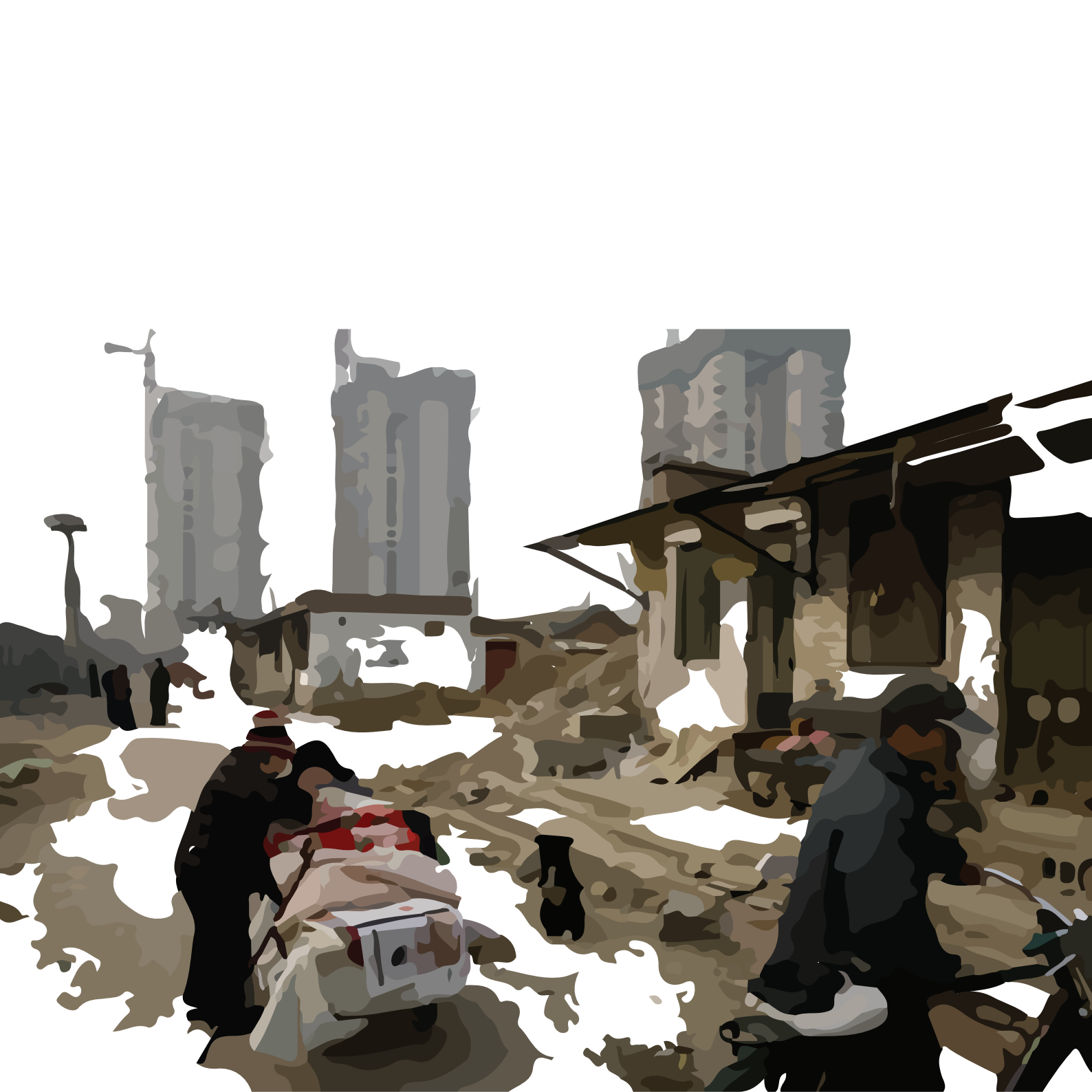


The resettlement of slum dwellers into social housing following forced eviction:

A Comparative Analysis of Cases in Istanbul and 4 Cities

Merve Cevik, June 2013





All Rights Reserved

Merve Çevik

cevikmerve@gmail.com

ISBN: 978-605-125-665-8

Cover&Page Design: Merve Çevik

Cover Illustration: TOKI Dwellers The Survival Manual

Home Page Illustration: The cover illustration for the Turkish translation of “Handbook on UN Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-Based Evictions and Displacement - Third Edition November 2010

Home Page Photograph: Beijing Olympics Eviction



Vrije Universiteit Brussel

Faculty of Science Department of Geography
Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of Master in Urban Studies

SURNAME, Name	→ ÇEVİK, Merve
Academic Year of the Defence	→ Fall Semester 2013 - 2014
Name of the Thesis	→ Exile from Exile - The resettlement of slum dwellers into social housing following forced eviction: A Comparative Analysis of Cases in Istanbul and 4 Cities
Supervisor	→ Mathieu Van Crieelingen
Second Reader	→ Jesus Leal
Date of Submission	→ September 1st, 2013



VI

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Numerous people have made my graduate studies at the 4 Cities Unica Euromaster, an intellectually rewarding experience. First, I would like to thank my supervisor, Mathieu Van Crieking, for his theoretical generosity and for encouraging me to manage with my scattered focus. His guidance has greatly influenced this dissertation. I am grateful to Hade Turkmen for her astute readings of my drafts and her thoughtful comments and suggestions. She has also been a great inspiration for my learning; I was very fortunate to have her as my teaching mentor. I am also grateful to all of the 4 Cities academicians and students, who has raised important questions about my research project and its implications.

My work in Istanbul was made possible by many individuals and institutions. The research in this dissertation has been made possible by Hade Turkmen and various other fellowships and financial support from the Ercan Yurekli. I am most grateful to the residents of Ayazma and Sulukule who shared their stories with me. I would like to thank to Cihan Uzuncarsili Baysal for helping me access crucial documents and surveys. I am also thankful to the members of the IMECE Urbanism Movement of Society, all of whom generously shared their knowledge and insights on urban transformation or renewal.

My studies in 4 different capital cities in Europe and my research in Istanbul have benefited from the support of and discussions with many friends and colleagues, including Firat Seker, Onat Yigit Mercan, Huseyin Ali Bolat, Peter Eckersley and many others. This dissertation was further enhanced by the contributions of Pinar Caglin and Emrah Engindeniz. Finally, I owe my deepest debt of gratitude to my family; Mukadder Cevik, Zafer Cevik, Murat Cevik and Mualla Ucarkus. This project would have been impossible without their support and caring.

ABSTRACT

Keywords: Urban transformation, TOKI, urban renewal, housing problem, remigration, relocation, displacement, forced eviction, state-led property transfer, Ayazma, Sulukule

ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

TOKI: Toplu Konut İdaresi (Housing Development Administration of Turkey)

REIT: Real Estate Investment Trust

UTP: Urban Transformation Project

AKP: Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi (JDP - Justice and Development Party)

İBB: İstanbul Büyükşehir Belediyesi (İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality)

AGFE: Advisory Group on Forced Evictions

TUIK: Türkiye İstatistik Kurumu (Turkish Statistical Institute)

GSMH: Gayri Safi Millî Hasıla (GNP - Gross National Product)

TOKI: Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı (Housing Development Administration of Turkey)

UNESCO: United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

UCL Urban Lab: University College London Urban Laboratory

LR: Land Readjustment

IOC: International Olympic Committee

SP: Sulukule Platform

VIII

CONTENTS

Definition of Key Terms

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

RESEARCH RATIONALE

Introduction to Chapter 1

Scope, Objectives and Design of the Research

Theoretical Framework

Research Questions and Methodology

Conclusion of Chapter 1

CHAPTER 2

BACKGROUND OF URBAN PLANNING IN TURKEY AND CURRENT STATE OF HOUSING POLICIES

Introduction to Chapter 2

Housing Development in Turkey

Evolution of Urban Policies

 New Laws and Regulation of Current Laws

 Are the current urban policies neoliberal?

TOKI (Housing Development Administration of Turkey)

Literature Review: Social Housing as a Solution to Displacement

 Cairo

 Sao Paulo

 Beijing

 Mexico City

Conclusion of Chapter 2

CHAPTER 3
REMIGRATION AS A CONSEQUENCE OF RELOCATION: TWO CASES IN ISTANBUL

Introduction to Chapter 3

Relocation: from Squatter Settlements to Social Housing

Ayazma (Squatter Settlement)

Structure of the Ayazma Community

Relocation of Ayazma Dwellers to TOKI

Remigration of Ayazma Dwellers from TOKI

Sulukule (Inner-city Slum)

Structure of the Sulukule Community

Relocation of Sulukule Dwellers to TOKI

Remigration of Sulukule Dwellers from TOKI

Conclusion of Chapter 3

CHAPTER 4
CONFRONTING THE LESSONS

Istanbul Cases Vs. Lessons Drawn from the Literature Review

Lessons Learnt from Housing Policies in Turkey

Is there a specific Istanbul story comparable to other cases?

CONCLUSION

REFERENCES

X

LIST OF IMAGES,

Image 1: Actual 3rd floor communal corridor of the Pruitt Igoe Social Housing buildings 10 years after the construction in 1954, ghettoization.

Image 2: Irregular urbanization from 1950s till today in one shot; a typical landscape of Istanbul.

Image 3: The reflection of segregation in Istanbul to the urban space

Image 4: A Gecekondu Transformation project by TOKI in Istanbul

Image 5: Poor quality social housing projects of TOKI

Image 6: Flood Disaster in Samsun TOKI

Image 7: TOKI Basibuyuk buildings are causing land slide risk in the neighborhood

Image 8: Blocks of the Relocation Project nearby Manshiet Nasser Neighborhood

Image 9: Manshiet Nasser Neighborhood and the resettlement blocks

Image 10: Heliopolis, one of the largest favelas in Sao Paulo

FIGURES,

Figure 1: Expected growth of the worldwide construction industry, 2009-2014

Figure 2: The imagined vision of Cairo in 2050

Figure 3: Provision of 2.5 million housing units in Cairo

Figure 4: Actors of Ayazma Urban Transformation Project

Figure 5: Stages of Urban Renewal in Sulukule

MAPS,

Map 1: The Istanbul 2020 Games Master Plan proposes a total of 37 competition venues

Map 2: The European Side of 1/100,000 scale Istanbul Provincial Environmental Plan

Map 3: These Maps shows the relations between the Third Bridge and other Neoliberal Projects in Istanbul

Map 4: Ongoing and Completed TOKI Projects in Istanbul are shown with red

Map 5: Istanbul administrative borders and location of fieldwork sites

Map 6: Remigration process of Ayazma and Sulukule inhabitants

GRAPHS

Graph 1: 1950 and 2013 populations of case study cities

AND TABLES

Table 1: Housing Stock in Turkey

Table 2: Housing Stock in Istanbul

Table 3: The Number of Houses Constructed in Turkey

Definition of Key Terms

Gecekondu: Gecekondu⁽¹⁾ is a Turkish term corresponding to self-help housing on occupied public land or owned lands. Squatter settlements, shanty towns and slums can also define the gecekondu neighborhoods in Turkey. Gece means 'the night' and konu 'landed', hence gecekondu translates as 'landed at night' (Esen 2009). The word 'gecekondu' in Turkish means 'built overnight' (Baharoglu et al. 1998, 116). This term is also used to describe areas or neighborhoods such as the building and the ownership of shanty towns. Gecekondu has always been a complicated issue. Ownership in the gecekondu has several meanings. It may mean (1) having the "use right" of a house through a gecekondu amnesty law; (2) having a title deed of the land but not the house on it; or (3) not having any title deed or the "use right" of either the land or the house (Bartu and Kulluoglu 2008).

Mahalle / mahallesi: "The mahalle (neighborhood) was the historic space of urban culture in the Middle East" (Mills 2004, 1). Currently in Istanbul, a mahalle is defined as a neighborhood or electoral district within the city. If the Mahalle has a population over 2000, they have political representation with the municipal government (Neuwirth 2007).

Hisseli Tapu: Divided property title, shareholding of title

Tapu Tahsis Belgesi: Title deed

100TL (Turkish Lira) = 40€ (Euro) = \$52 (U.S. Dollar)

.....

1 The phrase of the term in other languages: • French: bidonvilles, taudis, habitat précaire, habitat spontané, quartiers irréguliers; • Spanish: asentamientos irregulares, barrio marginal, barraca (Barcelona), conventillos (Quito), colonias populares (Mexico), tugurios and solares (Lima), bohíos or cuarterias (Cuba), villa miseria; • German: Elendsviertel; • Arabic: mudun safi, lahbach, brarek, medina achouaia, foundouks and karyan (Rabat-Sale), carton, safeih, ishash, galoos and shammasa (Khartoum), tanake (Beirut), aashwa'i and baladi (Cairo); • Russian: trushchobi; • Portuguese: bairros da lata (Portugal), quartos do slum, favela, morro, cortiço, comunidade, loteamento (Brazil); • Turkish: gecekondu; • English (US): 'hood' (Los Angeles), ghetto; • South Asia: chawls/chalis (Ahmedabad, Mumbai), ahatas (Kanpur), katras (Delhi), bustee (Kolkata), zopadpattis (Maharashtra), cheris (Chennai), katchi abadis (Karachi), watta, pelpath, udukku or pelli gewal (Colombo); • Africa: umjondolo (Zulu, Durban), mabanda (Kiswahili, Tanzania). Source: The Challenge of Slums: Global Report on Human Settlements, 2003

XII

INTRODUCTION

The transition from national developmentalism to neoliberal capitalism in the context of the de-industrialization, post-fordism and globalization is reshaping cities comprehensively (Keyder 2005). Cities in developing countries continue to grow uncontrollably due to high birth rates and by attracting rural migrants. Although a recent study highlighted the fact that urbanization has helped to reduce absolute poverty (Ravallion, Chen & Sangraula 2007), the number of people classified as urban poor is on the rise. Between 1993 and 2002, 50 million poor were added to urban areas while the number of rural poor declined by 150 million (UN-Habitat 2007). It is estimated that 860 million people are living in slums today all over the world and if the current conditions continues, this number will increase to 2 billion by 2030 (UN-Habitat 2007). Inadequate public policies and the absence of urban planning have resulted in increasing poverty and marginalization. In the meantime, it is also estimated that 15 million people are subject to forced eviction each year.

Urban transformation is the main mechanism through which a neoliberal system is instituted in incompletely commodified urban areas. Kuyucu and Unsal (2008) raises a contentious issue in the urban planning discipline debate with the belief that "the analysis shows that the UTPs [Urban Transformation Projects] predominantly aim at physical and demographic upgrading of their respective areas rather than improving the living conditions of existing inhabitants, thus instigating a process of property transfer and displacement". The Metropolitan Municipality of

Istanbul is implementing urban transformation through sudden, top-down decisions that do not sufficiently account for environmental protection or consultations with citizens. A very recent study (Pierini 2013) found that during the decision making process, the opinions of inhabitants were mostly ignored, making it impossible to canalize civic consensus on the pace and nature of economic development in Istanbul; where there is no systematic monitoring of urban transformation practices.

In Istanbul, a very aggressive urban regeneration process began with the passing of the two new laws in 2005; Article 73 of the Municipality Law No. 5393 and Law No. 5366 on "Protection and Renewal of Damaged Historical and Cultural Real Property and their Usage to Keep Them Alive". Under these two laws, municipalities and Housing Development Administration of Turkey (TOKI) are authorized to carry out urban renewal projects in historical or ecological areas. Experts indicate that a huge earthquake will hit Istanbul in the near future and according to the vice chairman of the Association of Real Estate Investment Companies of Turkey, the coming earthquake will destroy 2 million of the city's 3.5 million apartments, of which half of them are illegal. TOKI, private real-estate developers and municipalities are openly declaring their interest in privatization projects with public statements on how important it is to demolish and rebuild Turkish cities, especially when considering the potential earthquake risk. The new Law on Disaster

Prevention⁽²⁾ will pave the way for the demolition of the buildings in Istanbul.

Moreover, the scale of the projects tend to dominate contemporary urban discourses since Istanbul turned into major global city. Mega projects, as the hottest issues, are also in the agenda of the Istanbul authorities: Opening up a canal between the Black Sea and Marmara Sea, providing an alternative route to the Bosphorus; filling the seashore to create a demonstration and concert area for over a million people, building a cross-continental underground metro-tunnel, closing the historical railway tracks and building an Olympic village. Urban transformation process and major projects mutually accelerate the process of commodification of urban land.

The eviction process generally starts after global powers or local investors discover the profitable areas or these areas are chosen for international events or big projects. Usually, evicted people are forced to live in the periphery of cities, where public-private initiatives or governments already start mass housing projects to relocate evicted people. Recently Cairo, Sao Paulo, Mexico City and Beijing have also been experiencing similar challenges in these depot areas; remigration to the shanty towns or rural areas. This study examines the role of social, economic and cultural dynamics of the neighborhood in the transformation of housing by gecekondu clearance programs in Turkey, with a special focus on remigration cases from TOKI buildings.

.....

2 <http://www.csb.gov.tr/gm/dosyalar/belgeler/belge547/20120531-1.htm>

Drawing from an understanding that gecekondu areas are ones, where market-oriented actors are not interested in implementing upgrading plans, have been demolished by local governments. This study attempts to understand the results of state-led property transfer in one historical shanty town and one gecekondu neighborhood in Istanbul: Sulukule and Ayazma. Based on a field survey done with evicted inhabitants of Sulukule and Ayazma inhabitants and drawing particularly on the in-depth interview research method, this study tries to integrate the remigration process with the results of the neoliberal urban transformation projects implemented in the context of developing nations. This study specifically examines the role of TOKI's social housing projects as a solution for evicted people, if TOKI buildings were affordable enough for them, and how the location of the buildings affects the livelihood opportunities and sense of community for households.

This study found that development based urban transformation projects resulted with forced evictions in gecekondu areas. Forced evictions has destroyed the livelihood and community network of many people, indeed triggering remigration from TOKI constructed buildings. Besides an inappropriate payment schedule, socially isolated locations can cause impoverishment and force the evicted people to move from these buildings. Implementing the mass housing projects as a solution of gecekondu clearance, and by encouraging the evicted households to move to TOKI buildings do not answer the housing question and non meet the needs of evicted populations. To the contrary, they impoverish the evicted

XIV

inhabitants and make them more vulnerable.

The findings suggest that more appropriate location, payment methods and design of social housing buildings are more effective for inhabitants of relocated neighborhoods under the transformation process associated with forced evictions. The projects that give gecekondu/slum dwellers a chance to choose an apartment or the location of the apartment based on their own needs and economic constraints are more stable and effective than others. The findings also suggest that the upgrading and improvement of impoverished areas with user-initiated housing improvement, indeed, trigger an increase in neighborhood satisfaction and community attachment as well as prevent ghettoization, poverty and marginalization. However, the planning and policy decisions of municipalities are also major elements to influence the future of the households.

Overall, the reproduction of urban poverty and involuntary isolation displayed in TOKI Bezirganbahçe and TOKI Tasuluk public housing buildings indicate the necessity of new regulations in the urban policies, because the current ones have been creating new forms of urban marginality, social exclusion, ethnic and spatial segregation of urban poor. The findings also show that the reasons of moving from TOKI buildings as being not affordable and being far away from jobs as well as having poor amenities and unadaptable living conditions. Therefore, the process has resulted some inhabitants becoming more impoverished and moving back to their places of origin, since there is no affordable housing, livelihood and solidarity networks in the

places where they built the gecekondu anymore. This research, eventually, aims at confronting the lessons drawn from empirical analyses in Istanbul with lessons drawn from Cairo, Sao Paulo Beijing and Mexico City. The associated research question is: "Is there a specific Istanbul story?"

As the research question suggest the major research aim of this study is answering the following sub-question: "What are the main reasons of choosing the location to remigrate or move back after slum/gecekondu clearance and eviction processes in Istanbul, Cairo, Sao Paulo Beijing and Mexico?" The study is divided into four chapters. In the first chapter, background information and current situation of Turkey's Urban Policies, especially housing situation will be presented. In chapter two, the larger context of neoliberal urbanism within which all captive geographies like TOKI buildings at different countries can come into being and share an existence in a new urban context will be provided. In the third chapter, two cases from Istanbul will be discussed in this context. Chapter 4 will present the comparisons and the lessons learnt from the case studies.

CHAPTER 1 RESEARCH RATIONALE

Introduction to Chapter 1

The purpose of this study is to compare the results of forced evictions associated with slum/gecekondu clearance schemes in semi-periphery countries. According to current reports, the majority of the evicted families have been moving back from the periphery of the metropolitan areas where they were initially relocated and the rest are considering moving back to the shanty towns or rural areas, especially in Istanbul. This problem is an issue that arises out of the literature and practice in Turkey which needs further study. A critical analysis of the consequences of urban transformation projects as state-led property transfer will be the main approaches in my research. The aim is firstly figuring out the social and spatial affects of neoliberalism on housing policies of periphery and semi-periphery cities and to compare the results within the theoretical framework of the forced evictions in the Contextual Framework section.

In this thesis, there will be two cases from Istanbul to compare with each other and with examples reported in the literature in Sao Paulo, Mexico City, Beijing and Cairo. One of the chosen neighborhoods in Istanbul is Sulukule, an inner-city slum that Roumanian people have been living in, located in the historical peninsula, and the other one is Ayazma, a squatter neighborhood built by immigrants from the Eastern part of Turkey. I have chosen Sulukule and Ayazma as my fieldwork areas, because all of the inhabitants

of these two neighborhoods already experienced demolition and displacement to the periphery with the majority of them moving back to the shanty towns or rural areas. Much has been written about the problems that the residents of illegal settlements face within the neoliberal urban policy context (Erman 2009, Bartu and Kulluoglu 2008, Lovering and Turkmen 2011, Kuyucu and Unsal 2008, Demir and Yilmaz 2012, Islam 2009, Altinok and Cengiz 2008, Turkun 2011, Baysal 2010), but non of the studies have asked the reasons and the consequences of the third migration of their life. This chapter is mainly based on the scope and the objectives of this research including the contextual framework, research questions and methodology.

Scope, Objectives and Design of the Research

This dissertation focuses on the new forms of urban poverty in Istanbul and in other international cities as case studies, indicating the practices of the neoliberalization process and the forms of urbanity that emerge within this context. Also, it will be examined that state-led property transfer as a strategy for socio-spatial transformation, with specific attention to the relocation cases subsequent to gecekondu clearance followed by remigration from social housing projects. I argue that gecekondu, inner-city slum and illegal housing clearance schemes in Turkish cities and beyond often result in displaced inhabitants remigrating to their initial place of living.

Recent UTPs started in the neighborhoods where the urban poor were located, and the first

results of these projects were seen in Sulukule and Ayazma after 2004. Consequences of such transformations are, contrary to the claims of the implementers, increased the displacement of the urban poor, the impoverishment of the displaced population and the loss of social capital.

In many developing countries, it has been observed that forced eviction is mostly a consequence of market-driven urban transformation projects in the poor settlements (Robinson 2003). Urban development, large-scale development projects, natural disasters and climate change, mega-events, economy based evictions connected with global financial dynamics cause forced evictions and the poorest, most marginalized members of the society are the most affected ones of these processes. While urban regeneration process provides the commodification of urban areas (Aksoy 2009), it may cause the displacement of the urban poor at the same time. I intend to investigate sociological forms of being exile or forced to exile in modern communities, and the changing role of the local and central government during the implementation process of urban transformation projects by using Istanbul as a focus point.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework of this research is based on critical urban studies and their analysis of contemporary urbanization processes. Firstly, the three key terms will be explained; *squatter settlement*, *squatterization* and *ghettoization*.

1- *Squatter Settlement*: Squatter settlement is a complex fact that needs to be defined holistically (Saglamer et al. 1994, 606-615). Turgut

summarizes the confusion about term; "In the last few decades, the squatter phenomenon has been studied and interpreted by different researchers having various perspectives. As these researchers have taken into account different aspects of this phenomenon in relation to their background, the definitions and the interpretations have differed from each other to a large extent. This differentiation demonstrates the complexity and the multidimensional nature of the problem" (Turgut 2001, 19). The very complex process and structure of informal settlements can be defined in three different proposals;

- A transition process reflected in form: "A transition process from rural to urban life, a transitional life style and its reflection to space" (ibid).
- A phenomenon defined in terms of distribution of wealth, social structure, social security, and socioeconomic impacts (Arslan 1989, 34-37; Hacıhasanoglu et al. 2006, 902-915). Examples in informal neighborhoods include residents' access to internal social networks and economic opportunities (e.g., jobs or the speculation process of renting self-built apartments). This definition looks past informal settlements as simply a built form.
- Defined in terms of ownership, legislation and construction processes. This phenomenon is defined as, "casual buildings which have been built on lands or plots without having any ownership and the right to build on it in terms of building legislation and laws" (Turgut 2001,19).

Hence, in short, I adopt all definitions of squatter settlement as a phenomenon and also I use *gecekondu* as a comprehensive definition of

squatter settlement in Turkish urban planning context.

2- *Squatterization*: Squatterization is a continuing process since the half of the last century that internal migrants find as a temporary solution to the emerging housing problem around the urban centers in the developing or semi-periphery countries related with the rapid physical and socio-cultural changes. Housing patterns of Turkey show a dramatic transition from a temporary shelter to a permanent house in squatter settlements during this process of change. Squatterization explains the shift from gecekondü to the apartment style gecekondü and also the shift within users; the late migrants became tenants of previous gecekondü owners.

3- *Ghettoization*: The reflection of impoverishment, physical or cultural isolation, marginalization of public housing/mass housing inhabitants to the physical environment which is mostly in the periphery of cities (See the Image).



Image 1: Actual 3rd floor communal corridor of the Pruitt Igoe Social Housing buildings 10 years after the construction in 1954, ghettoization.

Source: <http://www.defensiblespace.com/book/illustrations.htm>

Roberts and Sykes (2000) point out that 'the strategies in the urban areas started with Reconstruction projects in the 1950s followed by Revitalization in the 1960s, Renewal in the 1970s, Redevelopment in the 1980s and Regeneration; the latest name for governments do to struggle with urban problems (cited in Lovering 2007). In this thesis the emergence of competitive governance policies and the particular speculative urban redevelopment schemes that Turkish Government underpin will be called urban transformation. There are two main pillars of urban transformation in the Turkish context; the clearance of squatter settlements on the outskirts of the city for re-development and the enforced gentrification of the inner-city slums. These two pillars are explained by two cases from Istanbul in terms of how poor people contest displacement and dispossession through urban transformation.

Increasing income imbalance and inequality led the losers of the capital market system to solve their problems illegally on low-value land in the second half of the 20th century (Altinok and Cengiz 2008). While the size and volume of slum dwellers varies across regions, according to the United Nation's estimates, more than half of the urban population of the developing world currently lives and will continue to live in the slums or places characterized by substandard housing with poor structural housing conditions (UN-HABITAT 2003 a:3-5, 2003b:8-9; World Bank 2004, p.37). For the year 2003 it is estimated that 42.6% of the urbanites in Turkey were living in

squatter settlements⁽³⁾.

During the commodification process of urban land as a result of the increase in the value of land, its economic value becomes more important than its use value, quality of urban life becomes a commodity as the city itself (Harvey 2009). Dogan indicates that 'the direct involvement of market-forces without closer governmental control increases the land values of slum areas and erodes the availability of cheap land for the lower-income groups, also creates population displacement' (2009, p.7). The new developments reflect attempts to transform these parts of the city according to the newly rising demands of the global economy (Keyder 2008). Turkey has decreasing percentage of gecekondu population during 1990 (24.06%), 2001 (17.92%) and 2005 (16.53%) according to Urban Observatory Database, not because the government succeeded to stop the facts that trigger slum development, but because of the market-oriented urban policies resulted with slum clearance (UN-Habitat 2005, Baysal 2010). While socially excluded and marginalized (Marshall 1999) inhabitants of Sulukule and Ayazma neighborhoods becomes more impoverished (Taner 2004), welfare state of Turkey invests for TOKI to struggle with capital crisis.

Metropolitan areas in less developed countries face complex issues in the context of simultaneous globalization and fragmentation of economic activities since 1980s. This economic restructuring

.....

3 This rate was derived from the 2003 UN-HABITAT case studies and an averaging of dozens of diverse sources Davis mentioned to be too numerous to cite. Mike Davis, "The Prevalence of Slums" in *Planet of Slums*, p.24, (New York: Verso, 2006).

conceptualized and discussed under various concepts (Harvey 1989), such as disorganized capitalism (Offe and others 1985), flexible accumulation (Lash and Urry 1987), postfordism (Lipietz and Slater 1992) and globalization (Robertson 1990). In this dissertation it is essential to rethink the role of gecekondu clearance and mass housing policies in the context of neoliberalism, which refers to market-oriented economic and social restructuring and commodification of land. Development of slums in the third world metropolises has similar forms of urbanization in terms of their current neoliberal urban policies. In this manner new forms and spaces of poverty connected with redistribution of profit, such as reconstruction of TOKI as a major tool to implement neoliberal policies. Analyzing the strategy of TOKI at the stories of evicted families lead to explain the 2 examples in Istanbul and comparing the overall situation with Sao Paulo, Mexico, Beijing and Cairo.

The political transformation of cities as a result of neoliberal policies cause spatial and social segregation of the urban poor through displacement. Findings from studies (Sassen 2001; Knox and Taylor 1995, cited in Kuyucu & Unsal 2010) indicate that the imperatives of capital in a post-industrial economy generate new forms of urban segregation and inequality. The new commodification of land derived from the market-oriented urban planning mechanisms can be defined by 3 fundamental scenarios for the legal and illegal settlements in cities (Coy 2006); The correcting city, The re-integrating city and The Fragmented city. Within the fragmented city, disintegration between the formal and the informal

city deepens, the self-segregation of the wealthier urban dwellers increases, urban transformation is controlled by private capital. Istanbul as a spot of cultural diversity, one of the merits of its urban culture was in its imperial way of cultivating modes of coexistence between different groups (Kormaz and Yucesoy 2010), but during the last decade it has transformed into a strictly fragmented city with the regeneration of urban built-up areas.

Since the commodification of land leads consumerism, tourism, cultural and knowledge-based industries become major aspects of the urban political economy (Harvey 2009), Istanbul is being prepared to host mega events. A comprehensive study conducted in 2003 indicated that 'mega-projects have become one of the most visible and ubiquitous urban revitalization strategies pursued by cities in search of economic growth and competitiveness, [making them] the mechanisms par excellence through which globalization becomes urbanized' (Moulaert et al. p.3). Lehrer and Laidley's observations in 2008 (cited in Kuyucu and Unsal 2009) led to explain how UTPs and mega projects have highly unequal socioeconomic consequences for disadvantaged communities by triggering the dynamics of displacement and dispossession while generating easy and quick profit for investors and local governments.

Besides, these disadvantages and vulnerable neighborhoods, mostly hosting the rural-to-urban migrants or different ethnic groups, turned into the emergence of decaying spaces. As Wacquant discusses with his "Territorial Stigmatization

and Advanced Marginality" theory, urban transformation, urban renewal or gecekondu clearance projects as tools of Istanbul's neoliberal urban policies can be easily justified by stigmatizing these neighborhoods.

Kuyucu and Unsal remark the two reasons of gecekondu zones and inner-city slums are being particularly attractive for urban redevelopment: legal ambiguities in their property regimes and their perceived status as centres of crime, blight and decay (2009). Ironically, the reason that makes possible to survive of the urban poor in such areas, becomes the rationale behind the remigration to these areas and TOKI as a legal solution to housing was left behind with the other ineffectual efforts. The shift from urban managerialism to urban entrepreneurialism in Turkey resulted with relying on a public private partnership such as TOKI and focusing on investment and economic development with the speculative construction of space (Harvey 2008). This dissertation seeks to explain the neoliberal reconstruction of global capitalism that presents the new urban policies with displacement of the inhabitants in the two neighborhoods of Istanbul, comparing with international examples.

Research Questions and Methodology

I conducted this study on two neighborhoods in European side of Istanbul with 18 in-depth interviews with evicted inhabitants, academicians and real estate dealers in order to obtain better results from the field survey. The interviews focus on the third migration story, their background, family connections, economic situations, location

of their jobs and kind of their jobs, their story of how they got their illegal/legal property and how did they learn about transformation projects, what they planned after evictions and what happened, how long did they wait to have a house in TOKI after evictions and so on... I used descriptive research technique in order to answer "Why the families choose these locations to move back?".

In order to set up a broad field research, academicians, civil societies, neighborhood associations, researchers and journalists are informed and contacted via e-mails and meetings were arranged. After attending the meetings of neighborhood associations, organizations and urban social movements in order to find out the mediators of the two neighborhoods, Ayazma and Sulukule neighborhoods were visited, where new luxury housing projects had been constructed. Walking in the surroundings and taking pictures to realize the after eviction process and meeting with inhabitants who are not evicted brought a wide input about the cases, besides taking the contact information of their previous neighbors. Afterwards the relocation places, the TOKI buildings, were visited to see if there are families who still live there. Interviews were done with real estate dealers inside TOKI compounds. The contacts of the people who remigrated were introduced by phone calls by these families who were neighbors in these two neighborhoods and also in TOKI buildings. Remigrated families were called by cell phones or visited in their new houses in order to make in-depth interviews and ask the details of the 3rd migration experience in their life.

The relocations of these neighborhoods are a

proof of the necessity of adequate housing policies in terms of housing rights. This research draws on several areas of research: current situation of chosen cities, urban transformation projects and slum clearance, the situation of slums areas, evictions, social exclusion, public housing projects and relocations. There are wide range of works done by other academics that are related to the chapters, however remigration as a current process hasn't been studied yet.

This study demonstrates state roles towards squatter settlements and discusses the urban transformation projects lead up to forced evictions introduced in Turkey, Istanbul and other major cities from all over the world. After reviewing the urban policies, it will be explained relocation plans and how they were introduced and how the new mass housing settlements implemented. After illustrating the impact of the outcomes of TOKI public housing improvement strategies on the implementation of relocation plans, with specific attention paid to analyzing how such involvement may create dissatisfaction among households.

In order to shape the research, 2 questions were set. The initial research questions is: "Is there a specific Istanbul story?" and the associated subquestion is "What are the main reasons of choosing the location to remigrate after slum clearance and eviction processes in Istanbul, Cairo, Sao Paulo Beijing and Mexico?". Another sub question for interpreting the findings is: "How does displacement followed by remigration affect the patterns of social, economic and ethnic residential segregation in these cities?" This research, eventually, aims at confronting the lessons drawn

from empirical analyses within urban policies, redistribution of profit and the new tools, the strategy of TOKI and the problems of these strategies.

Although the fieldwork done for this study had relevant input in terms of content, making generalizable conclusions from the findings may still be difficult. In order to make more generalizable conclusions, other migrated inhabitants of Sulukule and Ayazma in the same or different cities in Turkey need to be examined as well. However, I would like to note here that my primary aim in doing this study was not generalize the findings to other contexts but rather to shed light on the context by filling the gap of unknown facts; that was the purpose of studying the remigration, since it has not been followed about what happened to evicted people after they were forced to move to TOKI buildings. Nevertheless, I believe that the findings of this study in conjunction with the findings of other studies in the literature will contribute to a better understanding of these relocation processes.

Conclusion of Chapter 1

This research aims to add new knowledge to urban planning literature by analyzing the network within the factors that affect the gecekondu dwellers and force them/ attract them to move back. Following the footprints of evicted people who couldn't keep up with apartment life in the dormitory towns might shed light to the results of the current/future urban policies and upcoming remigration processes. Within the four chapters apart from the introduction and concluding

sections, this thesis provides an overview of the pertinent literatures, elucidates the background of urbanization in Turkey, current status of urban policies, neoliberalism in the urban era, local and international case studies of social housing/mass housing projects as a solution of forced evictions and main lessons from housing policies.

CHAPTER 2 URBAN PLANNING AND HOUSING POLICIES

Introduction to Chapter 2

As a result of enormous migration, the housing environment in Turkey has undergone a dramatic transition, developing from the temporary shelter to the permanent house. The squatter phenomenon is a planning problem which should be managed by taking into account its sociocultural dimensions, as well as its economic and physical dimensions. The aim in this chapter is to examine the evaluation of housing policies in Turkey, legislations and laws that had aimed to upgrade the existing housing conditions, prevent the further illegal constructions and lately to facilitate the UTPs, sponsor TOKI and preparing the ground for mega projects. Besides, international cases from semi-periphery and periphery countries will be examined and the results obtained from these international case studies will be used to develop proposals for the improvement of living conditions of the urban poor in the relocation places.

Housing Development in Turkey

Land and housing supply in Turkey have undergone drastic changes in the last six decades. During the rapid growth between 1950s and 1980s, housing sector experienced a boom, however housing at the peripheries of the cities was limited since the corresponding supply of planned and serviced land was inelastic (Baharoglu 1997). The migration continued till 1990s and since then it continuously triggered newcomers to consume the urban land stock. Therefore, housing boom

took place on the existing infrastructure through increased building densities. At the same time, gated communities, satellite cities and mass housing projects have speeded up in natural reserve areas.

The process of illegally developed gecekondu settlements by emigrants from rural areas of Turkey started when gecekondu derived from everyday language to signify a specific housing and settlement typology of self-service urbanization that occurred during Turkey's industrialization and rural migration in the period between 1945 and 1985. Declining labor incomes and increasing value of the property directed Turkish rural migrants to built their own houses. The lack of formal and institutionalized welfare mechanisms in Turkey couldn't produce adequate housing options for the new comers. For those in the lowest income, low-middle income and even the middle income, residing in a gecekondu represents the only option since rural migration started. Unlike the general knowledge, public land was not free; previously occupied without a payment, has been commercialized, having been occupied, divided into plots and sold by illegal agents (Leitmann and Baharoglu 1996).

After the need of mass housing recognized in the first two five-year development plans between 1963 and 1972, Gecekondu Law (1966) provided gecekondu prevention legislations. Since then, the half of the population in Istanbul were living in gecekondu settlements. All the laws and legislations failed, because the land speculation couldn't be stopped. Since alternative housing was not provided, most gecekondu clearance projects could not take place. Gecekondu and hisseli tapu

(unauthorized subdivision) regularization policies had continuously provided legalization beginning with 1980's, although, researches have shown that providing full authorization is neither necessary nor sufficient to improve low-income access to housing (Oncu 1988, Baharoglu 1997).

A general amnesty for all illegal buildings transformed the housing sector and reduced the share of informal process in overall housing production. Since the migration flow continued, low-income groups had no other chance than building another *gecekondu*, while middle-income groups were benefiting from the measures such as amnesty laws. Thus, both *gecekondu* and *hisseli tapu* commercialized and spread rapidly. The two amnesty laws Law No. 2981 and Law No. 3290 enacted in 1986 used in upgrading existing illegal housing areas for regularization of land tenure. These laws with the other amnesty laws had these 3 common articles indicated below;

- 1-Existing *gecekondu* would be consolidated
- 2-New construction demolished
- 3-Municipal land would be provided on 3 easy terms of payment to encourage new housing construction.

During the 1970s building density increased, middle-high income developments were growing, while low income settlements continued to rise in and around the centre nearby the industrial areas along the main motor ways. The urban land market became the major sector of the urban economy which all the social and economic groups benefited (Oncu 1988). In the early 1980s witnessed a housing crisis after 30 years of dense and high rise development. Public sector

undertook the residential development and wide plots in the periphery of the big cities in Turkey were opened for mass housing projects, while illegal housing continued to grow predominantly on the public land. Rents and house prices have been increasing faster than incomes, accordingly the Ministry of Public Works and Settlements assisted the low income households with interest free loans with 5 years repayment period. After serving to the middle income groups only, due to lack of resources these programs hardly functioned and stopped. Social and spatial segregation between gated communities and *gecekondu* settlements continuously increased during the change in housing sector.

With the establishment of National Housing Authority and Mass Housing Fund 350,000 new housing units were produced between 1984 and 1986. As an alternative strategy, a general building amnesty was issues, including not only *gecekondu*, but also *hisseli tapu* in order to upgrade settlements and to prevent new informal processes. In this manner formal settlements increased while informal settlements were decreasing.

As in the other major cities in Turkey, the *gecekondu* stock in Istanbul shows a wide range of differences in terms of size and age of the building units. The potential of *gecekondu* continued attracting lower-middle and middle income households, while stimulating further rises of its price. The newly migrated rural migrants become the tenants of old *gecekondu* inhabitants. The governments have never seriously considered the provision of "low-cost rental housing";

therefore, "squatter housing" (gecekondu) has become the only housing option for urban poor. Informal housing production did not disappear since all the restrictive laws or legislations.

After more neoliberal economic doctrines regarding development were adopted during the 1980s, the three essential concepts of decentralization, privatization, and deregulation have become the guides for restructuring nations in all dimensions, which meant increasing the role of markets in housing provision in the developing nations in general (Dogan 2009). The neoliberal transformation that swept through the world economy during the 1980's, and along the globalization process that picked up speed, brought with it a deep transformation in cities all over the world. For this new finance-centered economic structure, urban land became a tool for capital accumulation, which had deep effects on major cities of developing countries.

Evaluation of Urban Policies in Turkey

In urban areas of Turkey, particularly the metropolitan cities have been affected and transformed by global economic developments. The rapid urbanization prevalent in the larger cities of Turkey which are observable areas

in terms of socio-spatial changes. Urban areas face two main problems in Turkey like other developing countries according to Turk; the deficiency of the houses built in terms of quality and quantity and the high level of land and building lot prices in dwelling production (2008). Because of the increase in the number of household and the disasters, housing stock is arising according to the State Planning Organization of Turkey. Unplanned urbanization couldn't be eliminated in Istanbul, although the massive migration decreased in 1990s. The rapid construction in order to fulfill the housing need lead to an increase in the number of interior quality settlements. According to the numbers calculated by TUIK, housing need was 7,868,400 between 1990 and 2005, while the number of dwellings having construction permits was 6,221,915 (Also seen the Table 1 and 2). It can be observed that the housing stock was remained beyond the need in this period. In the last 9 years, 6 million houses were produced in Turkey, but 4.5 million of them have been sold⁽⁴⁾.

Housing problem has been solved by the informal

4 Batıklann efendisi: İNŞAAT www.radikal.com.tr/Radikal.aspx?aType=HaberYazdir&ArticleID=1102523

Housing Stock in TURKEY			
	Housing Need	Building Permit	Housing Stock
1963 - 1994	9,464,437	4,207,177	
2000	10,906,368		14,8 million
2010	13,766,711		16,235,830
2014 - 2018	4,1 million		

Table 1: Housing Stock in Turkey
Sources: GYODER 2015, Dunder 2001, SPO 2005, IMO 2010

Housing Stock in ISTANBUL			
	Housing Need	Number of Dwellings	Houses Produced by TOKİ
2000	2,542,651		
2008			83,060
2010	3,299,004		
2012		3,6 million	

Table 2: Housing Stock in Istanbul
Sources: GYODER 2015, Dunder 2001, SPO 2005, IMO 2010

market for growing urban populations, since the lack of formal social housing policy in Turkey. Housing provision to low-income groups relied on legalizing unauthorized land appropriations and inner-city squatting for many years (Keyder 1999, Oncu 1988). Neoliberal modernization as a recent trend has brought radical and dramatic restructuring, besides functioning land and property markets with the promotion of market-oriented approach. Turkish cities are undergoing a major market transformation and witnessing the transition from the predominance of the social capital to the predominance of economic capital. This section sets the global spread of an authoritarian form of neoliberalism and the effects of current redevelopment especially in Istanbul.

In Istanbul, which already lacked a tradition of principled planning, the administrators of the city adopted the neoliberal approach that put financial gain ahead of people's needs and the result is a mega shantytown. In the last decade, as the World Bank foresaw in its reports, Istanbul has been changing from an industrial city to a finance and service-centered city, competing with other world cities for investment (2003). Making Istanbul attractive for investors requires not only the abolishment of legal controls that seek public good, but also a parallel transformation of the users of the city, which means that the working class who actually built the city as an industrial center no longer have a place in the new consumption-centered finance and service city. Plans for relocating afore cited urban poor are figured in, named "urban renewal" and "urban Transformation" projects. TOKI was

strengthened with new legislations and together with the municipalities and private investors, started reshaping the urban landscape in this new vision since the last decade. With the help of international capital, neighborhoods are being demolished and high rise buildings, highways and shopping malls are being constructed instead.

Turkey has no specific urban renewal policy, however there have been different approaches about renewal of urban areas (Turk 2009). First of all, single building scale approach is used for the cases which includes the demolition and the new building's costs. New building is constructed by land owner or constructor (builder-and-seller) depending on development rights and building plans (Baharoglu 1996). Since 50's the provision of the privately owned housing stock within the cities has been dominated by these small scale developers know as *müteahhit*. The second approach is the city beautification approach which is constructing boulevards or squares intending to make the identity of the city observable. The third and the significant approach renewal projects within the development plans such as amnesty laws that legalize illegal buildings in the beginning of 1980s (Turk and Korthals 2009). The amnesty laws, which intended to upgrade the existing illegal buildings and prevent new informal settlements, brought improvement development plan that includes creating new bigger parcels to allow four-story apartment buildings (Dundar 2001), resulted with emerging apartments at the single building scale. After a decade this scale was upgraded to building area scale. In order to place and to bring provision to the urban renewal, three laws enacted: North Ankara Entrance Urban

Renewal Law, Law on Protection and Usage of Historical and Cultural Immovable Assets by Renewal and the Municipality Law (Turk and Korthals 2009) which will be explained next.

Urban land speculation is triggering segregation in the urban land and society. The term 'urban transformation' has been at the centre of the public authorities' urban discourse since the start of the 2000's – a magic term used by politicians. However urban transformation means disintegration and segregation of its people for Istanbul. It is being divided into clearly identified functions and class-based clusters. Inner-city slums and the gecekondü areas in the periphery of Istanbul's main centres became profitable areas that are seen as investment by local or international investors through state-led projects. On the other hand, city center is evolving and housing 5 different types of housing structures at the same time (See Image 2). Gecekondü inhabitants face with forced eviction from their original place without fair compensation and using force, using violence. UTPs lead to widespread displacement and the conversion of such areas into commercial or luxury residential districts. The major weaknesses and problems of the UTPs are; ambiguities in the determination of transformation zones, problems in determining rightful ownership and the social and economic problems of people relocated to mass housing.

In the last decade, during the development and change of Turkey, the interaction between religion and politics shape everyday life, class relations, national identity and particularly urban space. Islamic movements integrated the poor and the

marginal to secular and market-oriented politics. The governing neoliberal party's projects of urban transformation or urban renewal not only shaped the whole city, but also segregated the population socially, economically and physically. Neoliberal policies combined with local traditions and institutions used as a tool for rebuilding the city and its socio-cultural characteristics by rationalizing a radical-conservative project. Justice and Development Party (AKP) has been holding power in government. Since 2002, AKP has been continuously introducing the efficient economic policies followed up by economic crisis. This period has not only led to important improvements in services and infrastructure, also paved the way for the new UTPs and urban renewal projects. Especially, the infrastructure built to host European Capital of Culture events boosted the economic success and predominance of the government. With this confidence, the government consider urban planning as a tool to turn it into a real-estate growth machine; attracting investments, enterprises, tourism and financial flow by means of taxes reductions, infrastructures and city branding. The future of the construction industry, a pillar of Turkey's economic boom, continues to look bright, and TOKI is playing a lead role in this. The expected growth of Turkey's construction economy is one of the highest in the world with 8,5% growth rate in the term between 2009 - 2014 as it is shown in the Figure 1. Neoliberal restructuring can not be foreseen, because their implementation and outcomes depend on local dynamics and power constellations (Leitner, Peck and Sheppard 2008). Harvey states that neoliberal economic policies



Image 2: Irregular urbanization from 1950s till today in one shot; a typical landscape of Istanbul.
Source: Radikal 07.04.2013, Fotografi Yapi Tarihi, Serkan Ocak

increase the value of urban land, commodify the land and exchange value of land becomes more important than its use value; consumerism, tourism, cultural and knowledge-based industries have become major aspects of the urban political economy (2008). Since the government of the city adopted market-oriented policies, Istanbul has many current urban transformation projects on the agenda, such as Galata Port, the transformation of the Haydarpasa rail terminal into a hotel, the redevelopment of Taksim Square, and renovations in the districts of Süleymaniye, Yenikapi and Tarlabasi. Each of these projects represent Istanbul's purely economic urban transformation vision. New policies, that will be explained in the next section, brought discriminatory and exclusionary urban practices, commodification of the city and urban space while reducing the citizen to a customer (Baysal 2011). Since 2004, 34 shopping malls were constructed and the office floor area increased sixfold more (AGFE 2009). The first plan for Istanbul on a metropolitan scale was produced in 1980⁽⁵⁾ which reports that the topography and the geographic nature of the city would only support a maximum population of 5 million. At the time, Istanbul had 3.5 million people living in it which is now 15 million, and in 15 years it will be 23 million (Turkish Statistical Institute) which is 5 times the sustainable size.

New Laws and Regulation of Current Laws

The metropolitan governments in Turkey has

.....

5 Istanbul Metropolitan Alan Nazim Planı http://www.mimdap.org/images/yazi_yorum/IstPlan80.jpg

been substantially amending the legislative, regulatory, and administrative frameworks for UTPs by changing the laws and reducing the controlling mechanisms in order to speed up the process. There have been numerous legislative changes affecting urban transformation. In Istanbul Metropolitan Area, plan amendments are went through an explosion and seen at the highest numbers since 2000s. While 400 changes were made during the 1980s and 450 changes in the 1990s, the number increased to 850 in 2000s and jumped to 3800 during the following 4 years⁽⁶⁾. It is observed that the value of the real properties increases with the new plan decisions or plan modifications on the urban parcel but such increased values cannot be used for the public interest (Turk and Korthals 2010). In order to place and to bring provision to the UTPs, these laws were enacted:

- The North Ankara Entrance Urban Renewal Law (Article 5104, adopted in 2004): Provided legislative pass for an UTP practice in Ankara, by relocating gecekondu people to high-rise apartment blocks of TOKI in distant locations in the city without considering social, economic and psychological aspects, carry the risk of creating new problems, ranging from acute poverty to crime and violence.
- The Metropolitan Municipalities Law (Article 5216, adopted in 2004, regulated in 2005): The approval process of a new local physical plan on metropolitan areas requires more time and two different stages and provides planning authority

.....

6 www.tbmm.gov.tr, cited in Turk and Korthals 2010

to the relevant ministries in certain areas. In other words, although the Planning Law gives the planning rights to the local governments, the planning authority is given back to the central governmental bodies in some specific areas which hold strategic importance in the development of Istanbul. In fact, coordination and cooperation between the local governments and the central government is insufficient (Unsal 2009).

Additionally this law provides (1) broadening the physical space under the control and jurisdiction of the greater municipality; (2) increasing its power and authority in development (*imar*), control and coordination of district municipalities; (3) making it easier for greater municipalities to establish, and/or create partnerships and collaborate with private companies; (4) defining new responsibilities of the municipality in dealing with "natural disasters"; and (5) outlining the first legal framework for "urban transformation," by giving municipalities the authority to designate, plan and implement "urban transformation" areas and projects (TBMM 2004, cited in Bartu and Kolluoglu 2008)⁽⁷⁾.

- The 2010 European Cultural Capital Law (Law No: 5706, adopted in 2007): Istanbul was selected by the European Union as the 2010 European Cultural Capital along with the cities Pécs (Hungary) and Essen (Germany). It is an attempt to transform the train stations, ports, shipyards, schools, hospitals, cultural and artistic structures

.....

7 "5216 Sayılı Büyükşehir Belediyesi Kanunu," TBMM (2004), <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kanunlar/k5216.html>;
"5393 Sayılı Belediye Kanunu," TBMM (2005), <http://www.tbmm.gov.tr/kanunlar/k5393.html>.

that were constructed right after the foundation of the Republic of Turkey by granting municipalities the power to undertake these projects, overriding the existing checks, controls and regulations.

- The Law on Protection and Usage of Historical and Cultural Immovable Assets by Renewal (Law No: 5366, adopted in 2005): For transforming dilapidated central historical neighborhoods to a site for prestigious projects (Kuyucu 2009). With this law, the preservation authority for Historical Peninsula has shifted from the UNESCO World Heritage status to Preservation Committee to smooth the path for the urban transformation projects. Sulukule as one of the World Natural and Cultural Heritage Preservation areas demolished within the scope of Fatih Municipality Sulukule Urban Transformation Project (Sulukule UNESCO Report 2008) and the process stopped by the court decision after the luxury villas were built, which will be explained in the next chapter.

- The Municipality Law (Law No: 5393, adopted in 2005): The number of metropolitan municipalities has increased from sixteen to twenty-five and authorized for real decision making to centralize the key position. However, in the preservation manner, related authorities and responsibilities are shifted to local municipalities from central government.

- The Law on the Transformation of Areas at Risk of Natural Disaster (Law No: 5306, adopted in 2012): It was implemented in order to justify the earthquake risk in many parts of Turkey. Although it is justified by the earthquake risk in many parts of Turkey, the fact is having the authority

to demolish and build a great quantity of land to be able to ignore the previous legislations and inspectors (Pierrini 2013). The law also introduces emergency procedures that leave all decisions about demolition and construction activities in the hands of the government and give a new supervisory role to a few private construction companies selected for those undertakings.

- The 2/B Law (Amending Law for the Sale of Agricultural Lands and Forestry Areas, Article 6444, adopted in 2013): Allows for more sales or transfer of public land called 2/B areas to TOKI or private partners.
- The Draft Law on Protection of Nature and Biological Diversity: Would eliminate the NGOs and empower the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization.

and these laws were regulated:

- The Gecekondu Law (Law No. 775, adopted in 1966, regulated in 2003 and 2007): For taking gecekondu settlements under urban transformation projects.
- The Mass Housing Law (Law No. 2985, adopted in 1984, regulated in 2001 and 5 times in 2004) (Turk and Korthals 2010):

First amendment: Mass Housing Fund was totally revoked and TOKI became dependent on the allocations transferred from the budget and TOKI became authorized to have projects and developments for profit purpose in order to provide resource.

Second amendment: TOKI became authorized to have land stocks and acquired the right

to expropriate and preliminary-buy for the land belonging to private owners for housing, education, industry, health and tourism investments and public institutions.

Third amendment: TOKI became authorized to make local physical plans for the areas where the property belonged to TOKI and determined as housing development area or mass housing area. In other words, a special planning authority was given to TOKI.

Forth amendment: TOKI became authorized to takeover the lands of public domain upon the proposal of relevant Minister and Minister of Finance and the approval of Prime Minister without charge. This authority means that TOKI can use public domain lands primarily in order to develop projects. In other words, the necessity for transactions such as expropriation and charged takeover required for land acquisition are removed.

Fifth amendment: TOKI has authority to realize urban renewal projects in both illegal housing areas and areas where existing urban renewal laws (Law No. 5366 and Law No. 5104) are applied.

Sixth amendment: TOKI is to be excluded legal financial control.

Along with the new laws and regulations, "Environmental Impact Assessment" (ÇED - Çevresel Etki Degerlendirme Raporu) regulations were amended in 2011 to allow more exemptions for large projects, such as the third bridge over the Bosphorus, the two new cities on the remaining forest in Istanbul near the Black Sea, the new canal project known as Kanal Istanbul linking the Black Sea and the Sea of Marmara that will run

in parallel to the Bosphorus, a major highway from the Istanbul region to the city of Izmir, two new nuclear plants. Istanbul itself has many current UTPs on the agenda, such as Galata Port, the transformation of the historical Haydarpaşa rail terminal into a hotel, the redevelopment of Taksim Square, and renovations in the districts of Süleymaniye, Yenikapi and Tarlabası, a shopping mall on the Gezi Park in Taksim. As a very recent one, the official candidacy of Istanbul to 2020 Olympic Games will also bring many UTPs and displacements which will be explained in the next chapter.

Local Governments and TOKI have started using Land Readjustment (LR) method to implement the new projects. Legal sources like Municipal Laws such as Law No. 5393, Law No. 5366 and Law No. 5793 are used for LR in renewal of gecekondü settlements and informal settlements. However, there is a great lack of public participation in the LR legal system in Turkey; LR is decided directly by the municipal committee and special provincial committee regardless of the landowners' consents and the landowners are generally informed of the project after the public announcement, after which the process continues as an administrative procedure (Turk 2012).

There is no aim to provide land for social housing in the context of neither the LR model nor any policies in Turkey. The contribution percentage taken from each landowner does not include social housing. Also, social housing is not defined in the public service areas provided by expropriation within LR. Hence, the logic of the laws is the use of expropriation more as a

threat than as a direct tool. Although the original landowners participate in the project, original landowners cannot maintain their lives in the area because of the increased costs and land values after the project (Turk 2012).

Are the current urban policies neoliberal?

During the shift towards a new urban regime and housing market, the Turkish government used privatization for the state-led property transfer. Kuyucu and Unsal summarizes the process about how the populist policies and the redistribution mechanisms of the previous periods were rapidly dismantled and replaced by neoliberal policies (2009);

- 1980 - 2001: A period of uneasy coexistence of neoliberalization and populist urban policies
- After 1983, entrepreneurial urban policies gained momentum, but neoliberalization remained incomplete because of the military coup
- It was difficult to ensure the supply of the land for the new projects, since half of the urban land were occupied by gecekondus and the rest was public land. Therefore, establishment of the new city was problematic, since there were unsolved gecekondü problems for many years
- TOKI's mission in this period: subsidized credit to cooperatives, which enabled middle-class home ownership till 2000s
- Also, large developers, including contractors for cooperatives, as well as REITs became very powerful actors in the same period
- Within the second wave of the immigration, the gecekondus in Istanbul transformed into apartment buildings, on the other hand new

developments put more pressure on gecekondu areas and made informal settlements more unequal and hierarchical

- The 2001 economic crisis: Radical transformations in all aspects of the Turkish economy
- Until 2002, building amnesties and improvement plans remained as the only mechanisms of addressing the problems of gecekondu and gecekondu as a problem
- Following the crisis: Major structural reforms for full neoliberalization such as privatization of health, agriculture, social security, housing and establishment of the new market

Istanbul has undergone major urban restructuring through a set of legal changes in laws, legislations and a series of transformations in the local governance since the beginning of 1990s. While having the 15th largest emerging market and 16th GDP (PWC 2012) in worldwide ranking, according to The MasterCard Worldwide Centers of Commerce (MWCC) Istanbul also places among the top ten cities in commercial activity and economic growth with easy geographic access among other growing markets (MWCC 2008). A recent report⁽⁸⁾ lists Istanbul as the 6th most visited city in the world and states that "without these global cities, there would be no global economy". At the same time, Istanbul is housing 36 billionaires, including many real-estate developers⁽⁹⁾ who are reshaping

.....

8 MasterCard Global Destination Cities Index <http://c15210660.r60.cf2.rackcdn.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/05/MasterCard-Global-Destination-Cities-2013-Report.pdf>

9 Istanbul is on Fire mashallahnews.com/?p=3787

Istanbul, with a total combined wealth of \$60 billion⁽¹⁰⁾. Additionally, the expected growth of construction economy shown in the *Figure 1* for the 5 years term till 2014 is %8,5 for Turkey, which will be one of the most relevant players of the European construction industry. If bring these remarkable figures together, Istanbul is turning global briskly and becoming an attraction point, not only for people but also for capital. Turkish Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdogan declaring his extensive largescale plans on Istanbul with the following statement (October 5th 2012);

"With the new convention centers, sports and cultural centers that we're building, we're preparing the way for a modern future on a historic foundation. At the same time, we're investing to turn Istanbul into the financial center of the world."

However, according to Baysal, the full institution-alization of a neoliberal economic system (2011);

- Eliminated all the vestiges of the preexisting populist economic order,
- Increased the commodification of domains of social and economic life,
- Privatized all spheres of the economy and extended the market discipline to the provision of more goods and services,
- Retrenched the protectionist and welfarist policies of the state.

As the current financial environment and the attempts of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality controlled by the Islamic Justice and Development

.....

10 In Pictures: Cities With The Most Billionaires http://www.forbes.com/2011/05/17/cities-with-most-billionaires_slide_6.html

Party (AKP) shows, globalization is a part of Turkey's economic reality and wrapping Istanbul in global city campaign became an ambitious scope for the government. As a result of restructuring, implementation and planning of mega-projects; major changes in real-estate investments; and a new visibility and domination of the finance and service sectors in the city's economy and the urban space have been enabled and legitimized within the neoliberal context (Bartu and Kolluoglu 2008, p.12). Changing the legal framework is conceptualized by Wacquant and Bourdieu as *Neoliberal Newspeak*, which is used for facilitating the urban transformation projects in Turkish context by popularizing the

phenomenon to form the concept such as vision, mission, sustainability, transparency, participation etc. (2006). All these processes, which can also be observed in the major cities since 80s have been interpreted as neoliberal urbanism (Harvey 2007, Brenner and Theodore 2002) or urbanization of neoliberalism (Smith 2002).

Besides the Neoliberal Newspeak, municipal governments started a bad reputation campaign against gecekondu neighborhoods after 2000s, following the social, ethnical and political stigmatization of these neighborhoods starting from 1960s. Erdogan Bayraktar clarified his thoughts in 2007 about potentially the most

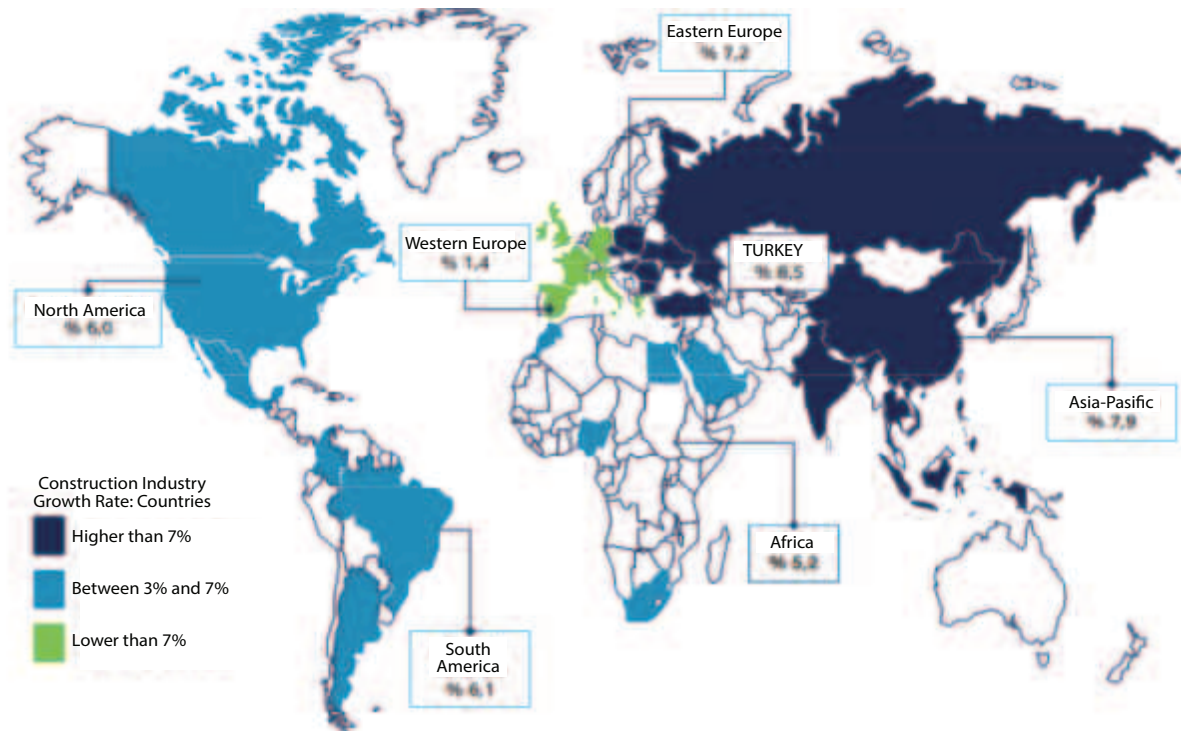


Figure 1: Expected growth of the worldwide construction industry, 2009-2014

Source: Global Construction 2020: Global Construction Perspectives and Oxford Economics, 2009, www.globalconstruction2020.com

valuable lands; gecekondu neighborhoods⁽¹¹⁾:

"Today, the gecekondu is one of the most important two or three problems that Turkey faces. It is well known that such things as terror, drugs, psychological negativity, health problems and oppositional views all come out of gecekondu zones and irregular areas. For this reason, a Turkey that wants to integrate with the world, that wants to join the European Union, must rid itself of illegal dwellings... Turkey can not speak of development without solving the gecekondu problem."

With the respect to the issue of the reputation of gecekondu as criminal areas, researches shows that the most gecekondu dwellers are more victims than perpetrators of crime; gecekondu dwellers are now seen as more exposed to organized crime than non-gecekondu dwellers as result of the failure of public housing and other policies that have tended to exclude gecekondu dwellers, including in matters of public policing (UN-Habitat 2003). Gulsuyu Neighborhood inhabitants in Istanbul witnessed an attack of a drug gang⁽¹²⁾.

UTPs became a current issue in the urban policy agenda in line with the above mentioned features. About 6.5 million residences are expected to be renewed within the scope of urban transformation activities, while 800,000 estates are waiting to be sold⁽¹³⁾. UTPs are emerging not only in the

.....

11 Urban Regeneration and Real Estate Investment Conference, organized by the Urban Land Institute. See Zaman Newspaper, 13 November 2007; Sabah Newspaper, 13 November 2007.

12 Gulsuyu'nda Çeteler Halka Silahla Saldirdi <http://www.evrensel.net/news.php?id=64344>

13 Realestatesectorwillbemore'attractive'in2013 www.hurriyetdaily-news.com/real-estate-sector-will-be-more-attractive-in-2013.aspx?pageID=23

residential areas, but also under the name of mega - projects. The planning and implementation of a series of urban transformation projects are called "mega projects", a term coined first in the early 2000s, suggesting a more severe pattern of urban restructuring (Bartu and Kolluoglu 2008). World wide known architects Zaha Hadid and Ken Yeang presented two different big scale projects by the side of the Mayor of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, that are completely disregarding the existing urban fabric located in two sides of Istanbul. To clarify the role of these mega projects in transforming the physical, social and economic structures of the city and how government uses them as a mean, two recent projects from Istanbul can be addressed: Candidacy of Istanbul to 2020 Olympic Games and the Third Bridge Project on Bosphorus. Turkey has become a land of opportunity according to Environment and Urban Planning Minister Erdogan Bayraktar⁽¹⁴⁾;

"If the world were a single country, its capital would be Istanbul as Napoleon said. Turkey is ready to be an example to the world with its planned and realized urban transformation projects. As Turkey is ranked highly among the world's leading real estate investors thanks to its rapid development in the past ten years, this year it is nominated as the country of honor at the MIPIM⁽¹⁵⁾ fair. Turkish economy, its dynamic and strong real estate sector, and the growing interest

8&nID=36799&NewsCatID=345

14 Turkey land of opportunity www.hurriyetdailynews.com/PrintNews.

15 MIPIM , The leading real estate event for property professionals, the world's property market, brings together the most influential players from all international property sectors

of foreign investors in the country, have lead Turkey to be granted this title. Turkey is preparing to become the world's 10th largest economy within the AKP's framework of 2023 vision. The mega projects, which are planned to complement the urban transformation movement across the country, will both reshape Istanbul and create many opportunities for domestic and foreign investors."

Recently AKP government has announced⁽¹⁶⁾ the candidacy of Istanbul for the 2020 Olympic Games⁽¹⁷⁾ which will bring 4 different highly publicized and controversial mega - project zone, including 37 different venues, on the agenda of Istanbul as it can be seen in the master plan (See Map 1). The Coastal zone and the Bosphorus zone are located in the most significant historic sites along the Marmara Sea shoreline and the historical Peninsula including the city walls and the Golden Gate in the European side and the old Haydarpasa train station in the Asian side. Belgrad Forest is considered to be another zone, although it is one of the remaining forests in the north of the city. All of the zones with 37 avenues will start significant regeneration, transformation and restoration programmes, if Istanbul wins the bid which will be announced on the September 7, 2013 by the IOC.

The cost of the Olympic Games ends up being much higher than the estimated figure as Athens experienced in 2004; the estimated cost was \$6 billion, but \$14.8 billion was spent for this mega

.....

16 Istanbulities informed about the project by the huge advertisements of Istanbul 2020 campaigns along the main motorways

17 <http://www.istanbul2020.com.tr/en>



Map 1: The Istanbul 2020 Games Master Plan proposes a total of 37 competition venues
Source: <http://www.istanbul2020.com.tr/en>

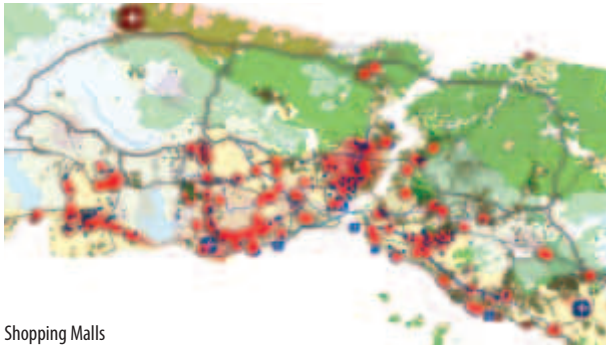


Map 2: The European Side of 1/100,000 scale Istanbul Provincial Environmental Plan
Source: http://www.ibb.gov.tr/tr-TR/Documents/ISTANBUL_CDP_GENEL_BILGI.pdf

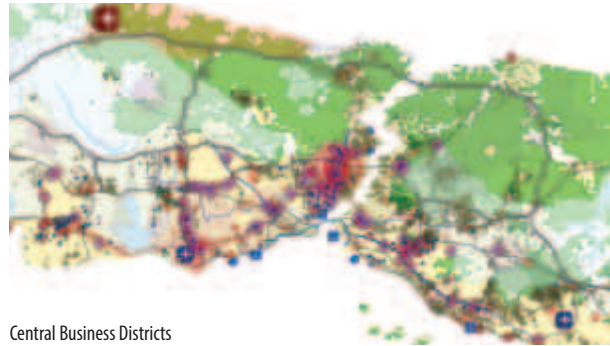
event⁽¹⁸⁾. Turkey's budget is \$19.2 billion for the

.....

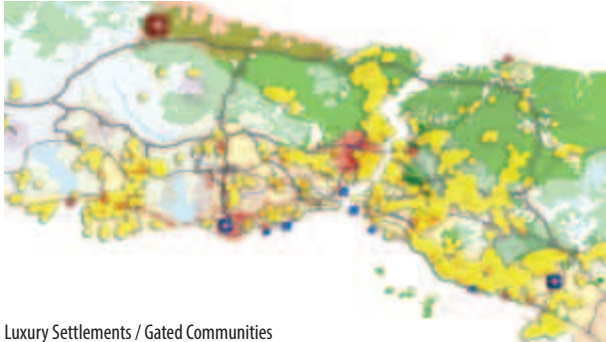
18 How will 2020 Olympics in Istanbul affect the economy? www.hurriyet-dailynews.com/how-will-2020-olympics-in-istanbul-affect-the-economy-.aspx?p



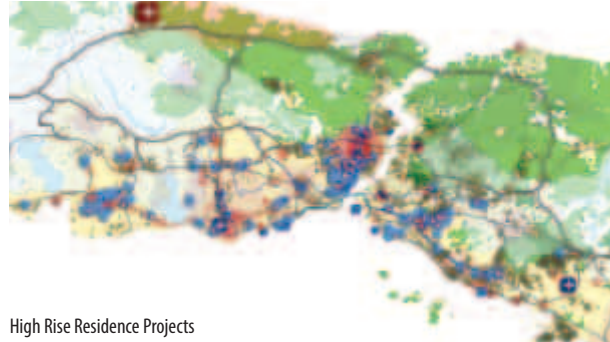
Shopping Malls



Central Business Districts



Luxury Settlements / Gated Communities



High Rise Residence Projects

Map 3: These Maps shows the relations between the Third Bridge and other Neoliberal Projects in Istanbul
 Source: <http://istanbuldonusumcografyasi.wordpress.com/donusum-haritalari/>

2020 Olympic costs, while it is \$ 1.9 billion for Madrid and \$ 4.9 billion for Tokyo⁽¹⁹⁾.

The Third Bosphorus Bridge is the another large scale project that will connect the planned or on construction mega projects in Istanbul. Construction of the Third Bridge was started at June 2013, although it is not shown in the 1/100,000 scale Istanbul Provincial Environmental Plan, neither with the other planned projects such as 3rd Airport or Olympic Zones (See Map 2).

The ongoing construction of the Third Bridge is the triggering factor of transformation and relationality of intended mega projects. A comprehensive study conducted in 2012 indicated that the hegemonic accumulation regime determines the transformation /growth regions of the city and the spatial diffusion of this capital accumulation regime is triggering the relations between the projects (Çalışkan et al.). During the neoliberal reproduction of Istanbul, the Third Bridge will be triggering the new luxury gated residential projects, shopping malls, metropolitan transportation projects, major business centers, gecekonu transformation projects (See Map 3), along with the candidacy of 2020 Olympic Games and the Third Airport.

ageID=449&nID=44067&NewsCatID=402

19 IOC Leaves Istanbul Impressed by the Olympic bid <http://sportsillustrated.cnn.com/-olympics/news/20130327/ioc-istanbul-2020-olympic-bid/>



Image 3: The reflection of segregation in Istanbul to the urban space
Source: Emrah Altinok

Consequently, the urban transformation in all around the city, especially in the residential areas, have parallel progress. Urban transformation means disintegration and segregation of its people for Istanbul within all the neoliberal structuring. It is being divided into clearly identified functions and class-based clusters. Each of these projects represent Istanbul's purely economic urban transformation vision. UTPs lead to widespread displacement and the conversion of such areas into commercial or luxury residential districts as it can be seen in the Image 3.

TOKI (Housing Development Administration of Turkey)

TOKI established in 1984, within a concern over housing, as a state institution that regulates the housing sector, prevents further gecekondu construction and provide solutions to housing shortages of low and middle income groups. After

coming to power in 2002, AKP adopted global cities competitiveness to attract global capital and formed a new agenda for the redevelopment of the urban areas. To do this TOKI has been restructured and become the most powerful agent in the remaking of real-estate markets and the construction sector to handle the economic crisis (Pierini 2013). TOKI was given enormous privileges and authorizations through a series of legal changes since 2003. TOKI has authority to realize urban renewal projects in both illegal housing areas and areas where urban renewal laws are applied (Turk and Korthals 2009). Along with the legal urban renewal regulations, TOKI became a central government unit and its sources widened. These changes were enabled through the three new laws mentioned previously: the Mass Housing Law (Law No. 2985), the Gecekondu Law (Law No. 775), and the Law for the Protection of Dilapidated Historical and Cultural Real Estate

Through Protection by Renewal (Law No. 5366). By means of these powers TOKI is able to (Bartu and Kolluoglu 2008);

- Form partnerships with private construction companies
- Involve in the construction and selling of houses for profit
- Take over the state urban land at no cost with the approval of the prime ministry and the president's office
- Expropriate the urban land to construct housing projects
- Develop and implement gecekondu transformation projects (See Image 4).



Image 4: A Gecekondu Transformation project by TOKI in Istanbul

TOKI have both regulatory and investor roles with all these privileges. TOKI has become an important player in the housing market by providing around 10% of the total housing need. The share of credits in total expenditures was 53% in 2002, 31% in 2003, this share decreased to 11.5% in 2004²⁰. The

share of TOKI in housing construction jumped from 0,6% between 1984 and 2002, to 24,7% in 2004 (Geray 2006), and decreased to 12,1% in 2005. TOKI constructed 50,183 housing units only in Istanbul till 2008⁽²⁰⁾ (See Table 3).

After all the regulations and amendments to empower TOKI, the institution became the main decision maker and the actor of the market. That is to say, urban development became more and more centralized with this recent restructuring. Today, TOKI has been transformed into a "public" institution using the power of the state and implementing projects for political and economic interests of the market (IMECE 2011). TOKI has become primary urban land owner and main tool for the government to intervene in urban space for profit making projects, especially in Istanbul (See Map 4). But TOKI does not only manage the urban regeneration projects; the very centralized institution has been given the role in any urban development project as one of the main actor of the market. TOKI has been given the power to take part in restoration projects⁽²¹⁾, build luxury housing for deputies⁽²²⁾,

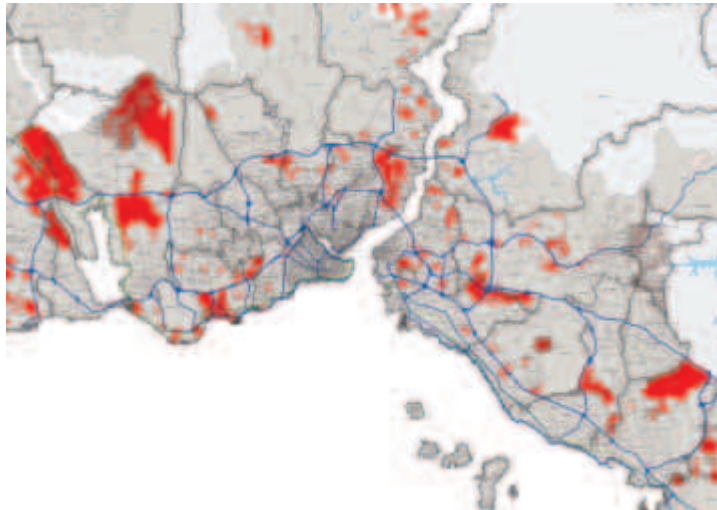
20 This numbers retrieved from TOKI website <http://www.toki.gov.tr/>

21 TOKI'nin restorasyon kredilerinde başvurular başlıyor <http://www.toki.gov.tr/TR/Genel/BelgeGoster.aspx?F6E10F8892433CFFAAF6AA849816B2EF4EE1D622DC4F2076>

22 TOKI milletvekillerine konut yapacak <http://www.aksam.com.tr/siyaset/toki-milletvekillerine-konut-yapacak--83650h/haber-83650>

Housing Production in TURKEY			
	Private Sector	TOKI	Share of TOKI
1984			
-			
2003		43,145	0,6% (1984-2002)
2004	3,018,699		
2005			1,1% (2003)
2006			
2007			24,7% (2004)
2008			12,1% (2005)
2009		595,718	
2010			9,7% (2006)
2011			
2012			
2013			18,6% (2007)

Table 3: The Number of Houses Constructed in Turkey
Sources: Türk Yapı Sektörü Raporu 2006, Turk and Korthals 2009, GYODER 2015



Map 4: Ongoing and Completed TOKI Projects in Istanbul are shown with red
Source: Toplum İcin Şehirçilik 2010

stadiums⁽²³⁾⁽²⁴⁾, luxury villas for foreigners in the South coast of Turkey⁽²⁵⁾, within the new law that allows foreigners to buy houses⁽²⁶⁾, and projects for other countries such as disaster houses for Pakistan⁽²⁷⁾⁽²⁸⁾, land survey for Libya, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Cyprus⁽²⁹⁾, strategic partnership in the construction industry of Kuwait⁽³⁰⁾, housing for Venezuela in return of oil⁽³¹⁾ and a new big scale settlement in the Northern Iraq⁽³²⁾.

23 5 stadın protokolü imzalandı <http://www.toki.gov.tr/TR/Genel/BelgeGoster.aspx?F6E10F8892433CFFAAF6AA849816B2EFC7D510DFD423D9CA>

24 TOKİ'den müjdeli haber: 19 stadyum yolda http://www.radikal.com.tr/spor/tokiden_mujdeli_haber_19_stadyum_yolda-1145646

25 TOKİ, yabancılara özel villa yapıp satacak <http://emlakkulisi.com/toki-yabancilara-ozel-villa-yapip-satacak/3915>

26 European firms eye housing in Turkey www.hurriyetdailynews.com/european-firms-eye-housing-in-turkey.aspx?pageID=238&nID=41731&NewsCatID=345

27 TOKİ'den Pakistan'a 4.620 afet konutu <http://www.toki.gov.tr/TR/Genel/BelgeGoster.aspx?F6E10F8892433CFFAAF6AA849816B2EF9967B13382E62777>

28 Pakistan welcomes Turkish contractor www.hurriyetdailynews.com/pakistan-welcomes-turkish-contractor.aspx?pageID=238&nID=40345&NewsCatID=345

29 5 Ulkeden Türkiye'ye Kadastro Cagrisi <http://www.tokitoplukonut.com/5-ulkeden-turkiyeye-kadastro-cagrisi>

30 TOKİ, Kuveyt Yatırım İdaresi ile stratejik ortak oldu <http://ekonomi.haber7.com/ekonomi/haber/310522-toki-kuveyt-yatirim-idaresi-ile-stratejik-ortak-oldu>

31 Venezüella TOKİ'yi bekliyor http://www.radikal.com.tr/ekonomi/venezuela_tokiyi_bekliyor-1113532

32 Kuzey Irak'ın TOKİ'sini Türkiye kuracak <http://ekonomi.mil-liyet.com.tr/kuzey-irak-in-toki-sini-turkiye-kuracak/ekonomi/ekonomide-tay/25.01.2013/1660083/default.htm>

By leading the structural transformation, TOKI has been criticized by foremost academicians, the chamber of urban planners, architects and civil engineers by being non-accountable, ambitious, authoritarian, socioeconomic standardization machine in all around the country, ignoring esthetics and centralizing housing policies as a public private cooperation (Lovering and Turkmen 2011, Kuyucu and Unsal 2009, Erman 2009, Bartu and Kulluoglu 2008, Demir and Yilmaz 2012, Islam 2009, Altinok and Cengiz 2008, Turkun 2011, Baysal 2010). The emergence of new powerful actors as large developers, REITs and TOKI as a state agency started to transform the urban land. In the beginning TOKI was introduced as a model of illegal settlement upgrading administration. Its projects are expected to transform shanty towns into habitable areas and produce low-income housing for the urban poor, besides complementing the demand for new housing in the country, but only 0.8% of the residential units out of the total number of completed or under construction in Istanbul are aimed at low income groups, while the others aimed at middle or high income groups (IMO 2010).

Although TOKI claims that the urban regeneration projects and the projects for lower and middle income groups are held for providing better, safer, healthier living environment, the completed projects of TOKI do not reflect this claim. The construction materials used in social housing projects are in very poor quality compared to luxurious housing projects of in a move to cut the costs of the production. Neglected playgrounds, plots allocated for landscaping with a few dead plants, and half-finished pavements and streets

add to the dilapidated look of most of the social housing projects of TOKI (Bartu and Kolluoglu 2008) (See Image 5). Thus, the habitability and the quality of life in TOKI buildings are decreasing, while the built environment getting ghettoized. It has mentioned in the AGFE report that TOKI violates the property rights, ignores the social dimension and participation (2009). 7 points are underlined with regards to residential units suitable for living, according to United Nations General Assembly, International Convention On Economic, Social And Cultural Rights No:4;

- 1- Legal security of tenure
- 2- Availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure
- 3- Affordability
- 4- Habitability
- 5- Accessibility
- 6- Location
- 7- Cultural Adequacy

TOKI only meets two of the seven components of



Image 5: Poor quality social housing projects of TOKI

adequate housing: habitability and accessibility. In the last years, habitability right is also under discussion, since TOKI started to use the most prejudicial areas, therefore cheap lands, such as stream beds, the areas next to the dams, areas under the land slide risk and earthquake risk (TMH 2012); the most irreversible and tragic results of the location choices of TOKI buildings happened in July 2012 at Samsun⁽³³⁾. After a strong rain, the flood disaster hit Samsun and 11 people died who were living in the basement floors of housing blocks built by TOKI in the river zone area⁽³⁴⁾ (See Image 6).



Image 6: Flood Disaster in Samsun TOKI

According to the Disasters of the Location Selection for TOKI Residences report, Basibuyuk Neighborhood in the Asian side of Istanbul is

.....

33 Flood kills nine people as ministry comes under fire www.hurriyetdailynews.com/flood-kills-nine-people-as-ministry-comes-under-fire.aspx?pageID=238&nID=24766&NewsCatID=341

34 'TOKI, municipality responsible for flood' www.hurriyetdailynews.com/toki-municipality-responsible-for-flood.aspx?pageID=238&nID=25012&NewsCatID=341

face with a disaster that might caused by TOKI Basibuyuk buildings (IMO 2012). Within the gecekondu upgrading project in Basibuyuk, gecekondus were demolished despite the massive local resistance⁽³⁵⁾ and the inhabitants moved to TOKI building which are slowly sliding through down hill, upon the primary school⁽³⁶⁾ (See Image 7).



Image 7: TOKI Basibuyuk buildings are causing land slide risk in the neighborhood

TOKI is not only causing social cohesion, segregation and producing life threatening environments by producing inhabitable and unaffordable housing, but also causes permanent damages in Istanbul's last survived forests and wetlands. As an extension of global capitalism and the neoliberal policies of urbanization, by using areas such as wetlands, forested lands, agricultural lands and cultural heritage areas, TOKI attempts to become the main actor of not only social and cultural, but also ecologically irreversible

.....

35 Göç belegeseli http://www.toplumunsehircilikhareketi.org/index.php?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=14&Itemid=19

36 Başbüyük'te büyük tehlike www.cnnturk.com/2012/guncel/09/18/basibuyukte.buyuk.tehlike/677209.0/index.html

damages and crises. The profit rates, profit sharing, speculations on urban land value and investments on luxurious housing compounds displaced masses. Evicted populations became impoverished, they are forced to struggle and hard to make their living, so TOKI is based on deepening inequality, exploitation and plunder rather than a state institution which is supposed to fight against those.

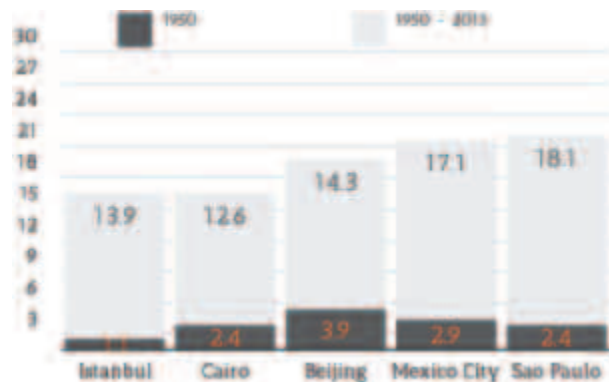
As a result, since TOKI has authority to realize urban renewal projects in both illegal housing areas and areas where urban renewal laws are applied (Turk and Korthals 2009), the institution has the full authority to intervene low-income neighborhoods or gecekondu settlements by UTPs and take/ sell/ transform the properties of these neighborhoods' inhabitants by making agreements with the municipalities. TOKI also runs the relocation process of the displaced population to its own buildings in the periphery of Istanbul, which will be elaborated in the next chapter within the case studies from Turkey. Within the focus of neoliberal urban policies, TOKI became a mass production tool started to threaten the future of urban poor and nature.

Literature Review: Social Housing as a Solution to Displacement

Some governments of metropolises in transitional countries such as Cairo's, Beijing's, Sao Paulo's, Mexico City's including Istanbul's built affordable or mass housing as satellite cities to induce poor residents to relocate to periphery, but in most cases new settlements address middle or low-middle income inhabitants while traditional urban poor choose somewhere closer to centrally

located jobs and services (Davis 2006).

The economic and social polarization of the new urban transformations in Turkey lead to those that are also found in the rest of the world. Keyder indicates that "As in most other countries, and especially those in the grips of austerity measures and neoliberalism, the terrain is also characterized by a declining state capacity and a lack of political will to counteract the marginalization and inequality resulting from these processes of exclusion" (2005). Turkey, Mexico, Egypt, Brazil and China are one of the first 15 countries that have the largest slum populations (UN-Habitat 2013). Third World cities and their slums grew so fast in the second half of the twentieth century (See Graph 1).



Graph 1: 1950 and 2013 populations of case study cities
Source: Demographia World Urban Areas 2013, Davis 2008

Cairo

Cairo is a big informal city with three of the world's 30 largest slum areas in the world (Davis 2006). Most Cairo slums resulted from explosive post-World War II population growth after the mid 1960s which appeared on the agricultural lands at the urban fringes. During the 1967 to 1973 period



Image 8: Blocks of the Relocation Project nearby Manshiet Nasser Neighborhood
Source: Manoocher Deghati

of military conflict, subdivided substantial urban fringe areas were sold which were expanding the urban limits and a public housing programme was launched by 1965 and 15000 housing units were constructed for low income families. The 1974 to 1985 oil boom attracted Egyptian workers to Cairo's urban informal areas which caused further massive informal housing activity at the urban fringes, also it was the first time that the government started addressing the boom in informal areas by preserving state and agricultural lands from encroachments. Until 2000, conversion of new land over agricultural to residential purposes strictly controlled. Recently, the Egyptian government formalized a term for 'deteriorated and under served urban residential areas' as *aashiwa'i* (random) indicating their unplanned and illegal nature and launched a programme to improve these areas. However, recent comparisons

of satellite pictures indicate that informal encroachment on agricultural lands continues at a rate triple that of 'formal' expansion (Gerlach 2009).

The main slum types which invades the agricultural lands in Cairo are; informal settlements on private, former agricultural lands⁽³⁷⁾, informal settlements on desert state lands⁽³⁸⁾, deteriorated

37 These consist of private residences built on land purchased informally from farmers at the urban fringes on informally subdivided plots and without building permits. Housing is generally of a good, permanent type, often incremental and at places even high rise (10 to 14 storeys). Although initially ignored by the government, it has now become a criminal act to utilize scarce agricultural lands for residential purposes.

38 These consist of private residences built informally on state- owned, vacant desert land. Strictly speaking, this is land invasion and land squatting and construction without permits; but semi-legality emerged on the basis of customary rights and nominal land rents paid. Government policy is to grant post-facto



Image 9: Manshiet Nasser Neighborhood and the resettlement blocks
Source: Yasar Adanali

sections of the old city core⁽³⁹⁾, deteriorated urban pockets⁽⁴⁰⁾ (UN-Habitat 2003). The tenure typology in Cairo slums can roughly be divided into half owner-occupied and half rented.

The government of Cairo began to construct apartment blocks around the city to relocate the slum dwellers with the statement of crime. Davis calls the criminalizing of the slums, many countries have used the excuse of law and order

legalization. Housing quality and crowding conditions tend to be worse than in informal settlements on private, former agricultural lands.

39 These comprise pre-1860 sections of medieval Cairo, with a mixture of dilapidated and sound buildings, with the former buildings often being the result of ownership disputes and lack of maintenance resulting from tight rent controls and non-profitability of rental. Residents are generally very poor; but the population in these areas is declining as a result of increasing conversion of residential into commercial spaces and the collapse of entire buildings due to lack of maintenance.

40 Various inner-city areas of Cairo, notably those from the early 20th century, have pockets of dilapidated one- to three-storey structures that house poor families. These are characterized by insecure tenure and limited housing investment. They generally attract poor families seeking the cheapest possible housing solutions. Numerically, this group is very insignificant.

to demolish unwanted inner-city settlements (2006). In Egypt, President Anwar Sadat told journalists in 1980 before demolishing the Ishash al-Turguman slum in Cairo that it was "a literal nest of subversion, where communists hid, where it was impossible to reach them since the narrow streets prevented the use of police cars." The mass housing blocks close to Manshiet Nasser (See Image 9), one of Cairo's largest slums with an estimated one million inhabitant, is part of a relocation project (See Image 8). The original plan was to evacuate people from very poor areas, to demolish the houses there, and to reconstruct the areas afterwards. In September of 2008, 3300 apartments were handed over to the residents of Manshiet Nasser. Since the rocks fell, the distribution of these apartments has accelerated. In the direct aftermath of the catastrophe, 2000 flats were given out and another 1000 were distributed to inhabitants in the following weeks. The unjust distribution mechanism cause of public frustration and anger, which Ayazma inhabitants experienced as well. Many of the people living around cheated and lied to get the apartments; they told the



Figure 2: The imagined vision of Cairo in 2050
Source: El-Sadek 2001



Figure 3: Provision of 2.5 million housing units in Cairo

Source: El-Sadek 2001

officials that their house was destroyed and their family was killed by the rocks (Kipper and Fischer 2009). There are still 3700 already built housing units waiting to be distributed to inhabitants of Manshiet Nasser. On the other hand, the lucky ones who had a chance to get an apartment found themselves in chaos; the fresh paint falls from the ceiling in large pieces. The local government send plumbers to repair the pipes in the walls, since many inhabitants complain and ask to be moved to one of the new flats. The previously popular solution of relocating the urban poor to small, purpose-built flats on the edge of town far away from, where they can find job opportunities, has proven to be unpopular as well as ineffective in stemming the flow of new migrants to the centre. Those given new apartments in the 1980s and 1990s often abandoned them, either letting or selling them and returning to their original slums where they feel more comfortable and are nearer employment opportunities.

On the other hand, Cairo is competing with the other global cities with the new urban development initiatives (See Figure 2). such as the ten new cities on the periphery. New models of

low-income housing proposed for development within and around Cairo as well (See Figure 3). Cairo and New Cairo itself were designed to decentralize and relieve the burden of migration on the old city centre, but to many they have resulted in a pattern of corruption, elitism and incompetence (El-Sadek, 2001). However, the construction boom gave jobs to thousands of urban poor, but the housing that address the urban poor was beyond their reach. Thus, most of them stayed in their slums, and the middle and upper classes moved out to the new cities. Even with the new accommodation, Cairo's housing pressures continue to rise with an estimated 1,000 people moving into the capital every week (Séjourné 2009).

São Paulo

São Paulo is one of the world's five largest metropolises⁽⁴¹⁾ with more than 20 million population. Urbanization accelerated greatly with an intense process of migration from the countryside between 1930 and 1980. Socio-spatial segregation was observed first at the end of the 1970s during the change of the pattern of a wealthy centre and poor periphery as a result of steadily growing numbers of poor migrants in all areas of the city. The growth of favelas⁽⁴²⁾

.....

41 Information is gathered from World Atlas and UN-Habitat and it is the average ranking of the metropolitan area, the population of metropolitan region and the urban area

42 Favela: Agglomerations of dwellings with limited dimensions, built with inadequate materials such as old wood, tin, cans and even cardboard distributed irregularly in lots, almost always lacking urban and social services and equipment, and forming a complex social, economic, sanitary, educational and urban order



Image 10: Heliópolis, one of the largest favelas in São Paulo

(Squatter settlements) in the urban periphery and the corticos⁽⁴³⁾ (slum tenements) in the inner-city was the dominating São Paulo slum type until the beginning of the 1980s dominated urban land by occupying just about every empty or

(Fix, Arantes & Tanaka 2003).

43 Cortico: A unit used as a collective multifamily dwelling, totally or partially presenting the following characteristics: (i) made up of one or more buildings constructed on an urban lot; (ii) subdivided in several rented, sublet or ceded units on any ground whatsoever; (iii) several functions performed in the same room; (iv) common access and use of non-constructed spaces and sanitary installations; (v) in general, precarious circulation and infrastructure; and (vi) overcrowded population (Fix, Arantes & Tanaka 2003).

unprotected urban lot and on lands where building is difficult, or of limited interest to the formal market (Fix, Arantes & Tanaka 2003). The favela is an owner-occupied structure located on an invaded lot and without security of tenure, but the cortico is, generally, inner-city, dilapidated rental accommodation. Favela dwellers are seen exactly as gecekondu dwellers; having 'an easy life', not paying for anything. Favelas and corticos are both seen as a space for crime, dirt and trouble. While the favelas, targeted for limited public policy and widespread action corticos did not see any similar attention until recently when the central area real-estate price recovered and profitable activities started in these areas. Favelas are geographically

isolated and generally more remote to work and the central business district. Commuting between favelas and jobs is more difficult than other relevant cities such as Cairo, because of the hilly terrain of São Paulo and the lack of transportation infrastructure.

São Paulo's transformation from an industrial into a service metropolis was responsible for considerable further economic and social polarization and a rapidly growing income gap between the richest and the poorest. This process continues to fuel the growth and emergence of favelas. Relocation programs also played a role for the social and spatial segregation. These programs were developed by some municipal governments who adopted the least-aggravation approach of paying slum dwellers to relocate. The municipalities would buy the existing dwellings on condition that the residents then relocated anywhere else. The main consequence of these programs was the increase of the favelas, because when people being relocated, their expenses increase and they had come to the city to make more money, so it was not to return to the countryside as it was planned by municipalities, but rather to pick another greenfield area around the city to invade. Heliopolis, for instance, began as a temporary home of several families and today it is one of the largest favelas in Sao Paulo (See Image 10).

Cingapura is the name of another municipal program of not relocating but demolishing and rebuilding on site by rationalizing favelas with creating new publicly funded housing and most importantly, without displacing current residents. Five or six story walkup flats were constructed

and sold to residents in a condominium or cooperative format. Cingapura's basic operational sequence is as follows (Arantes and Tanaka 2003):

1. Neighborhood identification.
2. Enumeration of residents and households. Determination of eligibility.
3. Beginning of resident education in high-rise living.
4. Demolition of existing favelas and residents' relocation to nearby temporary housing.
5. New construction of five-six story walkup flats.
6. Occupancy by returning households.



Image 11: Cingapura, blocks of a relocation program

7. Post-occupancy social services.

Identification of the neighborhood through reoccupancy lasted in five years; meanwhile, informal communities found themselves annihilated, leading to the social segregation. The ones who moved back to the new site were often quite different from the ones that moved away. Cingapura did not simply transform neighborhoods; it changed people's lives intensely. Some households had difficulties to accommodate

in high-rise buildings. Some residents were impotent or involuntary to pay for utilities and resorted to their daily habits such as starting cooking fires on their apartment floors – with predictable consequences in apartment damage. Some other inhabitants who had conducted home-based businesses (auto repair, food vending) couldn't make it in the high-rise buildings. Inhabitants' consumption habits also changed after moving into high-rise buildings; many of them bought new furniture suitable to their new surroundings, upon moving into their new apartments via consumer credits and found themselves into the debt hole.

Cingapura high-rise properties had open play areas and small flower gardens(See Image 11). Using these kind of common space was restricted via fencing to the new users of the apartments, because they invaded the newly created green space. These were swiftly invaded by new households who built alternative housing. Only by putting up strong metal fencing all around could the municipality keep the open space open and green, which totally matches up with the precautions of TOKI Bezirganbahce site administration.

The community changed, lost cohesion and slowly regained it, meanwhile most of the families left their neighborhoods; income profile in and around the Cingapura project area upgraded. People started to buy and sell occupancy rights in Cingapura properties as inhabitants of Ayazma do the same with TOKI apartments. For Sale signs mushroomed on the windows of the properties. Prices corresponding roughly with the levels

affordable to middle class. According to Smith, there



Image 12: Some of the Cingapura blocks located on the area with land slide risk

is at least a functioning economic market which is a good signal of a socioeconomic shift that people sell their properties in Cingapura, because (2008);

- It shows that post-Cingapura properties are now part of the legitimate urban fabric of São Paulo.
- Home resales create a formal and visible economic environment where none existed before.
- People buying and selling homes at market prices means
- People who know they can sell their homes for cash are more likely to improve them.
- The emergence of observable prices makes the homes collateral for lenders, and should decrease the cost of borrowing.

However, Cingapura project therefore neglected the favela dwellers entirely by not ever discussing the project with them, and ultimately revealed itself to be an indexing structure for those laborers who were "invisible" and needed to be officially logged into the government's bureaucracy. These mega-housing projects dehumanize the favelas and categorizing their inhabitants. Cingapura project also created ongoing geological risks

because of choosing low - lying travertine land, as it can be observed in TOKI Basibuyuk Project in Istanbul (See Image 12).

Cingapura apartments are good housing for people whose income is a little higher than the favela inhabitants. Since it's also difficult to live in a Cingapura high-rise, owners sell the use permission for a market price and move elsewhere. Consequently, relocation did not eliminate the favela problem; rather it displaced it from better neighborhoods to worse ones.

Beijing

The city of Beijing is the capital of China, with a land area of 16,410 square kilometres and a population of 16.95 million in 2008 (BSB - Beijing Statistic Bureau). China has experienced rapid urbanization since the 1980s. During a 26 year period from 1980 to 2006, the urban population increased almost ten million people (CSB - China Statistic Bureau), with most of these being migrants from rural areas. Peri-urbanization (villages in city) term, which is related to many environmental and social, has emerged in this context and has become a major force driving urban expansion



Image 13: Affordable housing blocks in Beijing

in China's cities in the 1990s. Since 2000, China's transformation from a centrally planned system to a market system has continued with further decentralization and marketization. Many new policies have been implemented in response to the national urban-rural integration strategy, which calls for the promotion of a better quality of life in rural regions and the efficient balancing for those regions.

The number of temporary migrants increased from 713,000 in 1990 to 7.48 million in 2008, more than a tenfold increase (Zhao 2011). The Economic and Comfortable Housing Programme (ECH) launched in 1995, aims to help lower- and middle-income households secure housing when they cannot afford private housing. While the programme certainly produces housing 'at scale', affordability is an increasing concern. Middle and low-income groups are increasingly forced out of being able to buy an ECH unit. High-income households are seeking ECH units and this is pushing costs up and limiting ownership opportunities for lower- and middle-income households. With high-income households demanding higher housing standards, primarily larger unit sizes, housing norms are changing and house unit costs are increasing, even if the price per square meter remains the same. Therefore, lower-income households cannot afford the higher overall house unit costs. In Beijing, the average price of an ECH unit was above the medium price of all the housing stock. In 2003, these ECH units constituted 23% of all new units sold in the city of Beijing. Affordability for low-income household in the housing sector remains a concern. From 1998-2004 house prices in Beijing rose 25% annually, while disposable

income rose only 12% (Yang and Shen 2008, UN-Habitat 2011).

Additionally, Beijing was the host city of Olympic games in 2008. The three most common causes of mass evictions in cities in Asia are large-scale infrastructure projects, urban beautification initiatives and international mega events. For example, an estimated 1.5 million people were displaced from their homes due to construction and urban redevelopment in the eight-year run-up to the 2008 Olympic Games in Beijing, China (COHRE 2008). Local governments across the country started building 6.5 million subsidized housing units in 8 months in 2010 in order to house the evicted populations. 4.2 million of the affordable housing were completed and the government started construction on more than 7 million low-income housing units in, part of its five-year plan to build 36 million such units by 2015. The government's goal was beginning the construction of over 7 million units in 2012 as part of its five-year plan to build 36 million such units by 2015⁽⁴⁴⁾.

Mexico City

Urban segregation in Mexico City was caused by geographical and colonial land use; the flood prone areas were being occupied by the lower classes and new comers. Population grew to 9 million⁽⁴⁵⁾ of which over 60 per cent are currently

44 China pumps \$130bn into affordable housing build <http://www.constructionweekonline.com/article-18471-china-pumps-130bn-into-affordable-housing-build/#.UhNoBWQY2G8>

45 Instituto Nacional de Estadística y Geografía, México; Censo de Población y

considered to be 'poor' or 'moderately poor' (UN-Habitat 2007). Within the high immigration and birth rates, the built-up area expanded from 23 square kilometers to 154,710 square kilometers between 1900 and 2000. Slums developed With intensive industrialization and concurrent urbanization after 1940 around dried-up lake beds. Lower class neighborhoods are called with various names in terms of historical background or location, ethnicity such as colonias populares⁽⁴⁶⁾, vecindades⁽⁴⁷⁾, ciudades perdidas⁽⁴⁸⁾, cuartos de azotea⁽⁴⁹⁾ (UN-Habitat 2003, p.217). Another dominant type of housing is deteriorated public

Vivienda 2010, Resultados preliminares Preliminary 2010 Census results. Retrieved on 2010-11-26.

46 The most critical housing conditions are in the newer or unconsolidated irregular settlements, or colonias populares, resulting from unauthorized land development and construction, with deficits in urban services, often in high-risk areas and with dubious property titles. Most settlements have been improved to varying degrees as property is regularized, infrastructure and services put in and houses solidly built. Yet, the colonias never become completely regular. Legalized properties become irregular again through intestate inheritance, dilapidation or fiscal problems. Irregular settlements constitute roughly half of the urbanized area and house more than 60 per cent of the population.

47 Inner-city rental slums: these slums date from the late 19th century and comprise houses abandoned by the wealthy and converted into tenements for the poor, providing the model for purpose-built cheap rental housing. After the 1940s, the production of rented vecindades continued in the peripheral irregular settlements; but here, unlike in the inner city, the landlords are often slum dwellers themselves. About 10 per cent of all housing in Mexico City is in vecindades.

48 This is a broad concept referring to small-scale pockets of shanty housing on vacant land or undesirable urban locations. These are no longer quantitatively important as a form of slum.

49 These are servants' quarters and makeshift accommodation on the roofs of apartments or early public housing. They are almost invariably well located in central areas and provide 0.4 per cent of all of Mexico City's housing units.

housing projects which are government-financed with variable quality. They are formally produced, subsidized owner-occupied housing projects built for the working classes. The users of these apartments who are around 15% of Mexico City's population have become highly deteriorated with overcrowding and other social problems. The mass housing projects are located on the extreme outskirts of the city. Many of these public housing projects are becoming ghettoized due to inadequate self-administration, lack of maintenance, invasion and degradation of public space, structurally dangerous alterations and bad neighborhood relations.



Image 14: San Buenaventura Housing Complex in Ixtapaluca, Mexico City

Conclusion of Chapter 2

During the migration from rural to cities in Turkey, construction of gecekondu and other illegal settlements couldn't be stopped by municipalities which went through big failure in planning and implementation for insufficient housing supply. Although almost 20 gecekondu prevention laws, unauthorized construction has not been able to be prevent-

ed, yet existing illegal settlements have not been able to be demolished despite the laws and the approach of the government. Since the only possible solution for the city governments was legalization, construction of further gecekondu neighborhoods couldn't be stopped. Studies (Yonder 1998) indicate that, in Istanbul, it has brought environmental implications, because the lack of commitment to low-income housing production to meet the increasing demand led to new informal settlement development within the city's fresh water reservoir areas and concern with the environmental impacts of rapid development in these areas served only to remarginalize new settlement development.

After the shift from an industrial to a service city, Istanbul became primary destination for global finance, tourism and culture. Geographical and natural limits of the city has been exceeded, difficulties in access to public goods increased, recognition of human rights and equal citizenship lost their significance and the mega city became more and more fragmented with the policies aimed at making the city pleasing to the foreign investors. As a result of neoliberal urban policies, government have tended to restructure housing construction policies that encourage market forces. However, as it is emphasized in this chapter by referring to the international examples, both in developing and developed nations, urban transformation projects resulted with forced evictions following by the relocation process without involvements of households. As a result, new levels of differentiation occurred between those who become part of the networks and those who are left out social exclusion. New projects resulted with isolated spaces and lifestyles, social integration problems,

division of sociocultural groups, lack of integration and collective urban memory. Development-based urban policies lead the Third Bridge construction which will bring other mega projects and further impoverishment of communities, removing them from their livelihood sources and served for the benefit of only small amount of people. Besides, how the Olympic Games impact people's lives is an important matter to analyse, especially the evicted people's lives; the urban poor and rural migrants who lose part of their livelihood as a result of their relocation triggered by mega sport events. Olympic Games accelerate the urban transformation process. Millions of evicted people in; Beijing, Pekin, Rio de Janeiro, London and Delhi.

In Cairo, regularize slums by offering land rights and upgrade conditions by providing basic infrastructure were the main issues for the government as well. However, as a result of social pressure, few areas in Cairo have actually been cleared and the inhabitants were resettled to affordable housing blocks. São Paulo is one of the big cities that the boom in affordable housing is clearly observable, yet relocation to these affordable houses represents predominantly non-recoverable costs. Slum dwellers cannot afford the full cost of living in the high rise environment and they couldn't adapt the social and physical environment as it can be observed in the case studies. First, residents of slums were not asked what they want who are transited largely on foot, but new blocks has car centric street layouts; there is no room for sidewalks; instead cars (if any) thread their way through pedestrian-dominated streets. Social cohesion effected the relocated population, since mass housing buildings are not welcom-

ing to heterogeneous community structure; these blocks are dividing the community into winners and losers. Eventually, buildings were vandalized after installation, the whole environment was ghettoized. The target group sell their apartments and move to somewhere else during and after the relocation period, meantime the social fabric is destroyed.

CHAPTER 3

REMIGRATION AS A CONSEQUENT OF RELOCATION: TWO CASES FROM ISTANBUL

Introduction to Chapter 3

Gecekondu zones and historical settlements started to become central and valuable at the same time as the city extends its boundaries immensely. During the last decade these areas stigmatized by local and central governments for being dilapidated, decayed and housing unsanitary, unsafe and immoral conditions. At the same time these areas were too valuable to be kept by the urban poor, that's why UTPs reorganized by laws to regenerate and market them. With these projects, the inhabitants of such areas are relocated to public housing blocks and their neighborhoods are regenerated and marketed to stronger and more resourceful actors. Low income groups of historical neighborhoods face forced evictions just like the residents of gecekondu neighborhoods by the Conservation Law 5366.

This chapter is mainly based on identifying the effects of sociocultural and physical settings on the spatial formation of 2 squatter settlements in Istanbul and the relocation environment during and after the process of urban transformation. The two cases in Istanbul are adequate to demonstrate that UTPs and TOKI satisfy the demands and interests of local and global capital owners, not the locals'. Romanian people who were living in 1500 years old Sulukule Neighborhood, internally displaced Kurdish people, who used to

live in Istanbul Ayazma neighborhood moved to the TOKI houses in the very periphery of the city. It is only a few years since they moved to the houses yet a very few of them still live in those houses. Besides the poor quality of the houses and their distance to the working places in the city, having trouble in paying the houses' loans to TOKI which is one of the most important reasons for leaving those places. Displaced population have been dispersed to different parts of the city and they are now even poorer than the past, because they don't own a house any more. In Istanbul, Ayazma which is yet another urban renewal area, a project marketed as one of the most luxurious housing sites of Turkey is still in construction.

Relocation: from Squatter Settlements to Social Housing

After urban space became one of the most profitable investment area and after cities adopt aggressive market oriented strategies to attract capital, it became very difficult for the urban poor to survive in their living spaces due to increased real-estate values (Kuyucu and Unsal 2009). Relocation process affect the poorest; most socially and economically vulnerable and marginalized sectors of society, also forced evictions increase inequality, social conflict, segregation and *ghettoization* (OHCHR 2007). After demolition of *gecekondu* and squatter neighborhoods, inhabitants were displaced far from their communities and livelihoods, with inadequate facilities, especially deficient transportation networks adding significantly to their cost of living. The relocated population came up with low quality, unaffordable, socially and

physically excluded environment when they were forced to moved to TOKI buildings. The major criteria for adequate housing is not satisfied with the recent social housing projects in Turkey; affordability, security of tenure, cultural adequacy, suitability of location, and access to essential services such as health and education.

"I can't forget how it happened, still having it in my nightmares: It was a cold morning, right after sun raised, when we heard the bulldozer approaching to our house in order to demolish."

A woman from Ayazma

The target group were not informed about the relocation on time by appropriate channels and methods neither in Sulukule nor in Ayazma. Local governments did not ensure that the eviction is unavoidable, consistent and there is no reasonable alternatives. Principles of urban renewal projects were not followed by local governments, such as; lack of consensus with owners and tenants,

- No sharing the financial benefits and costs generated by urban renewal among land owners, community and public
- No participation of owners and tenants or in-habitants in decision making.
- Relocation of displaced land/property owners or renters after urban renewal project was inappropriately late.

Resettlement Cases from Istanbul

"We must rebuild, open up and clean up the hearts of our cities. The fact that slums were created with all the intrinsic evils was everybody's fault. Now it is everybody's responsibility to repair the damage."⁽⁵⁰⁾

Joseph Darst
Mayor of St. Louis, 1951, United States

62 years later...

50 Ramroth 2007, p.164



Map5: Istanbul administrative borders and location of fieldwork sites
Source: Own Map

"We will get rid of the shacks and clean the illegal buildings from our sight as long as we have the support from our people. We will produce sustainable and comfortable environments instead."⁽⁵¹⁾

Erdogan Bayraktar
Minister of Environment and Urbanization of
Turkey, 2013

In Istanbul, gecekondu cleansing projects had emerged in 2004 and the first two neighborhoods chosen for UTPs were Sulukule and Ayazma. There are two main reasons for choosing Sulukule and Basibuyuk as case study sites. First, they represent two different aspects of urban transformation in Istanbul: the enforced gentrification of an inner city neighborhood and the redevelopment of a squatter neighborhood. Second, during my pre-dissertation fieldwork I identified these two neighborhoods to be the first prominent two cases both in terms of the scale of the projects and in terms of the process and results of the projects. By putting Ayazma and Sulukule in a comparative perspective, I discuss the significance of a neighborhood network that centers around the struggle of poverty, ethnic segregation and social cohesion.

Ayazma (Squatter Settlement)

Ayazma is situated in the western edge of Istanbul, in the Küçükçekmece Municipal area, nearby the Atatürk Olympic Stadium and D-80 TEM highway. Kayabası Mass Housing settlement, the centre of Istanbul Water and Sewerage Administration and couple of industrial sites that are still running are located in the surroundings.

Küçükçekmece and its vicinity is the primary location for mass housing projects for the last decade that are expected to accommodate 1 million inhabitants, especially based on the recent construction of 3rd Bosphorus Bridge (Gunay 2012), Istanbul Theme Park project, Olympic Village and Küçükçekmece Lake Tourism and Cultural Centre Urban Transformation project (See the Figure).

TOKI, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Küçükçekmece Municipality made an agreement and started the project on 2004. Basic starting points for the urban renewal project were determined as follows (Turgut and Çaçtas 2010 p.345, cited in Turk 2012):

- To create safe habitats against earthquake risks;
- To improve the areas of illegal housing;
- To realize an integrated and extensive planning and design process for the Olympic Village;
- To ensure support of the inhabitants of the area through social projects; and
- To develop a good practice for the district.

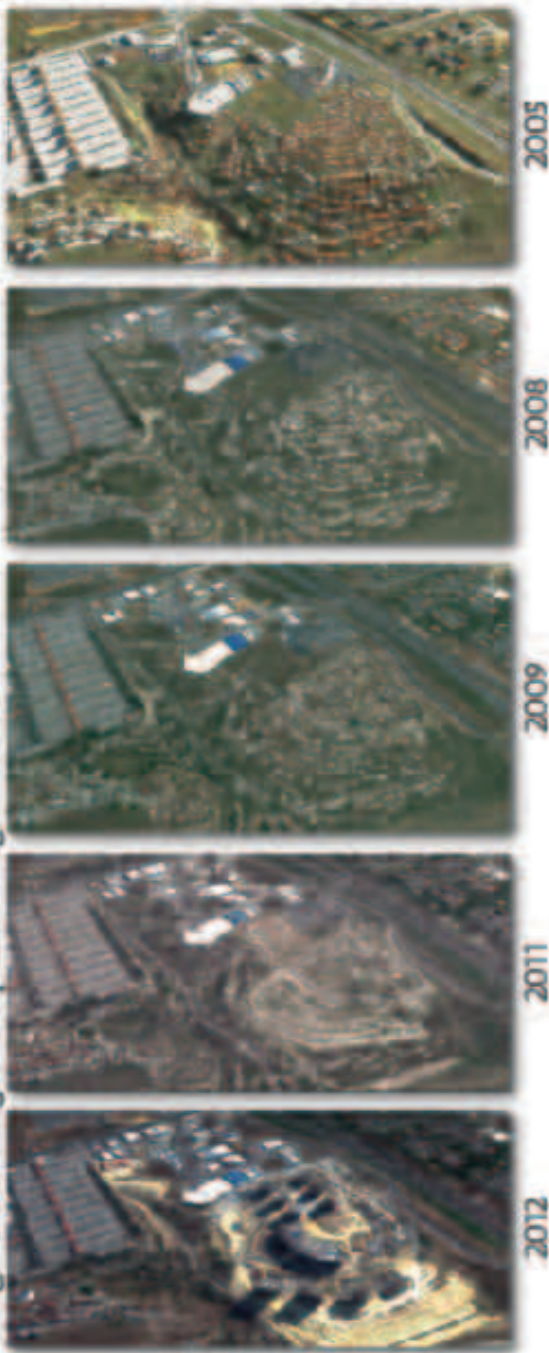
Considering the starting points, the Küçükçekmece Municipality announced the project area as an "area of urban renewal" through the decision of the Municipal Council dated 04.07.2005 (no. 2005/2). Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality prepared a new land use plan called "The Plan for Ayazma Squatter Transformation and Urban Renewal Area" in 2011, after landowners started partial cancellations of the distribution of plots after 2008.

Structure of the Ayazma Community

All of the Ayazma inhabitants are migrants;



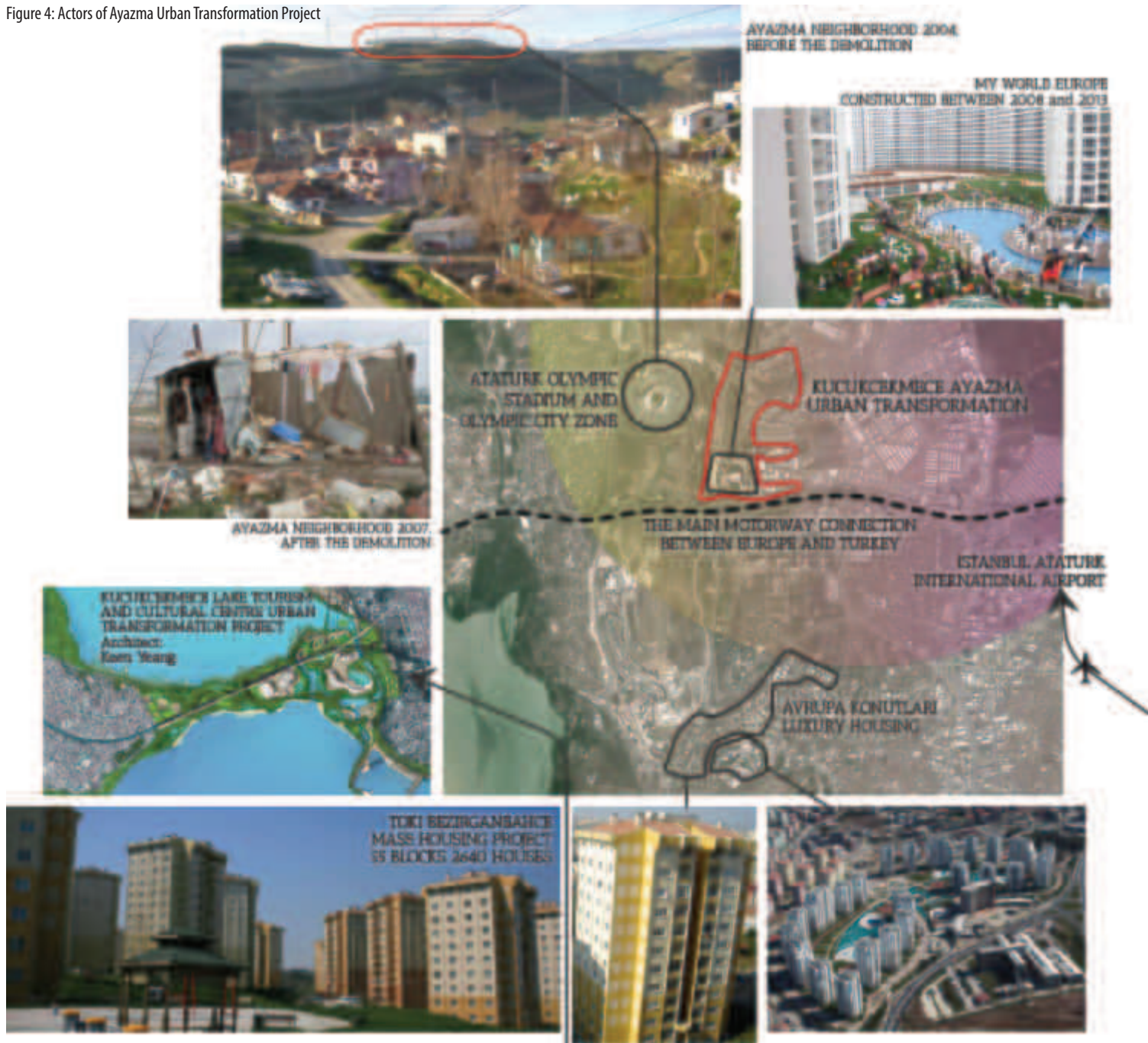
Google Earth. Images of Ayazma Neighborhood



mainly forced migrants driven from southeastern Turkey by the conflict there that erupted after 1985 (Lovering and Turkmen 2011), accordingly the gecekondü buildings mainly constructed between 1991 - 1995, starting from 1985 (Turgut and Ceylan 2010). The total population of the area was 10.675 people whose expectations were having economic opportunities and eradicating the poverty in the industrialized Istanbul. Almost half of the families have 5-6 household number.

71% of the inhabitants were happy to live in Ayazma and 95% of them want to stay in Ayazma rather than turning back to their home towns, because 88% of them have no houses or lands in there any more (Erdal 2010). The job opportunities nearby the neighborhood, living environment, the social network with the neighbors and relatives are the most important reasons for them to prefer staying. 74% of the whole population were working in Küçükçekmece with less than 600 TL overall income, while the tenants (25%) were paying the average rent between 150 TL - 199 TL (Turgut and Ceylan 2010). There are two different tenure structure in Ayazma with an equal range; de jure ownership and private ownership. The areas in the private ownership are formed by way of *divided property tile* without construction permits. 67% of the dwellings are illegal and 33% of the squatter houses which are not de jure situated on the public property and called 'occupiers' with no formal rights (Turk 2012). When they were asked about their preferences about a house, 96% of them described one-storey house with a garden (Turgut and Ceylan 2010).

Figure 4: Actors of Ayazma Urban Transformation Project



Relocation of Ayazma Dwellers to TOKI Bezirganbahçe Public Housing

Aziz Yeniay, the mayor of Küçükçekmece Municipality describes his "vision" on the municipality's website as follows (Bartu and Kolluoglu 2008, p.20):

"Küçükçekmece will be a home for happy people and the centre of attraction for the world, having completed its urban transformation projects, to host the Olympics, with its lake, sea, forest and all sorts of social utilities"

After a tripartite protocol was signed between TOKI, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Küçükçekmece Municipality on 2004, Ayazma Transformation Project was effectuated and the project managers started to establish one-to-one dialogue with the inhabitants in order to decide the building value and ownership rights (Turgut and Ceylan 2010). Two different kinds of agreements were made with the inhabitants of Ayazma; the ones who doesn't have de jure ownership but the title deeds and the others without title deeds. Küçükçekmece Municipal Council determined the value of the gecekondus in the area within their existing unit rather than the full/current value of the land and building. Firstly, the deeds of consent were issued within the framework of the assumptions set by TOKI and municipality for the landowners which offered 90 m² housing for each 250 m² plot (Turk 2012). The second agreement signed with TOKI, municipality and the ones without title deed, inhabitants agreed to give their gecekondus in return of a housing unit in the TOKI Bezirganbahçe public housing area in Küçükçekmece Municipality, 10 km away from

Ayazma, except 18 families those reject to sign the agreement and remained on the site after the eviction in 2006 (Lovering and Turkmen 2011). The municipality and TOKI effectively use people's legal and economic vulnerability and tenure insecurity to persuade them to sign the agreements (Turk 2012).

The current legal complexity created deep divisions between the inhabitants who don't have the *title deeds* and the landowners. After the agreements, the distribution of the housing units in TOKI Bezirganbahçe Public Housing Area were done in five phases according to the drawing of lots, starting in 2006 with 943 families without title deeds and followed with 817 landowner families till 2009 (Turgut and Ceylan 2010). Having a *title deed* means more legal security and encourage to resist the project or refuse to make a deal with the municipality, while the others were willing to have an apartment in TOKI buildings (Kuyucu and Unsal 2010). 130 households living in 1243 houses were tenants who had been told that they were rightful during the negotiation process, but none of them recognized by the municipality after the demolition, had a house in TOKI buildings with 50-150 TL monthly rent as a cheapest option they can find (Lovering and Turkmen 2011), but they had to cover the difference between demolition value of gecekondu and the cost of apartment building in TOKI Bezirganbahçe Public Housing Area.

Remigration of Ayazma Dwellers from TOKI

Ayazma dwellers are all immigrants, who live

under the poverty line and manage to survive with the solidarity in their previous neighborhood. It has been observed that the new TOKI buildings (see Figure) which have all the social facilities, infrastructure with healthy residential and modern living spaces and comfortable living conditions are not enough to stop the concerns of the Ayazma inhabitants about adjusting their surroundings and everyday habits; the new environment couldn't sought to suppress their needs and aspirations (Turgut and Ceylan 2010). Turgut and Ceylan state that the perception of the neighborhood is more social than physical, that's why 96% of the inhabitants were feeling more secure before they move and 73% of inhabitants, 84% of the children stated that they miss their life in Ayazma, since 90% of them were visiting their neighbors everyday. The low percentage of environmental satisfaction is also related with the major decrease on the sequence of visiting/seeing neighbors after they moved to TOKI Bezirganbahçe. Only 16% of the inhabitants wanted to move from Ayazma in the beginning of the project, thus 43% were seeking to move out from TOKI buildings with the reason that they cannot afford the installments which is 35% of their income with a highest share (Turgut and Ceylan). The reasons of their longings about Ayazma are aligned below (Turgut and Ceylan);

- 1- Relations with neighbors (33%)
- 2- Living environment (29%)
- 3- No hardship with rent/bills (12%)
- 4- Feeding own animals and other reasons (2%)

As it is obviously shown with the interviews conducted in 2010, the daily - life habits are dominantly affecting the satisfaction of new comers. It has been specified in one of my

in -depth interviews with Emine, one of the households, that

'the low quality of the construction, small sizes of the rooms despite the high number of households, decline of face to face communication in the apartment life and the lack of access/use of green space/garden are the main reasons of our dissatisfaction come up in my mind'

TOKI Bezirganbahçe, 16 March 2013,

The main reasons for considering to move from TOKI Bezirganbahçe are (Turgut and Ceylan 2010);

- 1- Not able to pay the installments of TOKI (43%)
- 2- Couldn't get use to the district (19%)
- 3- Couldn't get used to the apartment (17%)
- 4- Couldn't get used to the neighbors (13%)
- 5- Other reasons (8%)

TOKI Bezirganbahçe buildings are the result of an urban transformation project and housed forcedly evicted, relocated or resettled inhabitants of urban poor. With the isolated environment, this compound features new forms of poverty and social exclusion, besides the increasing ethnic tension and violence. All the new mass housing or the public housing sites that are constructed by TOKI have been becoming ethnically and socially stigmatized and ghettoized areas (Erman 2013).

"Turkish Republic made a great favor for these Kurdish people by giving them TOKI houses for a very cheap price, but they are not able no live in apartment buildings. You cannot enter some of the buildings in TOKI Bezirganbahçe because of the smell; they use the elevators and fire exits. In this social centre, where my office is located, most of the shops are owned by Kurdish people and their employees are Kurdish either, which makes other

people scared and they don't want to come here. Now they all have started selling their houses for 120,000 TL. The houses were sold them for saving them from being homeless, and now they get advantage of the situation and make profit."

*Yakup GÜNER, Owner of Usta Emlak
Real Estate Agent
TOKI Bezirganbahçe, 17 March 2013*

In TOKI Bezirganbahçe buildings a new form of urban marginality occurred; involuntary isolation and insulation besides the non-relationality with the city imposed through the reproduction of poverty (Bartu and Kolluoglu 2008). As a public housing project, there was no relationship between local municipality and the residents and no monitoring of everyday activities, needs and problems.

These apartment blocks located in areas, which are detached from city life, turn into blocks of dormitories. According to Turan's research findings completed in 2010, 50% of the inhabitants wanted to move from TOKI buildings and the main reasons are the low quality of life with the average number of 6 household in 90 m² apartments (54%), not feeling secure (61%), increasing expenses such as site management and services (45%), dissatisfaction with the one type of architectural design that houses one type of users and dysfunctional public spaces or open spaces (45%), difficulties with the access to the city center (70%), unreliable and insufficient public transformation (80%). Türkün points out that the monthly installments of TOKI are constantly increasing, by being indexed to the salaries of civil servants; the monthly installment of one type of TOKI house was 275 TL in the beginning, which has increased to 320 TL now

(2013). 51% of the women population from Ayazma started working for less than 500 TL per month (2013). This is also true for TOKI Kayabasi mass housing settlement, where Kasim Aydın (Ayazma dweller) describes their fate of resettlement⁽⁵²⁾:

"Our lives overturned, It was the destruction, not only of the livelihood of people who had always lived symbiotically with each other, but also of the psyche and spirit of the solidarity in the neighborhood."

As the results of remigration from TOKI, 54% of the laboring population lost their jobs, 31% of them had to change their jobs, unemployment increased to 29%. In consequence of unemployment, 600 families out of 1400 were dispossessed and left the TOKI apartments without paying the installments (Türkün 2013). None of the families who were interviewed feel secure about their future and feel comfortable with being in the TOKI site, because they can't use the garden when they want, they can't meet with their neighbors in the entrance of the buildings and there are new expenses for the site administration and site services, such as taking out the rubbish. Inhabitants do not trust neither TOKI, nor the municipality any more and they feel deceived after they witness the low quality houses constructed by TOKI, also they affirm that TOKI used force to take their gecekondus only for making profit (Türkün 2013, Erman 2013).

As a consequence, most of the families had to sell their apartments and moved to other gecekondus

.....

neighborhoods⁽⁵³⁾ or moved to the periphery of the city such as Çatalca, Çerkezköy or neighboring cities of Istanbul to settle in another gecekondü or to build their own gecekondü on the land they buy with the money they get after selling the TOKI apartment (See the Map). There are also some families who went back to the Eastern Turkey, where they migrated decades ago. Baris Turan, who moved to Mardin in January 2013 describes his migration process:

"Now I have less money than I have in Istanbul, but I'm happy. We don't have any property in our home town any more, since we sold them before we migrated to Istanbul, but we can easily have a house in here if I find a fair job. Here is not like Istanbul, everything is cheaper in here... This has been our 3rd migration, we came from exile in 1970s, and faced with exile again in TOKI Bezirganbahçe. Madrid is another one, but we don't have those worries that we had in TOKI."

According to Cüneyt Uysal, it is not only their declining income that creates the conditions of the further impoverishment, but also the expenses of basic utilities, regular bills, no chance to grow own vegetables in the garden, very expensive and inconvenient transportation possibilities. He explains the reasons of remigration and the reasons of decision making in the location preferences⁽⁵⁴⁾:

"...having high number of households in small apartments, having difficulties to adapt the

53 Dönüşümden dönüş www.radikal.com.tr/Radikal.aspx?aType=RadikalDetayV3&ArticleID=1097639&CategoryID=80

54 The interview was conducted with the owner of Uysal Emlak, Cüneyt Uysal, working in TOKI Bezirganbahçe commercial center on March 18th 2013.

apartment life made them move away. Almost half of them turned back to their home towns and the others prefer to buy plots from the outskirts, build 3-4 story houses or they establish a business in order to invest..."

Sulukule (Inner-city Slum)

Before being gradually demolished by the local Municipality between 2006 and 2009, Sulukule, officially known as Hatice and Neslisah Sultan Neighborhoods, was a neighborhood inhabited by the Romani people for centuries. The neighborhood is 8000 m² with 571 households, located on the borders of the historical peninsula, near the ancient Theodosian Walls in the Fatih district of Istanbul. The city walls surrounding Sulukule are areas of the World Heritage property⁽⁵⁵⁾ (UNESCO 2009). After the first conquest of Istanbul, Sulukule became the first neighborhood in the world to be permanently settled by Romani people, who dealt with music, dancing and entertainment during the Byzantine and Ottoman times (Uysal 2011). Step by step, the Romani people living there have been displaced. After leaving their livelihoods, they struggled to live in the TOKI Tasoluk building affordable housing that TOKI constructed and they remigrated to Karagumruk neighborhood, following the relocation.

Structure of the Sulukule Community

Sulukule was one of the oldest neighborhoods of Istanbul, one of the rare places where one could trace the historic street pattern of Ottoman-era Istanbul and home to one of the oldest sedentary

55 Historic Areas of Istanbul, Turkey, C 356

Roma communities in the world dating back to the Byzantine Empire (Marsh 2006, cited in Karaman 2013). A major aspect that set Sulukule aside from its environs was the usage of the streets as integral part of social life in the neighborhood. Sulukule streets were completely occupied by women, children and the youth, while male members either at work or at the local coffeehouse during the day.

In the early 1990s, claiming that entertainment houses had in reality become 'houses of prostitution' the police arrested the keepers and employees and destroyed musicians' instruments (Foggo 2009), thus, all entertainment houses were permanently shut which was driving the whole neighborhood into serious economic decline, serious disrepair, and drug trade, street food sellers, liquor sellers and cab drivers grew as an alternative source of income (Karaman 2010).

Relocation of Sulukule Dwellers to TOKI

In what Davis calls the criminalization of the slums, many countries have used the excuse of law and order to demolish unwanted inner-city settlements (2006). Sulukule was chosen as the first renewal site in Turkey, despite the full legal occupancy in the area. One taxi driver from Sulukule, where the drug dealing was rising, says:

"I think all these drugs were sent to us by the government. If they wanted, they could stop the drug dealing in our neighborhood, but they didn't. They unfortunately encouraged the consumption to keep these people quiet. Nobody is interested in anything anymore. It's only about drugs all the time."

The Municipality of Fatih declared the starting process of the Sulukule Renovation Project in 2005. The data about the local and social structure was not collected in the period of 2005-2009, only the real estate values were estimated. Afterwards, Neslisah and Hatice Sultan Districts were publicly announced as a renewal site according to The Law on Protection and Usage of Historical and Cultural Immovable Assets by Renewal (Law No: 5366, adopted in 2005). In December of 2006 the central government passed an 'urgent expropriation' decree, and Sulukule residents were informed about the decision via mail. TOKI, the Metropolitan Municipality of Istanbul and the Municipality of Fatih signed a tripartite protocol in 2009 which involves the demolition of the whole existing building stock, to make space for the new 'Ottoman neighborhood project' and the local municipality did not bother consulting with the residents at any stage of project development. As of now the entire neighborhood is completely demolished except for a few buildings which are formally certified as historic and the renewal project is now completed, after pending archeological excavation in the area between 2009 and 2012 as a legal requirement for any authorized construction undertaken within the historic peninsula.

The aims of the Sulukule Urban Renewal Project are (SP 2009);

- Improving living quality of inhabitants,
- Adopting conservation of world heritage and living culture as a leading principle and goal,
- Preventing physical decay with providing sustainability for historical pattern and distinctive identity of city,
- Recover of economic life,



Figure 5: Stages of Urban Renewal in Sulukule

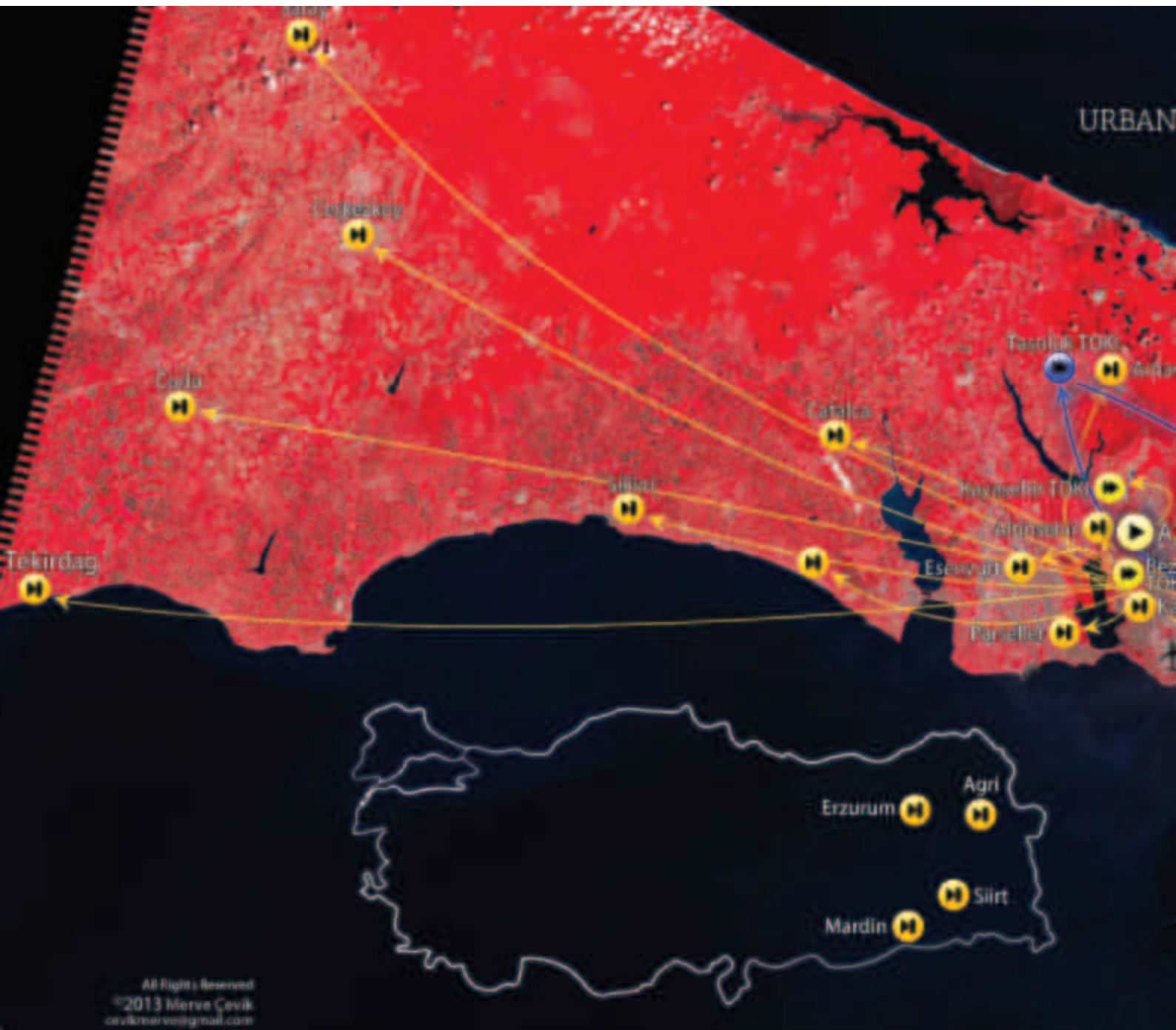
The urban layout was designed by the municipality as a modern layout.

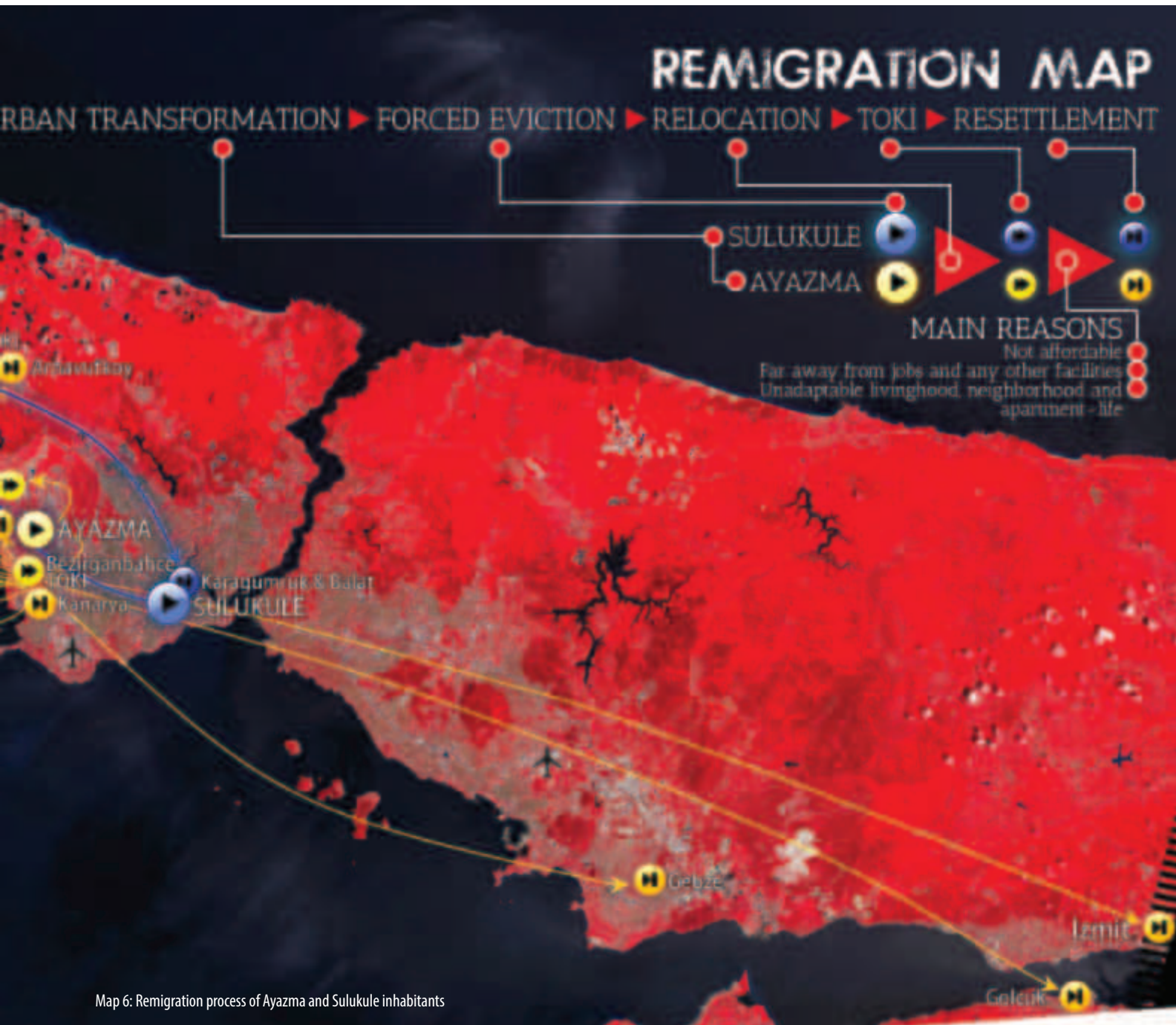
Destroying of the structures was done around 2007 for the Istanbul Urban Renewal Program.

The first 1000 'Modern-type' apartments, constructed by construction firms, leading to the urban renewal since 2011.

Sulukule 'Modern-type' renewed flats were not only to social housing TOKI started after 2011 year of the construction of 2000 apartment units with their apartment units since 2012.

Renovated apartments integrated into TOKI housing in Sulukule neighborhood since by Turkey.





Map 6: Remigration process of Ayazma and Sulukule inhabitants

- Increasing living quality and activation of cultural dynamics,
- Ensuring participation,
- Supporting sociocultural development,
- Integrating district and inhabitants to the whole city and citizens,
- Attaining modern, habitable, sustainable places integrated with history and culture.

The Urban Renewal Project of Sulukule was referred to as a social project in the State Party report, but the mission considered that economic factors had been a dominant factor in the relocation of inhabitants (UNESCO 2009). The organizations of Gypsy residents in Sulukule have denounced the evictions as ethnic cleansing of the inner city, and have brought the issue to the European Parliament as a violation of their ethnic cultural rights. Also, Sulukule Case was summarized and sent to European Convention on Human Rights (EcHR) by NGOs, since the project was dissident to the articles of EcHR as stated below (UNESCO 2009);

- 1: Respect to Rights and Freedoms
- 6: Right to Fair Trial
- 8: Respect for Private & Family Life
- 13: Right to an Effective Remedy
- 14: Discrimination

The project is carried out in the name of cleaning away the monstrosity as Prime Minister Erdogan (2008) put it in defending the renewal project⁽⁵⁶⁾. According to the NGOs, the number of the evicted people is 3000 and all of their houses were

.....

56 Erdoğan: Sulukule'yi ucube halden kurtaracağız (2008) <<http://arsiv.ntvmsnbc.com/news/439760.asp>> (last accessed: September 1, 2009)

demolished⁽⁵⁷⁾.

Remigration of Sulukule Dwellers from TOKI

The leader of the Sulukule Romani Culture and Development Association, Sukru Punduk, who is currently in his 40s and used to own an entertainment house in the late 1980s, and now living in Karagumruk neighborhood next to Sulukule, explains; "We were living in solidarity here, we were sharing our bread. Now everyone is pre-occupied with paying their individual monthly payments, no one is helping anyone in Karagumruk.

Consequences of the remigration for Sulukule inhabitants are stated in Erman's findings (2013);

- 1- The number of tenants excessively increased
- 2- More than 2 families started to live in the same house
- 3- Loss of jobs
- 4- Increase in impoverishment
- 5- Decline in the quality of life
- 6- Loss of social networks

Hasan Dogan, as one of the few inhabitants who grew up in Sulukule and moved to new project area after the construction, indicates that⁽⁵⁸⁾;

"Sulukule was known as a dangerous neighborhood, but now it's more dangerous after they demolished our houses and pushed our

.....

57 Sulukule: Bir dokun bin 'ah' işit www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/sulukule_bir_dokun_bin_ah_isit-1144770

58 Sulukule: Bir dokun bin 'ah' işit www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/sulukule_bir_dokun_bin_ah_isit-1144770

neighbors away. These new fancy houses are totally empty, fairly a ghost town with full of offers for sale or for rent. Non of the utilities is working. We are trying to survive with 10-15 other Sulukule inhabitants and struggle with the increasing installments almost every month. We live in the middle of the city, as we live in the middle of nowhere.”

Nejla Karaman is a member of 5 households living in new Sulukule buildings and she explains her concerns as follows⁽⁵⁹⁾;

“We found our selves into the big debt hole. The price we had decided with the municipality more than doubled. Our neighborhood was a low-middle income neighborhood. It was looking a bit tumbledown, but everybody was happy. Now each of us are struggling with poverty either in Ottoman style housing, TOKI buildings or Karagumruk.”

There is only two families who still live in TOKI Tasoluk buildings⁽⁶⁰⁾. Sabahattin Güdek is a memeber of one of the two families, living with his wife and 3 children and complaining about unaffordability of TOKI residences;

“The monthly installments of TOKI buildings are raising every 6 months on the basis of the 4% inflation rate. I'm afraid that our debt will last forever. Furthermore, living in these TOKI blocks requires extra expenses such as monthly maintenance fees, natural gas and higher prices for electricity and city water. I'll move to Karagumruk

.....

59 Sulukule: Bir dokun bin 'ah' isit www.radikal.com.tr/turkiye/sulukule_bir_dokun_bin_ah_isit-1144770

60 Council of State Rejects Objection on Sulukule Project <http://bianet.org/english/people/149301-council-of-state-rejects-objection-on-sulukule-project>

or Balat with my family, because you can not even go to any health center without using a vehicle. Also, my wife would easily find a job there. Here is no different than prison.”

Conclusion of Chapter 5

Evictions of gecekondü and squatter inhabitants in Istanbul resulted in individuals being rendered homeless or vulnerable. The urban poor of these neighborhoods were unable to provide for themselves adequate alternative housing, resettlement or access to productive land, as the case may be, is available and provided. They have lost their source of livelihood, also all the social and economic solidarity that they used to use to deal with the poverty. The process was not transparent; inhabitants were informed about the demolition 10 days before the project. 15-20 year period installments arranged with banks for a house far away form their daily life. The profit optimization system will receive the interest from those who do not pay their loan on time, when the repayment period expires, the bank will deprive inhabitant of the house. All the gecekondü clearance cases in Istanbul happened unlawfully, without legal security of tenure. There was no protection against forced evictions and no guarantee for adequate relocation. Discrimination and stigmatization was also another issue that makes inhabitants of these neighborhoods more marginalized. Ethnic or social origins of Ayazma and Sulukule inhabitants judged by their ethnical backgrounds and social statuses.

The weaknesses and the problems of the UTPs are the total exclusion of the local residents from the decision making processes, ambiguities in the

determination of the transformation zones and the future development of the transformation zones, problems in determining the rightful ownership of the gecekondu settlements and the social and economic problems of people relocated to mass housing.

CHAPTER 4

CONFRONTING THE LESSONS

Istanbul Cases Vs. Lessons Drawn from the Literature Review

The housing literature in the periphery and semi-periphery countries has shown that, with more than half of the urban population living in slum areas continue to be an important phenomenon. Neoliberal forces increased the mobility of the functions in cities, hence urban policies that balance the right to the city must be an essential part of housing policy concerns in providing habitable, affordable and socially attached housing areas for the relocated urban poor.

The huge gap between the rich and the poor in Istanbul is more and more observable in the urban landscape, and at the same time feeds on the spatial segregation. While the rich isolate themselves in gated communities, residences and plazas; new poverty cycles born in social housing communities on the periphery of the city designed as human depots continue to push millions to desperation and hopelessness.

Lessons Learnt from Housing Policies in Turkey

The location of low-income settlements do not ensure the easy access to job, health and education facilities. The TOKI buildings where relocated population inhabited in Istanbul located in the periphery of the city. Both being far away from the centre and socially prototype cause marginalizing

as well as ghettoization. While evictions are already a discriminatory manner, TOKI creates a class rooted social segregation in the urban area. Relocation policies and programmes should not formulated or implemented in a discriminatory manner, and do not further marginalize those living in poverty in urban areas. TOKI as a relocation site does not fulfill the basic criteria such as security of tenure, services, materials, facilities and infrastructure, affordable housing, accessibility for disadvantaged groups, access to employment options, health-care services, schools, and other social facilities, culturally appropriate housing.

The formal purpose of development-based evictions is serving the public good, such as large-scale transportation projects, but the land speculation changes the aim of new projects. With international development assistance, Istanbul is hosting major international finance, business or culture events resulting with involuntary resettlement cases. The displacement results in altering the social, cultural and ethnic composition of the affected population. Urban development policies do not address the issue of livelihoods of gecekondü dwellers.

In the process of neoliberal urbanization, the increase in housing or land prices is mostly out of local or central government's control. However physical or economic pressures changing in a parallel way on residents to leave. The raising value of the land in Istanbul has been leading all the reconstructing focused on globalizing the city which affect directly to the housing market. Without any preventive measures, speculation

in land and real estate caused forced evictions. City government should regulate the housing and tenancy markets and, when necessary, intervene to ensure that market forces do not increase the vulnerability of low-income and other marginalized groups to forced eviction (Kothari 2006). States must give priority to exploring strategies that minimize displacement. Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE) explains that the residents were often forced from their homes with little notice and little compensation, as the government embarks on a massive city redevelopment to accommodate the Olympic games. Comprehensive and holistic impact assessments should be carried out prior to the initiation of any project that could result in development-based eviction and displacement, with a view to securing fully the human rights of all potentially affected persons, groups and communities, including their protection against forced evictions. "Eviction-impact" assessment should also include exploration of alternatives and strategies for minimizing harm⁽⁶¹⁾. Easy access to livelihood opportunities should be one of the keys to the success of resettlement projects.

Is there a specific Istanbul story comparable to other cases?

What does seem unique to Turkey is both the speed at which these developments are taking place and the overwhelming role of the central government in the process. The country's urban transformation is criticized for two main reasons;

.....

61 UN Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development-based Evictions and Displacement, 2010. Habitat International Coalition

the excessive centralization of decision making and the lack of consultation with citizens before projects are given the green light.

Although It seems like every people live in Istanbul will have their own house, thousands of people that displace couldn't afford blocks for low-income in urbanization/renewal areas. If the inhabitants of these neighborhoods do not prefer to make an agreement with the municipality, the municipality / TOKI has the full right to expropriate one's property. Since the value of one's property after transformation process always increases and the owner is asked to pay the difference, none of the residents can opt to become a partner of the renewal project and almost all sell and have to move out which even though looks like an agreement is a latent forced eviction process. Although it seems like every people live in Istanbul will have their own house, in urbanization/renewal areas thousands of people that displace couldn't afford blocks for low income. The striking point about that there are no planned or ongoing low-income housing projects of TOKI in Istanbul.

According to Turan, any institution which produced 500,000 houses in the last decade should be scientifically criticized in terms of its mechanism and methods (2010). Especially the social dimension and the user demands are usually ignored in the TOKI projects and the architecture style of the buildings does not address the different type of users (Erdal 2010). In Istanbul, what was being emphasized was not just economic dispossession, but the eradication of social relations and networks that make up a neighborhood as a particular spatial assemblage.

As this study evaluated, in both cases in Istanbul, UTPs destroy employment status, existence of networks of solidarity, the level of participation and trust in the neighborhood association, and on the availability of exploitable personal or community connections of inhabitants. Mücella Yapici, of the Istanbul Chamber of Architects paints a similarly bleak picture⁽⁶²⁾:

“Urban poverty will increase. People evicted from their houses not only lose their home, but also their jobs, their neighborhood, and their social ties. Tower block developments on the far outskirts of the city further isolated disadvantaged groups. A city should bring people together, not segregate them. But in Istanbul we will end up in a situation where everybody will be afraid of one another – the rich will fear the poor and vice versa. It will be the end of social peace in the city.”



62 Istanbul sees history razed in the name of regeneration www.guardian.co.uk/world/2012/mar/01/istanbul-city-urban-renewal?INTCMP=SRCH

CONCLUSION

Economic restructuring in Istanbul brought many physical change such as forced evictions herewith social and cultural transformations. Urban transformation and renovation projects as one of the parts of dynamics of growth in a semi-periphery metropolis increased inequality and polarization. Istanbul is losing the identity of an industrial city and gradually evolving into a tourism, finance, services and trade centre, this processes carry the meaning that neither shanty towns nor cheap labor is needed any more. Gecekondu clearance and forced eviction of gecekondu inhabitants to TOKI buildings create more problems then they solve. Relocation process destroys a large housing stock affordable for the urban poor and the housing TOKI provided has frequently turned out to be unaffordable. Resettlement destroys the social network and proximity of the households to their employment sources. Relocated inhabitants of Sulukule and Ayazma move back into illegal settlements in the city centre, rural areas in the periphery of Istanbul or eastern part of Turkey. TOKI social housing projects turn out to create more segregation of the urban poor from the cultural and natural resources and public spaces of the city. Majority of the resettled families of my case studies couldn't pay the condominium fees in the first 6 months, had to sell their houses and move back to shanty towns again, but this time they did not move to their own places, but moved as tenants and became more impoverished.

Social exclusion that refers to a failure of social integration at economic, political and cultural levels

Neoliberal urban policies are reshaping the Third World cities with place-marketing mechanisms that redefine and transfer property from weak actors to stronger ones with the direct involvement of the state. The reason why especially mega cities of Third World governments is because they have the control over construction meant that legitimate houses could be easily and profitably built; housing the poor is a good business and the safest investment available, since it's producing a quick return on capital (Peil 1991, cited in Davis 2006). Affordable housing projects fail to provide sustainable solutions to the housing question of the urban poor. Istanbul, Cairo, Sao Paulo, Beijing and Mexico are reproducing urban segregation by evicting the urban poor from the center as a global pattern.

"The agencies who plan slum eviction see an alternative for the people in, the cheap high-rise flats: the people in the slums know that eviction and, life in these flats would reduce their means of reproduction and the possibilities for subsistence production. Furthermore access to work is more difficult due to the location of these flats. This is the simple reason why the slum dwellers prefer to stay in the slum and are starting to fight against eviction. For them the slum is the place where production under deteriorating circumstances is still possible. For the urban planner, it is a mere cancer in the city."

Evers and Korff 2000, p.168

REFERENCES

- 16th Young Planning Professionals' Report, 2006. To Integrate or to Disintegrate: Re-assembling the Patchwork of Disintegrated Functions in Istanbul Central Area. Istanbul: ISOCARP.
- Advisory Group on Forced Evictions, 2009. Mission to Istanbul: Report to Executive Director of UN-Habitat Programme. New York: UN Habitat.
- Altunok, E. & Cengiz, H., 2008. The Effects of Urban Sprawl on Spatial Fragmentation and Social Segregation in Istanbul. In: ISOCARP (The International Society of City and Regional Planners), 44th ISOCARP Congress. Dalian, China 19 - 23 September 2008. Dalian: ISOCARP.
- Balaban, O., 2011. The Negative Effects of Construction Boom on Urban Planning and Environment in Turkey: Unraveling the Role of the Public Sector, *Habitat International*, 36(1), pp.26 - 35.
- Bartu -Candan, A. & Kolluo lu, B., 2008. Emerging Spaces of Neoliberalism: A Gated Town and a Public Housing Project in Istanbul. *Urban Studies*, 39, pp.5- 46.
- Basslevent, C. & Dayioglu, M., 2005. The Effect of Squatter Housing on Income Distribution in Urban Turkey. *Urban Studies*, 42(1), pp.31 - 25.
- Baycan -Levent, T. & Gülümser, A., 2004. Production and Marketing of Gated Communities in Istanbul. In: ERSA (European Regional Science Association), Regional Science Association 44th ERSA Congress. Porto, Portugal 25- 29 August 2004. Porto: ERSA.
- Bayraktar, E., 2007. Bir İnsanlık Hakkı Konut: Toki'nin Planlı Kentleşme ve Konut Üretim Seferberliği. Ankara: Boyut Kitapları.
- Cakirer, Y., 2012. [The Immigrants of Turkish Origin as the Actors of Transnational Urbanism in Istanbul, Zeytinburnu]. Ph. D, Istanbul Technical University. (In Turkish).
- Davis, M., 2006. Planet of Slums. New York: Verso.
- Demographia, 2013. Demographia World Urban Areas (World Agglomerations). [pdf] Available at: <<http://www.demographia.com/db-worldua.pdf>> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- Dinçer, I., Enlil, Z. & Islam, T., 2008. Regeneration in a New Context: A New Act on Renewal and its Implications on the Planning Processes in Istanbul. In: AESOP (the Association of European Schools of Planning), ACSP – AESOP Fourth Joint Congress. Chicago, USA 6 - 11 July 2008. Chicago: AESOP.
- Dogan, S., 2009. Transformation of Housing in Slum Upgrading Areas: Lessons from Turkey. Ph. D, University of Southern California.
- Dundar, O., 2001. Models of Urban Transformation: Informal Housing in Ankara. *Cities*, 18(6), pp.391 - 401.
- Ecumenopolis: City Without Limits, 2011. [movie online] Available at: <http://www.ekumenopolis.net/#/en_US> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- Erkip, F., 2000. Global Transformations versus Local Dynamics in Istanbul: Planning in a Fragmented Metropolis. *Cities*, 17(5), pp.371 - 377.
- Erman, T. & Eken, A., 2004. The "Other of the Other" and "Unregulated Territories" in the Urban Periphery: Gecekondu Violence in the 2000s with a Focus on the Esenler Case, Istanbul. *Cities*, 21(1), pp.57 - 68.
- Erman, T., 1997. Squatter Housing versus Apartment Housing: Turkish Rural-to-Urban Migrant Residents' Perspectives. *Habitat International*, 28(1), pp.91 - 106.
- Evers, H. And Korff, R., 2000. Southeast Asian Urbanism: The Meaning and Power of Social Space. New York: St. Martin's Press.
- Fernandes, E. & Varley, A., 1998. *Illegal Cities: Law and Urban Change in Developing Countries*. New York: Zed Books Ltd.

- Fix, M., Arantes, P., & Tanaka, G., 2003. Urban Slums Reports: The case of Sao Paulo, Brazil. [pdf] Sao Paulo: UN-Habitat. Available at: <http://www.ucl.ac.uk/dpu-projects/Global_Report/pdfs/SaoPaulo.pdf> [Accessed 18 June 2013]
- Fowler, D., 2008. One World, Whose Dream? Housing Rights Violations and the Beijing Olympic Games. Geneva: Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE).
- Gerber, A., Korwel, C., Rourke, A. & Terry, S., 2011. Public Housing in Sao Paulo + NYC. [pdf] Available at: <http://nyspexchange.files.wordpress.com/2010/06/100423-sp_public_housing-digital_2.pdf> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- Gundogdu, I. & Gough, J., 2008. Class Cleansing in Istanbul's World-city Project. In: L. Porter and K. Shaw eds. 2008. Whose Urban Renaissance? An International Comparison of Urban Regeneration Strategies. Milton Park: Routledge. Ch. 2.
- GYODER (Gayrimenkul Yatirim Ortakligi), 2011. Gayrimenkul Sektoru ve Istanbul için Ongoruler 2015. [pdf] Istanbul: GYODER. Available at: <http://www.opusgd.com/files/GYODER_Istanbul_Icin_Ongoruler_2015.pdf> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- Harvey, D., 2005. A Brief History of Neoliberalism. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ilgin, C., 2005. [A Model for Migration-attachment Relations in Housing Environments: Berlin/Kreuzberg Case]. Ph. D, Istanbul Technical University. (In Turkish).
- IMECE, 2009. Istanbul Kent Raporu. [pdf] Istanbul: IMECE. Available at: <<http://www.toplumunsehir-cilikhareketi.org/images/stories/imece/IstanbulRaporu.pdf>> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- IMO (Insaat Muhendisleri Odasi), 2008. Turkiye'de Konut Sorunu ve Konut Ihtiyaci Raporu. [pdf] Istanbul: TMMOB-IMO. Available at: <http://e-imo.imo.org.tr/Portal/Web/new/uploads/file/menu/KONUT_RAPORU.pdf> [Accessed 20 December 2011].
- IMO (Insaat Muhendisleri Odasi), 2010. "Turkiye'de Konut Sorunu ve Konut Ihtiyaci" Raporu. [pdf] Istanbul: IMO. Available at: <http://e-imo.imo.org.tr/Portal/Web/new/uploads/file/menu/KONUT_RAPORU.pdf> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- IRIN & UN-Habitat, 2007. The Housing Crisis - Cairo: Sheltering the Urban Poor. [pdf] Available at: <<http://www.irinnews.org/pdf/in-depth/tomorrowscrisestoday-chapter8.pdf>> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- Islam T., 2010. Current Urban Discourse, Urban Transformation and Gentrification in Istanbul. Architectural Design, 80(1), pp.58-63.
- Islam, T., 2009. Implications of an Urban Renewal Based State-led Gentrification Process in a Roma Neighborhood in Istanbul. In: ISA-RC21 (International Sociological Association - Research Committee on Sociology of Urban and Regional Development), Inequality, Inclusion and the Sense of Belonging. Sao Paulo, Brazil 23-25 August 2009. Sao Paulo: ISA.
- Karaman, O., 2010. Remaking Space for Globalization: Dispossession through Urban Renewal in Istanbul. Ph. D. University of Minnesota.
- Karaman, O., 2013. Resisting Urban Renewal in Istanbul. [pdf] Available at: <http://www.academia.edu/3815087/Resisting_urban_renewal_in_Istanbul> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- Keyder, C. ed., 1999. Istanbul Between Global and Local, Maryland: Rowman and Littlefield.
- Keyder, C., 2005. Globalization and Social Exclusion in Istanbul. International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 29(1), pp.124-134.
- Kipper, R. & Fischer, M. eds., 2009. Cairo's Informal Areas Between Urban Challenges and Hidden Potentials - Facts. Voices. Visions. [e-book] Portugal: Norprint SA. Available through: Cities Alliance website <<http://www.citiesalliance.org>> [Accessed 18 June 2013].

- Komurlu, R. & Onel, H., 2007. Türkiye'de Konut Üretimine Yönelik Kaynak Olusturma Model Yaklaşımları, *Megaron*, [e-journal] 2(2), pp.89 - 107. Available through: Yildiz Technical University Megaron website <<http://www.megaron.yildiz.edu.tr>> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- Korkmaz, T. & Yucesoy -Unlu, E., 2010. Istanbul. Once an Imperial World City, Now a Global One. [online] Available at: <http://issuu.com/tiranaworkshop/docs/istanbul_living-in-voluntary-and-involuntary-exclu> [Accessed 03 July 2013].
- Kothari, M. & Rolnik, R., 2006. Report of the Special Rapporteur on Adequate Housing as a Component of the Right to an Adequate Standard of Living. [online] Available at: <<http://www.ohchr.org/en/issues/housing/pages/housingindex.aspx>> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- Kuyucu, T. & Unsal, O., 2010. 'Urban Transformation' as State-led Property Transfer: An Analysis of Two Cases of Urban Renewal in Istanbul, *Urban Studies*, 47(7), pp.1479 - 1499.
- Leitner, H., Peck, J. & Sheppard, E. eds., 2008. *Contesting Neoliberalism: Urban Frontiers*, New York: The Guilford Press.
- Lovering, J. & Türkmen, H., 2011. Bulldozer Neo-liberalism in Istanbul: The State-led Construction of Property Markets and the Displacement of the Urban Poor, *International Planning Studies*, 16(1), pp.73 - 96.
- Lovering, J., 2007. The Relationship Between Urban Regeneration and Neoliberalism: Two Presumptuous Theories and a Research Agenda, *International Planning Studies*, 12(4), pp.343 - 366.
- LSE Cities, 2009. Istanbul City of Intersections. [pdf] Available at: <http://v0.urban-age.net/publications/newspapers/istanbul/media/UrbanAgeIstanbulNewspaper_en.pdf> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- Magalhaes, F. & Villarosa, F. eds., 2012. *Slum upgrading: Lessons learned from Brazil*. [e-book] Washington: Inter-American Development Bank. Available through: Cities Alliance website <<http://www.citiesalliance.org>> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- Ogdul, H., 2000. Social Cohesion: Is it sufficient? Migrant communities in two disadvantaged neighborhoods in Istanbul, *GeoJournal*, 51, pp.321 - 328.
- OHCHR, 2007. Basic Principles and Guidelines on Development Based Evictions and Displacement. [pdf] Available at: <http://www.ohchr.org/Documents/Issues/Housing/Guidelines_en.pdf> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- Osseiran, N., 2012. Kimin için dönüşüm? / Transformation for whom?. [video online] Available at: <<https://vimeo.com/41657784>> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- Osseiran, N., 2012. Nerede yaşarsan yasa! / Don't care where you live!. [video online] Available at: <<https://vimeo.com/34149745>> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- Pierini, M., 2013. Urban Poverty. [online] Available at: <<http://carnegieeurope.eu/2013/06/20/urban-transformation-in-turkey/gb5h>> [Accessed 27 June 2013].
- Pinar, F., 2010. Sulukule. [video online] Available at: <<https://vimeo.com/5071818>> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- Pinar, F., 2011. Sahne Senin Istanbul. [video online] Available at: <<https://vimeo.com/14340905>> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- PWC (Pricewaterhousecoopers), 2012. Turkey in 2041 Looking to the Future. [pdf] Available at: <http://www.pwc.com.tr/tr_TR/tr/publications/arastirmalar/pdf/turkey-in-2041-eng.pdf> [Accessed 24 July 2013].
- Raina, L. & Bakker, M. eds., 2003. *Non-bank Financial Institutions and Capital Markets in Turkey*. USA: World Bank Publications.
- Ramroth, W. G. Jr., 2007. *Planning for Disaster How Natural and Manmade Disasters Shape the Built Environment*. 1st ed. USA: Kaplan Publishing.

- Ravallion, M., 2007. Urban Poverty. [pdf] Available at: <<http://www.imf.org/external/pubs/ft/fandd/2007/09/pdf/ravalli.pdf>> [Accessed 27 June 2013].
- Ravallion, M., Chen, S. & Sangraula, P., 2007. The Urbanization of Global Poverty. [pdf] Available at: <http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPA/Resources/Training-Materials/Urbanization_of_GlobalPoverty.pdf> [Accessed 27 June 2013].
- Robinson, C. W., 2003. Risks and Rights: The Causes, Consequences, and Challenges of Development-Induced Displacement. [pdf] Available at: <<http://www.brookings.edu/fp/projects/idp/articles/didreport.pdf>> [Accessed 02 July 2013].
- Rollnik, R., French, M. eds., 2011. Affordable Land and Housing in Asia Volume 2. Nairobi: UNON Press.
- Sengul, H. T., 2009. On the Trajectory of Urbanisation in Turkey: An Attempt at Periodisation, *International Development Planning Review*, 25(2), pp.153-168.
- Smith, D., 2012. Best Practices in Slum Improvement: The Case of São Paulo, Brazil. [pdf] Available at: <<http://www.urbisnetwork.com/documents/SaoPauloCaseStudy-WUF.pdf>> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- SPO (Sehir Plancilari Odasi), 2008. Kentsel Donusum ve Bursa Raporu. [pdf] Bursa: TMMOB-SPO-Bursa. Available at: <<http://archweb.metu.edu.tr/arch505/img/bursacity.pdf>> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- Sulukule Platform, 2009. Report on the Impact of Sulukule Urban Renewal Project. [pdf] Istanbul: Sulukule Platform. Available at: <<http://inuraistanbul2009.files.wordpress.com/2009/06/unesco-sulukule-2009.pdf>> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- The MasterCard Worldwide Centers of Commerce 2008, 2008. MasterCard Worldwide Emerging Market Report [online] Available at: <http://www.mastercard.com/us/company/en/newsroom/pr_new_mastercard_research_ranks_65_Cities_in_emerging_markets.html> [Accessed 24 July 2013].
- Tiftik, C., 1995. [Investigation from the Architectural Point of View the Influence of Residential Shift-Relocation on Human Being]. Ph. D, Istanbul Technical University. (In Turkish).
- TMH, 2012. TOKI Konutlarında Yer Secimi Faciaları, Türkiye Muhendislik Haberleri. [pdf] Available at: <http://www.imo.org.tr/resimler/dosya_ekler/34408943cecf78d_ek.pdf?dergi=269> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- TMMOB (Turk Muhendis ve Mimar Odalari Birligi), 2009. TOKI Degerlendirme Raporu. [pdf] Istanbul: TMMOB. Available at: <<http://www.mo.org.tr/belgedocs/toki-rapor-2.pdf>> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- TOBB (Türkiye Odalar ve Borsalar Birligi), 2011. Türkiye Insaat Malzemeleri Sektör Görünüm Raporu. [pdf] Ankara: TOBB. Available at: <<http://www.tobb.org.tr/Lists/MansetListesi/Attachments/233/T%C3%BCrkiye%20%C4%B0n%C5%9Faat%20Malzemeleri%20Sekt%C3%B6r%20G%C3%B6r%C3%BCn%C3%BCm%20Raporu.pdf>> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- TOKI (Toplu Konut Idaresi Baslanligi), 2013. TOKI Konut Uretim Raporu. [pdf] Istanbul: TOKI. Available at: <<http://www.toki.gov.tr/tr/genel/t.ashx?F6E10F8892433CFFAAF6AA849816B2EFD-F36587C4B003136>> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- Turk, S. S. & Korthals Altes, W.K., 2010. Institutional Capacities in the Land Development for Housing on Greenfield Sites in Istanbul, *Habitat International*, 34(2), pp.183-195.
- Turk, S. S., (in press) Land Readjustment (LR) Experience in Turkey. Habitat International.
- UN-Habitat, 2003. The Challenge of Slums - Global Report on Human Settlements 2003. USA: Earthscan Publications.

- UN-Habitat, 2007. UN-Habitat Global Housing Strategy Report "Slum Dwellers to double by 2030: Millennium Development Goal Could Fall Short". [pdf] Nairobi: UN-Habitat. Available at: <http://www.unhabitat.org/downloads/docs/4631_46759_GC%2021%20Slum%20dwellers%20to%20double.pdf> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- Uysal, U. E., 2011. An Urban Social Movement Challenging Urban Regeneration: The Case of Sulukule, Istanbul, *Cities*, 29(1), pp.12-22.
- Uzun, B., Cete, M. & Palancioglu, M., 2010. Legalizing and Upgrading Illegal Settlements in Turkey, *Habitat International*, 34(2), pp.204-209.
- Uzun, N., 2002. The Impact of Urban Renewal and Gentrification on Urban Fabric: Three Cases in Turkey, *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie*, 94(3), pp.363-375.
- Uzuncarsilioglu -Baysal, C., 2010. From Ayazma to Bezirganbahce. Istanbul: Living in Voluntary and Involuntary Exclusion. [pdf] Available at: <http://reclaimistanbul.files.wordpress.com/2011/04/diwan_istanbul_living_in_exclusion.pdf> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- Uzuncarsilioglu -Baysal, C., 2010. Istanbul'u Kuresel Kent Yapma Araci Olarak Kentsel Donusum ve Ardindaki Konut Hakki Ihlalleri: Ayazma(n)'dan Bezirganbahce'ye Tutunamayanlar. M.Sc, Istanbul Bilgi University.
- Uzuncarsilioglu -Baysal, C., 2011. [The Right to the City as a Renewed Right to Urban Life]. *Egitim Bilim Toplum*, 36, p.32. (In Turkish).
- Uzuncarsilioglu -Baysal, C., 2011. Urban Transforming Istanbul into a Global City. [online] Available at: <http://www.academia.edu/1694821/Urban_Transforming_Istanbul_into_a_Global_City> [Accessed 18 June 2013].
- Zhao, P., 2013. Too Complex to be Managed? New Trends in Peri-urban -isation and Its Planning in Beijing, *Cities*, 30, pp.68 - 46.