experts if they do not have legal title they also cannot access any service such as water and electricity. Although research could not do a detailed land use analysis about construction number, site observation the stage is also completed in terms of housing.

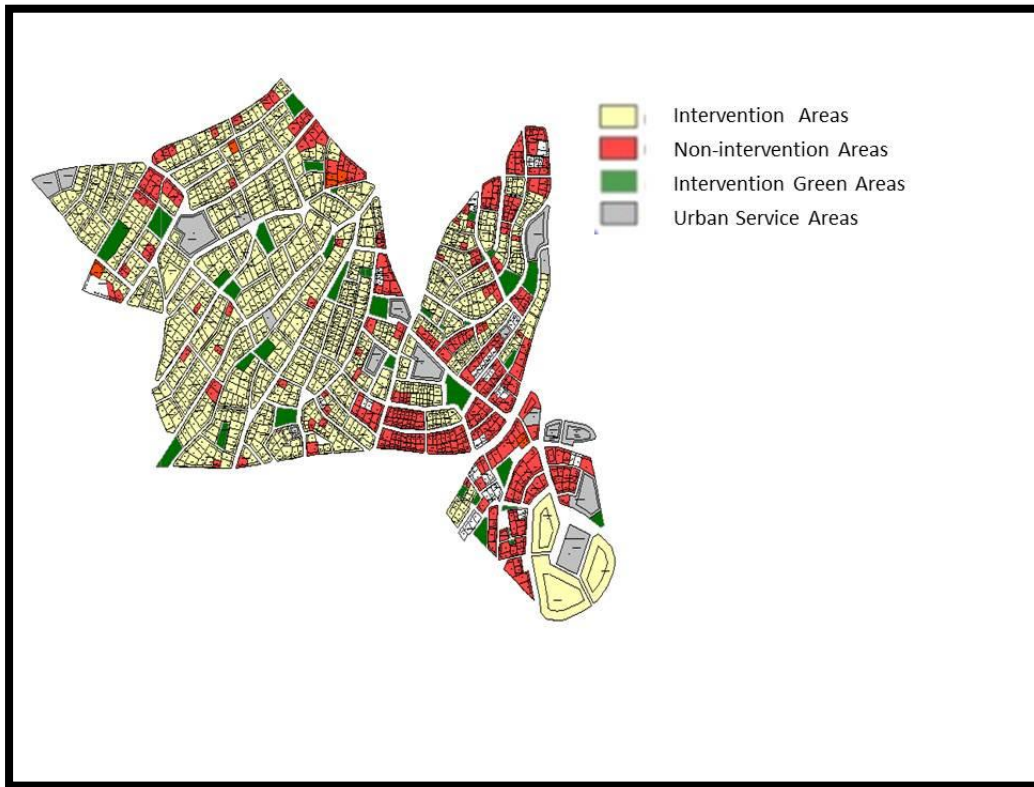


Figure 5.17 1986 IDP and intervention of UTP to the existing parcels (Source: Nevirat, 2008)

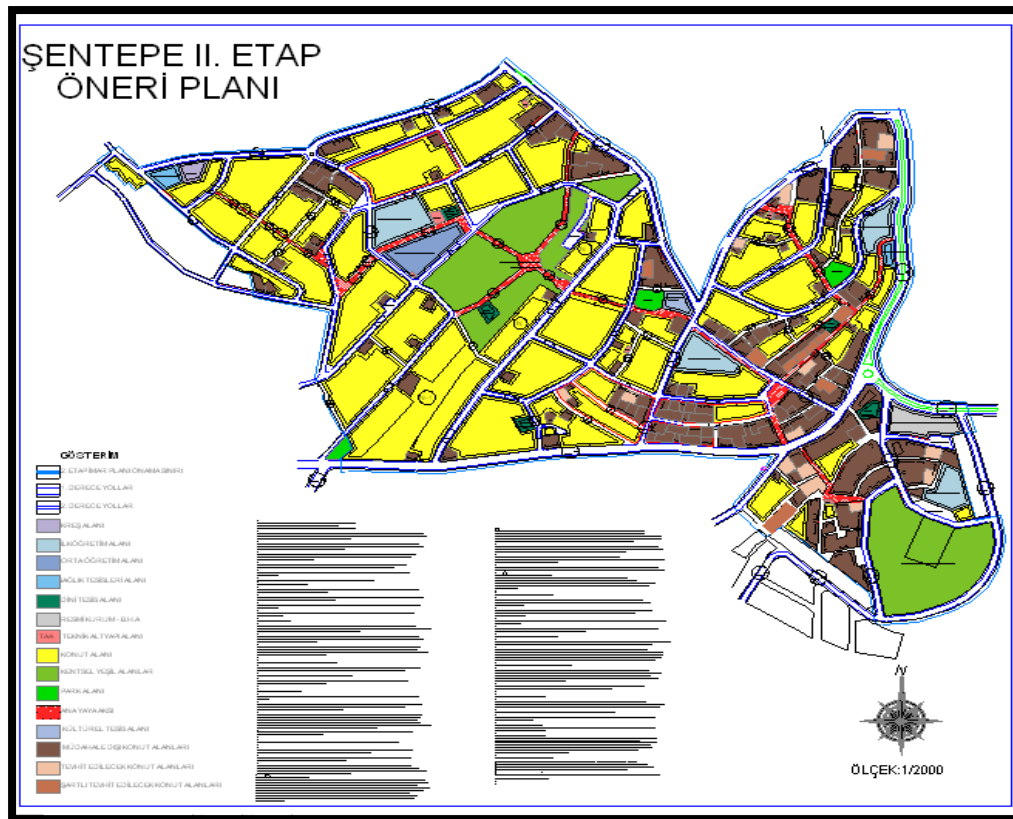


Figure 5.18 Second Stage of Sentepe Transformation Project (Source: Şentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality).

Land Use Decisions	Existing(m ²)		Proposed (m ²)	
Housing Areas	506.000		506.000	
	Number	(m ²)	Number	(m ²)
Kindergarten	2	3770	1	1900
Primary School	4	21141	4	24489
Secondary School	-	-	1	7787
Social and Cultural Facilities	2	3833	2	8489
Health Facilities	2	3492	2	3492
Religious Facilities	5	5395	5	5395
Parks and Play Area	39	42724	2	45365
Municipality Service Area		-		6477
Government	1	3208		-
Infrastructure	6	125	3	1270
Telecommunication	1	5400		-
Commercial and Recreation Area	3	27900		37048
Roads and Squares		286499		261775
Total		909487		909487

Table 5.7 Exiting Land use and Decisions of Second Stage Source: *Şentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality*).

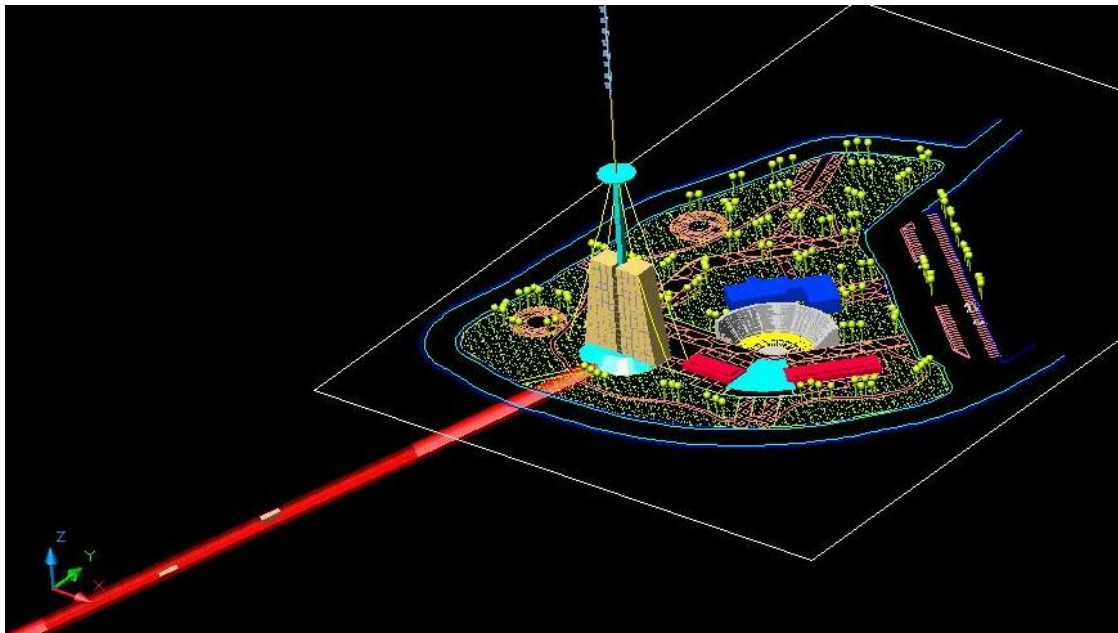


Figure 5.19 3Dimension of Proposed Recreation area for second stage.(*Sentepte Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality , 2004*)

5.20

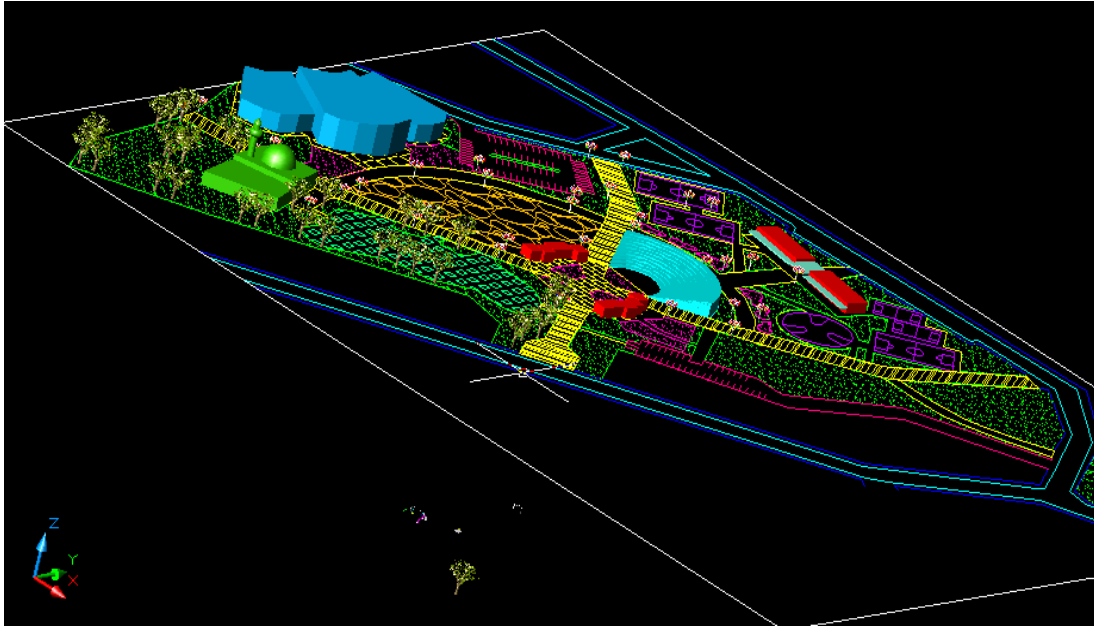


Figure 5.20 3 Dimension of the proposed TV Tower for Second Stage, (Sentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality, 2004)

Stage 3

Stage 3 include Çiğdemtepe Quarter, in the north of Sentepe, and covers 60 ha; again, roads are widened or pedestrianized, and the minimum parcel size is increased 750m², and land uses confirmed. The new footpath network connects the site with the commercial centre proposed in Stage 1 a small neighbourhood sub-centre is proposed in the south of the site. Since the site is rather isolated from rest of the Sentepe, due to the slope and poor road connections, a new sub-centre is also proposed in the north during Stage 3. As a part of new sub-centre a trade and social centre (3524 m², a police station (1,083 m²), a government institution (1,112 m²) and a municipality service centre (2,500m²) are proposed; also it is proposed to increase the site of the existing mosque by 69% to 4,200 m². (Figure....). Park areas are proposed to increase by 58% to 21,656 m²; the increase will achieve by proposing 4 new parks, 1 sport field and commercial + recreation area, which are totally 8,041m².

Furthermore lack of the adequate health facilities is an important problem of the site therefore a new health centre 3,655m² is proposed to locate in Çiğdemtepe and the width of the roads which provide accessibility to health centre is expended.

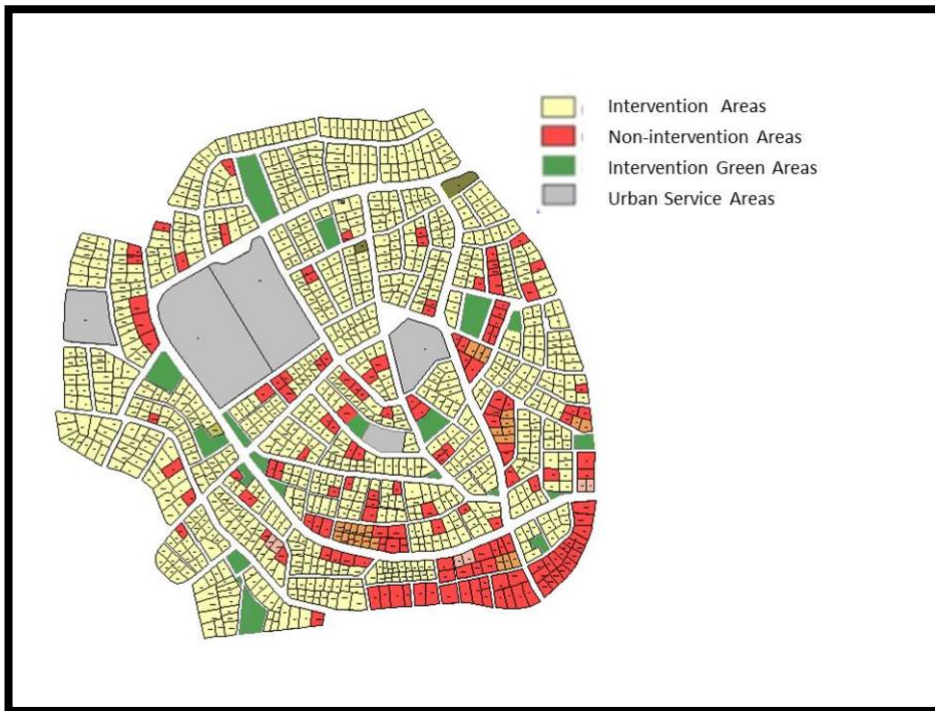


Figure 5.21 IDP and intervention of UTP to the existing parcels (Source: Nevirat, 2008)

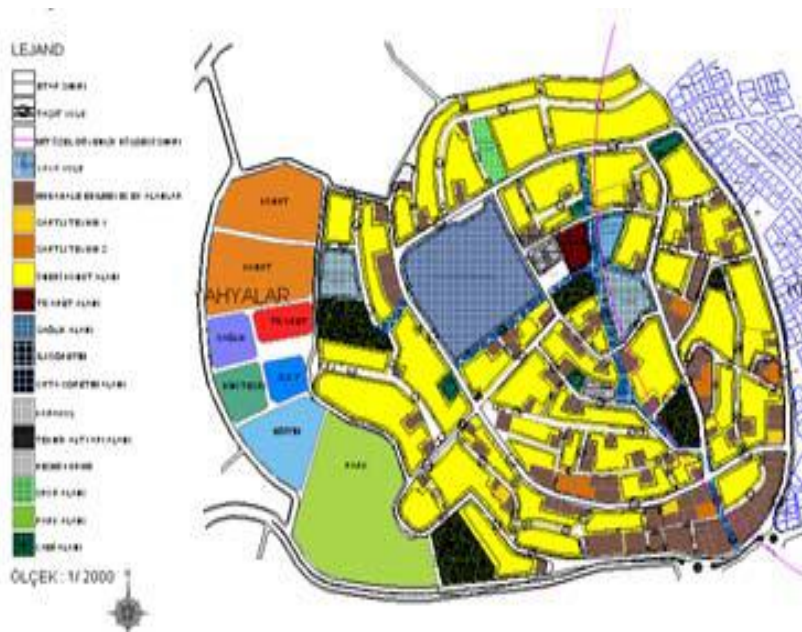


Figure 5.22 Third Stage of Sentepe Transformation Project (Source: Şentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality)

For 3 Stage the observation of the researcher is the plan is implemented for the up of the hill, however hill side constructions are less than other side. The reason of the slow implementation is the topography of area. Since west of the area is flat the constructions started from this site. (Interviewee B) Also new buildings are constructed is through Selim Street, which is the main service road of the area.

Land Use	Existing(m2)		Proposed(m2)	
Housing Areas	347.200		347.200	
	Number	Area	Number	Area
Primary School	2	13.307	2	14.000
Secondary School	1	40.500	1	40.500
Health Facilities	0	0	1	3.650
Religious Facilities	4	2455	4	4.160
Green Areas	23	16.030	5	25.832
Sport Areas	1	3.868	1	3.868
Commercial Areas	0	0	1	3.525
Municipality Service Areas	0	0	2	2.438
Government Institutions	0	0	2	2.195
Infrastructure	4	125	4	207
Roads	171.840		148.472	
Total	594.324		594.324	

Table: 5.8. Existing Land use and Decisions of Third Stage Source: *Şentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality*).

Stage 4

Stage 4 of the project is Avcilar and Kaletepe Quarters, covering 63 ha, and similar strategies for housing, roads, parks and transportation are pursued. The important decision of plan for Stage 4 is a new hospital, which will serve not just Sentepe but also surrounding areas. Therefore hospital is located in an accessible place and cover has a plot of 13,831 m². To meet the commercial needs of the area, three sub-centres are provided by the plan; first centre is located near the health centre, which also contains a bazaar. Also the areas of the existing school, health are increased; new parking lot, government institution area and a sport field is located the sub centres. A fire station, which is crucial need for the area due to not existing in Sentepe, is located in the Stage 4 area.

Land Use	Existing (M ²)	Proposed(M ²)
Housing Areas	392.283	392.283
Bazaar Area	2353	3475
Education	20.052	20.204
Government Institution	0	8002
Health Facility	2191	14825
Religious Facility	5681	6239
Park and Sport Area	27.026	28.218
Parking Lot	0	1350
Infrastructure	900	2434
Roads and Squares	184.027	158.616
Total	634.513	634.513

Table 5.9.Exiting Land use and Decisions of fourth Stage Source: *Şentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality*).

To increase the area of the bazaar and health care centre the gecokonu around them are demolished since they have legal title, a new parcel provided to them from municipality and the construction of their new houses is continuing. Also constructions are continuing most of the site. During interview of a resident who had settle down his new house it was commented that “the construction materials used for new houses are not good quality”. Even the houses are

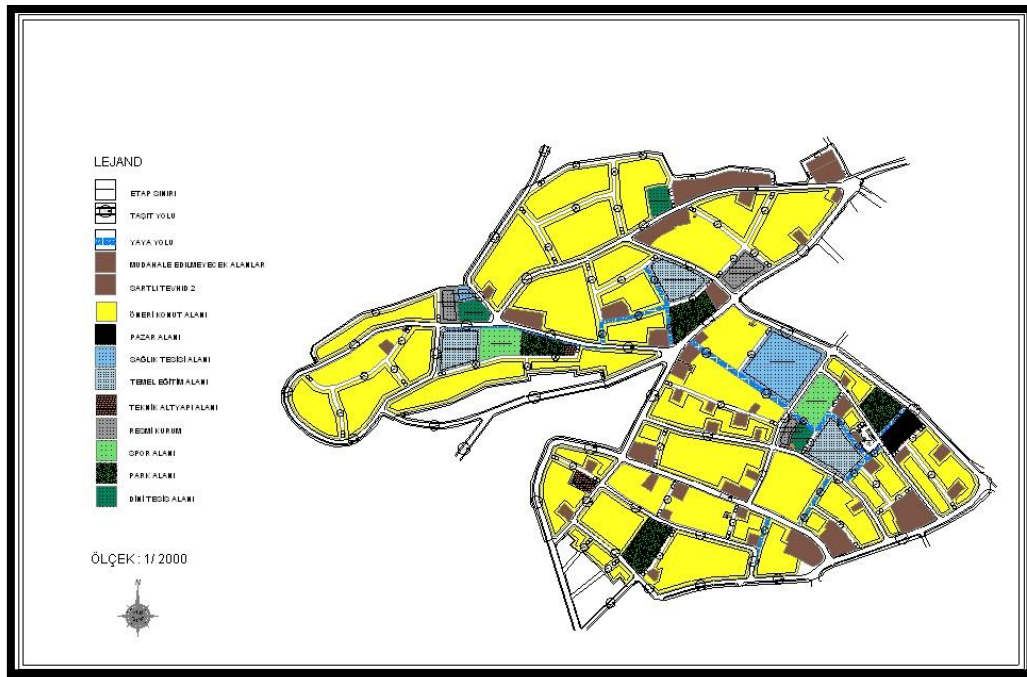


Figure 5.23 1986 IDP and intervention of UTP (Source: Nevirat, 2008)

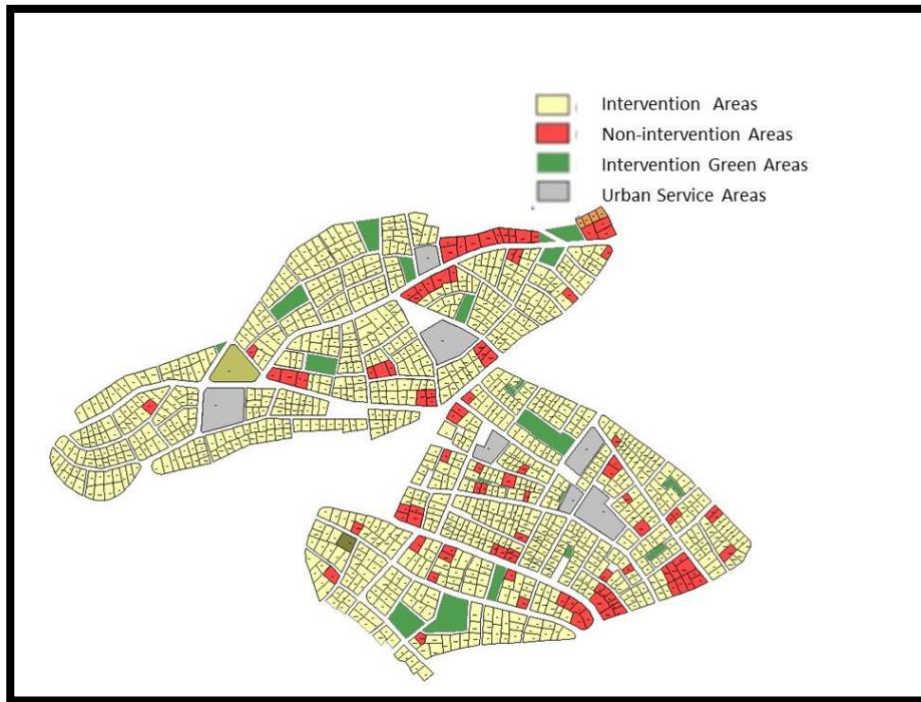


Figure 5.23 Fourth Stage of Sentepe Transformation Project (Source: Şentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality).

Stage 5

Stage 5 involved the least intervention in UTP plan for Sentepe because southern area is built legally and according to construction standards. As explained Chapter 4, as a result of IDP 3 the most accessible areas were developed by private sector developers, the less advantageous areas developed by one-man-firms (yap-satci), and the least accessible areas remained as *gecekond* housing or were redeveloped by residents themselves (Senyapili and Turel, 1996). So, the southern is less steep and better connected than the north and was substantially rebuilt under the IPD plan as it was profitable for developers. The UTP Stage 5 intervention, covering 51 ha, is therefore limited to improving the quality of urban life and improvements to parks, roads and housing etc, with the construction of a new sub-centre including shopping and social centre, with enlargement of the Mosque and primary school. Although increasing of existing urban service are limited in the 5. Stage, a fast rebuilding process is on-going in the site, there is limited number of *gecekond* in this are due to being near the main transportation road in Sentepe, demolishing process became more rapidly in the site. However, according to interview; “the private developers are 3 years late already than they promise.” Interview I give mad an agreements whit private developer 4 years ago whit his 13 neighbours. To obtain higher construction right 27 parcel which are belong to 13 are combined and an agreement made whit developer, according to agreement 2 building will built which has totally 95 apartments inside and they will have new apartments according to their parcel size. Interviewee will obtain a new 120 m² apartment for his 140 m² plot; however after 4 years of construction started they still could not have their apartment. According to interviewee this situation is a failure of private developer (Interviewee I)

Land Use	Existing(M ²)	Proposed (M ²)
Housing	323.274	323.274
Health Facility	3306	3306
Religious Facility	2369	2370
Park and Sport Filed	6342	6500
Roads and Squares	217692	209319
Total	561734	561734

Table 5.10.Exiting Land use and Proposed of Fifth Stage Source: *Şentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality*).



Figure 5.24 1986 IDP and intervention of UTP (Source: Nevirat, 2008)

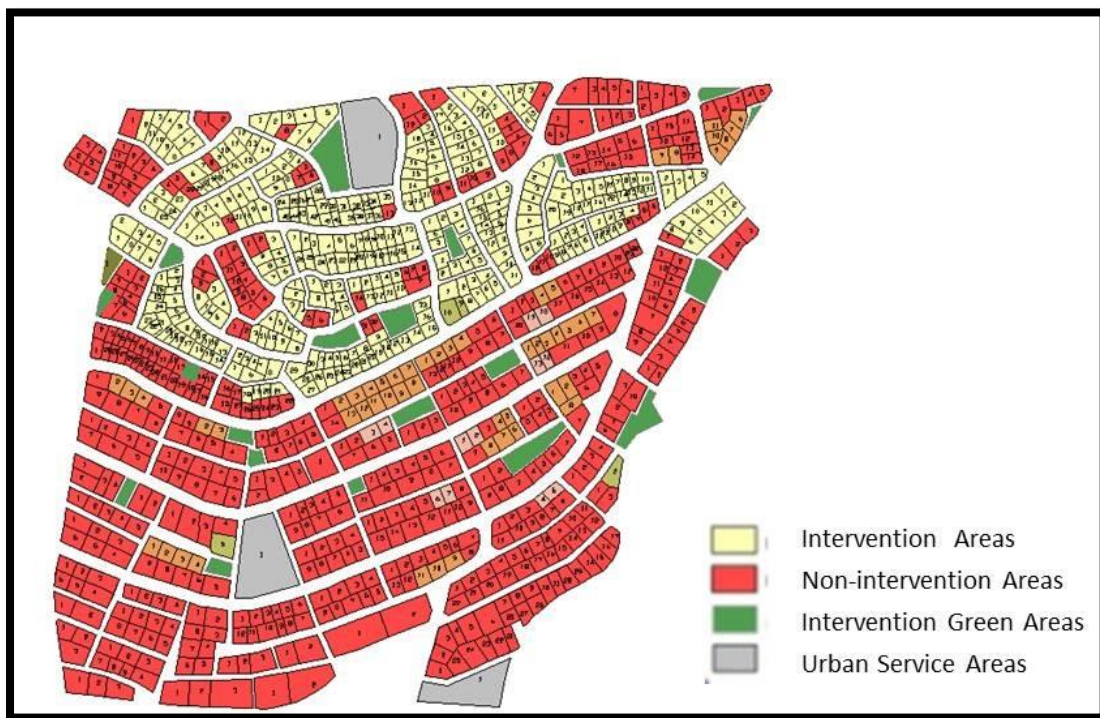


Figure 2.26 Fifth Stage of Sentepe Transformation Project (Source: Şentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality)

Stage 6

Stage 6, the Pamuklar Quarter is the last stage of the UTP, covering 68 ha. One of the aims of the UTP is to protect the valley in this area natural resource and prevents housing encroachment. So the valley is planned as a recreational area and 100 *gecekondu* in the area will be demolished and residence replaced to new housing units. The area of the new park is 23, 144 m²; main strategies of the UTP about parks, roads, pathways and housing is also implemented here. In the area of the 6.Stage there were 100 *gecekondu* in the project area that were not in the area of former IDP. Therefore the existing *gecekondu* have still illegal status and the area was without any plan. Since municipality did not want to demolish the houses giving without any legal right to the owners, first a local IDP implemented to give the *gecekondu* legal status. After *gecekondu* owners obtain their title, the UTP plan implemented and the owners plot right replaced other municipality plots in the site (Yenimahalle Municipality, 2004). So the houses demolished anyway but, the owners obtain new plots for their former houses. Interviewee J is Sentepe resident who lives in the 6. Stage, his house was not in the park area but his house is demolished as a part of UTP process and now he is live in his new apartment, but his comment about the project is” the constructions materials which use inside the house are not very good quality and beyond that the project destroy or friendship in the neighbourhoods. “

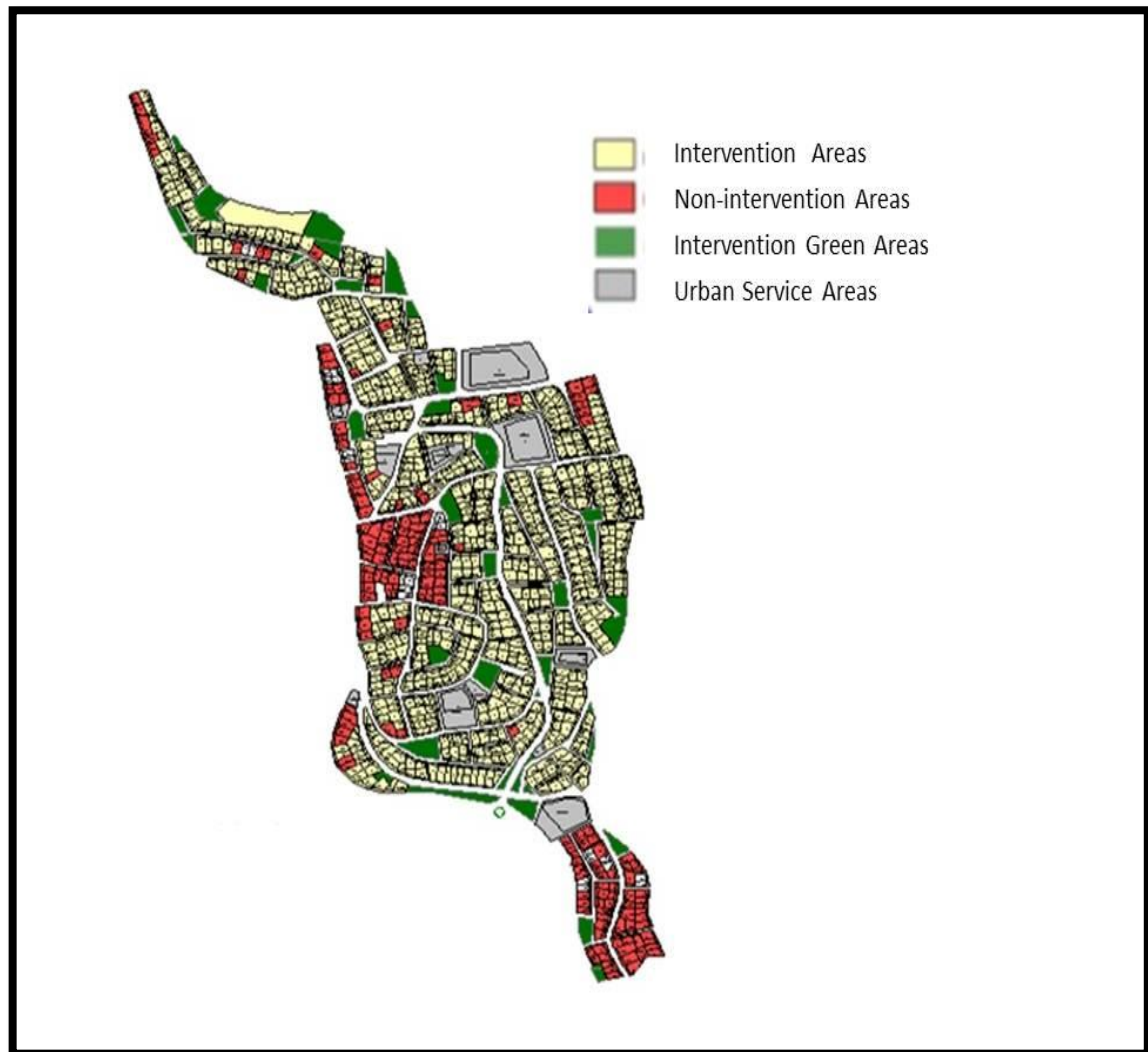


Figure5.216 Sixth Stage of Sentepe Transformation Project (Source: Iveynat, 2008)

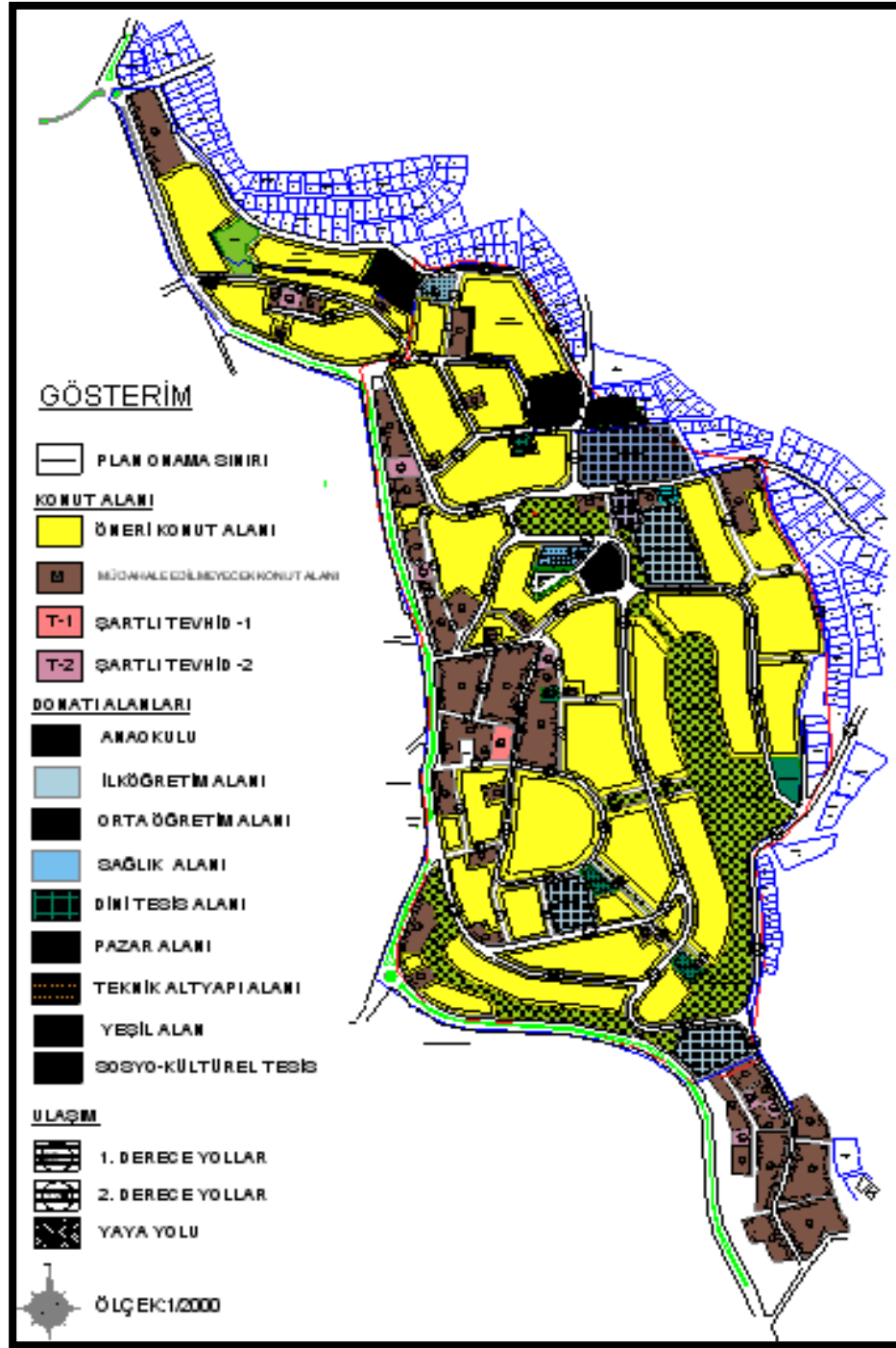


Figure 217 Sixth Stage of Şentepe Transformation Project (Source: Şentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality).

According to Yenimahalle Municipality Report, as a result of all increasing urban service area totally 758 gecekondur will demolish and new plots give are given them by municipality and totally 10847 people will replaced by municipality. The total number of people which plots replaced by municipality due to increase urban services such as park, health centre sport fields is 9.07 % of total gecekondur residents live in the area according to 2000 population census.

SATGES	TOTAL AREA	EXISTING POPULATION IN 2000 CENSUS	HOUSING AREA	POPULATION PRJECTION
1.STAGE BURÇ VE BARIŞTEPE QUARTERS	750.830	10.797	422.720	27.730
2.STAGE ERGENEKON, KAYALAR VE GÜVENTEPE QUARTERS	909.487	28.736	508464	33.353
3.STAGE ÇİĞDEMTEPE QUARTERS	594.324	9.047	347.200	22.776
4.STAGE AVCILAR VE KALETEPE QUARTERS İ	634.513	13.440	392.750	25.734
5.STAGE ANADOLU VE GÜZELYAKA QUARTERS	561734	13.563	323.274	21.206
6.STAGE PAMUKLAR QUARTER	634.513	11.502	374.921	28.376
TOPLAM	4.252.344	87.093	2.426.505	159.175

Table 5.11 the size of each stages and the projection population of Sentepe (Source: Şentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality).



Figure 218 UTP Plan (Source: Şentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality).

Interview Results

Interviews are consists of 5 sections; general information about residence, information about the upgrading process experience, the outcomes of upgrading program for housing, neighbourhood, social and economic outcomes of the upgrading programs. For the first part general information focus on number people live in the house and their economic, education vocation backgrounds. In second part of the interviews, their experience about upgrading projects is the focus concept, how does the upgrading project implemented, where they stay during the process, what is their expenditure during the upgrading. Third stage of the interview focus on housing outcomes; the problems of the former informal housing units, the quality and facilities of former and existing housing units will compare. Forth stage focuses social outcomes of upgrading projects and they are asked to evaluate existing situation in terms of green area, sport fields, commercial area, of their neighbourhoods for different age groups. Furthermore the effects of upgrading projects to their neighbourhood relation examine. For final chapter the, interviewers to ask compare the existing condition of their neighbourhoods whit former condition to understand the effect of the upgrading project.

Questionnaire Answers

A) General Profile of interviewees, whose house transformed to formal apartments block.

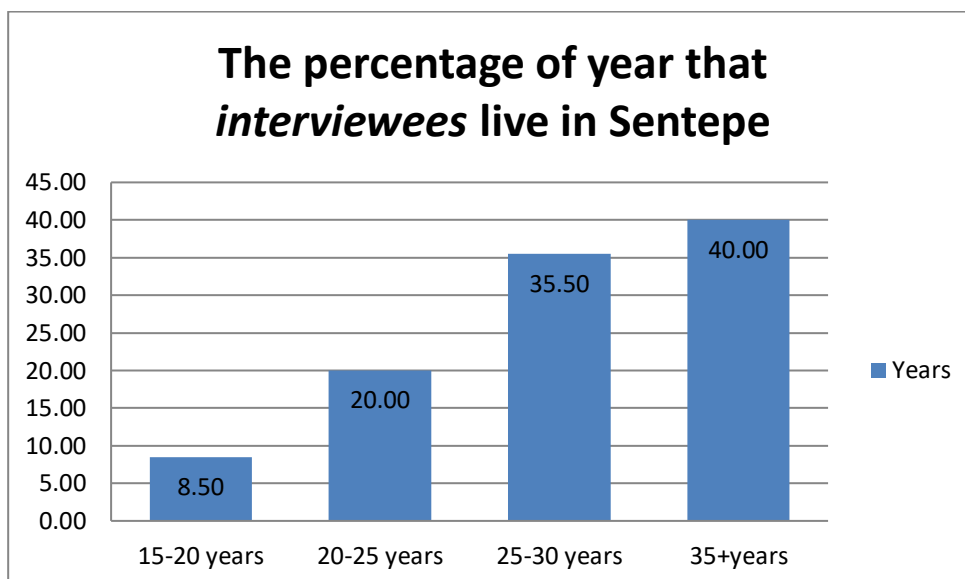


Figure 5.30 The percentage of year that interviewees live in Sentepe

The first gecekondus in Sentepe started settle down in beginning of the 1950's (Yenimhalle Municipality, 2004) and with different amnesty laws 1965, in 1981, in 1983 all existing gecekondus are legalized in the field. Graph 5.1 shows most of the gecekondu owners 40 per cent of them live in the area more than 35 years. Most of the gecekondu owners' children born in the area and some of them also have gecekondus near their family's houses. This neighbourhood and family relation are lost due to changing plots as a result of IDP and UTP. Also during interviews it has been observed by researcher that the residents who come from same villages of Ankara tend to place nearby each other.

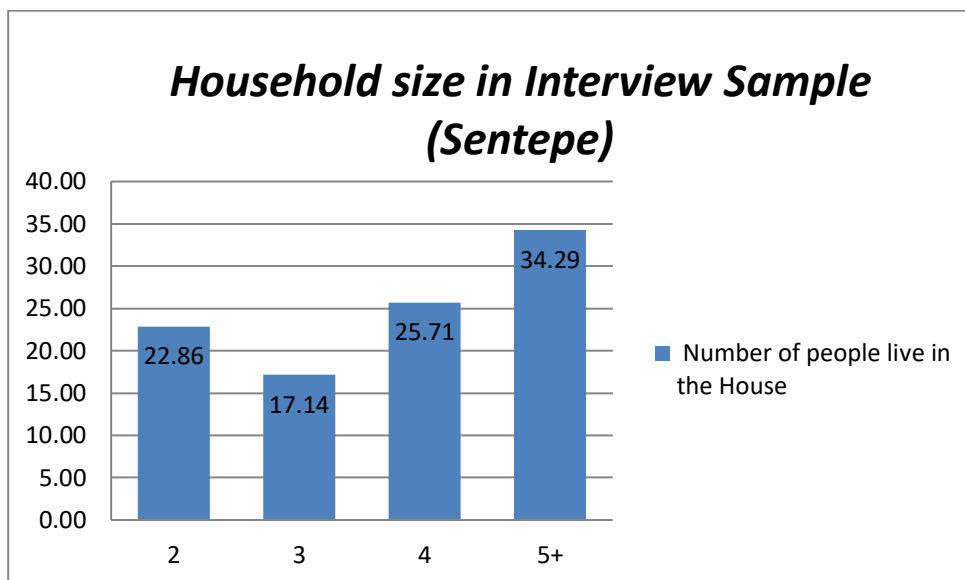


Figure 5.31 Household sizes in Interview Sample (Sentepe)

According to interview results the sample population have usually crowded families; 34.29 which consist of more than 5 + members. If it is compare that 37.14 of the families live in 60-100m² houses, it can say gecekondus families have limited place to live. According to (Senyapili, 1998), gecekondu residents do not have a separate room for their children unless they are married. The findings on the field support that gecekondu type houses have usually limited space for living.

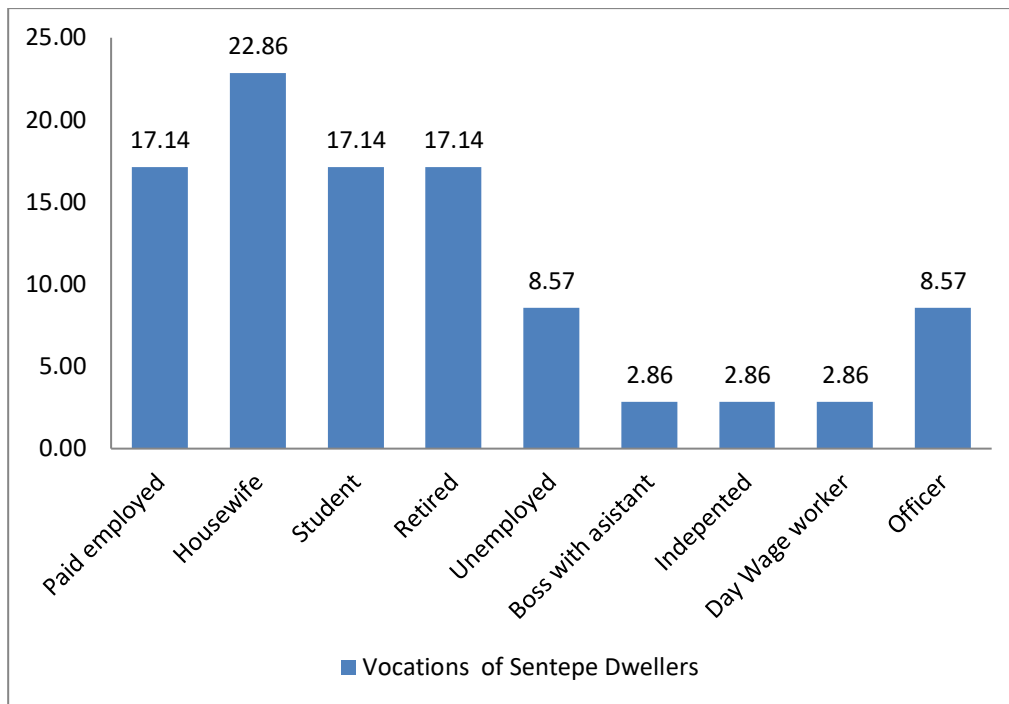


Figure 5.32 Employment/Activity Profiles of Interviewees (Sentepe)

Employment profiles of sample resident are a variety of vocations. Generally women are housewife or student there was limited number of woman who works whit a paid job. In terms of sample men are 17.14 of men is pain employed, the number of sample student, retired and paid employment are same. Unemployment rate in the field is 8.57 which is below the Turkish standard, according to Turkish Statistic Intuition Turkey average unemployment level is 10, 1. Independent, day wage worker and boss with assistant are the loves range with 2.86 averages.

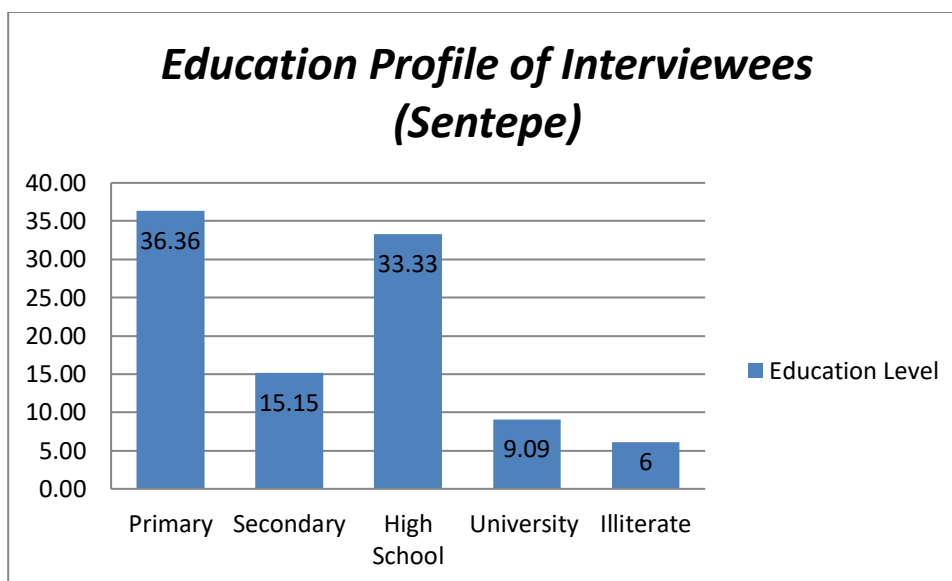


Figure 5.33 Education Profiles of Interviewees (Sentepe)

In terms of education, the highest level is primary school with 36, 36 %, after than high school, which is 33, 33 %. While parents are generally, primary and secondary school degree, the children are high school and university degree.

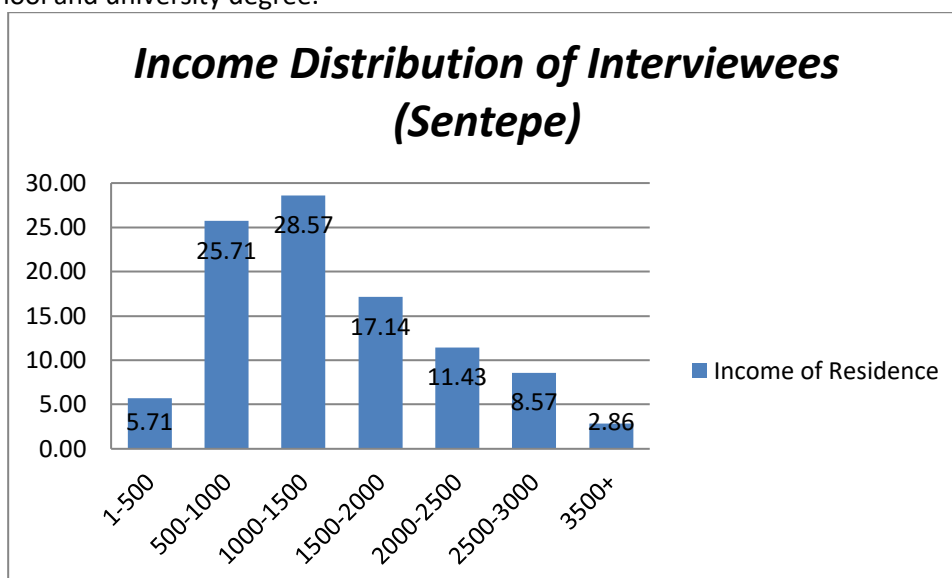


Figure 5.34 Income Distributions of Interviewees (Sentepe)

The highest level of in terms of monthly income, the highest distribution is between TL 1500-2000 which is equal to £ 500-660. After that the highest percentage is between TL 500-1000 which is equal to £166-333. According to World Bank (2013) GDP per capita of Turkey is for 2012 is \$10666, which means in Turkish Lira monthly income average is TL 1777.77, so Sentepe residents have below average monthly income of Turkey.

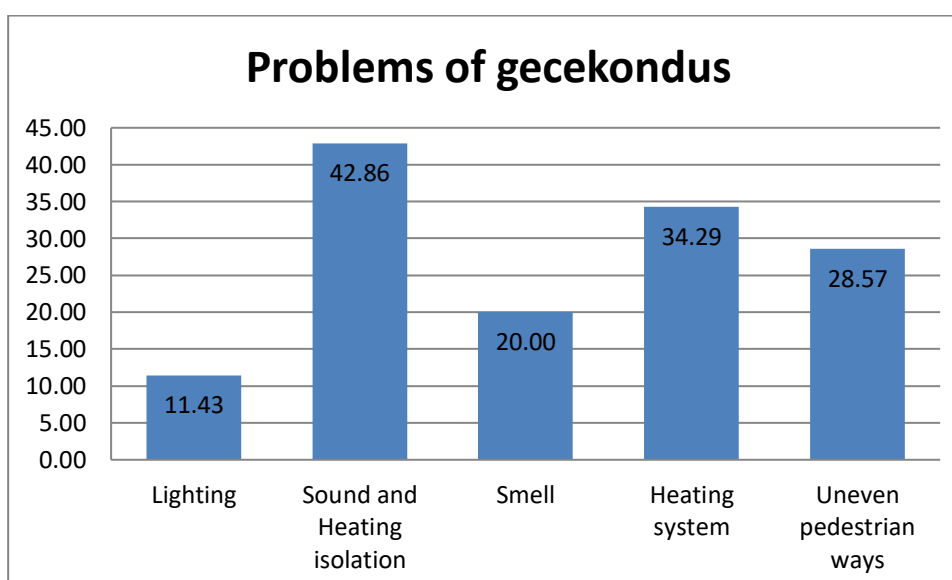


Figure 5.35 Problems of gecekondus

According to interviews, the biggest problem of the gecekondu houses are sound and heating isolation, as explain in chapter 4 gecekondu houses are sub-standard housing condition and generally do not have any extra isolation system. To do cold weather of Ankara and lack of isolation according to residents heating is the biggest problem of gecekondu. Also another problem is heating system. Gecekondu resident use stove or electric heater during the winter, due to high costs they prefer to stove, also Great municipality coal aid is another reason of stove. However especially women are complain about stove due to their smudge.

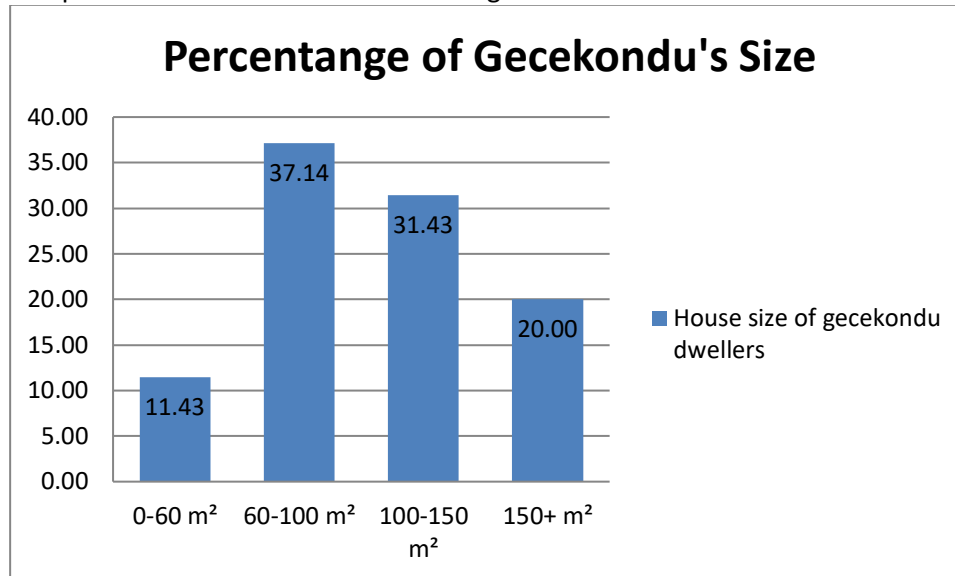


Figure 5.36 Percentages of Gecekondu's Size

The biggest percentage in terms of housing size is 60-100 m² and generally 2 rooms. Most of dweller references their advantages as having a garden. The plots of house usually are usually between 120 m² and 180 m². One of the biggest complain about apartment life among the gecekondu owners are not having a garden.

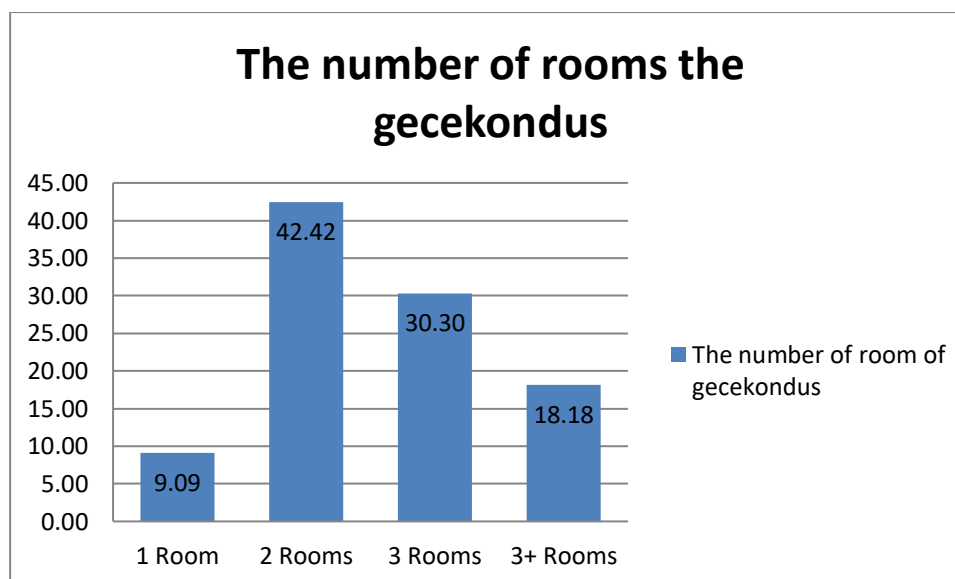


Figure 5.37 the number of rooms of gecekondu

With % 42.42 the highest average of rooms size is 2 rooms among the gecekondü owners. After that with 30.30 % average gecekondü houses have 3 rooms, but usually the resident who has 3 or more rooms live with their relative. Married son, brother and sisters family etc.

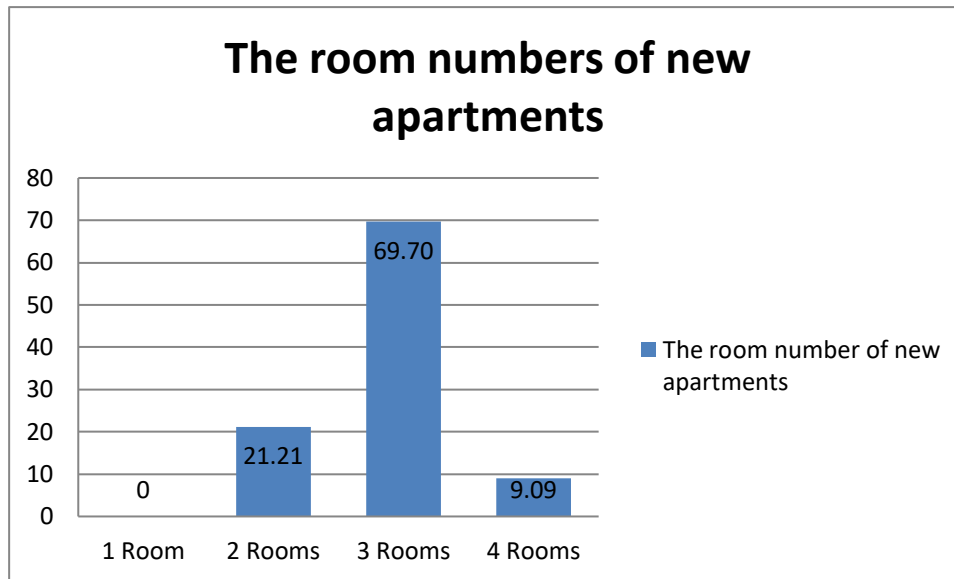


Figure 5.38 the number of room of new apartments

The room number and size of house that gecekondü owner will obtain in the end of the redevelopment depend on the agreement that they did with the developer but nearly all of the new houses in the area has 3 rooms, however if developers think the plot of the gecekondü owners is small they built two rooms apartment differently from the other apartments in the building to give to gecekondü owners. Also because of many parcels complain to increase constructions right, there are many problems among the gecekondü owners. There are several residents who bring civil litigation against each other because they perceive they did not obtain enough for their plot.

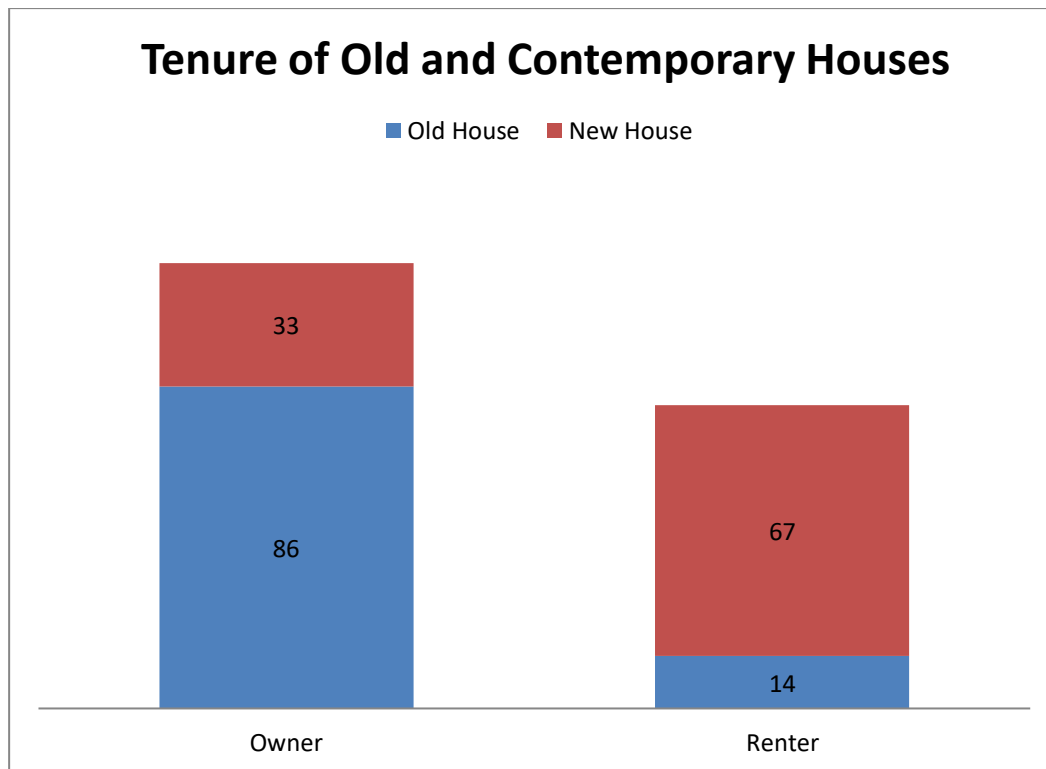


Figure 5.38 Tenure of Old and Contemporary Houses

During the two continuing constructions process most of the sample residents are now in permanent housing until their apartment is finished, during this time all rent and other costs are paid by gecekondu owners. Also, due to having a new house, they have many expenses like new membership for electric, gas, telephone, etc.

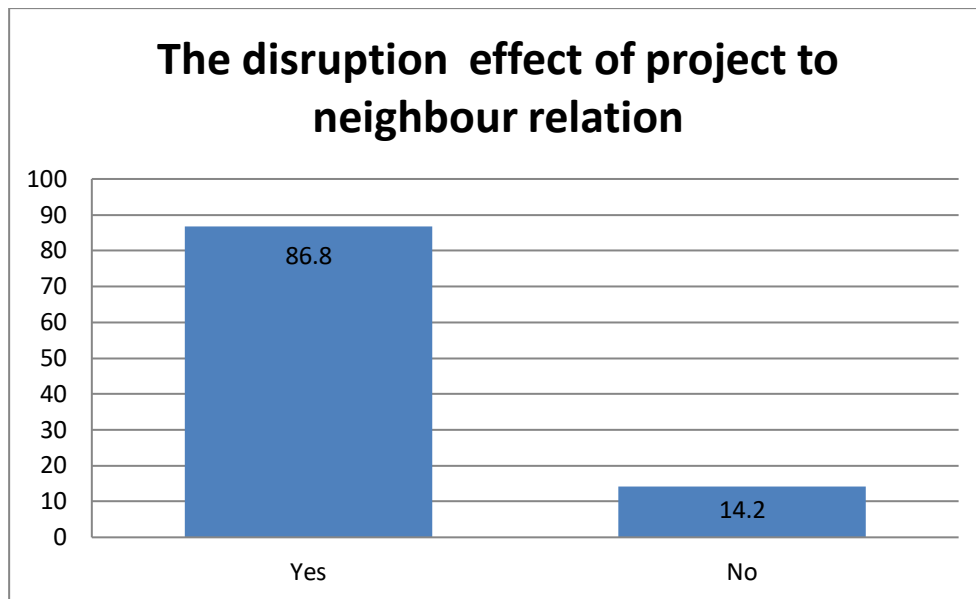


Figure 5.39 the disruption effect of project to neighbour relation

As it explain before the biggest social problem as a result of up grading project is disruption of neighbourhoods' relations due reallocation of parcels, only % 14,2 of sample resident think up grading project did not effected their neighbourhood relations.

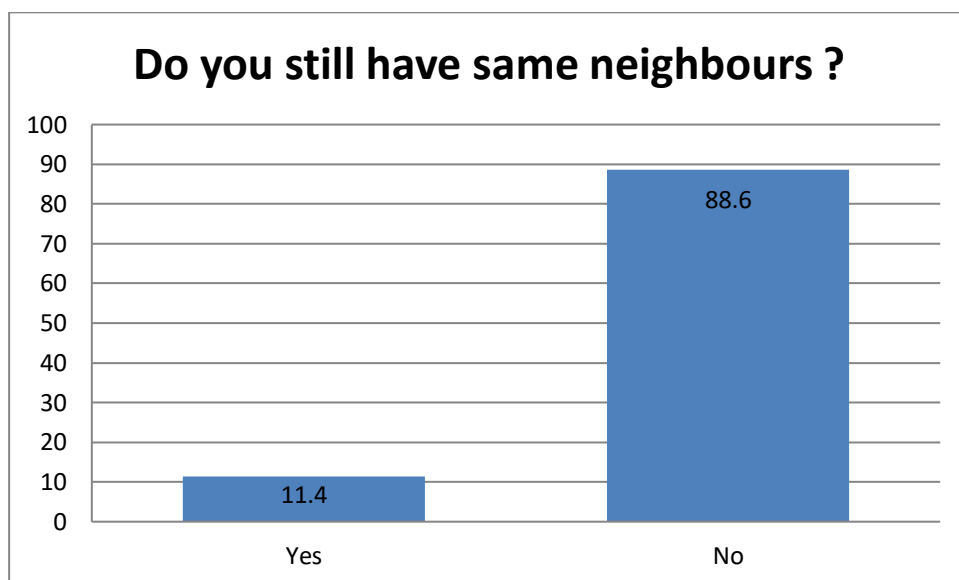


Figure 5.40 Do you still has same neighbours?

And also % 88.6 of resident says their neighbours' changes as a result of the projects.

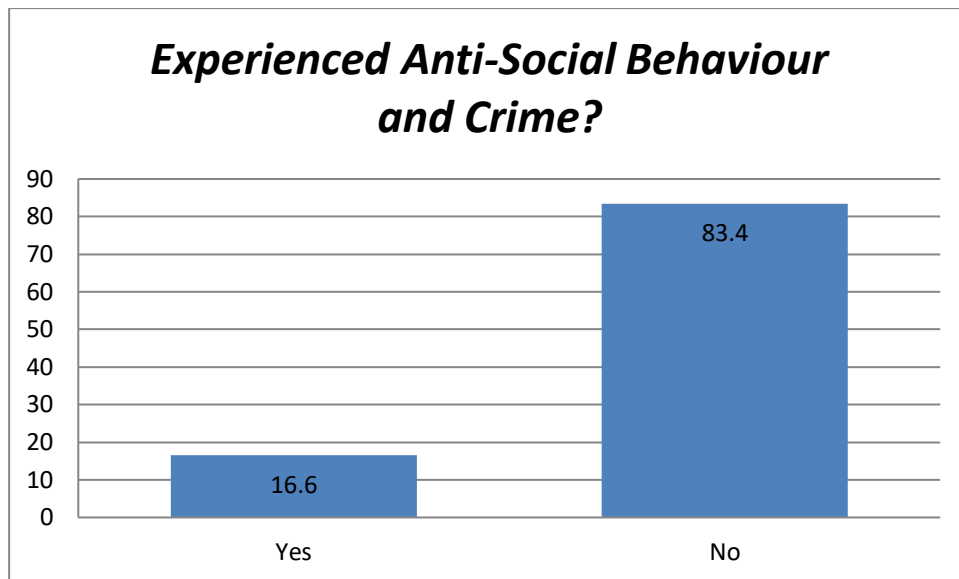


Figure 5.41 Experienced Anti-Social Behaviour and Crime?

In terms of old neighbourhoods 83.4 of the residents thought they aren't any problem in their neighbourhood. Most of the residents said since everybody knows each other there were not any problem in neighbourhoods.

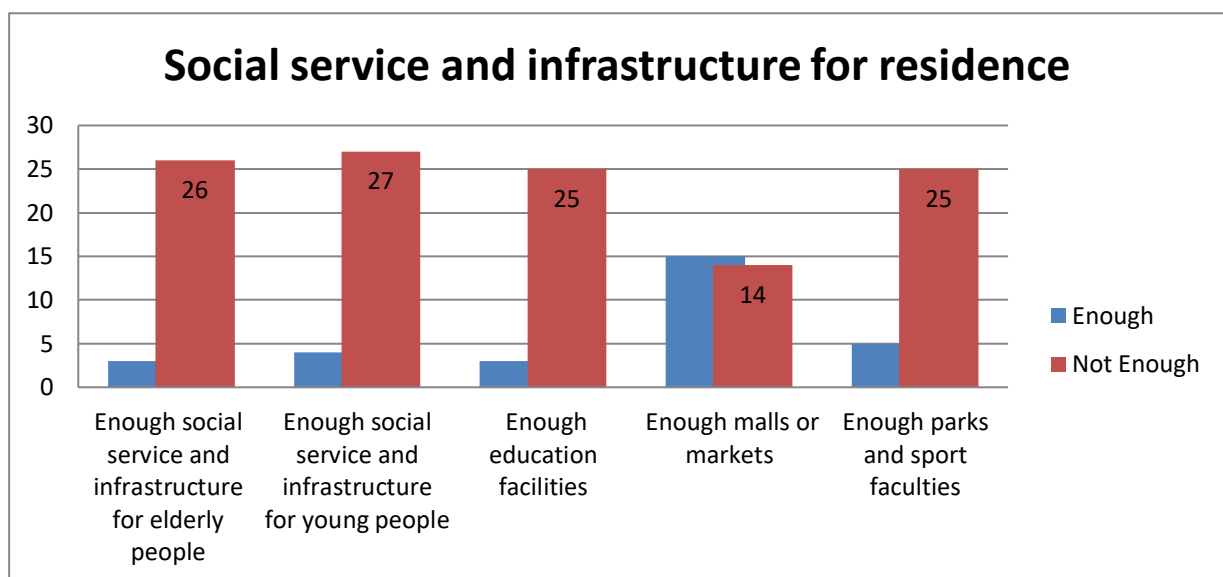


Figure 5.42 Social service and infrastructure for residence

In terms of up grading project evaluation, social services and for different age groups most of the residents think the upgrading projects fail to provide enough facilities. The reason of that might be implementation problem of the plans, because although there are many facilities in the plans sport fields, parks they did not realize until know. However building constructions are much faster than facilities construction.

Conclusion

Yenimahalle District is one of the oldest residential areas of Ankara for low income groups, beginning from 1950's gecekondus built north of the initial residential area of Yenimahalle. With the amnesty law residents get legal title for their houses, after 40 years of first appearing of gecekondus areas became a subject of big scale reconstruction projects. All the existing parcels are randomly combine and re-parcelled, however due to small parcels and topography of the area private developers did not enter the area for gecekondus clearance and rebuilding. Only the south of the area, which is less sloppy and close to main roads, is rebuilt. Although the site has all the basic infrastructure facilities, as a result of IDP all urban service areas (green areas, sport fields, commercial areas, health and education areas built sub-standard according to construction regulations (Act No: 3194). Therefore a new upgrading project was needed; the aim of the UTP is increasing green, health, education and other urban areas and to encourage private developer to invest the area increasing plot size and construction rights. However the structured interviews with the former gecekondus residents show that; although, the apartments as a result of the UTP increased housing standards, UTP led many social problems. Some of the problems are distribution of neighbourhoods' relations, replacement of gecekondus owners, increasing rent and other costs due to move another house. Also; the implementation problems of the plans in terms of the plan increase green area, sport fields, health and education areas led to non-satisfaction of residence about plan implementations.

Chapter 6 Conclusion

In Turkey the formation of slums started in Turkey after Second World War. Fast increase of population, rural poverty, industrialization led to increasing of the population in urban areas (Şenyapılı, 1998). Not having enough capital governments failed to provide adequate housing opportunities for migrants. Therefore the only possibility of urban poor to solve the housing problem was squatting. (Keles, 2006) Another reason of limited housing production was supporting economic growth. The aim of governments from 1950-1980 was creating a national industry therefore; government did not involve the housing production (Baharoglu, 1996). Housing production was lefted to the private developers by government and lack of the enough capital and big scale firms led to housing shortage in Turkey. Therefore even for middle income groups housing was not affordable. Under these circumstances the only possibility for low income groups was gecekondus.

The respond of the local and national government to *gecekondu* formation were different during different periods in Ankara; from 1950 to until middle 1960 years slums settlements has been seen illegal, temporary and source of the urban problems. Clearance and redevelopment was main strategy of government with limited resource. (Şenyapılı, 1998) However in redevelopment areas slum dwellers replaced by middle income groups (civil servants). (Özdemir, D. 2011) With global and national policy change 1970 brought self-help approach to agenda. Upgrading and rehabilitation of *gecekondu* areas were main approach during 1970's. With the new strategies after 1980's construction sector was seen as trigger of economic growth and mass and big scale transformation process started (Guzey, 2001). The different policies will examine in the case of Ankara whit their relation to planning development.

Accroding to structured interview with former *gecekondu* residents the outcomes of the government upgrading programmes for *gecekondu* owner are as a result of the UTP increased housing standards, UTP led many social problems. Some of the problems are distribution of neighbourhoods' relations, replacement of *gecekondu* owners, increasing rent and other costs due to move another house. Also; the implementation problems of the plans in terms of the plan increase green area, sport fields, health and education areas led to non-satisfaction of residence about plan implementations. Also as a result of IDP the basic infrastructure is provided, but all the land use decisions (green areas, sport fields, commercial areas, health and education areas) are under the construction regulations (Act No: 3194).

The underlying hypothesis of the research is that, since construction is seen as a trigger for economic growth, the implicit aim of the all the transformation projects was to support the construction sector rather than the betterment of conditions for *gecekondu* dwellers through improvements in housing, infrastructure or environment. Government did not involve the housing production to encourage industrialization and economic growth and the only intervention of housing sectors based on encourage economic growth rather than housing production for low income groups.

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Appendix

- A) GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT RESIDENT
- B) INFORMATION ABOUT THE TRANSFORMATION/UPGRADING PROCESS & EXPERIENCE
- C) HOUSING OUTCOMES
- D) NEIGHBOURHOODS OUTCOMES
- E) SOCIAL OUTCOMES
- F) ECONOMIC OUTCOMES

A) GENERAL INFORMATION ABOUT RESIDENCE

1) The name of the neighbourhood Sentepe / Altındag

How long have you been living in neighbourhood? ()

How long have you been living in Sentepe ? ()

2) Address of the house.....

3) How many people living in your house? Adults.....Children.....

4) Can you give me information about their education, work experience background?

4.1. Can ask you your Age

1-19..... 2 = 19-24..... 3 = 25-34.....4 = 35-54..... 5 = 55+.....

4.2. How many years of schooling do you have (give highest level)?

1= Primary..... 2= Secondary.... 3= Diploma.... 4=Technical (*specify*).....

5= University (*specify*).....

4.3. What is your vocation?

1=Boss with 3 = Paid employee 5 = Piece worker 7 = Family member
assistants

2 = Independent 4 = Day-wage worker 6 = Unpaid worker 8 = Other (*specify*)
9= Student

4.4. Have many people in your house are working now? What are their vocations?

1.....

2.....

3.....

4.5. Does of the household do any paid work at home? (eg; cooking, sewing, handicrafts)

4.6. What is education background of households?

- 1.....
- 2.....
- 3.....
- 4.....
- 5.....
- 6.....

5) What is average income of family?

- | | | |
|-------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| 1-500 YTL () | 1000 YTL () | 2500-3000 YTL () |
| 500-1000 YTL () | 1500-2000 YTL () | 3000-3500 YTL () |
| 5000YTL and above | | |

INFORMATION ABOUT THE TRANSFORMATION/UPGRADING PROCESS & EXPERIENCE

6) How long have you been living at your current house?

7) When was your house built/ transformed?

8) How big was your plot? ()

9) What was type of your old house and which location?

10) were you able to move straight into the new house, or did you have to live somewhere temporarily?

11) If you stay somewhere else, who subsidize your rent during construction process?

12) When you sell your house developer did construction immediately started?

If Not, How was the process?

13) Does your house have?

Facilities	Previous Home	Current Home
Electricity		
Inside tap		
Inside toilet		
Bathroom		
Gas Internet		
Kitchen		

14) Do you any problem about following topics in your house?

	Old	New
Lighting	()	()
Sound and heating insulation	()	()
Smell	()	()
Heating system	()	()
Orientation	()	()

Other.....
.....
.....

15) How many m² is/was your house?

Old () New ()

16) How many rooms has/had your house?

Old () New ()

17) Are following part of your house useful? If there is problem can you describe it.

17.1. mLiving Room

Old.....

New.....

17.2Children Room

Old.....

New.....

17.3. Parents Room

Old.....

New.....

17.4. Storage

Old.....
New.....
17.5. Kitchen
Old.....
New.....
17.6. Bath
Old.....
New.....
17.7. Toilet
Old.....
New.....

18) What is your type of tenure?

Owner

Renter

Other

Old

New

19) Numbers of stores of house?

()

20) How many years old is the building?

$$\left(\begin{array}{c} \text{ } \\ \text{ } \end{array} \right)$$

21) How many flats are in the building?

()

22) What are the advantages and disadvantages of your house if you compare your old and new houses?

Old

New

[illegible]

SOCIAL OUTOMES

23) Are your old neighbours still the project area?

24) Are there enough social service and infrastructure for elderly people after transformation project?

25) Are there enough social service and infrastructure for young people after transformation project?

26) Are there enough education facilities in the project area?

27) Are there enough malls or markets in the project area?

28) Are there enough parks and sport faculties in the project area?

29) Are there any job training programs in the neighbourhood?

30) If there are would you like to attend any of them?

31) Are there any hobby or skill development programs for housewife?

If there are would you like to attend any of them?

32) Are there any leisure activity centres in the project area?

If No, what kind of facilities you need?

.....

33) Are your relations with your neighbours effected from the transformation project?

34) Are you still leaving with your old neighbours before the transformation projects?

35) Did transformation project cause any distribution on your relation with your neighbours?

36) Are there any anti-social behaviours and crime in your neighbourhood?

37) Are you pleasant living in a flat? If you have opportunity what kind of house do you want to live?

ECONOMIC OUTCOMES

38) Do you think transformation projects created any job opportunity for residence?

39) Did anybody in the neighbourhood lost their job due to transformation process?

40) Did you spend any money due to construction process?

41) Are there any income catering facilities that did you lost during the transformation process?

42) Did you use your house for any income catering activities?

NEIGHBOURHOODS OUTCOMES

Neighbourhood Facilities	Perfect		Good		Fair		Bad		Very Bad	
	ld	ew	ld	ew	ld	ew	ld	ew	ld	ew
Leisure and sport facilities										
Landscaping										
Hygienic conditions of neighbourhood										
Neighbourhood safety										
Municipality services										
Distance Clinics										
Distance Education facilities										
Distance Shopping and other daily facilities										
Distance Public transport										
Playground and sport area										
Shuttle bus provision										
Car parks										
Design for elderly and disable people										

43) Are there any facilities that you have before the project and demolish during construction process in the neighbourhood?

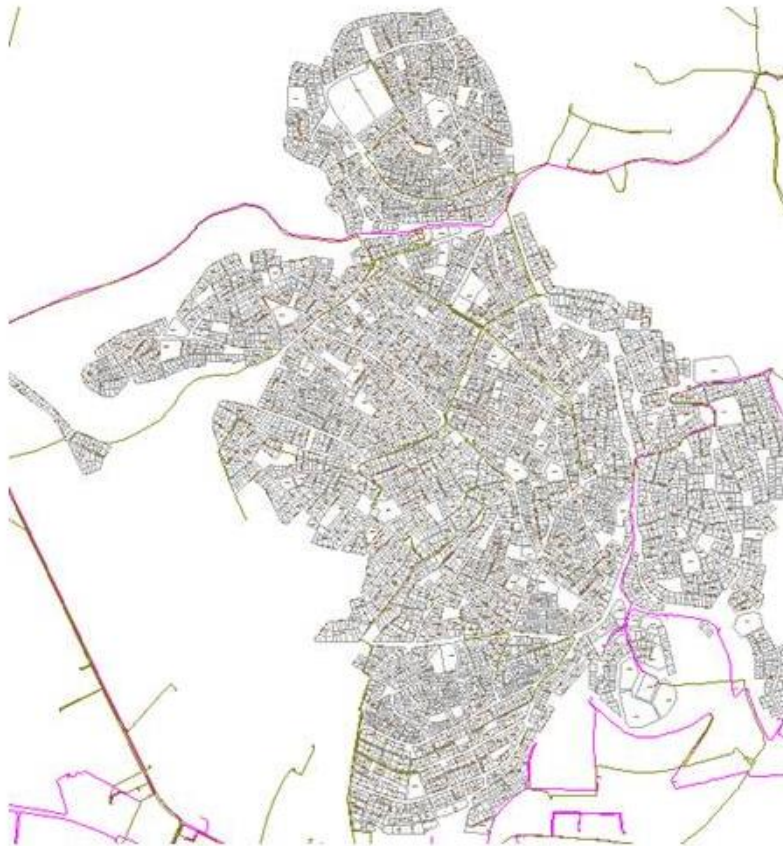
44) What is your opinion about transformation process generally?

45) Are you Pleasant to leave in this neighbourhood generally?

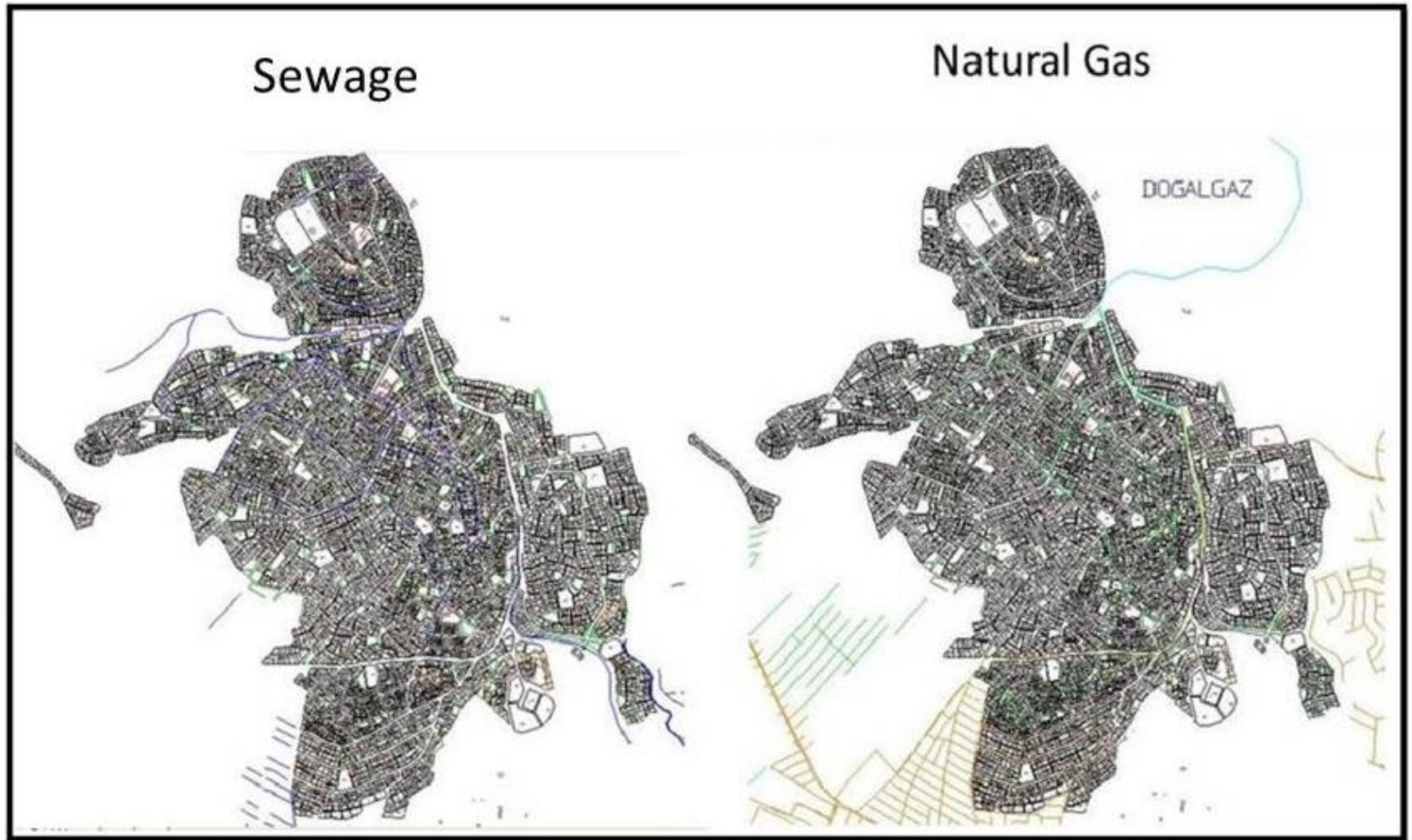
If you have opportunity do you want to move somewhere else and why?

- Electricity

Storm-water drains



Existing Infrastructure (Electricity, Storm-water drains) in the site (Report Şentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality)



Existing Infrastructure (sewage, Natural Gas) in the site
(Report Şentepe Urban Transformation Project Report,
Yenimahalle Municipality)

Telecommunication



Drinking Water



Existing Infrastructure (telecommunication, Drinking Water) in the site (Report Şentepe Urban Transformation Project Report, Yenimahalle Municipality)