

**HOUSING PRODUCTION IN THE LAST THIRTY  
YEARS AND HOUSING QUESTION OF THE POOR  
IN İZMİR**

**A Thesis Submitted to  
The Graduate School of Engineering and Sciences of  
İzmir Institute of Technology  
in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of**

**MASTER OF SCIENCE**

**in City Planning**

**by**

**Ayça UYSAL**

**June 2019**

**İZMİR**

We approve the thesis of **Ayça UYSAL**

**Examining Committee Members:**

---

**Assoc. Prof. Dr. Adile ARSLAN AVAR**

Department of City and Regional Planning, Izmir Institute of Technology

---

**Prof. Dr. İpek ÖZBEK SÖNMEZ**

Department of City and Regional Planning, Dokuz Eylül University

---

**Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hasan Engin DURAN**

Department of City and Regional Planning, Izmir Institute of Technology

**20 June 2019**

---

**Assoc. Prof. Dr. Adile ARSLAN AVAR**

Advisor, Department of City and  
Regional Planning, Izmir Institute  
of Technology

---

**Assoc. Prof. Dr. Ali Can DEMİRKESEN**

Head of the Department of City and  
Regional Planning

---

**Prof. Dr. Aysun SOFUOĞLU**

Dean of the Graduate School of  
Engineering and Sciences

## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

First, I would like to thank my thesis advisor Assoc. Prof. Dr. Adile Arslan Avar for her support. She guided me in the right direction and allowed this thesis to be my own work.

Many thanks to Assoc. Prof. Dr. Hasan Engin Duran and Prof. Dr. İpek Özbek Sönmez for participating my thesis dissertation, and for their comments and advices on earlier drafts. I would like to express my thanks to Dr. Feral Geçer Sargin for her precious reviews.

I would also like to thank Aslı Kipöz, Selin Minci, Deniz Korkunç from Narlıdere Municipality, the mukhtar and the residents of the İkinci İnönü Neighborhood.

I would like to thank Prof. Dr. Kemal Çubukçu, Dr. Ahu Dalgakıran Erdoğan, Dr. Eylem Bal, Res. Asst. Umut Erdem and Bengü Orözü from 9 Eylül University for sharing the Narlıdere Analytical Survey Report with me.

I especially thank Tuğçe Ateş for being with me and for her help throughout the thesis process.

I am very grateful to dear Merve Okuldaş and Yağmur Özcan Cive for their help and support during the field study and their friendship.

My dear friends Cenk Güreken and Ezgi Ebremler have always been with me by their very supports and understandings. They have always encouraged me to do my best.

I am so thankful to my friend İlayda Demircioğlu for cheering me on during the hard times.

I would like to thank my dearests Aslıhan Kayhan and Merve Tuğba Özfıdan for their endless love and support. I am so lucky to have you in my life.

My biggest gratitude is for my sister Duygu Uysal, my mother Nergün Uysal and my father Ahmet Uysal. Their support and love mean everything to me. Thank you for always letting me find my own way in life. It is so precious to know that there is always someone standing behind me and thus not to be afraid of making mistakes.

This thesis may be my two years of hardwork, but it was my biggest dream for almost ten years. I would like to thank every person I have met along this road.

## ABSTRACT

### HOUSING PRODUCTION IN THE LAST THIRTY YEARS AND HOUSING QUESTION OF THE POOR IN İZMİR

In this thesis, housing production in the last thirty years and housing question of the poor in İzmir is examined. The case study focuses on the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood that has been suppressed by the luxury housing development and was declared as the urban transformation area under the Redevelopment of Areas Under Disaster Risk Law (no. 6306) by Narlıdere Municipality in 2013.

The squatter housing development in İzmir started as the solution by the poor for the housing problem. Particularly in the last ten years, the urban transformation projects that aim to renew and transform the squatter housing areas resulted in exclusion through dispossession of the poor.

The research problem is whether the poor can enter into the housing market; how and in what ways they articulate to the system; and what waits for them after the urban renewal project that would be carried out in the area. Accordingly, a field research was conducted. It was a methodologically pluralist work covering field survey, visual documentation, in-depth interviews with squatter housing inhabitants, the mukhtar and municipal authorities, focus group interviews, household questionnaires and interviews, and institutional data collection.

The findings of the research indicate that the urban transformation project carried out in the squatter housing area will result in the exclusion and displacement of the poor. The project addresses to higher income groups, is market-oriented, and insensitive to the economic, social and cultural characteristics of the inhabitants of the area. The project will be carried out by the 50% shareholding partnership of Narlıdere Municipality and a private company. Although the urban transformation project has been submitted to the approval of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, there is no agreement that specifies the title deed right of the residents.

**Keywords:** housing question, financialization, urban transformation, squatter housing

## ÖZET

### SON OTUZ YILDA İZMİR'DE KONUT ÜRETİMİ VE YOKSULLARIN KONUT SORUNU

Tezde, İzmir'de son otuz yıldaki konut üretimi ve yoksulun konut sorunu incelenmektedir. Örnek olarak, İkinci İnönü Mahallesi'nde bulunan gecekondular alanına odaklanılmıştır. Gecekondular alanı, lüks konut gelişimi baskısı altındadır ve 2013 senesinde 6306 sayılı Afet Riski Altındaki Alanların Dönüştürülmesi Kanunu ile Narlıdere Belediyesi tarafından kentsel yenileme alanı ilan edilmiştir.

İzmir'deki gecekondular konut gelişimi Türkiye'nin diğer metropoliten kentlerinde de gözlemlendiği gibi, yoksulların konut sorununa kendilerinin ürettiği bir çözüm olarak başlamıştır. Gecekondular yapılaşması 1970'lerde yoğunlaşmıştır. Özellikle son on yılda ise, gecekondular alanlarını dönüştürmek amacıyla yürütülen kentsel yenileme projeleri, yoksulların mülksüzleştirilerek yerinden edilmesi ile sonuçlanmaktadır.

Araştırma, yoksulun konut sektörüne dahil olup olmadığı, hangi yollarla sisteme dahil olabildiği ve gecekondular alanlarında yapılan kentsel yenileme projeleri sonrasında yoksulu bekleyen sonuçların neler olacağı problemi üzerinden yürütülmüştür. Buna bağlı olarak bir alan araştırması yapılmıştır. Bu alan araştırması, yöntemsel olarak çoğulcudur. Araştırma kapsamında, gecekondular sakinleri, muhtar ve Narlıdere Belediyesi ile görüşmeler ve gecekondular sakinleri ile anket çalışması yapılmıştır. Ayrıca, kurumsal veriler ve alan ile ilgili görseller toplanmıştır.

Araştırma bulguları, kentsel yenileme sürecinin gecekonduların temizlenmesi olarak gerçekleştirileceğini ve gecekondular sakinlerinin yerinden edilmesi ile sona ereceğini göstermektedir. Projenin belirtilen amacı, alanın mevcut sakinleri ile birlikte geliştirilmesi olsa da, proje, mekansal dönüşüm ve pazar odaklıdır. Ayrıca, alanda yaşayanların ekonomik, sosyal ve kültürel özelliklerine duyarlıdır. Projenin Narlıdere Belediyesi ve özel bir firma ile her biri için %50 hisseye dayanan emlak ortaklığı tarafından yürütülmesi söz konusudur. Kentsel dönüşüm projesi Narlıdere Belediyesi tarafından Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı'nın onayına sunulmasına rağmen, bölge sakinlerinin tapu alma hakkının çerçevesini belirleyen herhangi bir yazılı sözleşme bulunmamaktadır.

**Anahtar kelimeler:** konut sorunu, finansallaşma, kentsel dönüşüm, gecekondular

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES .....	ix
LIST OF TABLES.....	xii
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS.....	xiv
CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION .....	1
1.1. Problem Definition and Aim of the Study.....	1
1.2. Methodology.....	1
1.3. Organization of Thesis .....	2
CHAPTER 2 NEOLIBERAL URBANISM AND HOUSING PROBLEM UNDER CAPITALISM.....	4
2.1. Urbanization Under Capitalism.....	4
2.1.1. Secondary Circuit of Capital .....	4
2.1.2. Urbanization of Capital.....	5
2.2. Neoliberal Urbanism and Urban Entrepreneurialism .....	9
2.2.1. Actually Existing Neoliberalism.....	11
2.2.2. Urban Entrepreneurialism.....	13
2.2.3. Speculative Urbanization.....	15
2.3. Housing Problem Under Capitalism.....	16
2.3.1. Financialisation of Housing Market .....	17
2.3.2. Commodification of Housing .....	19
2.3.3. Neoliberalization of the Housing Market and Subprime Economic Crisis 2008- 2009 .....	21
2.3.4. Exclusion of the Poor from the Housing Market.....	23

CHAPTER 3	HOUSING PRODUCTION AND HOUSING PROBLEM OF THE POOR IN TURKEY .....	26
3.1.	Housing Problem in Turkey; Squatter Housing, Zoning Amnesties and Urban Transformation .....	26
3.2.	Deregulation and Reregulation of the Housing Market.....	36
3.3.	Housing Production by the State .....	43
CHAPTER 4	HOUSING PRODUCTION, HOUSING MARKET AND THE HOUSING PROBLEM OF THE POOR IN İZMİR .....	47
4.1.	Urbanization Process in Izmir .....	47
4.2.	Housing Production in Izmir in the Last 30 Years .....	58
4.3.	Housing Problem of the Poor in İzmir .....	66
CHAPTER 5	CASE STUDY: İKİNCİ İNÖNÜ NEIGHBORHOOD IN NARLIDERE, İZMİR .....	69
5.1.	General Information .....	69
5.2.	Planning Process of the Case Study Area.....	73
5.3.	Housing Production in the Case Study Area and İkinci İnönü Neighborhood .....	79
5.4.	Fieldwork Findings.....	89
5.4.1.	Socioeconomic Characteristics.....	89
5.4.2.	Structural Characteristics of the Buildings .....	95
5.5.	The Urban Transformation Project According to Redevelopment of Areas Under Disaster Risk Law no. 6306 .....	101
5.6.	Housing Affordability Index (HAI).....	105
CHAPTER 6	CONCLUSION .....	114
REFERENCES	.....	117

APPENDICES .....	133
APPENDIX A. URBAN RENEWAL AREAS IN İZMİR.....	133
APPENDIX B. NARLIDERE REVISION DEVELOPMENT PLAN, 2007.....	134
APPENDIX C. HOUSEHOLD INTERVIEW SURVEY .....	135
APPENDIX D. FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW QUESTIONS .....	137
APPENDIX E. BUILDING FUNCTION ANALYSIS .....	138
APPENDIX F. LAND OWNERSHIP ANALYSIS .....	139
APPENDIX G. BUILDING QUALITY ANALYSIS.....	140
APPENDIX H. BUILDING LICENSE ANALYSIS .....	141
APPENDIX I. BUILDING MATERIAL ANALYSIS.....	142
APPENDIX J. CONSTRUCTION YEAR ANALYSIS.....	143



# LIST OF FIGURES

<b><u>Figure</u></b>	<b><u>Page</u></b>
Figure 3.1. A comparison of the role of the Turkish public sector provision over three periods since 1950 .....	36
Figure 4.1. The Spatial Development of Squatters in İzmir .....	48
Figure 4.2. Development Plan of İzmir in 1953 .....	49
Figure 4.3. Squatter housing areas in 1960s in İzmir .....	50
Figure 4.4. Metropolitan Development Plan in 1973 .....	51
Figure 4.5. The revision plan in 1978 .....	51
Figure 4.6. Densely Populated Squatter Neighborhoods in İzmir in 1972 .....	52
Figure 4.7. The squatter housing areas in 1980 .....	53
Figure 4.8. Squatter Housing Prevention Zones and Reclamation Plans in İzmir prepared according to 1989 Master Plan.....	54
Figure 4.9. The Master Plan of İzmir, 1989.....	55
Figure 4.10. İzmir Urban Zone Development Plan in 2007 .....	55
Figure 4.11. The Program Areas of İzmir Urban Region Development Plan .....	56
Figure 4.12. İzmir Metropolitan Area Environmental Plan in 2012.....	57
Figure 4.13. 1/100.000 Revision Plan for İzmir- Manisa in 2018 .....	58
Figure 4.14. Urban residential area and luxury housing in İzmir in the 1950s .....	59
Figure 4.15. Urban residential area and luxury housing in İzmir in the 1980s .....	59
Figure 4.16. Urban housing area and luxury housing in İzmir in the 2000s .....	62
Figure 4.17. The Rehabilitation-Renewal Areas declared by İzmir Metropolitan Area Master Plan.....	63
Figure 5.1. The location of Narlıdere in İzmir.....	70
Figure 5.2. Neighborhoods in Narlıdere .....	70
Figure 5.3. Case study area, disaster risk area and İkinci İnönü Neighborhood boundaries .....	71
Figure 5.4. The satellite image of İkinci İnönü Neighborhood in 1963 .....	73
Figure 5.5. The Development Plan in 1981 .....	74
Figure 5.6. Development Plan in 1989 .....	74
Figure 5.7. 1/5000 Master Development Plan in 1994.....	75

<b><u>Figure</u></b>	<b><u>Page</u></b>
Figure 5.8. The satellite image of İkinci İnönü Neighborhood in 1996 .....	76
Figure 5.9. 1/1000 scale development plan in 2007 .....	77
Figure 5.10. The squatter housing area in the master development plan in the scale 1/25.000 .....	77
Figure 5.11. Housing types in Narlıdere .....	80
Figure 5.12. Squatter housing in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood .....	81
Figure 5.13. A view of the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood from İnciraltı .....	81
Figure 5.14. Squatter housing area surrounded by neoliberal housing production .....	81
Figure 5.15. Detached housing in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood .....	82
Figure 5.16. Detached multi-storey apartments in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood .....	82
Figure 5.17. Multi-storey housing in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood .....	83
Figure 5.18. Narkent mass housing site .....	83
Figure 5.19. Narkent mass housing area plan .....	84
Figure 5.20. Narkent and Narbel Housing Sites .....	85
Figure 5.21. Narbel mass housing site .....	85
Figure 5.22. Folkart Narlıdere .....	86
Figure 5.23. Vitalia project during the construction stage rising next to the squatter housing .....	88
Figure 5.24. Vitalia Narlıdere .....	88
Figure 5.25. Building license analysis .....	95
Figure 5.26. Building function analysis .....	96
Figure 5.27. Building quality analysis .....	97
Figure 5.28. Building material analysis .....	98
Figure 5.29. Construction year analysis .....	99
Figure 5.30. Land ownership in the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood .....	100
Figure 5.31. Disaster risk areas under the law no 6306 .....	102
Figure 5.32. Urban Transformation Project covers the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü and Atatürk Neighborhoods according to Redevelopment of Areas Under Disaster Risk Law no. 6306 .....	103

<b><u>Figure</u></b>	<b><u>Page</u></b>
Figure 5.33. 3D renders of the Urban Transformation Project covering the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü and Atatürk Neighborhoods according to Redevelopment of Areas Under Disaster Risk Law no. 6306 .....	104
Figure 5.34. 3D renders of the Urban Transformation Project covering the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü and Atatürk Neighborhoods according to Redevelopment of Areas Under Disaster Risk Law no. 6306 .....	104
Figure 5.35. Average house price for sale in İkinci İnönü Neighb.....	106
Figure 5.36. Square meter price for sale in İkinci İnönü Neighb. ....	107
Figure A.1. Urban renewal areas in İzmir .....	133
Figure A.2. 1/1000 scaled Narlıdere revision development plan in 2007 .....	134
Figure A.3. Building function analysis of the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighb. ....	138
Figure A.4. Land ownership analysis of the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighb. ....	139
Figure A.5. Building quality analysis of the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighb. ....	140
Figure A.6. Building license analysis of the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighb. ....	141
Figure A.7. Building material analysis of the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighb. ....	142
Figure A.8. Construction year analysis of the structures in the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighb. ....	143

## LIST OF TABLES

<b><u>Table</u></b>	<b><u>Page</u></b>
Table 5.1. Plan decision changes on development plan in scale 1/1000 .....	78
Table 5.2. Luxury housing projects in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood .....	87
Table 5.3. Employment types in the squatter area .....	90
Table 5.4. Number of the workers in a household.....	90
Table 5.5. Average household income range.....	91
Table 5.6. Social security situation of the householders.....	91
Table 5.7. Moving date to the İkinci İnönü Neighb. squatter area .....	92
Table 5.8. The reasons for preferring İkinci İnönü Neighborhood.....	92
Table 5.9. Existing ownership status .....	93
Table 5.10. The situation about other property ownership .....	93
Table 5.11. Previous housing acquisition experience.....	94
Table 5.12. Willing to live in İkinci İnönü after the urban transformation .....	94
Table 5.13. Building lisençe situation in the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood .....	96
Table 5.14. Functions of the buildings in the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood .....	97
Table 5.15. Building quality in the squatters in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood .....	98
Table 5.16. Building material analysis .....	98
Table 5.17. Construction years of the squatter housing units in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood .....	100
Table 5.18. The ownership distribution of the lands in the squatter housing area.....	101
Table 5.19. Calculated data of scenario 1-a.....	108
Table 5.20. HAI calculation in scenario 1-a .....	108
Table 5.21. Calculated data of scenario 1-b.....	109
Table 5.22. HAI calculation in scenario 1-b.....	109
Table 5.23. Calculated data of scenario 1-c.....	110
Table 5.24. HAI calculaton in scenario 1-c .....	110
Table 5.25. Calculated data of scenario 1-d.....	111

<b><u>Table</u></b>	<b><u>Page</u></b>
Table 5.26. HAI calculation in scenario 1-d.....	112
Table 5.27. Calculated data of scenario 2.....	112
Table 5.28. Payback money in changing shares of the income according to the scenario 2 .....	113

## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

DEU :	Dokuz Eylül University
HAI :	Housing Affordability Index
HDA :	Housing Development Administration
NGO:	Non-Governmental Organization

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Problem Definition and Aim of the Study

After the economic crises of the Fordist production in the 1970s, the capital has anchored to the urban land to overcome its crisis. Housing is included in the capital circuit as a market tool through financialization. Housing production under neoliberal policies and speculative urbanization results in the inability of low-income people to afford their housing needs and to be socially and spatially excluded. The examination of the urban transformation project addressing to the squatter housing area and its residents, shows that it was designed as consonant with rapidly increasing luxury housing production area in Narlıdere in recent years. This appears a rent gap between the squatter housing area and luxury housing development.

This thesis aims to examine the housing question of the poor in the process of neoliberal housing production in Izmir in the last thirty years, based on the critical urban theory. The problem of the research is the dispossession of the poor, with the pressure of the rent gap created by the neoliberal housing production. Within this context, this study inquires how and in what ways recent housing production contributes to the housing question of the poor.

### 1.2. Methodology

This research is based on a pluralist, qualitative and quantitative fieldwork. The financialization of the housing and the situation of the squatter housing residents against the housing production and the dispossession process are examined by focusing on the case of squatter housing area, which will be exposed to an urban renewal project, in İkinci

İnönü Neighborhood in Narlıdere, İzmir. Urban restructuring process in İzmir and the role of housing production in the spatial change in the last thirty years are elaborated on by using the institutional and secondary spatial and quantitative data. During the fieldwork, the spatial development data, institutional data, municipal and neighborhood unit data were collected; and they were supported by interviews, focus group and face-to-face in-depth interviews and questionnaires.

### **1.3. Organization of Thesis**

The thesis is mainly composed of two sections as literature research and field study. Important concepts related to urbanization processes under capitalism are examined in literature review. To understand the housing question of the poor in İzmir, the fieldwork of this thesis focuses on the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood in Narlıdere.

Following the introduction, chapter 2 provides a literature review about the neoliberal urbanism and housing problem under capitalism. Firstly, urbanization under capitalism is examined within the framework of the concepts, “secondary circuit of capital” and “urbanization of capital”. Secondly, neoliberal urbanism and urban entrepreneurialism process is detailed. In this context, actually existing neoliberalism, urban entrepreneurialism and speculative urbanization subjects are explained. In the last part of the literature review, to understand the housing problem under capitalism; commodification of housing, financialization of housing market, neoliberalization of the housing market and subprime economic crisis in 2008 and 2009, and exclusion of the poor from the housing market processes are examined closely.

In chapter 3, housing production and housing problem of the poor in Turkey is examined by reviewing the squatter housing, zoning amnesties, urban transformation, deregulation and reregulation process, and housing production by the state.

In chapter 4, housing production, housing market and housing problem of the poor in İzmir is elaborated on with a special emphasis on the urbanization process in İzmir, housing production in the last thirty years, and housing problem of the poor in İzmir.



In chapter 5, the case study based on these theories and discussions on the literature is presented. This section, by drawing on the findings of the field research, discusses housing problem in the last thirty years in İzmir and the housing problem of poor is examined. To be able to show what waits the squatter housing residents is displacement and dispossession, housing affordability index is calculated for different income groups.

In chapter 6, to conclude the thesis, the dispossession of low-income people in the process of neoliberal urban restructuring is discussed based on the findings of the field research with relation to the critical urban studies literature.

## **CHAPTER 2**

# **NEOLIBERAL URBANISM AND HOUSING PROBLEM UNDER CAPITALISM**

### **2.1. Urbanization Under Capitalism**

Capitalism is a social formation based on private property of means of production. It has been evolved from the beginning of the industrialization period in mutual relation to the urban socio-spatial dynamics. In this process, cities became the spaces of production and consumption. Capitalism got over the crisis and guaranteed the process of production and reproduction by anchoring to the urban space (Moreno 2014, 260). As to the financial capital in urbanization process, it has developed through the transition from the production of social space to the production of space as a capital accumulation tool. This section examines urbanization under capitalism with a special emphasis on “secondary circuit of capital” and “urbanization of capital.”

#### **2.1.1. Secondary Circuit of Capital**

Henri Lefebvre is one of the early scholars who discusses capital accumulation following Marx. He developed the concepts of circuits of capital by questioning the continuity of capitalist system despite its own internal contradictions. Capital runs through the circuits. The primary circuit bases on investments in basic commodity production. The overaccumulation in this process appears as a gap between production and consumption, unemployment and falling the profit rates. Under these circumstances, the capital skips to the secondary circuit. Secondary circuit operates on the investments in fixed capital that is built environment (Lefebvre 2003). In other words, capital

overcomes the accumulation crisis of the industrial production in the primary circuit by the production of urban spaces. So, the system reproduces itself by switching from the primary circuit of capital operating on industrial production to the secondary circuit of capital running through the production of space.

Lefebvre argues that the real estate market is a separate circuit of capital due to the relation between capitalism and making profit of land and real estate market. So, banks, financial institutions, big property companies, and realtors involve into the formation of the secondary circuit (Merrifield 2011, 474).

According to Lefebvre, as the nature of production has changed from industrial production to the production of nature and built environment, space itself is produced as a commodity (Lefebvre 1991, 2003, 167). In this respect, the expansion of production to the urban space has also changed either the nature of the capital accumulation processes or of urbanisation.

David Harvey developed Lefebvre's concept of the secondary circuit of capital as "urbanization of capital." He explores the potential for the analysing capitalism and changing built environment in cities in terms of the changes in society through production, consumption, and reproduction (Merrifield 2011, 474). Harvey defines the physical framework of the processes of production and consumption as the period of goods. The secondary circuit of accumulation is formed in long-term entities including the built environment. The things what Harvey defines as inputs of the secondary circuit of the capital can be involved into the process of producing commodification directly, as well as they can be involved into the process as a by-product beside being raw material (Harvey 1978, 106; Coq-Huelva 2013, 1215). The flow of capital to the secondary circuit of real estate construction contributes to the production of financial capital system (Feagin 1998, 172). "Urbanisation of capital" is to be elaborated on in the following section.

### **2.1.2. Urbanization of Capital**

Harvey (1985b) emphasizes that city is a complex phenomenon which embraces spatial, economic, political and social aspects. There are direct and indirect interplay between its components. Cities are also profoundly influenced by the interplay between

the local and global economic and political developments and changes. The relation between city and capitalism as a process needs the conformity of labour, geographical processes, capital, and spatial transformation. The urban process creates a physical infrastructure needed by the capital for production, change, and consumption. The formation of this infrastructure is through the production of the built environment, which is the source to produce value and surplus value. As capital involves in the urban structure, so begins the secondary circuit of capital that is directed towards the construction of the production and consumption of the built environment and reproduction of labor.

In the capitalist mode of production, urbanization is shaped by the production movements. Urbanization dynamics are affected by inter-capitalist competition and class struggle for the proper space for capital accumulation. In other words, the capitalist cities were places where the conflicts associated with the accumulation strategies. They are the areas that served the profit-oriented urbanization process and commodification in their developmental processes (Brenner, Marcuse and Mayer 2009, 176; Harvey 1985a, 19-32)

From the nineteenth century onwards, industrialization has been crucial in urbanisation process. In this period, cities became the places of industrial production, the reproduction of labour force and the capital accumulation. According to the priorities of the industry, while the industrial revolution and capitalism pioneered the growth and development of cities on a massive scale, they also facilitated the emergence of new transport and communication infrastructures. According to Harvey, the developments in transportation and communication help to decrease the distances and barriers. So, commodity markets are integrated with each other with different combinations of time, space and money (Harvey 1985a, 19-32).

Through the end of the nineteenth-century, the level of industrialization and mass production increased. Thus, created surplus products needed to be transported all over the world. Through the end of the twentieth century, Keynesian economics and import substitution development strategies started to experience a crisis. Because of these crises, Keynesian policies were replaced by neo-liberal policies. The crisis of overaccumulation from mass production led the capital pass to the secondary circuit of capital. Thus, cities became the very basis of capital accumulation. From the 1970s, western cities have been exposed to major changes in terms of regime of accumulation, production and economic policies. They had to overcome the overaccumulation crisis of Fordist capitalism associating with deindustrialization, and long-term unemployment. Some of the western cities experienced a shift from the Fordist regime of accumulation towards flexible

accumulation with a post-industrial, service-based economy. Production processes are increasingly characterized by offshoring, outsourcing, just-in-time and lean production (see Smet 2016, 496; Harvey 1989; Ball 1994; Hubbard 1996; Bridge and Watson 2000; Amin 2000; Fainstein and Harloe 2000).

Harvey interrogates how the capital is urbanized and what the consequences are. According to Harvey, the dynamics of urbanization in capitalist societies are dependent on the processes of capital accumulation. If the accumulation of capital in the primary circuit of the capital where commodity production and consumption take place cannot be converted back into investment, the surplus accumulation is transferred to the second circuit. This is one of the main ways to solve the crisis of the capitalist system. On the one hand, the investments directed towards the built environment lead to new demands, and they help to solve the accumulation problem, on the other. In this way, it can solve the crisis that occurred in the primary circuit of capital (Harvey 1985b). It means capitalism must be urbanized to reproduce itself.

As to be seen, the built environment supports capitalist production and consumption and can directly control the circulation of production and consumption. Urbanization of capital is crucial, because of directing investments to the urban environment is more profitable to increase profits in the process of economic crisis. Thus, urban spaces become an investment objects harnessed to the logic of capital accumulation (Harvey 1985b).

On the other hand, capitalist process requires the adaptation of labour to the spatial cycle of geographical mobility and capital. The urban process is responsible for creating the infrastructure that capital needs for production, change, and consumption. The formation of this infrastructure is the production of the built environment which is the source to produce value and surplus value. Thus, capital attaches itself to the urban space, that is, to secondary circuit of production and consumption, through the construction of the built environment and the areas of reproduction of labour (Harvey 1985b).

According to David Harvey, as cities began to be de-industrialized and restructured, uneven conditions of development and class divisions were sharpened. Surplus capital and production need new places to occupy in cities and produce them. The cities in the new capitalist system compete for finance and consumption centres (Harvey 1999, 116). In this case, the tools of the secondary circuit of capital became the primary sources of the surplus capital to be placed. Capital has found its place in areas such as real estate, finance, and land speculation. Accordingly, banks, financial

institutions, large companies, and real estate brokers have pioneered the formation of the secondary circuit of capital (Harvey 1985a, 14; Gottdiener 1993, 132).

Harvey explains the urban rent theory with the dynamics of capital accumulation. He links the emergence of rent capital and crisis theory. Capitalist system depends on the maximizing profits, otherwise it falls into crisis from time to time. The competition among the capitalists leads to an excessive accumulation. This accumulation problem, in turn, results in crisis. The way to ensure stability is to direct capital to invest in the built environment (Harvey 2006b).

As capital shifted into the secondary circuit, the process of change in cities became important to stabilize the capitalist production. That investors route capital to development of specific areas results in the accumulation of the capital in specific areas and in decline of other urban areas. This uneven development directly relates to the difference occurring between the use value and the exchange value of the urban land. Thus appears “rent gap” (Smith 1979, 540, 1987; Morales 2009, 4).

As the places gain importance in terms of urbanization process, construction sector, real estate speculation, tourism and leisure activities start to be the main areas of investment. In this process, the consumption of space is intensified. The space created by the capitalist mode of production as the place of reproduction relations is built on financial networks, business centres, large companies, communication networks, and highways and airports. However, these large scaled spaces cannot be produced without direct involvement and support of the state. Hence, Lefebvre calls contemporary capitalism, for which the production of space is crucial but can be achieved only by the intervention of state, as “state mode of production” (Lefebvre 1991). This alliance of the state and capital is to be revealed in the following chapters regarding the deregulation and reregulation of housing market in general, and housing production in Turkey, in particular.

As a result, Lefebvre and Harvey theorize the relationship between space and capitalism in the analysis of the movements and crises of capital accumulation. They emphasize how the capital creates the spaces of its own production and reproduction relations in urban built environment (Harvey 1982, 2006b; Lefebvre 1991). Urbanisation is a process that has a mutual relation with the accumulation of capital. The shift from primary circuit of capital to the secondary circuit of capital in the capitalist system is becoming an increasingly important mechanism for managing economic growth processes. Capital accumulation process has been through the changes that have affected

the relationship between capital and urbanization, especially in the last 30 years (Coq-Huelva 2013, 1215).

## **2.2. Neoliberal Urbanism and Urban Entrepreneurialism**

Neoliberalism is an economic, political, institutional and ideological restructuring. It developed and changed through economic fluctuations in the 1970s. Neoliberalism is also called as market liberalism, economic rationalism, Thatcherism, etc. However, they refer to same contents in terms of its perspective of free market economy, belief in unnecessary impacts of government interventions, its commitment to the privatization of public services, governmental regulation, reducing taxes to increase private investments and shrinking of the public sector (Berry 2014, 2). From the 1980s, neoliberalism expanded as a concept that expresses political, ideological, cultural, spatial and economic structuring on a large scale instead of being just a form of policy model (Venugopal 2015, 168).

Neoliberalism is characterized with privatization of the services, deregulation by decreasing dominance of the state institutions and policies, restructuring of state in accordance with the logic of capital, and market-led regulations in the economy are the basis of neoliberalism (Brenner and Theodore, 2002; Jessop, 2002; Peck and Tickell, 2002; Mccarthy, 2004; Harvey, 2005; Brenner, et al., 2010; Karaman 2013a, 3413).

According to Harvey (2006), four basic elements of neoliberalism are privatization, financialization, management and manipulation of crises, state redistribution policies. Neoliberalism emphasizes the effectiveness of market competition, the role individuals play in determining economic outcomes, and the disruptions of government intervention in the markets. It involves a profit and market-oriented accumulation logic that culminates in “accumulation by dispossession” (Harvey 2006a, 75).

Competitiveness is strongly emphasized in the neoliberal ideology and it penetrates all areas of society. Neoliberalism radically opposes any government intervention, except private property regulations, market institutions and free enterprise protection. Neoliberalism is based on the principles of individualism, market liberalism,

openness and downsizing of the state, and it advocates a development model in line with these principles (Bal 2011, 10). In other words, neoliberalism aims to liberalize the market, to reduce the Keynesian consensus on the aims of macro-economic policies and, the dominance of the welfare state. It has a more complicated context than the replacement of the market over welfare state regulations. It means the more radical breaking of the theory and practice (see Venugopal 2015, 173; Gamble 1979). Because, as Brenner and Theodore emphasize (2010), neoliberalism does not require the rolling back of the state, it composes a relation of the market-based economy and state restructuring.

Brenner and Theodore (2005) propose the concept “neoliberalization” instead of “neoliberalism”. Rather than being a completed program, it is a process experienced through time. It is not fixed but an ongoing process, which represents market-driven socio-spatial transformation. It has been politically, spatially, socially continuing and reproducing itself by changeable strategies through time and space. Brenner, Peck, and Theodore (2010) conceptualize the neoliberalization as one of the regulatory changes functioning in the global capitalist system to answer regulatory problems with prioritizing unevenly developed market-disciplinary, market-oriented, market-based rules. Neoliberalization corporates with regulatory experiments like privatization, deregulation, liberalization, financialization, welfare reforms. This system tends to stimulate speculative development to open new areas for capitalist profit production by using speculative financial tools (Brenner, Peck and Theodore 2010, 329-330).

Besides, neoliberalism occurs unequally in different regions and scales and it does not cause same economic, political, spatial results. Rather it generates path-dependent outcomes in different historical, geographical, economic, political and social contexts. The unbalanced development of neoliberalization arises from the continuous relationship between contextually specific, continuously developing neoliberalization projects and political-institutional arrangements at global, national or local scales (Brenner and Theodore 2005, 102-103; Brenner, Peck and Theodore 2010, 331).

From the 1990s onwards, urban entrepreneurialism process started in the cities. The trend towards new economic structuring of cities is related to the competition for existence on a global scale. State regulations started to operate like projects. In this process, neoliberalism seeks where labor and tools efficiency are maximized and emphasize the relations of market and individualism (Harvey 2005; Hankins and Puckett



2014, 2934). In the following section, actually existing neoliberalism, urban entrepreneurialism, speculative urbanization processes are explained.

### **2.2.1. Actually Existing Neoliberalism**

Two issues need to be studied in the neoliberal context. First one is that neoliberalism representing states, markets, and principles of social organization have opposite relations. The second one is to assume that neoliberalism charges market-oriented reforms according to “one size fits all” model, rather than try to understand extraordinary variations in different economic, social, political, environmental situations (Brenner and Theodore 2002, 353). Neil Brenner and Nik Theodore (2002) develop five premises that provide a methodological basis to understand the political economy of actually existing neoliberalism.

1. The problem of capitalist regulation: The social relations in a capitalist system framed by tensions and conflicts that destabilize the accumulation process. In the 19th century, the industrialization and urbanization of capital and the maintenance of capitalism were guaranteed by five basic elements (see Brenner and Theodore 2002; Lipietz 1996; Petit 1999):

- i. wages and the structure of relationship between labor and capital in production and reproduction spaces
- ii. market sharing and competition of the capitalists
- iii. organization structure of the circulation of capital
- iv. governance forms and institutionalized political compromise where the fundamental contradictions of capitalist society are negotiated
- v. international configuration mechanisms in which national and international economic relations are expressed through worldwide processes of capital accumulation.

2. Variable geography of capitalism: The process of capital accumulation is always spatially expressed. The capitalist processes, therefore, emerge in relation to the physical, economic, historical and social processes of certain regions and scales. The

process of long-term survival of capitalism is directly related to the production of labor (Lefebvre 1974, 1991; Harvey 1989; Brenner and Theodore 2002, 355-356).

3. Uneven geographical development: Capitalist development has rounded to renew and develop itself. These rounds are related to the geographical landscape, for some spaces and scales are systematically prerogative for capital accumulation. Each spatial scale experienced socio-spatial unevenness and core-periphery polarization pattern throughout dynamic uneven spatial development of capital (see Brenner and Theodore 2002, 356; Harvey 1982).

4. The regulation of uneven geographical development: Patterns of uneven development have basic regulatory dilemmas. Capital does not only serve the accumulation process, but it also works as a barrier to the following one. As an answer to dilemmas of uneven capital accumulation, capitalist states have activated some spatial policies to regulate the uneven development of the capital.

5. The developing geographies of state regulation: State strategies operate uneven development and these strategies change and develop contextually in some political-economic conditions and socio-political struggles. In addition to this, during the successive stages of capitalist development, certain forms of state policies about spaces also formed the infrastructure for institutionalized industrial growth (Brenner and Theodore 2002, 356).

So, the neoliberal system aims to create a utopia of a liberated market from state intervention. It also alludes to ensure the allocation of self-sufficient policies, investments, and sources ideologically. Indeed, the neoliberal system used the disciplinary aspect of state intervention to impose the market rule on all aspects of the social life. Neoliberal policy applications dramatically cause to increase uneven development, polarization in society and market failures (Brenner and Theodore 2002, 352).

Lastly, neoliberalism refers to the transformation of governance structures on a global scale with a special emphasis on commodification, marketization, privatization, and financialization. Besides, the neoliberalism directly refers to the effects of these global dynamics on a geographically smaller scale, which are uneven and contextually specific. The differences of the territories and path-dependent processes of economic, social and institutional changes appear as “actually existing neoliberalism” with their specific forms of countless socioeconomic realities (Brenner and Theodore 2002; Coq-Huelva 2013, 1215).

### **2.2.2. Urban Entrepreneurialism**

Entrepreneurial urbanism is a mode of urban development whereby influence of the state change in urban development policies. Within the entrepreneurial urbanism, the governmental institutions operate as companies, and cities compete in the business market. Some social arrangements were also considered, because the differences between communities and spaces in cities became apparent (Peck and Tickell 2002; Ward 2003, 117).

With the decreasing role of the state in urban restructuring policies in urban entrepreneurialism, the participation of business elites, voluntary groups, private entrepreneurs, and investors increased in the political decision-making process in the urban area. Despite that, the state still is looking for ways to involve in the development process. So, as Peck has claimed governmental intervention and effectiveness of state institution may still be in the forefront of state powerlessness and roll-back policies (see Ward 2003, 118; Peck 2001, 449).

In the process of urban entrepreneurialism, cities are observed as being in competition with each other to protect their share in the global market. Urban entrepreneurship refers to a set of governance mechanisms and policies aimed at nurturing local and regional economic growth by creating a favorable business environment for capital investment and accumulation. A city in entrepreneurial redevelopment becomes proactive by adopting global economic changes and exploiting market forces to maximize throughout the encouragement of private investment, urban marketing, deregulation, development agencies, public-private partnerships as new institutional mechanisms (Karaman 2013b, 717).

When David Harvey first discussed the concept of state entrepreneurship in 1989, he emphasized that the competitiveness of the urban economy was revitalized, especially through the liberalization of private investments. Nevertheless, the role of local governments is being replaced by speculative governance. Entrepreneurial governments play a direct or supportive role in creating space for new initiatives, in protecting and enhancing the workforce, and in providing infrastructure (Harvey 1989; Morales and Shin 2011, 6). The entrepreneurial state tends to negotiate financial risks. Local governments try to create local attractions to keep their economies connected to globalization process

to increase competition in small scale areas. Entrepreneurship is defined within five main factors:

i. Public-private partnership searches external sources of funding for new investments and new sources of employment. Therefore, the process of redevelopment is supported by the private sector and the local government. Entrepreneurial urbanism does not mean a more active but less efficient state dealing with real estate business. The charge of the state means that the interest groups are more openly involved in strategic areas (Shin and Morales 2011, 6).

ii. Fordist Keynesian planning and entrepreneurial public sector need to be speculative in the design and practice phases. Speculation with land and rapid changes in land prices can create social problems in adjacent lands and residential areas (Shin and Morales 2011, 6).

iii. According to Harvey entrepreneurship is based on progress in the field of transport and communication. Gradual acceleration of the regional and global spatial barriers is overcome by time-space compression (see Shin and Morales 2011, 6; Harvey, 1990). Governments have largely left their share to local governments in the process of globalization. In addition, in the process of global change, they have granted privileges to state-supported large-scale urban projects to avoid urban and economic decline (Shin and Morales 2011, 6).

iv. The concentration of investment in strategic areas preserves the position of the city in national and international economic circuits and investment. Besides, the concentration of investments in the defined area also answers to the need for grounded capitalism to secure accumulated monopoly forms and guarantees enough scarcity to ensure that the renewed space is worth of the maximum exchange rate. Thus, the biggest rent gap areas where generally close to the urban core are the tool of profitable investments while other areas which have narrower rent gaps and less remarkable for investment wait for other operations (see Shin and Morales 2011, 7; Niedt 2006).

v. According to Peck and Tickell (2002), entrepreneurialism normalizes the growth first approach and that situation has to lead the social investment and distribution to the anticompetitive common good. Entrepreneurship prohibits and replaces collective, non-market-based forms of social organization. However, the role of the government has shifted from being a provider of economic and social support to low-income populations to be a provider of business services and facilities to upper-income classes. So,

entrepreneurial urbanism canalizes public funding from non-competitive areas (Peck and Tickell 2002; Shin and Morales 2011, 7).

Consequently, cities try to have a share from the global capital by acting as companies. This governance requires attracting private investments to the urban area and the system encourages the cities and governments to reproduce and market their images to compete with others. According to this vision of urban entrepreneurialism, megaprojects, large-scaled urban projects, and city branding campaigns were made to attract the investments (Karaman 2013b, 717).

### **2.2.3. Speculative Urbanization**

Speculative urbanism is a phenomenon appeared with liberalization policies that have dominated the economic and political restructuring after the 1970s. However, although speculative urbanism started from the 1970s, the effects on urban area became more visible with globalization of capital (Goldman 2010, 5). Speculative urbanism is identified by capital accumulation, re-organization of production process and transformation in production types (from Fordism to post- Fordism; transformation to flexible production), increase in the activities of international, supranational organizations, transformation in the governing system (from government to governance), new functions of the state and deregulations (Şenol 2005, 84).

The aim of articulating to the global capital, new areas were created in cities where the urban rent is maximum, and the cost is minimum. This restructuring of urban area is the product of speculative urbanization. In other words, with the acceleration of capital accumulation, and circulation in the urban entrepreneurial period, restructuring processes led to a new relationship between global and local levels (Şenol 2005, 85).

Speculative urbanization causes uneven development in cities by the concentration of investments in the urban area where the urban rent is the highest (Mayer 2009, 367; Goldman 2010, 5). These inequalities and uneven development in cities result in the exclusion of the social groups from the urban area. The socially and economically excluded groups form new areas on the peripheries of the cities (Aguilar and Josefina 2016, 196). New world cities are characterized by scattered gated communities, dispersal

of low-density luxury villas, illegal and informal developments in rural areas and peripheries, low accessibility to basic urban services and rapid urban development by infrastructures and transportation networks. Thereupon, land and housing prices are sharply increasing and urban sprawl and gentrification between areas are also scaling up (Zhao 2013, 572). Due to this urbanization process, urban transformation and renewal projects became a tool for speculative urbanization leveled at the squatter areas on the peripheries and deprived areas in city centers.

### **2.3. Housing Problem Under Capitalism**

Sheltering is a human right defined by the national and international laws and declarations. Despite that housing is defined as right, it became a commodity in the capital accumulation process. The dominance of the private sector in housing production has led the housing production turned into a real estate sector and housing into a financial tool. To share the living space depending on the ability to pay has led some income groups not to meet their housing needs.

“Critical Urban Theory” interprets the housing question as the result of the capitalist processes. According to Engels, the source of the housing question was capitalist production, distribution and ownership relationships. The housing question is a changing with economic conditions; the housing question Engels defined is not same with the present housing question.

Following sections elaborate on financialization of housing market, commodification of housing, neoliberalization of the housing market, the economic crisis of 2008-2009 and its relationship with the housing, and exclusion of the poor from the housing market.

### **2.3.1. Financialisation of Housing Market**

House is a structure or a building that individuals may live and meet their minimum basic needs. It is considered as one of the most important basic human rights in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The right to housing is the economic and social right for every individual. Besides, according to Madden and Marcuse, the concept of housing counts as more than a shelter. It has a feature of being a determinant of one's cultural identity, individuality, and creative powers (Madden and Marcuse 2016, 12). According to Şenol, housing as a human right is a representation of the measurement of realization of other rights. Although housing right is necessary, it is not enough for the right of settlement (Şenol 2005, 94).

From the twentieth century, economic value of housing has been increased, and the meaning of housing diversified. Housing began to express different things for different economic groups of society. It means meeting the need for housing for the poor. It turned into a tool for prestige, luxury, profit and investment for the high-income group. For investors, it means a dynamic process in market (Hodkinson 2012, 513; Madden and Marcuse 2016, 11). Through the 1950s ownership rates rose thanks to the American Dream system. Since the second half of the twentieth century, housing has already become a liquid asset and a real estate sector. However, its social and political dimensions have always been alongside the economic conditions (Madden and Marcuse 2016, 26).

Following that the liberal policies were introduced in the 1970s, the sectors were privatized. Moreover, the privatization of housing since 1989 in the USA has formed the largest transfer of property rights in history (Madden and Marcuse 2016, 31). The secondary circuit has always been in relation to the financial sector but especially after the last quarter of the twentieth century, it has been a privileged place of financialization (Coq-Huelva 2013, 1217). The housing model developed by the contractors and investors has put a new lane on the production of urban dwellings (Balamir 2003).

In past, housing was a by-product of social and economic relations; however, recently housing is becoming an independent sector of economy. The housing crisis experienced during the last decades was not because of collapse of the system, rather, it was the result of the system operating as intended. Housing is not constructed and distributed for the aim of providing dwelling for all; it is produced and distributed as

commodity to make profit. Namely, housing crisis is an assumable, logical outcome of a basic characteristic of capitalist spatial development (Madden and Marcuse 2016, 10, 18).

In a global context, urbanization has been affected by financialization. One of the most dominant features of financialization is its capacity to be a regulator at different scales. Throughout history, housing as an accumulation channel and profit-making sector have always been undergoing a process of financialization. This is a term to describe the rising importance and power of actors and firms that make profit accumulation. With financialization, housing has become a commodity which is managed by the real estate market. Managers, bankers, and rentiers produce profits from housing through buying, selling, financing, owning, and speculating. This indicates the rising importance and power of actors and firms against the poor for whom housing is of importance because of its use value (Madden and Marcuse 2016, 31).

The nature of the real estate sector is fluctuating under financialization. As real estate became a sector of fixed capital, individuals, large and small-scale companies have become real estate investors (Madden and Marcuse 2016, 33). To a certain degree, housing markets lack competitive conditions due to the nature of the product. Since housing meets the necessity of human as a shelter, it cannot be replaced by another commodity and it is not possible to refrain from its consumption (Smet 2016, 497).

Although the fact that in the first decades of twentieth-century housing became a commodity, recently the increasing economic value of housing in the political economy became more obvious. Housing and urban environment became the important tools of investments for capital seeking to overcome the crisis. According to Madden and Marcuse (2016), commodification is a self-reproducing process and it can exist at different scales like the neighbourhood, the building, and even the household. All kinds of materials and structures like buildings, land, labor, property rights can be turned into commodities in this economic system (Madden and Marcuse 2016, 23-45). This situation entails to discuss the housing as a political-economic problem. Because financialization of housing bring along the commodification of housing and increasing housing prices (Uzun 2017, 465). As a result, the living space will be shared depending on the ability to pay and provided to the extent that it produces a profit (Madden and Marcuse 2016, 51)



### **2.3.2. Commodification of Housing**

Housing is a basic tool to meet the sheltering as primary human need. Housing generally means the home for the residents and area for the social reproduction. Yet, it is more than being a shelter, it can provide personal and ontological safety. It can serve the comfortable area to the person for one's agency, cultural identity, individuality and creative powers when it can also be the domestic environment of suppression. Yet in capitalist system, housing became an indicator of belonging to a socio-economic group. Commodification of housing casts the housing as a tool for money and profit in capital processes in commodified cities (Madden and Marcuse 2016, 12- 94).

While housing is seen as the biggest issue based on economic conditions for many people, it means a source of wealth, status and profit for others. It is a speculative profit tool for those who trade housing; a source of tax revenue for the state and a key component of the cities. In the global economy, housing is the most expensive one in the consumer goods and it is different from the other commodities because it is the basis of the social life (Madden and Marcuse 2016, 11-89).

Privatization of the commons was the precondition of commodification of housing and land. Since land and housing turned into the exchangeable sources of profits, traditional tenures and ancient communal regulation had to be changed. Besides the precondition of the commons being the precondition of commodification of housing and land, it is also questioned whether the value of land effects the housing market or not. Recent debates on housing question with the sub-content of affordability and access to dwelling remain over understanding of commodification of land and property. For example, Castells in his early years followed the Marxist view by putting forward the state involvement in the housing market to provide inputs for interests of capital and the market rather than to provide convenience for housing affordability (Engelsman, Rowe and Southern 2016, 595).

In the early commercial capitalist era, housing was under the dominance of the organization of work rather than being produced as a commodity (Madden and Marcuse 2016, 20). Then in the first decades of the twentieth century, the results of the commodification of housing became visible. On the one hand, governments try to neutralize the unevenness and develop larger scale social housing, and new rent and

construction standards emerged, on the other. However, value of housing was rising and becoming more obvious in the political-economic system. For housing and urban environments have become crucial investment ground for circuits of capital to manage the problem of over-accumulation (Madden and Marcuse 2016, 23). The prices in the housing sector are being reshaped by the fact that the cities are both a production and a consumption element itself. Besides, the desired housing to be produced in the capitalist system is the housing that the highest profit is obtainable, even though the characteristics of the basic housing should be spatially, socially and economically sustainable, affordable and satisfactory.

As a pioneer of the global tendencies, in America beginning from the second half of the 1900s and especially by the 1980s, more than 60 percent of the people privately owned their houses. Thanks to the American Dream movement, the perception that it is necessary to have a home for a better way of life became prevalent and reshaped the existing consumption habits. Being a host satisfies the desire to move to a higher class and gives the idea that homeownership is an important factor in creating a personal identity. In this process, the rates of house ownership increased with the credits provided by the government and the banks. It follows that housing ownership became a tool for financial processes and macroeconomic targets. As a result, governments used foreclosures as a profitable tool (Saegert 2009, 298).

After the second half of the twentieth century, housing turned into an instrument of financial accumulation. In other words, housing became the focus of global capital and investments. Current housing provision is hyper-commodified and dominated by the real estate sector. Under hyper-commodification, the components of housing such as buildings, lands, labor and property rights are turned into commodities as well as the housing itself. Thus, commodification can reproduce itself in the housing production process, and it runs at so different scales as household, building, or even neighborhood (Madden and Marcuse 2016, 26- 45).

In the housing supply system that is specific to capitalism, housing is divided into three categories as private property (owner-occupied or rented), public (social) housing, and informal housing for increasing capital accumulation. Critical points are missed regarding housing provision for the poor, because free market directors eliminate the differences between the economic situation of the different groups. In the housing provision process, the right to housing, economic and social status of the residents, and the living conditions of the housing to be produced should also be considered (Çelik and

Gough 2014, 426). Nevertheless, the most visible and most important result of the housing is that real estate sector intensifies inequalities. These inequalities give more power to economic elites who benefit from the commodification of housing. Thus, housing appears a conflict area between different social groups (Madden and Marcuse 2016, 27- 47).

Lastly, commodification is not only a tool for capital accumulation but also a technique of governance compatible with the economic and political processes (Madden and Marcuse 2016, 94). With the commodification of the house, the housing supply at the international level has become more dependent on the market and these transformations have been shaped by the neoliberal globalization process. Deregulation, reorganization, privatization, and financial liberalization processes and the changing role of the government in public and social policy are reflected in economic, political and ideological changes. Real estate investments constitute a large part of the recent global financial system. In addition, the commodification of housing today became a key engine of urban capital accumulation. The specialized housing with its direct relationship with global processes has a greater impact on the global economy (Forrest 2008, 168; Lamarca and Kaika 2016, 316).

### **2.3.3. Neoliberalization of the Housing Market and Subprime Economic Crisis 2008- 2009**

From the 1980s onwards, as neoliberal policies became more dominant in the economy, so did they undertake a crucial role in urban economy, especially in defining house prices and the share distribution in the market. Neoliberalization of housing policies initiated a period of real estate-oriented economy and of speculative urbanization in urban development (Mayer 2009, 364; Smet 2016, 495). The main components of liberalization of housing sector are deregulation, institutional changes and private sector. Housing system has been restructured in a way of enabling countries and cities to have place in global capital (Madden and Marcuse 2016, 28). Instead of responding to local needs, it tries to articulate to the global capital process as a profit-oriented economic tool.

In addition, the sector is managed by major real estate companies. Therefore, the housing sector is shaped by international speculations.

Financialization of housing and the growth of subprime loans have direct effects on the urban socio-spatial area. Global and local capital are linked to the urban places through the capital flowing from the urban land to investors and the subprime lending industry. Financialization of housing is represented by mortgages. In this period, housing ownership was encouraged for the continuity of the sector. Increasing the tendency to own housing facilitates the mortgage. This, in turn, increases the interest rate and credit utilization. Hence, mortgage system provides the node to ease capital accumulation (Clifford and Walks 2015, 1626; Newman 2009, 316).

Financialization in the 2000s is considered together with the concept of securitization of loans. Increasing the efficiency of the private sector in the financing of loans and facilitating access to credit have emerged to share risks (Clifford and Walks 2015, 1624). Also, the 2000s have been the years of “laissez-faire” of the housing sector as an open market which served to the different scale investors and owner-occupants (Molina 2015, 564).

Madden and Marcuse (2016, 35) emphasise that neoliberalization, globalization of the capital and financialization processes resulted in the hyper-commodification of the housing and this is the main reason of the housing sector crisis. According to David Harvey, the 2008 financial crisis is an urban crisis which contextualized with toxic mortgages, real estate collapse, and mortgage-backed financial derivative products. Nevertheless, as Kaika and Ruggiero (2016, 4) argue, how the socially embodied historical geographic mechanisms closely relate to urban change dynamics and financialized global economies, and how the urban rent joins the circuit of global financialization are not discussed.

The 2008 financial crisis was backgrounded by the government policies encouraging consumption and credit system in the housing sector and the unpaid debts of subprime loans. The process of this crisis started with the low-interest and flexible loans. The expanded demand for housing, which is supported by low-interest rates, and consumption encouraged by government policies have led to an increase in house prices. This situation increased the demand for consumption by creating a virtual welfare effect. After all, non-repayable credit debts have occurred in the real estate market and they brought along the subprime crisis in 2008-2009 (Karataş 2011, 103). This economic

approach to mortgages turns the citizens to investors in real estate as well as the consumers (Lamarca and Kaika 2016, 316).

The global economic crisis has changed the state and development of cities. This crisis in America has also affected the banking and finance situation in Europe (Çelik and Gough 2014, 422). According to Immergluck (2009), there are three issues in this financial crisis: first one is the disintegration of the mortgage market and securitisation. The second one is financial deregulation. The last one is extending the supply of high-risk capital. Besides, Peter Marcuse argues that the financial crisis is a subprime crisis because of the financialized global economic system and expanded private sector share in the housing sector (Immergluck 2009, 341).

To summarize, the neoliberalization of homeownership is based on the idea that the owning a home would increase the quality of life, life changes and the wealth of disadvantaged populations. So, it seems to associate the use value and exchange value of the house, and directly relates to social reproduction. However, critical theorists argue that neoliberal policies have decreased the amount of state and private resources allocated for reproducing labor (Brenner and Theodore 2002, 361; Saegart 2009, 301) According to Madden and Marcuse (2016), in contrast to its ancillary role once Engels had defined in the industrialization process, housing gained a dominant character in the production of capital in the financialised global economy. After all, poor and the middle-class residents are forced to pay unsustainable loans for the house while they are having to face the risk of displacement (Taylor 2017, 347).

#### **2.3.4. Exclusion of the Poor from the Housing Market**

Market-driven capitalist economy depends on the historical process of unequal acquisition of property. By the second half of the twentieth century, housing production started to be formed by the capitalist market, and housing market turned into a tool of spatial disadvantage. Hence it basically visualizes the social and economic inequalities (Slater 2010, 176; Pinnegar 2012, 287). The fact that housing has become an investment tool for different investor scales has also reflected on housing production patterns.

Recent housing production addresses to investors, speculators and high-incomes. Profit-oriented and market-driven housing production has been led by the urban renewal and redevelopment projects seemingly focusing on healthy, livable, socially diverse neighborhoods concepts. Although these projects seem to include all classes of society, their market-driven characteristic cause gentrification and exclusion of the poor from the market through the overproduction of exclusive urban spaces (Schafran 2013, 678). For these lately constructed living spaces create a chain of displacement of some group of societies who can afford through relatively better places. It follows that increasing low-income households and the places where they are concentrated were left behind (Boschman et al. 2012, 234). The recent housing production cause a crisis of the rising displacement, segregation, homelessness, a gap in different groups in society.

In the last thirty years' housing production, manifests a structural tendency towards verticalization, socio-spatial homogeneity, and rising security concerns. These tendencies culminate in development of high-rise luxury blocks in the city centers and gated communities and condominiums in the peripheries (Graham 2015, 620). This type of housing production excludes the existence of the squatter housing areas where the poor find solutions to their housing problems. In housing policies, the first approach to the squatterization problem consists of slum clearance, which means the complete eradication of an existing squatter housing area. The second approach is urban renewal, which refers to the resettlement into public housing. Despite that second approach is seen to cover the residents and their rights by renewing the substandard housing areas, through time, the second approach turned into the slum clearance, as well (Karaman 2013, 720b).

Neoliberal urban development and global housing policies create space for real estate investments to generate rent for urban growth by the transformation and renewal projects that work as slum clearance. The fact that housing policies do not cover the rights of the poor cause the poor to face such problems as displacement, exclusion through dispossession, segregation, and gentrification (Doshi 2013, 844; Fraser and Kick 2014, 1147; Eroğlu 2019, 7). To obtain rent from the urban area through housing projects, the poor are displaced to the urban area. The aim is to create land for investments. Exclusion of the poor is related to the displacement. Where housing policies prioritize profit, the poor are excluded from the urban area both socially and spatially. For the “affordable housing” produced to the poor having been once excluded through dispossession are the “mass housing projects” far from the city centers (Madden and Marcuse, 2016 137).

Another term related to the exclusion of the poor is socio-spatial segregation. It means the existence of overrepresented high income group and underrepresented low income groups coming across in the same place. Segregation culminates in the spatial uneven distribution of housings sorted by type, user and price into different parts of the cities. Recent housing market trends are the reason for income depended and uneven housing distribution and and different housing clusters (Boschman et al. 2012, 234).

According to Zhao (2013, 573), at least three interacting factors cause residential segregation. First one is supply factors influenced by spatial planning related to the distribution of houses, public services, infrastructures. The second one is demand factors defined by the socio-economic status of the person such as household's income, the desire of the homeownership, and preferences. The last one is institutional factors as land use, housing allocation, and management.

Considering the recent housing policies, one of the most important results is gentrification. According to Marcuse (2015, 1264), gentrification occurs in four modes: demographic displacement, physical upgrading, economic upgrading, and social upgrading. Yet the common meaning of gentrification is displacement of a lower-income population by a higher-income one through redevelopment, upscaling. Slater emphasizes that gentrification is an intentionally created instrument of the neoliberal urbanism. Especially after the 1990s, the transformation of cities into capital accumulation areas have been increased the perceptibility of the results of gentrification (Slater 2010, 172). As a result, capital-oriented housing production dominated by the private sector is shaped by economic processes and speculative urbanism. Recent housing production and housing policies do not address all economic groups in the society as the projects are market-driven and rent-oriented. This causes increasing social polarization and inequality, and the exclusion through dispossession of the poor (Çelik and Gough 2014, 428; Madden and Marcuse 2016, 198).

## CHAPTER 3

# HOUSING PRODUCTION AND HOUSING PROBLEM OF THE POOR IN TURKEY

In Turkey, squatter housing is crucial in the urbanization process. Squatterization started with the migrations from rural to urban in the first half of the twentieth century. Between 1950 and 1980, the governmental approach to the squatter housing as a solution to housing problem of the poor left to themselves (Demirtaş- Milz 2013, 693). After the 1980s the privatization, deregulation processes and the changes in the laws and regulations turn housing into a tool of capital accumulation. Specifically, in Turkey, zoning amnesties after the 1980s and urban renewal and urban transformation after the 1990s became tools of urbanization under neoliberalism. The recent basis of urbanization in Turkey is rehabilitation, renewal, and transformation of “the disaster risk areas”. Urban transformation today aims to create a space for projects addressing to high-income people in the areas where the urban rent is high. These projects implemented and authorized by the collaboration of the public and private sector. So, housing production in Turkey results in squeezing the poor and their living areas among the high urban rent areas, in lack of satisfaction of their basic needs, and in exclusion through dispossession.

In this chapter, the housing problem in Turkey, regulation and deregulation process of the housing market and housing production by the state will be elaborated on.

### **3.1. Housing Problem in Turkey; Squatter Housing, Zoning Amnesties and Urban Transformation**

Housing problem is one of the critical problems in urbanization dynamics in Turkey. The outstanding reasons of the housing question in Turkey are uneven geographical development and income distribution, rapid, unplanned urbanization,



speculative urbanization, zoning amnesties, unaffordable housing provision. An understanding of housing problem in Turkey entails to examine urban development process with its different aspects in different periods.

İlhan Tekeli is the first scholar who elaborates on the urbanization process in Turkey in different periods. According to Tekeli, urbanization process is analyzed in five periods. The first period is from the second half of the nineteenth century to 1923. This period covers the articulation of the Ottoman Empire economy to global capital. The second period is from 1923 to 1945 which covers the early republic era. In this era, the urbanization rate was low and legal and theoretical framework of the planning was formed. The third period is the years from 1945 to the 1960s. The fourth period is from the 1960s to the 1980s. In this period, Turkey sought planned economy. In those years, Turkey started to experience rapid urbanization. The last period is after the 1980s (Tekeli 2009, 107).

As Tezcan (2015) shows, there are different classifications in the national planning literature as follows: two periods as before and after the Second World War; two periods as before 1980, in which import substitution policies were followed, and after 1980, which is dominated by neoliberal policies; three periods as 1923-1950 defined by urbanization of the nation-state, 1950-1980 by urbanization of labor power, and the period from 1980 to the present by urbanization of capital; and lastly, three periods as 1950-1980, 1980-2000, after 2000 (Tezcan 2015, 57).

From another perspective, the issue of the housing problem in Turkey is discussed with regards to squatting. Genç (2014) divides the urbanization in Turkey into five periods as parallel to the changes from the squatter housing policies to urban transformation policies: before the planning period (1945-1960), after the planning period (1960-1980), after the 1980s, the 2000s, and lastly the period defined by the policies under the Municipality Law (no. 5393) and the Redevelopment of Areas under Disaster Risk Law (no. 6306) (Genç 2014, 17).

Turkey's housing system can be analyzed under three main categories. The first one is the development of traditional housing stock in the pre-plan period before the 1930s. The second category is formal housing which also has two sub-categories as private, speculative and state supported. The third category is informal housing including squatter housing (Çınar 2002, 87).

Housing question in Turkey is firstly explored with a special emphasis on squatter housing. Squatter housing defined as informal and illegal housing which is built in public

lands, in privately owned lands belonging to someone else, in lands owned with shared-title, or built without construction permission (Demirtaş- Milz 2013, 690; Özdemir 2011, 1101). However, due to policies and amnesty laws which aim to legally formalize squatter housings, these areas cannot be defined as illegal. Demirtaş-Milz (2013) argues that squatter housing areas are rather examples of informal spaces. Because the squatter housing is not the only kind of “illegal housing”, the dualism between the informal and the formal must be questioned, as well (Demirtaş- Milz 2013, 690).

The first squatter housing movements in Turkey appeared in Ankara in the 1930s. In the early republican era, squatter housing has emerged as a form of housing for those who migrate from rural to urban areas because of industrialization and economic growth (Genç 2014, 17; Ataöv and Osmay 2007, 58). Following the Second World War, some policies aimed to provide housing for the low-income through tax, credit and land allocation. The main issue was to protect the political system and regulate the illegal structures according to legislation. According to Genç, there were three important points standing out in terms of squatter housing policies: preventing the construction of the squatters by allocating the public land to citizens, the idea of preventing squatters by prohibitions, and the legalization of the squatters (Genç 2014, 17).

By the 1950s, rapid internal migration, cheap labor and industrialization led to the growth of squatter housing areas in urban land (Özdemir 2011, 1102). The number of squatter housing constructed in Turkey between 1950-1955 was 50.000; and, the share of the squatter housing in total housing was 36%. In one decade between the 1950s and the 1960s, the number of squatters reached to 240.000 (Özdemir et al. 2005, 25).

In this decade, economic growth and industrialization policies and development of industrial city were prioritized. Accordingly, by the 1950s, migration from rural to urban areas increased, and began rapid urbanization in Turkey. Rural areas were encompassed into the urban areas. Due to the lack of infrastructure in the cities, the population migrating from rural to urban areas met their housing needs by constructing squatter housing in the treasury or private land in the peripheries of the city (Ataöv and Osmay 2007, 62).

About the squatting process in these years, the first and the most prevalent idea was that the squatter housing was a legitimate solution because it was located on public land and did not violate someone else's property right directly. The second view is that the existing houses should not be demolished without reaching a certain level of housing supply and that the distribution of title deeds to the squatter housing residents is wrong.

Instead of the distribution of title deeds unrequitedly, the long-term land renting was suggested since the transformation projects may applied on squatter housing areas (Özdemir et al. 2005, 25).

The planned development period in the Turkey Republic begins by the 1960s. In parallel, local governments have started to take a role in finding solutions for urbanization problems. After the transition to the planned economy, the import substitution model was applied for a while. As the internal market expanded, the neo-classical economic approach was adopted (Ataöv and Osmay 2007, 62).

From the beginning of the 1960s, the government takes the squatter housing as a problem within the socio-economic development framework in the five years of development plans (Ataöv and Osmay 2007, 63). The primary purpose of the first five-year development plan was to improve the physical conditions of the squatter housings. With the first plan, the constructions of the new squatter housings were prohibited (Çınar 2012, 79; Genç 2014, 18). In the second plan to be applied between 1967 and 1972, the first aim was prevention of squatter housing. As it was also aimed to benefit from the labor of the squatter housing residents in the housing construction works, it could not be achieved (Genç 2014, 18). The number of squatter housing was 90.000 in Ankara in 1965 and 18.025 in İzmir in 1963. In the 1960s, about 3 million people migrated from rural areas to cities. In this period, the number of squatter houses in big cities increased from 240.000 to 430.000 (Özdemir et al. 2005, 30).

Throughout the 1960s, the squatter housing clusters in the 1950s have been turned into neighborhoods and became a part of the cities (Özdemir et al. 2005, 25). In this period, the squatter housing became a commercial tool, as well. At the same time, in the 1960s, the economic structure of the inhabitants of the squatter housing was changing depending on the demand created by the labor market. The squatter housing inhabitants began to construct additional floor or room and to rent them. As the squatter housing fed labour market, and turned into settled neighborhoods, they have benefited from infrastructure facilities (Özdemir et al. 2005, 36).

The important facts of this period were that the people who migrated from rural to urban are the labor force for the expanding economy, and at the same time, that they contributed to economic growth as consumers. The Squatter Housing Law (no. 775), issued in 1966, was adopted to provide a legal basis for the legitimacy and commercialization of existing illegal housing. With the commercialization of the squatter housing “built and sell” method became the major housing provision for middle-income

groups. This process led to the emergence of small and medium-sized investors in the construction sector. The second cornerstone of this housing provision period, which became dominant by the 1970s was Condominium Law (no. 634) that was enacted in 1965. To the end of the 1960s, changes in supply and demand balances caused to a new term in the housing sector which was mostly dominated by neoliberal policies and urban renewal (Özdemir 2011, 1102).

In the 1970s, new political economy approaches evolved after the worldwide economic crisis. With the neoliberal policies, there was a radical shift in the approach of the state to the squatter houses. With the neoliberal logic, the spread of profit-oriented activities and the policies of globalization brought about the redefinition of squatter areas. Neoliberal policies have affected squatter areas in some different ways. The squatter housing residents were out of state intervention. As squatter housing areas are defined as urban investment areas, residents lose their living spaces due to demolitions. Finally, some squatter housing owners are integrated into the renewal programs as development partners (Erman 2016, 428).

In the 1970s, the squatter housings gradually became more commercialized with renting and turned into an investment tool. Different scaled contractors entered the market, and the profit-oriented transformations of squatters increased (Çınar 2002, 51). Some squatter housings of this period were transformed into individual houses and multi-storey apartments, which are produced by small and medium scale entrepreneurs. Some of them were turned into mass housings by means of co-operatives with the support of professional organizations or banks. Legalization of the squatter housing and it is becoming a market tool also affected the socio-economic structure of the period. The production of squatter houses in an organized way caused increasing either individual and illegal organizations or rental property ownership in the squatters (Ataöv and Osmay 2007, 62, 65).

By the 1980s, the solution to the squatter housing was mass housing production by co-operatives and municipalities. The first examples of the mass housing projects are Batıkent, Ege-Kent, and Evka. Although such housing projects had the potential to be a solution to the housing problem, they aimed to obtain profit and addressed to the middle- and high-income groups, rather than to meet the housing question of the poor (Karasu 2005, 60; Genç 2019, 18). In the urban development process of the 1970s, another solution by the municipalities was to turn illegal squatter housing areas into neighborhoods with infrastructures and services (Ataöv and Osmay 2007, 63). Despite

these changes and efforts to prevent illegal housing in this decade, the number of squatters in Turkey reached approximately 1.150.000 from 600.000 in 1970. Plus, approximately 26% of the urban population had been living in squatter housing (Özdemir et al. 2005, 37).

The year 1980 was a turning point in economic and political terms. With the military coup on the 12<sup>th</sup> September 1980, neoliberal economic policies and structural adjustments to integrate Turkey into international markets were implemented by the central government. Local governments became stronger financially by the rise of the entrepreneurial municipal model. The priorities in urbanization and planning were redefined and the investments were shifted increasingly towards infrastructure, which had been neglected so long in the cities (A. Waite 2016, 75). The urban and housing policies of the 1980s were defined first by the military government of the first three years and the second by the civil government after 1984. The 1980s' neoliberal policies changed the approaches to urbanization and housing policies because the urban space has turned into a phenomenon in which capital has been anchored as a mechanism of rent (Zariç 2012; Tezcan 2015, 61).

The framework of housing strategies in this term was constituted according to Right to Housing in the 1982 Constitution as follows: “The government takes measures to meet the housing needs and supports the mass housing undertakings in a planning framework that monitors the characteristics and environmental conditions of the cities” (Constitution of Republic of Turkey in 1982).

Tekeli (2009, 177) defines two main types of housing provision in the 1980s: the housing in the zoned urban area consisting of individual housing production, cooperative housing production, build and sell method, mass housing production, housing production by the housing cooperatives and the local government partnership; and, the squatter housing composed of individual squatter housing production and semi-organized squatter housing production.

Zoning amnesties served as urban development tool in the 1980s. The first Zoning Amnesty Law (no. 2805) was enacted in the period of military government in 1983. This law entailed to destroy the illegally built structures. The second Zoning Amnesty Law (no. 2981) was enacted in 1984. It legalized the existing squatter housings and the government publicly promised title deeds to the squatter housing owners. The third Zoning Amnesty Law (no. 3290) that was enacted in 1986 made possible squatter housing residents to get title deeds (Çınar 2002, 81-84).

With these amnesty laws, unqualified, unhealthy, and illegal structures were legalized. Zoning amnesties indirectly encouraged further squatter housing development and articulated it into the market. This meant that the state supported the commercialization of squatter housings by these laws. Furthermore, the squatter housing areas were involved in the commodification process by the development plans and permissions to the construction of high-rise blocks (Özdemir et al. 2005, 41; Demirtaş-Milz 2013, 696; Karasu 2005, 83).

Squatter housing is not the only outcome of the housing question in Turkey. In the 1980s, another problem was illegal construction in building plots of “shared deed” (*“hisseli tapu”* in Turkish). However, the buildings were constructed on private property with a title deed, the buildings did not have the building and occupancy permits (Çınar 2002, 52).

In 1984, Housing Development Administration (HDA) was found with the aim of reducing the rapid and unplanned urbanization. In the same year, with the Mass Housing Law (no. 2985), mass housing fund was created. Although the establishment of HDA and its own fund was an attempt by central government to subsidize housing, several drawbacks became evident during the implementation in terms of the construction periods, costs and occupancy permits (Özdemir 2011, 1103). Housing production by state is elaborated in detail in the next section.

The housing production until the 1990s in Turkey can be characterized as short-term gains and long-term costs. In this period, individual constructors, small or medium scaled construction firms, local government, and central government were the actors of the housing production (Özdemir 2011, 1102).

The most dominant urban development approach of the 1990s is urban renewal projects where productivity, profit, and privatizations are at the forefront (Demirtaş-Milz 2013, 712). Also, the 1990s have been the years of significant transformations in the urban space. In the city centers, large business centers in the form of skyscrapers, luxury housings, and mass housing areas that responded to the demand of the upper-income group have been built. To meet the housing needs of the middle-income group, mass housings have been produced in the areas obtained by the transformation of the squatter housing areas in the peripheries. Therefore, the residents of the squatter housings which were displaced and excluded through dispossession continued to build new squatter housings in new areas (Özdemir et al. 2005, 43).

On the other hand, in the 1990s, socio-economic polarization became more visible in the settled areas and rapidly continuing migration formed the reasons for urban transformation and renewal projects, as well. The growth of the urban development outside the borders of the city along the main transportation networks, the re-development of the city within the new nodes caused the need to renew and rehabilitate the existing urban fabric in the center and the periphery (Ataöv and Osmay 2007, 68). To obtain rent, private property lands were marketed in contradiction with plan decisions and illegal apartments and villas have been built on these areas (Özdemir et al. 2005, 44). Indeed, in the 1990s, urban transformation projects became the main tool of the rent and capital accumulation within the global capitalist processes (Erman 2016, 425), and Turkey was not immune to this process.

The urban transformation practices in the 1990s are classified in three categories depending on their way of intervention: 1. Urban renewal; 2. Improvement; 3. Conservation and gentrification. Urban renewal means to demolish the old buildings and rebuilt the area.

The aim of urban renewal is to raise the land rent and quality by new zoning rights. Haliç Environment Development Plan in Istanbul is an example of such a transformation (Ataöv and Osmay 2007, 68). The second type of urban transformation refers to upgrade the physical, social and economic features of an area by protecting the existing texture by improvement plans. This type of transformation intervention is generally applied in the areas of squatter houses and unlicensed housing areas. Reconstruction zoning application serves for the legalization of an area where the construction is illegal and endows the construction right to the residents.

Reclamation-zoning plans aim to convert squatter housing areas into regular legal housing stock. In this process, local governments join the housing provision process by undertaking the entrepreneur role and public-private partnerships. Dikmen Valley Squatter Housing Transformation Project and Portakal Çiçeği Valley Project are proper cases of improvement. These projects involve residents' participation. They were produced according to a model based on the protection of rights of the locals and creating resources by commercial investments. The contracts with the existing squatter housing owners guaranteed to provide houses in return their real estates instead of expropriation (Ataöv and Osmay 2007, 68).

The third mode of intervention emerged as conservation and gentrification of an area that has historical value. Conservation can be done in two ways. The first is to give

a new function to a historical area. The location choice of luxury restaurants and traditional sales units in Ankara and Antalya citadels are examples of such vitalization and conservation. The second is to change the economic feature by replacing the existing social groups with higher income groups in the historical area. The transformation in Cihangir and Kuzguncuk in Istanbul can be examples of this kind of transformation, since they changed the user groups depending on the income level (Ataöv and Osmay 2007, 68).

Housing policies in the 2000s tended more to privatization of institutions. The European Union harmonization process was one of the important determinants of this period (Ataöv and Osmay 2007, 68). Another significant issue was the urban transformation. After the Marmara earthquake, the urban transformation became a tool of the redevelopment of the disaster risk areas. The main policies of the eight five-year plans between 2001 and 2005 were:

- i) to solve the housing question, a new system must be built which works with the collaboration of public-private partnerships, NGOs, cooperatives, etc.;
- ii) to prevent disasters, the problems of unplanned and illegal development must be solved, and the constructions must be sustained by effective methods in terms of security and supervision;
- iii) there must be financial support for low-income and middle-income groups;
- iv) quality and sustainability must be priorities in housing production (Çınar 2002, 85).

Housing production sector is dominated by private investors and it became market-driven in the 2000s. Urban transformation projects are the main mechanisms of the neoliberal urbanism. The governance of urban and housing markets in Turkey significantly changed through neoliberal mode (Kuyucu and Ünsal 2010, 1479). On the other hand, speculative urbanization began to be dominant in housing policies. Legislative arrangements and changes were enacted to construct luxury housing projects or urban transformation projects, and to create new areas and where the urban rent is high. Luxury housing projects -gated communities, condominiums, skyscrapers- were the most significant culminations of neoliberal urban policy (Bal 2011). Turkey has produced a significant number of building in the 2000s. However, the process of plan and production did not contain professional services, supervision, public participation etc. (A. Waite 2016, 80). As a result, the emerging housing stock is socially, economically and environmentally unsustainable. This process has become more visible in the 2010s.



The main tool of the 2010s in terms of the housing production is the Redevelopment of Areas under Disaster Risk Law (no. 6306). This law was enacted on May 16<sup>th</sup>, 2012. Its aim is defined as follows: “determining procedures and principles regarding rehabilitation and renewal of lands under disaster risk or plots with buildings under disaster risks in order to provide healthy and safe living environments” (see A. Waite 2016, 81; Official Journal, 31 May 2012). Housing production by this law uses urban transformation as a tool to transfer the lands of the squatter housing areas to the state and for transforming informal urban residential areas into formally governed tradable assets. Legal ambiguities and tactical maneuverings by private and public actors are also utilized for the fast and efficient transfer of squatter lands (Atasoy 2017, 659). For one of the targets of the urban transformation projects is squatter-housing areas where the residents mostly benefited from the unregulated land market and incompletely commodified housing rights. These areas are important for the real estate investments as they are squeezed among the high-rent areas and exposed to rent-gaps. This situation led the social fragmentation or/and social, economic and spatial pressure on the poor. With the urban transformation projects, high-incomes began to have higher living standards with luxury housing production (Eroğlu 2019, 13- 25).

As Özbek Sönmez emphasizes, urban transformation and renewal projects that are built on the urban rent areas result in gentrification and exclusion, because the poor inevitably face with the displacement and exclusion through dispossession (Özbek Sönmez 2012, 294). However, on the other side, poor had to move into mass housings constructed by HDA in the peripheries or had to live in squatter areas where squeezed among the luxury housings. A huge gap between the high-incomes and the poor of squatter housings emerges in terms of household income, socio-economic situations, culture, and preferences (Eroğlu 2019, 13- 25).

Housing question of the poor in Turkey transformed through economic changes and housing production dynamics. The result was the dispossession and exclusion of the poor by different economic, legal and political instruments. Deregulation and reregulation of housing market within the context of neoliberalisation will be focused on in the following section.

### 3.2. Deregulation and Reregulation of the Housing Market

The government involvement in housing sector may be in the form of direct subsidies (e.g., housing allowances, public housing), tax incentives (e.g., mortgage interest deduction), and market regulations (e.g., tenure protection legislation), among other policy instruments. This aims to provide a balance in the housing market, satisfy the housing right, to support housing consumption and investment serves as a convenient mechanism to redistribute income and wealth (Börsch-Supan 1994, 119).

In Turkey, the impact of the state on housing market is primarily based on legal regulations. Figure 3.1. summarizes the significant features about the housing provision in Turkey in three periods. As to be seen in the figure, the housing production types and income groups relation have been leaning towards the dominance of speculative housing development and luxury housing production.

	1950-1980	1980-2000	2000 and after
Economic policy	Closed economy, import-substitution policies	Neoliberal economic policies, macroeconomic fluctuations, high inflation	Neoliberal economic policies, economic crisis in 2001, strong economic growth for 3 to 4 years
Demographic structure	Migration from countryside	Migration from countryside	Migratory movements between cities, and recent reversed migration trend
Spatial features	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Proliferation of squatter houses in and around cities</li> <li>• Renewal and rebuilding activities in middle and upper-middle income neighbourhoods in cities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Expanding unhealthy and illegal housing stock in all cities</li> <li>• Expansion of cities towards periphery via: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• large-scale public, private developments</li> <li>• upper-income groups moving to peripheral areas of cities</li> <li>• emergence of gated communities</li> </ul> </li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Continuous expansion of cities towards peripheries, in some cases eliminating environmentally valuable land</li> <li>• Proliferation of gated communities</li> <li>• New housing sites on periphery of many Turkish cities sponsored by central government</li> </ul>
Planning system	Centralized	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Decentralized after the restructuring of central-local government relations</li> <li>• Various amnesty laws</li> <li>• Centralized in tourism investments and large-scale property developments in cities</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Introduction of new laws on planning system, conservation and preservation, and municipalities</li> <li>• Centralized in terms of housing provision, acquisition and use of public land</li> <li>• Central and local governments both captivated by the concept of urban regeneration</li> </ul>
Housing-provision types and income groups	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Squatter housing (low-income groups)</li> <li>• Build-and-sell (middle classes)</li> <li>• Housing co-operatives (very limited)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Squatter housing (low-income groups)</li> <li>• Construction of unhealthy housing</li> <li>• Housing co-operatives (middle and upper-middle classes)</li> <li>• Speculative housing development</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• New central government mass housing projects</li> <li>• New private building company housing sites</li> <li>• Speculative housing development</li> </ul>
Social/council housing	None	None	None
Tenure structure	Tenancy ratio 50% in authorized housing stock, second homes of middle classes	Tenancy ratio 28% in authorized housing stock, speculative houses of middle classes	Increasing numbers of second homes
Role of private builders in housing provision	Self-provision (by squatters) Small-scale construction companies (middle classes)	Large-scale building companies Small-scale construction companies in legalized squatter areas	Medium and large-scale building companies
Role of central government in housing provision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Regulatory</li> <li>• Ineffective housing provision by social-security organizations, Real Estate Bank</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Regulatory</li> <li>• Funding housing co-operatives</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Direct provider and facilitator, intervention into housing and lands markets</li> <li>• Diminishing support for housing co-operatives</li> </ul>
Role of local governments in housing provision	None	None	Provision of expensive housing for upper income groups (in Istanbul)
Role of private institutions	Prohibited	Inefficient owing to macroeconomic instability	Newly developing
Mortgage availability	None	None	Newly developing, serving only upper income groups
Family support and savings	Yes	Yes	Yes

Figure 3.1. A comparison of the role of the Turkish public sector provision over three periods since 1950

(Source: Özdemir 2011)

As the efficiency of private construction sector increased, authority of government decreased in housing production. The distribution of authority and involvement in housing provision have been changed through time. The changes in housing market and laws and regulations concerning urbanization between the 1940s and the 2010s are explained below.

The first of three important legal regulations in the early republican years until the 1950s is the Law no. 5218 enacted in 1948 with the aims of renewing the existing squatters within the boundaries of Ankara Municipality and preventing to construct new squatters by providing land based on ten-years of repayment. The second regulation is the Construction Encouragement Act (no. 5228) that was issued in 1948. It makes possible to provide affordable and low-interest credits. The third one is the Destruction of Unlicensed Buildings Law (no. 5431) in 1949. It entails destruction of the squatter housings due to public complaints about the damage in property rights (Genç 2014, 17).

The Municipality Law (no. 5656) in 1950 updates the previous Municipality Law (no. 1580) in terms of the authority of the municipalities on the housing sector (see Karasu 2005, 65; Official Journal 31th March 1950). The Encouragement of Building Construction and Unauthorized Buildings Law (no. 6188) in 1953 which aims to meet the need for housing by allocating the land that belongs to the municipality or government to the low-income and squatter housing residents. This law legalized the squatter houses that were constructed until 1953 and prohibited new squatter housing construction. Finally, the Law on the Lands Transferred to Municipalities (no. 7367) enacted in 1959 stipulates the transfer of the treasury lands within the municipality boundary to the municipalities. So, the law aims to prevent future squatter housing construction (Official Journal 29<sup>th</sup> July 1959; Genç 2014, 17).

The Law on the Additional Article on Construction Law (no. 327) in 1963 makes possible providing public services to squatter areas (Official Journal 12<sup>th</sup> September 1963). The Condominium Law (no. 634) enacted in 1965 creates the opportunity to turn the existing housing stock into high rise buildings and supports to expand ownership rights (Ataöv and Osmay, 2007, 63). In 1966, Squatter Housing Law (no. 775), which is the basis of the rules applied today, was enacted. It has not only aimed at improving the previous laws, but also at delimitating and preventing their purposes. The power of the municipalities has been expanded in terms of the delimitation and prevention of squatter housing. Owing to expansion of their competences, municipalities can either own land with the aim of preventing squatters or allocate land to the citizens with an aim of help.

Besides, various aids are provided to meet the housing needs as financial assistance from the squatter funds, one of which was created by the municipalities, and the other by the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement. This law made all the squatter housing inhabitants to pay user fees for the municipality services (Çınar 2002, 81; Ataöv and Osmay 2007, 63; Genç 2014, 18).

An important element of the neoliberal policies that came up in the 1970s is privatization, and the other is deregulation. State-run or regulated sectors were opened to private entrepreneurs, and state intervention into these sectors were reduced. Privatization of the urban space is based on the transfer of the public real estate to the private sector. Thus, urban spaces belonging to the public were transformed increasingly to the private areas in line with the neoliberal policies (Bal 2011, 41).

The Construction Law (no. 6785) issued in 1972 is of importance in terms of urban transformation in the 1970s. With this law, the authority to prepare a master plan in metropolitan areas was given to the Ministry of Development and Housing (Ataöv and Osmay 2007, 63). The Law on Changes in Squatter Housing Law (no. 1990) in 1976 stipulated the amnesty of the squatters that were built until the end of 1973 (Genç 2014, 18).

Through the 1980s, private urban transformation projects were developed in cooperation with local governments, especially in the public-private sector partnerships. They were implemented in high-rent areas and taken as the only alternative to rehabilitation-development plans. In this period, the main legal regulations that constitute the basis for squatter policies are as follows.

The Housing Right article numbered 57 of the 1982 Constitution enacts that “The government takes measures to meet the housing needs and supports the public housing undertakings within the framework of a planning framework that considers the characteristics and environmental conditions of the cities” (Aydın 2003, 31). However, within neoliberalization process in Turkey, housing has been the most affected sector by the economic and political regulations. Furthermore, the role of state in resolving the housing problem has decreased due to limitations of loans and investment (Karasu 2005, 61).

The Zoning Amnesty Law (no. 2805) issued in 1983 and The Zoning Amnesty Law (no. 2981) in 1984 aimed to legalize the illegal structures and squatters. With these laws, it became possible to increase the number of floors in the squatter housing, to buy and sell the squatters and to give them to contractors. The municipality was made

responsible for the removal either of the parcels or of the construction in parcel. By the decrees of the Law (no. 247) and (no. 250) on the changings about the Squatter Housing Law (no. 775), HDA can provide mutual or unpaid assistance for expropriation, land reclamation and arrangement, infrastructure operations and building construction according to the projects of the squatter improvement and prevention areas determined by the municipalities. In 1986, with the Zoning Amnesty Law (no. 3290), zoning amnesties and giving title deeds to the squatter housing owners were facilitated, and the scope of the previous amnesty law has been expanded. (Genç 2014, 19). In 1988, with the Squatter Housing Law (no. 3414), squatters and illegal structures became legal and were included in the land market (Official Journal 11<sup>th</sup> March 1988).

In the 1980s, three important legal arrangements define urban macro form and urban transformation processes. The first is the Metropolitan Municipality Law (no. 3030) in 1984, and the second one is the Reconstruction Law (no. 3194) in 1985. These laws enacted the transfer of planning authorities to the municipalities. So, comprehensive planning and development works have been started in cities. The third legal regulation affecting the transformation in the city is related to expropriation practices. However, urban transformation practices were subjected to administrative and financial constraints (Ataöv and Osmay 2007, 66-67).

One of the most important milestones related to planning and housing sector in Turkey has been the Reconstruction Law that came into force in 1985. The Turkish Reconstruction Law changed the authority delegation of the planning system. As it ensured the transfer of authority from the central government to local governments, also allowed central government bodies to use the planning authority. Moreover, the Turkish Reconstruction Law enacts the adoption of the deregulation policy, which has also been supported by other laws aimed at facilitating private sector investments. Deregulation in urbanization by this law is indicated by a critical increase in the number of changes in plans and regulations after 1985 (Özkan and Türk 2016, 31-32).

The Mass Housing Law (no. 2985) that was issued in 1984 creates the most decisive influences on urban transformation. It envisages the realization of public housing projects to meet the housing needs, the transformation of the squatter housing areas within the scope of the action plan and the improvement of the housing stock. These laws aimed to solve the problems of property in the squatter housing areas and to transform the squatter housing stock into an apartment type residence, depending on the market conditions of the period (Ataöv and Osmay 2007, 67; Egercioğlu 2008, 102).

In the 1980s, the government became a major actor not only regulating the laws, but also issuing discourses about the free market, globalization, privatization, and deregulation. In this process, its pressures are mostly concentrated on the organization of the lower and middle-income people in the field of production organized in the trade unions and associations. To prevent social discontent and its transformation into radical movements, it has tried to integrate the squatter areas, in which these sections are predominant, through social reinforcement, infrastructure services, and land registry or title allocation documents (Aydın 2003, 2).

In the neoliberal processes, both the state and society extracted rent from urban land. However, some groups in society occupy the urban area without paying the cost. That the state does not confiscate these rents means that the state creates a crucial mechanism of intervention into income distribution against the middle and low-income groups in favour of speculators and higher income groups (Aydın 2003, 19).

In addition, public land has been significantly commodified until 2000 and it has started to be a commercial property. The main tool of urban development after the 2000s have been urban transformation projects. Laws and regulations concerning urban renewal and construction were forefronts. Through these regulations public resources were subjected to market mechanism. Thus, state undertakes an active role in urban processes (Adaman 2017, 21- 32).

The Metropolitan Municipalities were authorized for urban transformation with the Metropolitan Municipality Law (no. 5216) in 2004. The authority to make zoning plans, to approve the plans, and to implement urban transformation and development projects have been given to Metropolitan Municipalities. The Municipality Law (no. 5393) issued in 2005 assigned the authority of urban transformation municipalities, as well. The urban transformation came to the agenda with Article 73 of Municipal Law (no. 5393). Another fundamental legislation concerning urban transformation is the Law on the Protection and Using by Reviving of the Historical and Cultural Immovable Property (no. 5366) which was issued in 2005 (Bal 2011, 131-132). The focus of this law is public-private partnerships. Provided a legal base for these projects, speculative urban projects started to increase.

Besides the speculative urbanization, which became dominant in the 2000s, that the house became a financial tool led to the construction boom in these same years. Despite it was unplanned and unsustainable, the state supported the recent construction boom by enacting various legal arrangements and amendments, particularly in the

framework of urban planning. These legal arrangements have facilitated real estate and construction investments. The main purpose of deregulation is to provide more autonomy of the developers in both the private and public sectors (such as HDA as a public provider) to determine the location of property investments. To this end, some regulations reallocated the authority to prepare land use and urban development plans among state institutions. Some institutions have been endowed the authority to prepare land use plans for specific areas or sectors. For example, the Law on the Privatizations (no. 5398) which in 2005 authorizes the government to prepare land use plans on the properties of state undertakings listed in the Privatization Program.

In the 2000s, the meaning of housing ownership has profoundly changed. It became an instrument of saving and investment. The Law on the Preparation Changes on Mortgage System (no. 5582) in 2007 introduced the mortgage system and confirmed the conceptualization of home ownership as a saving and investment tool in the market. The establishment of capitalist relations in the housing sector enabled by state actions like the introduction of the mortgage system and the prioritization of the construction sector for economic growth (Official Journal 6<sup>th</sup> March 2007; Adaman 2017, 36).

Since then, the balances in the shares taken from urban rent have changed. In the previous periods, urban rents were shared as widely as possible under the supervision of the state. Recently, appeared new actors involving exclusively the outputs of urban rent. The biggest share in urban rent is of large-scale capital groups involved in urban development. The more private sector dominates urban process, the more urban rent becomes speculative and seized by private capital groups (Bal 2011, 143).

The legal regulations on urban transformation have created a different form of deregulation in urban planning during the construction boom. Some legal arrangements have been made to enable local governments and HDA to develop urban transformation projects in cities. Urban transformation in Turkey in recent legislation refers to the market-oriented and profit-oriented investment in the attractive points of the city by building renovation and physical activities. However, there is a lack of regulations on urban planning and protection of heritage within the areas of transformation projects. Based on the latest laws on urban transformation, many local administrations have initiated renewal projects on greenfields and squatter areas in cities (Balaban 2012, 32).

With the Law on the Amendment of the Municipality Law (no. 5998) that came into force in 2010, Article 73 of the Municipal Law (no. 5393) was amended. The authority given to municipalities on urban transformation projects is defined as follows:

depending on the decision of the City Council, municipalities can construct residential areas, industrial areas, trade areas, technology parks, public service areas, recreation areas and all kinds of social infrastructure areas, can rebuild and restore old parts of the city, protect the city's historical and cultural texture, take measures against earthquake risk through transformation and development projects. According to the law, it is required that one area is to be declared as an area of urban transformation and development, and that one or more of these issues are must if this area is within, or contiguous to, the boundaries of the municipality (Bal 2011, 132). It means that municipalities were assigned an expanded authorization in the decision-making and implementation process of urban transformation projects. Moreover, urban transformations projects became a legal tool of urban restructuring in grace of this law. Through local administrations, the state removes the legal obstacles on the way of capital seeking to enter into high-rent areas, and thus facilitates further diffusion of market rules into urban spaces in accordance with neoliberal structural adjustment policies in the 2000s.

After 2010, regarding urban processes, the most crucial regulations were enacted by the Redevelopment of Areas under Disaster Risk Law (no. 6306). Its primary objective is declared as transformation of the areas under disaster risk by determining the principles and procedures which are appropriate to the science and art norms, and by inaugurating standards for improvement and renewal in these areas. In the implementation of the law, the responsibility is assigned to the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization and HDA. The concepts of reserve structure, risky area, and risky structure are defined. According to the law, the priority is to make an agreement with the residents and title holders of the project area. Temporary housing or rent assistance can be provided to the owners, tenants, and residents of the structures that have been evacuated by the agreement. For the destruction of the structures in the risk area, notification is sent to the owners. If the structures are not destroyed within the given term, they are demolished by the project manager. The ministry can also carry out the detection, evacuation and demolition work of the buildings (Official Journal 15<sup>th</sup> December 2012; Genç, 2014, 22).

The Ministry of Environment and Urbanization has the authority to consolidate all kinds of maps, plans, projects, and land arrangement procedures related to risky structures, reserve structure areas; to convert the immovable property related to the risky area into a security value upon agreement; to determine the value of the lands and make public-private partnerships; to determine the standards and plan decisions, to prepare plans and urban design projects. The Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation can also



delegate HDA or other institutions on the transformation projects (Genç 2014, 24). Furthermore, in the areas that are under the scope of this law, zoning amnesty laws are invalid. It means that the housing right of the squatter housing inhabitants originated from zoning amnesty laws are abolished, as it was observed in the Narlıdere squatter housing area defined as being under disaster risk.

### **3.3. Housing Production by the State**

The housing question is defined as a problem to overcome the possible minimum resource consumption in the development process in the Republic of Turkey. The main concern in housing provision is not to bring any burden on the public sector. This view has been dominant until the 2000s. After the earthquakes in 1999, reconstruction works were carried out through post-disaster rehabilitation programs. The responsibility of the public in these programs is defined as the renewal of social and technical infrastructure (see Aydın 2003, 134; Official Journal, 15th Nov. 2000).

Recent housing supply in Turkey can be examined in two forms as speculative and non-profit housing. The non-profit housing can be seen in individual housing production, public housing production, cooperative and housing production of municipal partnerships and housing production for middle- and low-income groups by the Housing Development Administration (Aydın 2003, 45). However governmental intervention into housing sector through regulations and policies have increased after the 1980s, the share of state remains insignificant in the housing production in Turkey.

The most common model created by public support in Turkey to overcome the deficit has been mass housing. In 1980, the new housing provision method was born with the Mass Housing Law and the Housing Development Administration established in 1984 (Taşar and Çevik 2009, 157). The HDA was established as a separate unit of central government in 1984 and a mass housing fund provided resources for housing development. The HDA functions to meet the rapidly increasing housing demand in a planned way by encouraging residential housing construction sector in Turkey. Mass Housing Law (no. 2985) provided autonomy and flexibility to the HDA. At the same time, with the Mass Housing Fund other than the general budget, the administration has

a permanent and adequate resource for housing production (Tezcan 2015, 65). Between 1985 and 1990, with the loans provided by the HDA, large scale housing projects started to be built in cities. During this period, housing projects were developed by cooperatives and public institutions rather than the private sector (Özkan and Türk 2016, 32).

After 2002, the public sector has directly contributed to the housing projects and real estate investments of the HDA. From 2003 to 2006, the government made significant changes in housing policies through various laws and regulations. These legal instruments aimed to enlarge the authority of the HDA by endowing new responsibilities and resources (Balaban 2012, 32). Although the HDA became dependent on the allocations transferred from the budget because of the decreasing resources until 2000, its authority and resources have widened since the beginning of the 2000s with the legal regulations. With the Law on the Changes about the Organization and Duties of The Ministry of Public Works and Settlement and Some Laws (no. 4966) issued in 2003, the HDA became authorized to make a profit from projects and developments in order to provide resources for its activities. In the same year, the HDA was also authorized to prepare zoning plans for the lands that HDA owns the land property (Özkan and Türk 2016, 32). As a result, the central government achieved its strongest position in housing provision since the establishment of HDA in 1984.

In the 2000s, the HDA became the authority to participate in revenue-sharing models with private developers in search of funds through the lands it owned. The main principle of the revenue-sharing model is to gain profit by making public lands open for development. The HDA can make and manage the partnerships in the revenue-sharing framework. It has the authority to privatize and assign state-owned land to private developers for high-end housing development and claims a share of the final revenues from the sale of the housing units. The share of HDA is generally around 35-50 percent (Karaman 2013b, 723; Özkan and Türk 2016, 33).

The duties and authorities of the Land Office were also transferred to the HDA in the 2000s. It follows that the HDA became able to appropriate treasury lands without charge. Thus, solved the problem of land acquisition for large-scale housing development. Additionally, the new authorization of HDA contains land banking and acquisition of expropriation rights and pre-emption rights of the lands belonging to private owners for the purposes of housing, education, industry, health, tourism investment and for the use of public institutions (Özkan and Türk 2016, 33).

In 2007, with the Squatter Housing Law (No. 5609), the authorities the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement held previously were transferred to the HDA. Thus, its jurisdiction on squatter areas expanded, and it became authorized about the determination of the squatter prevention areas. With the Reconstruction Law (no. 3197), the HDA can make changes on the zoning plans without the permission of the municipalities (Tezcan 2015, 66). All these changes make the HDA a significant actor in the housing market in Turkey.

The Redevelopment of Areas under Disaster Risk Law (no. 6306) have been the most dominant implementation tool of the recent urbanization. The Law No. 6306 endows the HDA decisive duties and powers to be carried out by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, municipalities and special provincial administrations. For example, the reserve building areas mentioned in the law can be determined depending on the demand of the HDA.

After all these regulations, laws and authorizations, the HDA began acting as a real estate agency and encourage urban transformation projects and real estate development. It turned into the biggest authority to negotiate with the private owners, buy parcels, and convert the private lands into the public land and built mass housings. As Türem (2017) shows, the commodification of land does not simply mean the of use public lands as private property. It is made possible only on the condition that does the state develop a complex set of regulations, mechanisms and tools of interventions to produce land as commodity. In other words, the state must undertake the role of “a private market player” to secure profit and enrichment” (Türem, 2017, 35).

To sum up, Mass Housing Law (no. 2487) enacted in 1981 was an important regulation. It stipulated that the public housing fund was established, mass housing and social housing concepts were defined. However, with the Mass Housing Law (no. 2985), which was issued in 1984, the implementation and requirements of the previous law became impossible. Regarding legal, institutional and financial change of the HDA since its establishment, it tends to cooperate with the private sector which has a high capacity to payback of the loans. As to the housing provision, the HDA started to produce mass housing projects for middle-income group and to produce luxury housing projects through partnership with private sector instead of producing affordable housing for the poor. In the recent housing production and urbanization process in Turkey, the HDA became the main authority to plan, produce and sell houses, and undertook the

implementation of the urban transformation projects, which also serves to neoliberal urbanism (Çalışkan 2017, 121; Erođlu 2019, 28).

## CHAPTER 4

# HOUSING PRODUCTION, HOUSING MARKET AND THE HOUSING PROBLEM OF THE POOR IN IZMIR

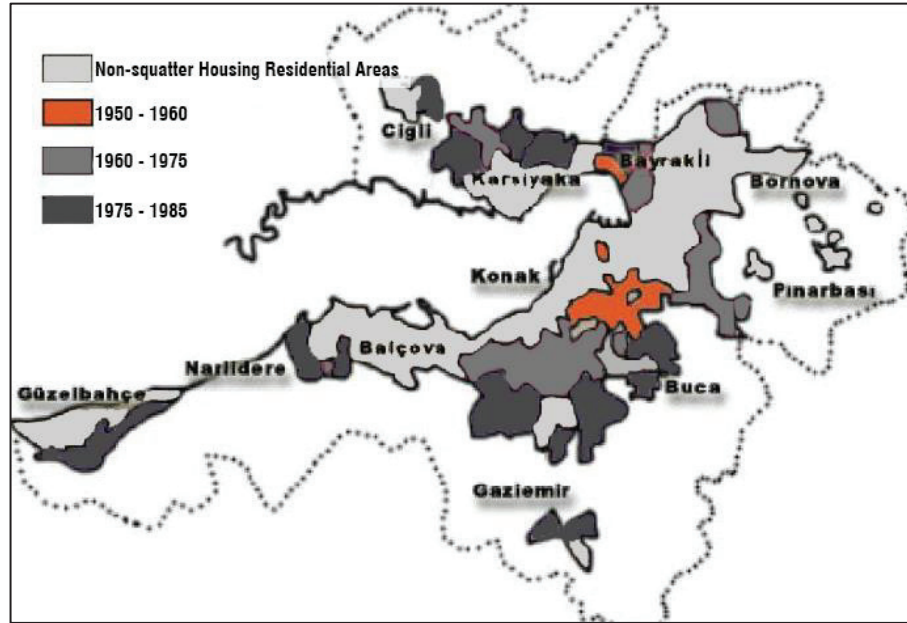
### 4.1. Urbanization Process in Izmir

In this section, urbanization process in İzmir is explained with an emphasis on the effects of economic and political processes in Turkey. The urbanization process in İzmir can be elaborated on in five phases: 1923-1945, the establishment of nation state period; 1945-1960, the period of liberalization of local economy through import substitution; 1960-1980, the period of increasing effects of import substitution on urban development; 1980-2000, the dominance of neoliberalisation policies on urban development; and, 2000-onwards, the urban entrepreneurialism period in İzmir (Penpecioglu 2012, 131).

Until the early republican years, urban development in İzmir had dominant port city characteristics depending on its agricultural and early industrial production features. Between the 1923- 1945 period, İzmir started to integrate industrialization process in Turkey, thus the local economy and urban development in İzmir was shaped through industry. In 1938, although Le Corbusier started to prepare the first comprehensive master plan of İzmir, had it not been completed until 1948, because of the Second World War. This plan was not implemented because of outmoded economic, political and spatial changes during the preparation time.

The 1945- 1960 period was defined by the liberalisation of the local economy through import substitution. Industrial production infrastructures and factories were established through the foreign, private capital partnerships. With an increasing need of the labor power in the industrial production following the Marshall Plan in the 1950s, the migration from rural to urban areas increased. Depending on increasing migration, squatter housing areas appeared in İzmir. There were ten squatter housing areas in Buca, Bayraklı and Alsancak port area between 1955 and 1960 (Sevgi 1988).

Figure 4.1. shows the squatter housing residential areas in three periods; the orange color parts show the squatter development in one decade between 1950 and 1960.



*Figure 4.1. The Spatial Development of Squatters in İzmir*

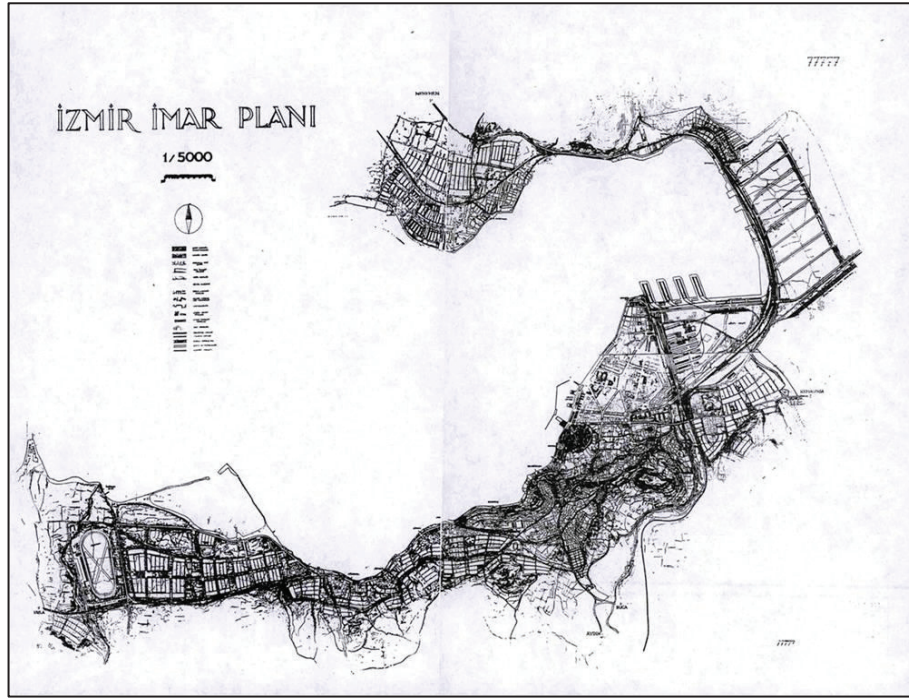
*(Source: Redesigned and organized by the author based on the map in Sevgi 1988)*

In the 1945-1960 period, in İzmir, efforts to integrate with the global and national developments and to improve and revitalize became evident. In 1952, İzmir Development Plan Competition was organized to prepare a new master plan for İzmir since the Le Corbusier plan was not implemented. The development plan prepared by Kemal Aru, Emin Canbolat and, Gündüz Özdeş was started to be implemented in 1953 (Kaya 2002). Figure 4.2. shows the Development Plan of İzmir in 1953.

There were three important development decisions for İzmir: the extension of the area of Alsancak Port, the development of a small scaled industrial production area in Salhane, to design İnciraltı for a tourism development (Penpecioglu 2012, 144). According to the development plan, the urban area of İzmir expanded from Karataş to Üçkuyular. With this expansion, the west axis of İzmir was included in a planning study for the first time (DEU Analytical Study Report 2017).

The development plan was criticized in terms of the lack of effective intervention against increasing numbers of squatters and the failure in responding the needs of developing İzmir. These critics are crucial especially in two respects: incorrect population projections and that the plan was revised over and over. In 1950, the population in İzmir

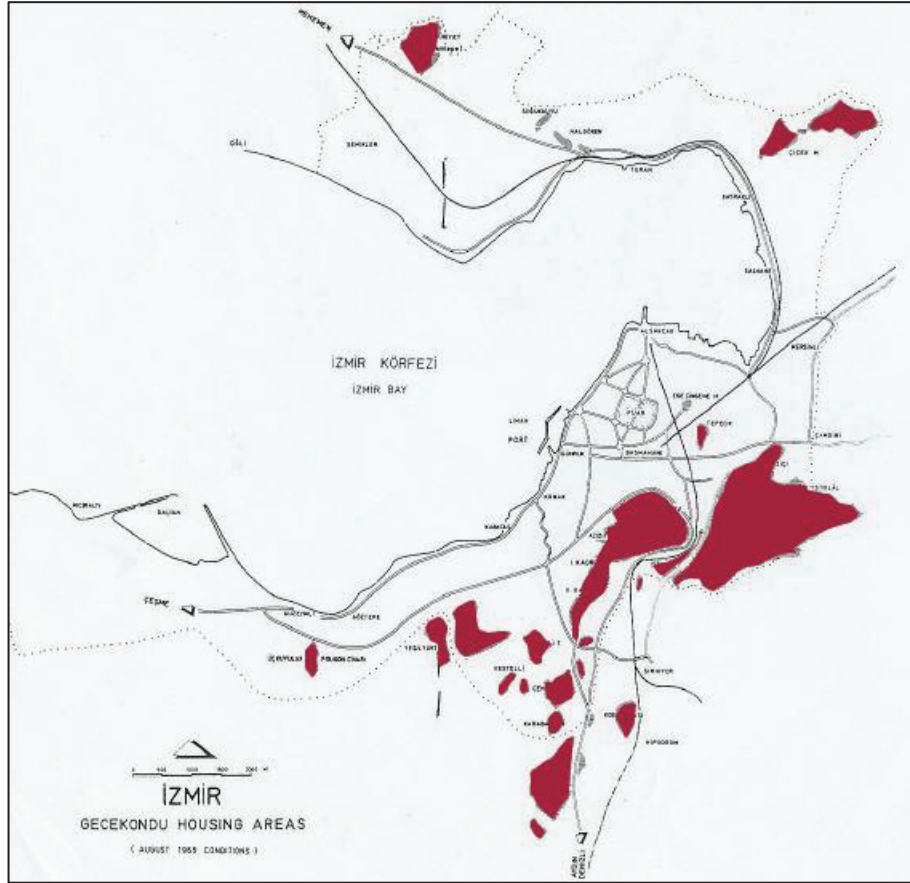
was 23.000 people. According to the population projection of the development plan, the population would reach at 400.000 in 2000. However, the population in 1970 had already risen to 520.000. After the approval of the development plan in 1953, nearly 5000 plan revisions were submitted to the Ministry of Development and Settlement and approximately 1200 plans were approved (Penpecioglu 2012, 145).



*Figure 4.2. Development Plan of İzmir in 1953  
(Source: İzmir Metropolitan Municipality archive, n.d.)*

In the period between 1960 and 1980, the results of the import-substituted industrialization became more apparent in the urban development in İzmir. The population increased with migration and this population growth caused emergence of squatter housing areas. Figure 4.3. shows the squatter housing areas in İzmir in the 1960s. It is seen that the squatter housing residential areas were clustered outskirts of İzmir and where the industrial activities were agglomerated.

In 1965, the urban population of Izmir reached to 411.626 within the boundaries of the municipality, and the total population with the surrounding settlements to 611.386. In addition to the Municipality of İzmir, municipal organizations have been established in parallel with the increase in the population with the surrounding settlements and the number of municipalities outside İzmir Municipality has reached to 10 (Arslan 2013, 90).



*Figure 4.3. Squatter housing areas in 1960s in İzmir*

*(Source: Redesigned and organized by the author based on the map in Arslan, 2013; Ministry of Development and Housing, 1966)*

The first metropolitan law affecting Izmir was published in 1965. The definition of “metropolitan area” was used for the first time in the Construction Law (no. 6785/1605). Ministerial Development Coordination Board was established for the planning works of metropolitan cities such as Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir. The Izmir Metropolitan Planning Bureau was established in 1965. It prepared and approved the development plan in 1973. Figure 4.4. shows the Metropolitan Development Plan in 1973. This plan proposes a linear urban macroform development and encompasses Karaburun, Çeşme and Narlıdere within the borders of İzmir. It defines the sectors for the districts and proposes a rail transportation network which is designed linearly and connects the industrial zones (DEU Analytical Study Report 2017).

Only after five years, in 1978, was a revision development plan prepared. Figure 4.5. shows the revision plan of İzmir in 1978. With this plan, new central district for business, commerce and service-based activities were determined in Salhane (Arkon and Gülerman 1995).





*Figure 4.4. Metropolitan Development Plan in 1973  
(Source: DEU Analytical Study Report)*



*Figure 4.5. The revision plan in 1978  
(Source: Arkon and Gülerman 1995; Penpecioglu 2012)*

Through the 1980s, İzmir had a significant rate of immigration. The immigrants had to deal with the unemployment and housing problem, because the economic sectors and the urban development in İzmir were not sufficient to respond the immigration. As a result, new squatter housing areas were articulated the previous ones (Keleş 1972; Ünverdi 2002). Figure 4.6 shows the neighborhoods that have bigger rate of squatter housing units more than the average squatter housing rate in İzmir.

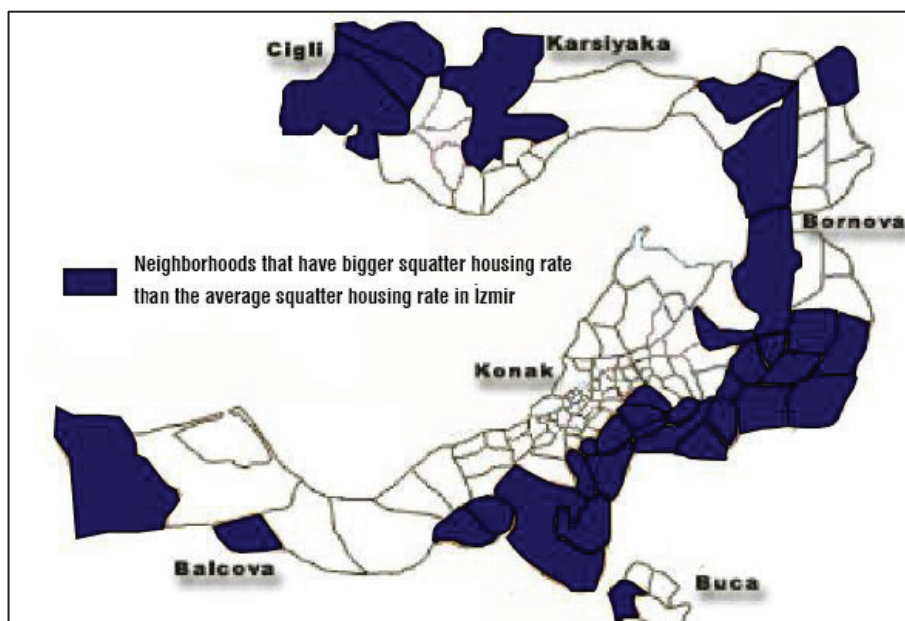


Figure 4.6. Densely Populated Squatter Neighborhoods in İzmir in 1972

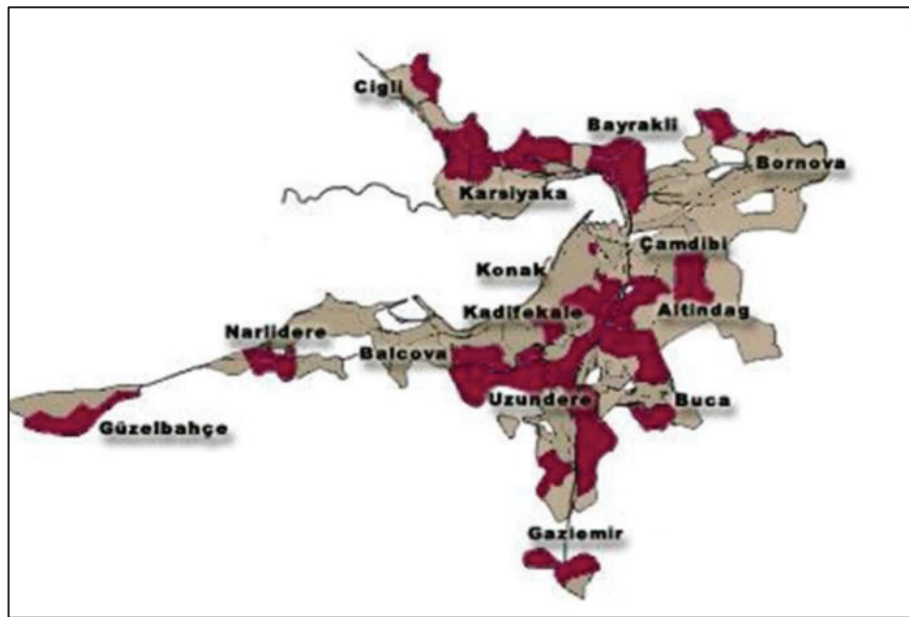
(Source: Redesigned and organized by the author based on the visual in Penpecioglu 2012; Keleş 1972)

During the 1980s the neoliberal policies become active in Turkey, İzmir was also profoundly influenced by this change. However, İzmir began to experience urbanization processes later than Istanbul and Ankara. In this period, the central state did not include İzmir in the category of development priority regions. Also, since İzmir had almost no potential to be articulated to the global capital market, it started to experience a stagnation in the industrial sector. The main strategy İzmir found to overcome the accumulation crisis was to create the conditions of development in its urban land (Arslan 2013, 91).

Penpecioglu (2012, 157) argues that the 1980s period in İzmir cannot be entirely explained by drawing on Harvey's capital switching approach, because the industrial based accumulation phase and service-based accumulation phase effected the urban area at the same time. That the continued stagnation in capital accumulation based on export-oriented industrial activities in the 1980s was not originated from deindustrialization. On

the other hand, from the 1980s onwards, the sectors constituting the secondary circuit of capital like commerce and tourism construction shaped the urban development in İzmir.

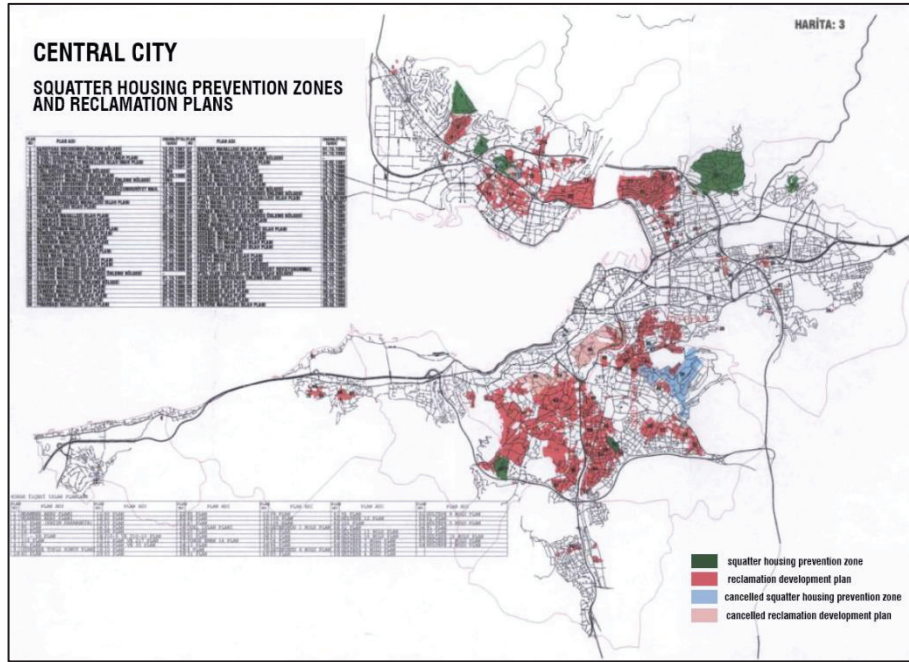
Considering the housing development in the 1980s, the location preferences of the squatter housings built before the 1980s shifted to Buca, Narlıdere, Güzelbahçe districts where the shareholding title and cheap land is provided. The urban development related to the migration after 1980s was concentrated in four regions: Karşıyaka-Çiğli in the north, Buca and its vicinity in the southeast, Karabağlar-Gaziemir in the south, and Güzelbahçe-Narlıdere in the west (Arslan 2013, 92). Figure 4.7 shows the situation with squatter housing development in 1980.



*Figure 4.7. The squatter housing areas in 1980  
(Source: Arslan, 2013)*

In the 1980s another factor effected the urban development was mass housing production, because the enactment of the Mass Housing Law (no. 2985) bought about increasing numbers of construction in İzmir. Another law related directly to the urban development in İzmir was the Zoning Amnesty Law (no. 2981) enacted in 1984. Following this law, 1944 hectares in 54 neighborhoods in Karşıyaka, Buca and Bornova districts were legalized and the title deeds were distributed to the residents. In other words, the squatter housing residents were involved into the neoliberal urbanism process in İzmir by title deeds and amnesty laws (Şengül 2009).

In 1989, the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality prepared and approved a city master plan. However, this plan did not bring macroform decisions based on a holistic approach and long-term decisions for urban development. This plan has characteristics of an upper scaled plan that prepared according to the reclamation and revision plans of the 1980s (Arkon and Gülerman 1995). Figure 4.8 below shows the prevention zones of the squatter housing settlements and reclamation plans after the 1989 master plan, and figure 4.9. shows the Master Plan of İzmir in 1989.

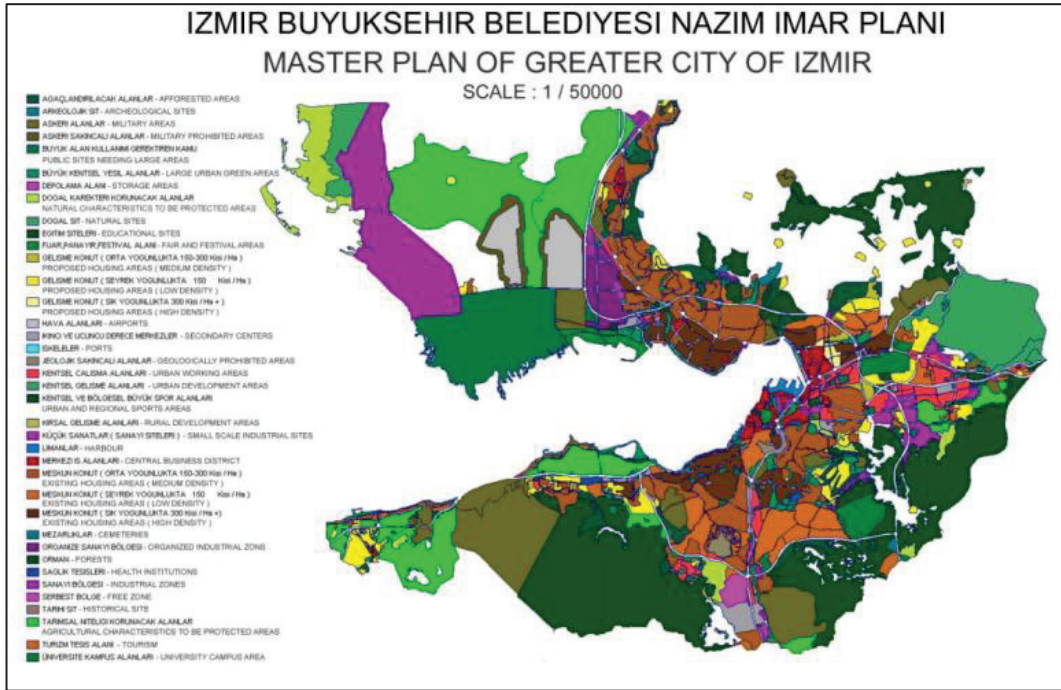


*Figure 4.8. Squatter Housing Prevention Zones and Reclamation Plans in İzmir prepared according to 1989 Master Plan*

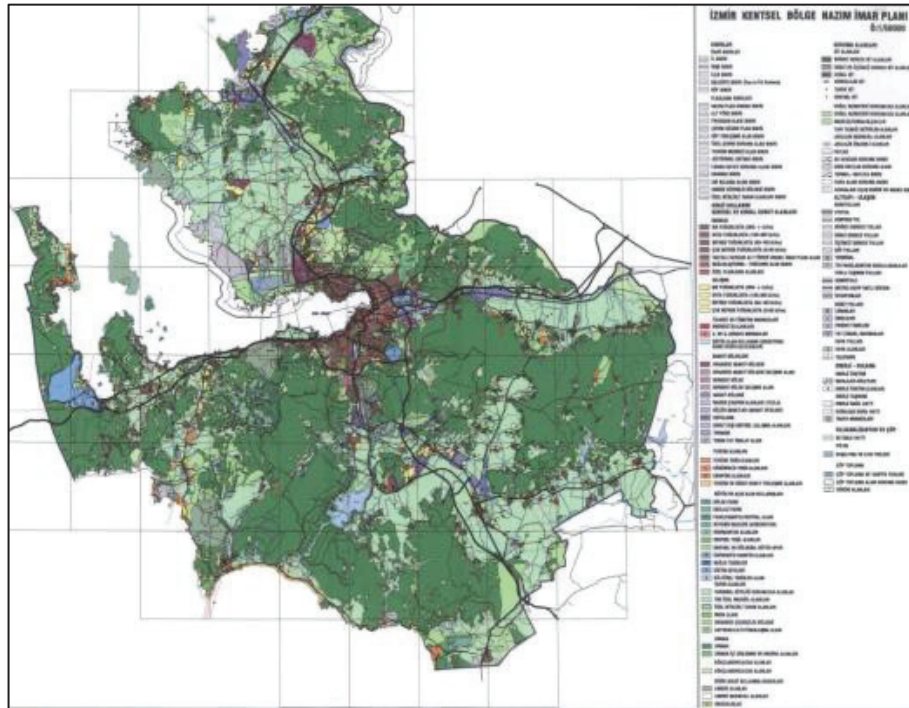
*(Source: Redesigned and organized by the author based on the map in Penpecioglu 2012; İKNİP 2007)*

Depending on the upper scaled plan in 1989, the mass housing sites like Egekent and Evka, which shaped the urban area, were constructed. Salhane district was declared as the service and commerce zone, and İnciraltı district was determined as tourism center by 1989 master plan in compatible with the 1978 plan of İzmir.

The increasing mass housing, Aegean Free Zone Project and Hilton Otel project have been effective in the urban development in 1990s in İzmir. These projects were the first examples of the direct private investments and public-private partnerships in İzmir. In other words, through these projects, foreign capital became an actor directly involving in urban development process (Penpecioglu 2012, 166).



*Figure 4.9. The Master Plan of İzmir, 1989*  
(Source: Arkon and Gülerman 1995; Penpecioglu 2012)

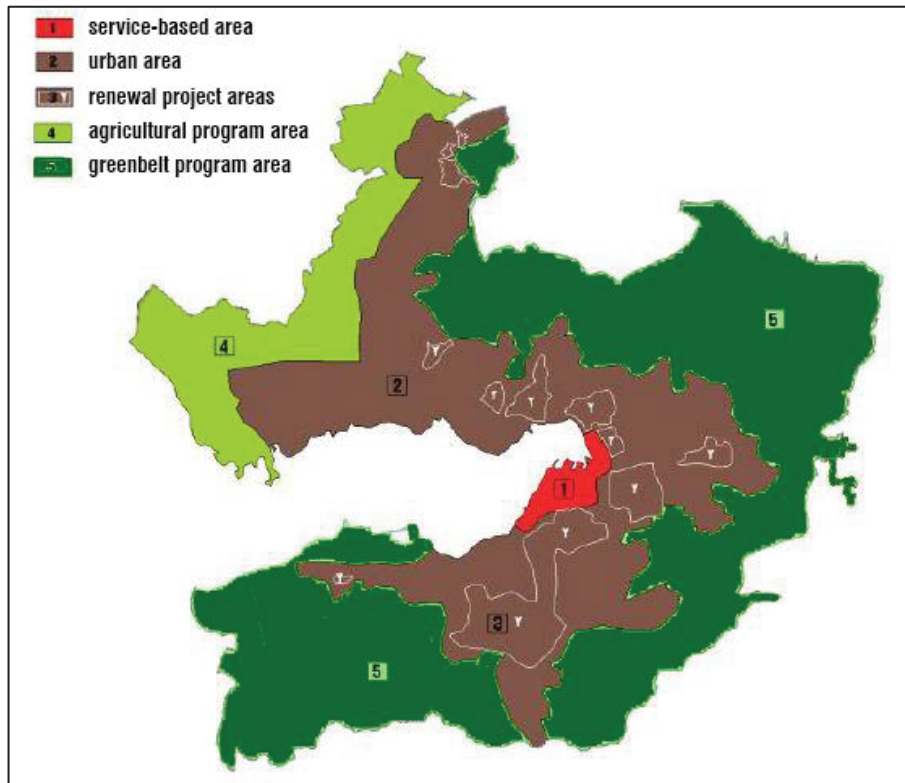


*Figure 4.10. İzmir Urban Zone Development Plan in 2007*  
(Source: İKNİP 2007)

The neoliberal urban perspective consisting in the 2000s' urban development policies, which is represented by the terms of “attractiveness of the investments” and

“competitiveness”, culminate in the urban development projects. Having been rent oriented urban development projects, they not only became the keys in the circuit of capital but also dominated the urban development policies in the 2000s (Penpecioglu 2012, 166-176).

In 2007, the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality İzmir prepared and approved the Urban Zone Development Plan, which is shown in figure 4.10. In this plan, some districts were defined as “rehabilitation and renewal area.” Figure 4. 11 shows the program areas in İzmir. Other urban development projects except the scope of this plan that affected the urbanization process in İzmir were Olympic Village Project, New Fair Site and Congress Center, Northern Aegean Çandarlı Port, New City Center. These projects reflect the rising neoliberal structural transformation in the urbanization of İzmir (İKNİP 2007).



*Figure 4.11. The Program Areas of İzmir Urban Region Development Plan  
(Source: Redesigned and organized by the author based on the visual in İKNİP 2007)*

In 2012, 1/25.000 scaled İzmir Metropolitan Area Environmental Plan was prepared and approved by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. Figure 4.12 shows the İzmir Metropolitan Area Environmental Plan in 2012. This plan covers the area defined

by the Metropolitan Municipality Law (no. 5216). According to this plan, the boundaries of the urban area were expanded in order to prevent the concentration in the city center.

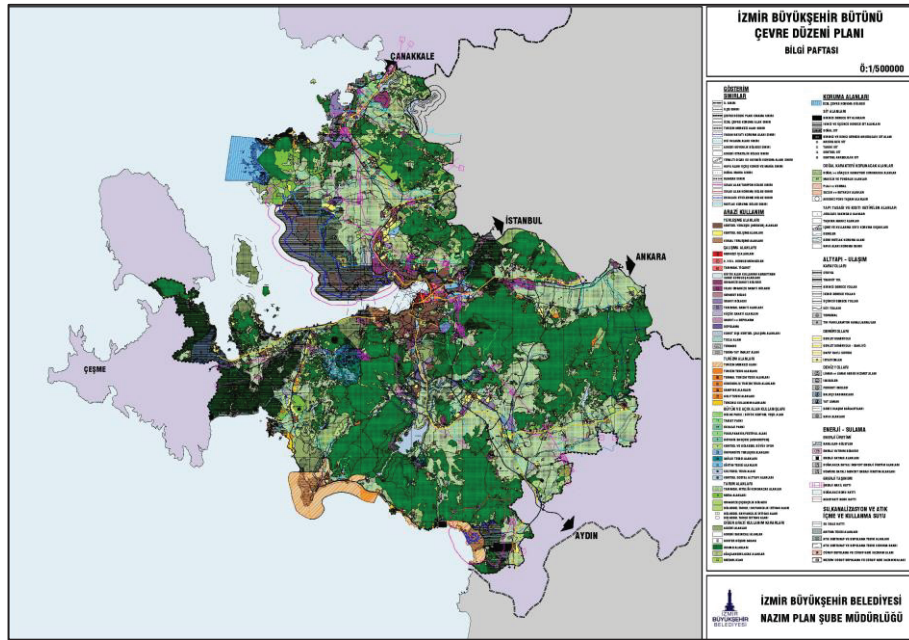
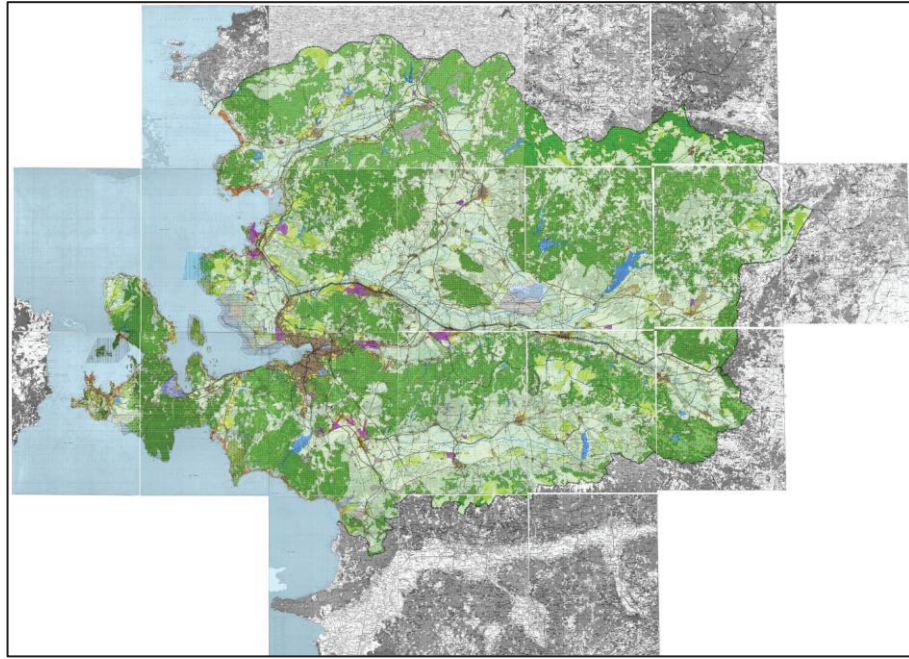


Figure 4.12. İzmir Metropolitan Area Environmental Plan in 2012  
(Source: İBŞBÇDP 2012)

In 2014, 1/100.000 scaled Environmental Plan for İzmir-Manisa was prepared and approved by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanism. After the numbers of provision plans, lastly in October in 2018, this plan was approved. According to the 1/100.000 environment plan decisions for İzmir, 7686 hectares of land will be opened for urban development depending on the population projection for 2025. The estimated population will be 3.800.000 people in the İzmir metropolitan center. 5670 hectares of the needed land can be meet from the planned areas or from the areas adjacent to the city center that can be planned. Other 2016 hectares of the needed land is proposed to be meet from the areas of the urban fringes and around the investment areas: the north of the Menemen district, the south of the Bornova district, around the Gaziemir district, around the Sasalı area, Yelki, Ulukent and around the ring road. According to this plan, the population growth in the surrounding districts like Urla and Menderes is estimated to be in the range of 50% -75% and the agricultural areas have been opened to urban development (ŞPO Report 2019). Figure 4.13 shows the 1/100.000 Revision Plan for İzmir-Manisa Region in 2018.



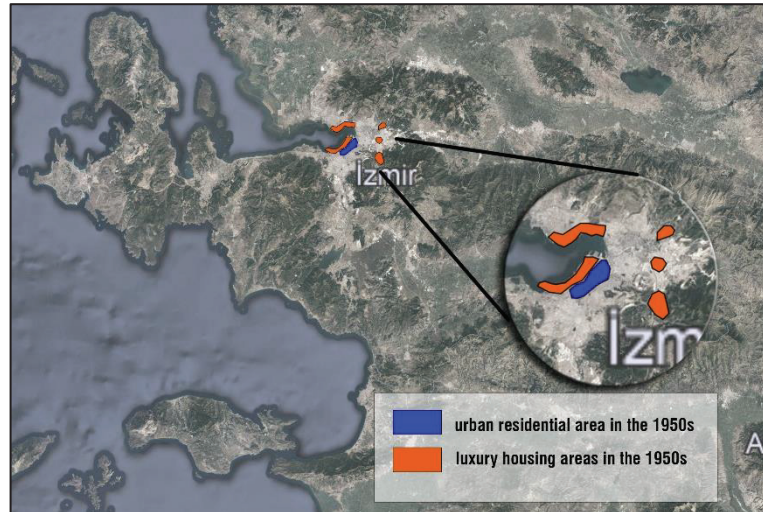
*Figure 4.13. 1/100.000 Revision Plan for İzmir- Manisa in 2018  
(Source: İzmir Chamber of City Planners 2019)*

## **4.2. Housing Production in Izmir in the Last 30 Years**

The housing production in İzmir has shown parallel developments and changes in the forms of housing provision in Turkey. Housing provision in İzmir is also divided into two as licensed and unlicensed. Licensed housing provision types are housing production by individuals, built-sell type of housing provision, production by cooperatives, association of cooperatives and mass housing production. Squatter housing represents the unlicensed housing provision in housing sector in İzmir (Tekeli 2009). In this part of this study, housing production after 1990 in İzmir will be analyzed and discussed.

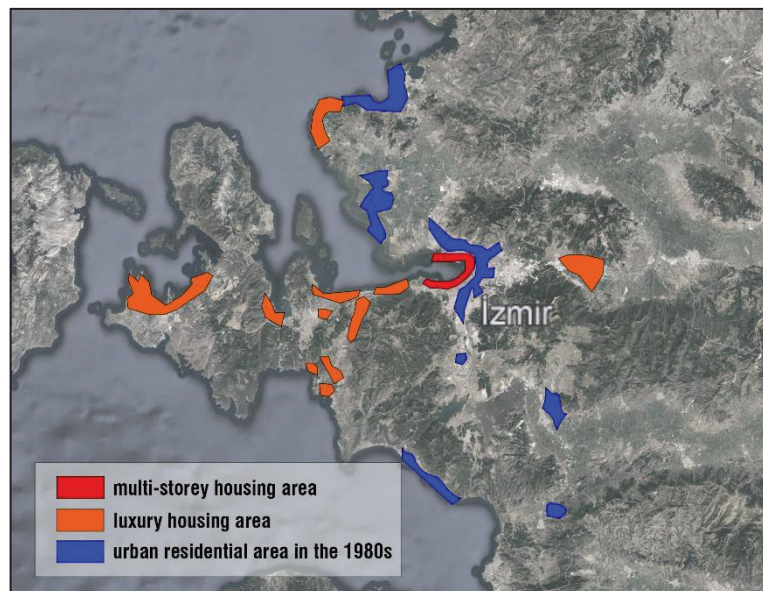
Urbanization in İzmir has developed around the squatter housing development. Alongside with the squatterization, luxury housing development has been continuing since the 1950s. However, luxury housings developed previously as secondary housing in or near the coastal zone, and as high-rise buildings on the shores of the gulf in İzmir. Figure 4.14 indicates the urban residential area and luxury housing in the 1950s.





*Figure 4.14. Urban residential area and luxury housing in İzmir in the 1950s  
(Source: prepared by the author based on the data of Bal and Akyol Altun 2016)*

In the 1970s, housing production, which pioneered luxury housing production in the last thirty years, began to transform. The single floor detached housing forms in the coastal zone turned into high rise blocks. As housing development became dominant in these regions, the social and technical infrastructures in those areas remained inadequate. However, such transformation did not prevent the increasing rate of rent.



*Figure 4.15. Urban residential area and luxury housing in İzmir in the 1980s  
(Source: prepared by the author based on the data of Bal and Akyol Altun 2016)*

As the other metropolitan cities in Turkey, the development of settlements in the outskirts of İzmir started to appear by the 1980s. It follows that housing concentration expanded to the adjacent areas of the metropolitan center. Mass housing projects planned by the local governments of İzmir and governmental housing policies provided a policy base to this expansion of boundaries. Since the end of the 1980s, housing cooperatives have produced a great number of mass housing. The main actors in these projects are the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, district municipalities and the Real Estate Bank.

Figure 4.15 indicates the urban residential area, luxury housing area and multi-storey housing area. Multi-storey housing areas also address to the service-based development.

In the urbanization process in İzmir, the housing estate areas were determined to solve the housing problem of İzmir. In line with the decisions of the 1989 upper scale plan, some mass housing projects like Egekent and Evka were implemented in Çiğli, Buca and Bornova districts. In addition to these projects, in the 1990s housing projects such as İzkent, İzyuva, Bor-Koop, Buca-Koop, Çiğli-Koop and Ulukent have been put into practice. Alongside the mass housing projects run by the municipalities, Real Estate Bank also built mass housing for middle- and upper-income groups in Gaziemir, Karşıyaka and Bostanlı districts. The 1990s witnessed the rise of mass housings on public lands or the areas determined as mass housing area by the development plans. The primary aim of some of these mass housing projects was to meet the squatter housing problem and to legalize the squatter housing areas. Yet the squatter housing problem has not been solved permanently, and illegal construction and squatters continued in İzmir by the 2000s, as well (Özdemir et al. 2005, 64; Penpecioglu 2012, 16; Arslan 2013, 93).

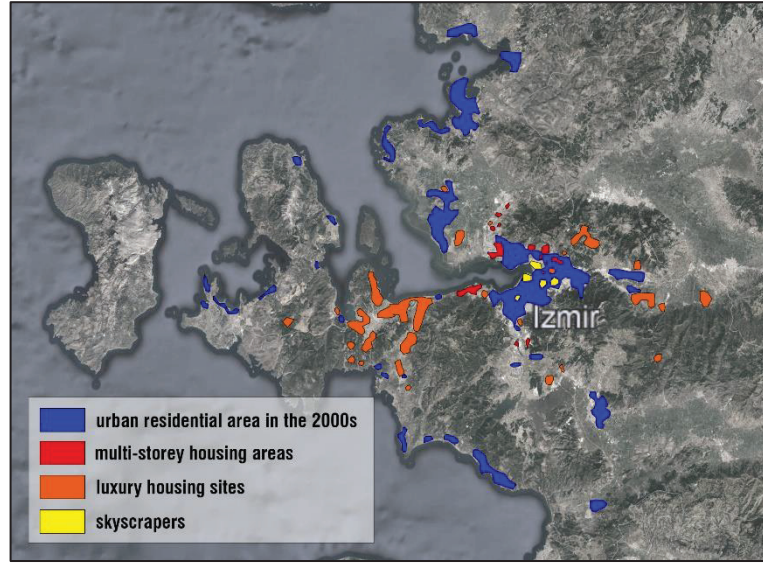
The concentration of the urbanization of the capital in İzmir have been increased with private investment in the real estate sector since the 1990s. From 1980 to 2000, more than 68.000 dwellings were produced through mass housing projects. In the 1990s, 36,42% of these projects were in the districts that formed the outskirts of the metropolitan area of İzmir (4,42% in Karşıyaka, 18% in Buca, 14% in Bornova, 38% in Çiğli) (Özdemir et al. 2005,103). Following the construction of İzmir- Çeşme Highway in 1994 new luxury housing settlements appeared in Narlıdere, Güzelbahçe, Seferihisar, Zeytinahı and Urla. On the other hand, the rate of the immigration to İzmir reached to 42.7% in the 1990s, and it continued in the present decade. As the production of luxury housing dominates the housing provision despite increasing rates of immigration and lack

of affordable housing production in İzmir, so does the housing problem of the poor become intensified (Bal and Akyol Altun 2006, 68; Eroğlu 2019, 52).

The dominance of the neoliberal policies and speculative urbanism in housing production in İzmir resulted in the expanding boundaries of the metropolitan center. Housing production after the 2000s in İzmir have been led by the private capital and public mass housing projects. HDA became an effective actor in the housing production İzmir after the 2000s. Besides these licensed housing provision, squatter housing areas have been continuing to appear in the treasure and public lands in İzmir (Eraydın et al. 2013, 103-104).

In 2000s, luxury housing areas and gated communities began to take place in rural areas. Residential settlement areas shifted through the districts having rural characteristics because of increasing urbanization problems in the growing urban core and the new housing preferences. The low-rise luxury housing sites began to spread through the north axis in a way to address to the middle and upper-income groups. The housing production in the city center shifted to increasing the production of housing for higher income people especially in Karşıyaka and Çiğli at the expense of the decreasing mass housing production run by the local governments for low-income people. In those years, with the construction of Mavişehir Housing and the shopping mall, the area witnessed high-rise blocks and villas for high income people together. In the 2000s, Mavişehir district became a high rent area and experienced increasing land speculations (Bal and Akyol Altun 2006, 68; Güner 2006, 135).

The figure 4.16 indicates the expanding boundaries of the residential settlements and the changes in the housing development in İzmir in the 2000s. In this period, the Folkart projects -Folkart Narlıdere (2006-2008), Folkart Mavişehir (2009-2011) and Folkart Bayraklı Towers (2011-2014)- were constructed in the significant high rent areas in İzmir. The Folkart Narlıdere project was the flagship of luxury housing production (Güner 2006, 135). It follows that the housing projects in Narlıdere have the more luxury features with their swimming pool, sports area, security system etc. and they address to the higher income level (Bal and Akyol Altun 2006, 69). After Folkart Narlıdere project, more luxurious apartments in the form of gated communities -condominiums- were built in Bayraklı, Urla, Seferihisar, Mavişehir, and Narlıdere (Eroğlu 2019, 53).



*Figure 4.16. Urban housing area and luxury housing in İzmir in the 2000s  
(Source: prepared by the author based on the data of Bal and Akyol Altun 2016)*

Since the 2000s housing production in İzmir have experienced the increasing effects of neoliberal urbanism. For this time, Folkart Bayraklı Towers should especially be examined within the context of neoliberal urbanism. The building permit for these skyscrapers is based on the decisions of the New City Center Master Plan ofn İzmir which came to the agenda in 2003. This plan includes decisions consistent with neoliberal urban restructuring. According to the plan, the location of the Folkart Towers is surrounded by the business areas, tourism areas, facility areas and recreation areas with a strong transportation network. The land where the towers built was obtained by the privatization. The Folkart Towers project, which has the residential as well as office and shopping uses, was delayed because of the trial and objections of the chambers and NGOs. In the end, the 1/5000 and 1/1000 plans were approved in 2008 by the Privatization High Council (Bal and Akyol Altun 2016, 72). The Folkart Towers project is a significant case of neoliberal urbanism regarding the way of obtaining land through privatization, and the intervention of the central state by the hand of the Privatization High Council, despite the objections from the NGOs and the local government.

The 2000s stand out as the years when the demands of the neoliberal economic policies and the new capital accumulation regime were felt strongly in İzmir (Güner 2006, 135). The urban development under neoliberal policies, and the results of the big capital investments in line with neoliberal urbanism became more visible in the 2010s. In İzmir,

urban transformation became a significant tool involved in the capital accumulation process.

Recent urban development projects in İzmir turned into hegemonic projects to produce space by dominating neoliberal discourses, developing collaborative relations among central and local governments, private investors, academicians, NGOs, and enforcing laws and amendments (Penpecioglu 2012; Eroglu 2019, 54). Urban transformation projects were designed in İzmir according to these place-marketing strategies.

The İzmir Metropolitan Area Master Plan of 1/25000 in 2009 includes holistic policies such as disaster management, identification of risk areas and taking measures for urban problems. According to this plan, it was found that 39% of the housing units of İzmir was unhealthy, insecure, insufficient in terms of technical standards (Çelikkilek and Öztürk 2017, 198). The İzmir Metropolitan Area Master Plan declared 15 areas as Rehabilitation-Renewal Program Areas where the urban transformation practices were to be carried out for disaster mitigation and prevention (Genç and Doğan 2018).

With the Redevelopment of Areas under Disaster Risk Law (no. 6306), six areas were declared as risky area. The size of disaster risk areas is 918,16 hectares, and the predicted population size that will be affected is 91.650 people in 33 neighborhoods. There are total 35.836 numbers of independent units in these areas declared as risky areas (Çelikkilek and Öztürk 2017, 200). Figure 4.17 shows the current renewal areas in İzmir (see also appendix A).

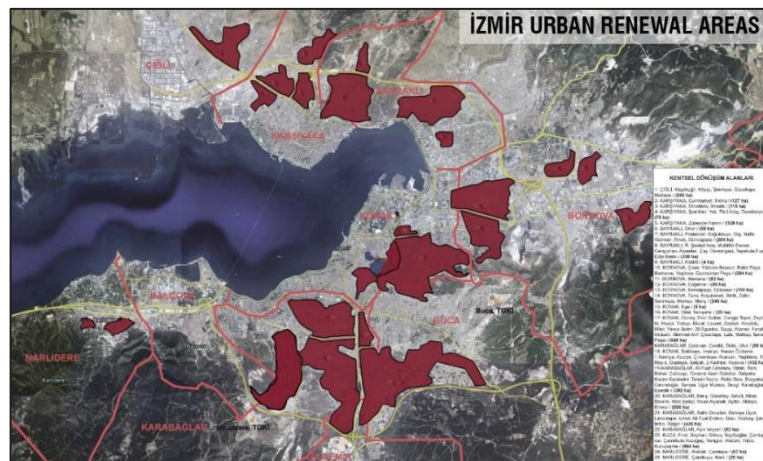


Figure 4.17. The Rehabilitation-Renewal Areas declared by İzmir Metropolitan Area Master Plan

(Source: Redesigned and organized by the author based on the data from İBB Archive)

To understand the transformation process and actors' participation in the 2010s, Karabağlar, Menemen, Narlıdere and Karabağlar- Buca cases are examined.

Karabağlar was declared as risky area by the Council of Ministers with the decision dated 07/12/2012 and numbered 2012/4048. The Ministry of Environment and Urbanization is responsible for the activities related to the transformation activities in the field. Geological and Geotechnical Survey Report has been prepared for the area. The objections to the 1/5000 scale Master Plan and 1/1000 scale Implementation Plan were rejected by the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning and the plans were approved in February in 2017. The construction process in this area carried out by İlbank. In Karabağlar, Uzundere Urban Transformation Project which was declared as transformation area by the Municipality Law (no. 5393) is carried out by Izmir Metropolitan Municipality (Çelikkilek and Özdemir 2017, 201).

Kadifekale Urban Transformation project is very crucial in the transformation projects in İzmir. Within the scope of this transformation, the squatter housing population in Kadifekale were displaced to the Uzundere mass housing units that were constructed by the HDA. This project includes three options for the squatter owners. The first one is to take the value of the unit in cash; the second one is getting a flat in Uzundere mass housing projects by paying the difference between the price assessed for squatter unit and that for the flat in instalments; and, the third one is declining the offer of the Municipality and leading a court process. However, in the final stage, the municipal officials in charge implemented the demolition decisions (Demirtaş- Milz 2013, 691).

Karabağlar -Buca was suggested as risky area by İzmir Chamber of Commerce and announced as risky area with the decision dated 06/06/2013 and numbered 2013/4919. The Ministry delegated the authority to the Buca Municipality and Karabağlar Municipality for the urban transformation projects. There are 5.377 independent units in 191 hectares of land in four neighborhoods, and the transformation works effect a population of 8.500 people (Çelikkilek and Özdemir 2017, 201).

Menemen which includes two transformation areas was declared as risky area with the decision of Council of Ministers dated 08/04/2013 and numbered 2013/4165 and with the decision dated 18/09/2013 and numbered 2013/5432. For the urban transformation activities to be carried out in the area, the Menemen Municipality requested the transfer of authority by applying to the Ministry of Environment and Urban Planning on 18/06/2014. However, the ministry rejected that request and authorized the İzmir Provincial Directorate of Environment and Urbanization. In total, there are 2.866

independent units within the 62 ha of risk area including 7 neighborhoods and a population of 6.550 is affected by the transformation project (Çelikbilek and Özdemir 2017, 201).

In the Narlıdere district, there is an area of 23.5 hectares which includes the İkinci İnönü and Atatürk Neighborhoods, the Narkent- Narbel mass housing area, revitalization and transformation project area. It is known that all the building stock in the region is composed of squatter housing and can be intervened. It is planned that the region will be renewed according to the geological studies. In practice the renewal projects will be carried out by multi-partnerships consisting public, private sector, local governments and land owners (Doğan 2016, 123). Narlıdere was declared as risky area with the decision of Council of Ministers dated 25/06/2013 and numbered 2013/4831. The ministry gave the authority of transformation to the Narlıdere Municipality. There are 5.494 independent units within the 44 ha of area with four neighborhoods, and urban transformation studies will affect a population of 6.700 (Çelikbilek and Özdemir 2017, 201; face-to-face interview in Narlıdere Municipality 2017).

After Redevelopment of Areas under Disaster Risk Law (no. 6306) came into force, within İzmir province, there are a total of fifteen urban regeneration projects, which are proposed by different administrations, and which are based on different laws. Nine of the areas are “urban transformation and development project areas” declared in accordance with Article 73 of the Municipality Law no. 5393, whereas six of them are risky areas announced under Redevelopment of Areas under Disaster Risk Law (no. 6306) (Çelikbilek and Özdemir 2017, 203; Genç and Doğan 2018).

In the end, it can be said that the main instrument in the 2010s in İzmir have been urban transformation projects because of the problems like that 65% of the housing stock in İzmir is illegal, uncontrolled or have not received engineering services and the age of the supervised structures built in the zoned area. According to the data provided by the İzmir Provincial Directorate of Environment and Urbanization in January 2017, 12.142 buildings with 28,957 residential units, including 24.974 residences and 4.023 workplaces, were declared to be risky until the beginning of 2017, when the Redevelopment of Areas under Disaster Risk Law (no. 6306) came into force. The number of structures, which were determined to be destroyed until the beginning of 2017, is 9.231 including 20.660 independent units with 18.191 houses and 2.469 workplaces. According to the data on November in 2017, the number of the structures and units in the declared risky areas increased to 15.205 with 35.370 independent units. From the date the

Redevelopment of Areas under Disaster Risk Law (no. 6306) was enacted until November 2017, 12.572 buildings including 28.295 independent units were demolished (Çelikkilek and Özdemir 2017, 206).

In summary, from the 1990s onwards İzmir have undergone different experiences in housing production under the neoliberal policies and speculative urbanism. Since the middle of the 1990s it is witnessed that big scale contractor firms have been active in the housing production. In this period, in the framework of neoliberal policies which became effective with the concrete practices at the national level, the private sector decisively involved in the housing production, and the forms of luxurious housing production also changed. From the mid-1990s onwards, large scale companies have entered the housing market in İzmir (Özdemir et al. 2005, 59).

### **4.3. Housing Problem of the Poor in İzmir**

When the housing production patterns and housing development in İzmir is considered, some critical issues are noteworthy for the housing problem of the poor. Firstly, the housing provision types do not respond to the socio-economic characteristics of the poor who live in the squatter housing areas. The housing production -mass housing and luxury housing- addresses to the middle- and upper-income class. Secondly, the housing types are incompatible with the lifestyle of the squatter housing residents. The mass housing units produced as a solution to the squatter housing are small in size compared to the squatter housings they live in. Squatter housing units are mostly detached housings with gardens, and the proposed high-rise buildings do not have functions and amenities like squatter housings. Last but not least, as number of housing production is inadequate to meet the demand originated from the immigration, and the structural and environmental quality of the housing produced for the poor are extremely insufficient. A great number of mass housing were constructed in İzmir by the support of the regulatory framework and institutional structure laid down in parallel with the neoliberal policies adopted in the 1980s. A large part of these housing projects has been placed on the treasury and public lands, which were privatized. The mass housing sites were built on the sloping areas, outskirts of İzmir far from the city and from urban life.



With the zoning amnesty laws that were enacted between 1985 and 1998, development plans were produced for these squatter housings and illegal construction areas. However, these development plans implemented following the zoning amnesties have never produced physically and socially sufficient living spaces in İzmir. The the development plans and amnesties were primarily concerned with solving the property problem. Thus, with the legalization, new floors were added on partially constructed, partially licensed, poor quality structures (Özdemir et al. 2005, 72).

According to the report of the Metropolitan Municipality dated September 3, 1984, 101.600 applications were made for zoning amnesty in İzmir under the Zoning Amnesty Law (no. 2805). 42.493 of the applicants were squatter housing owners; 35.777 people had joint-owned land and had dwellings in these plots; 22.041 of the applicants had buildings in their own plots; and the lands of 1.288 applicants were occupied by others. 41,8% of the applicants are the owners of the squatter houses. In other words, the property of the lands, on which they built their houses, does not belong to them. Other applicants own illegal structures, even though they are the shareholder of the lands or have deemed title deeds (see Özdemir et al. 2005, 61; Sevgi 1988, 240).

In the 1980s, mass housing production in İzmir have been intensified. On the one hand, the development of zoned housing areas continued in accordance with the current development plans, and squatter housing areas appeared steadily. Squatters were built on public or treasury lands and on the lands sold by shares or title deeds (Özdemir et al. 2005, 59).

Following the zoning amnesties and development plans in the 1980s in İzmir, the citizens who cannot meet their housing needs in the market conditions continue to build squatters in new areas to find a solution to their housing problem. Besides that, the poor cannot enter the housing market, it was partly because that municipalities prepared standard implementation plans in the squatter housing areas without considering the physical and social conditions of their inhabitants. In the İzmir case, the improvement plans implemented in squatter housing areas have been neither permanent nor temporary solution for the squatter housing problems (Şenol 2005, 90).

Recently, urban transformation projects, including squatter housing areas improvement initiatives are on the agenda in İzmir. That the capital accumulation process switches to the urban land, and that housing and land market is strengthened would result in increasing shares of profit left to the market actors at the expense of the housing needs of the poor. Under the dominant neoliberal urbanism in İzmir, the poor cannot meet their

sheltering need, and have the right to live in a decent environment. Housing production in İzmir have resulted in the exclusion of the poor from the housing market and urban area (Şenol 2005, 90).

## CHAPTER 5

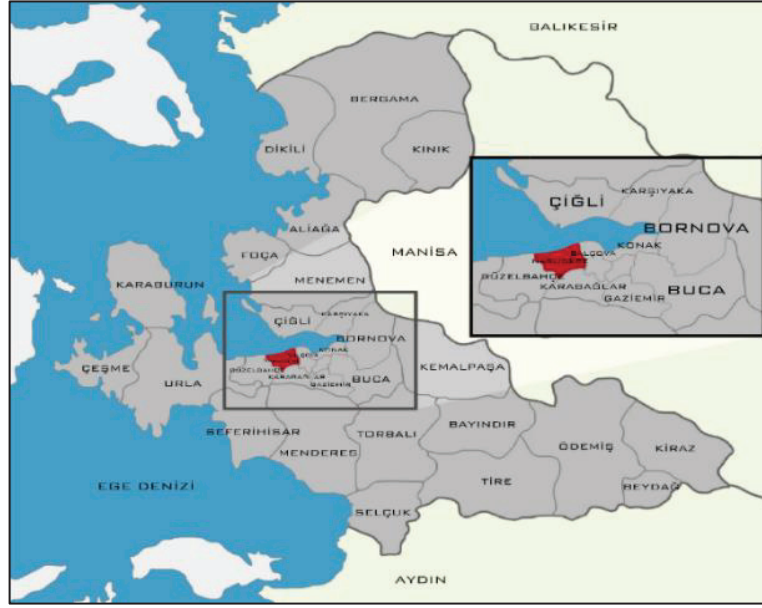
### CASE STUDY: İKİNCİ İNÖNÜ NEIGHBORHOOD IN NARLIDERE, İZMİR

Within the neoliberal urbanism process, the poor has been faced to the dispossession problem in İzmir. To understand the housing question of the poor in İzmir, the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood is chosen as a case study. The area has been surrounded by the luxury housing development and was declared as urban transformation area under the Redevelopment of Areas Under Disaster Risk Law (no. 6306). İkinci İnönü Neighborhood represents the layers of the urbanization process from squatterization, mass housing production by the cooperatives and lastly the neoliberal housing production in İzmir. In this chapter, firstly Narlıdere district is introduced, and the urbanization process, housing types and housing question of the poor in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood are elaborated on.

The findings of the fieldwork on socioeconomic characteristics of the squatter housing residents and housing characteristics are also examined in this chapter. Housing affordability index is calculated for the defined income groups in the squatter housing area according the fieldwork data, as well.

#### 5.1. General Information

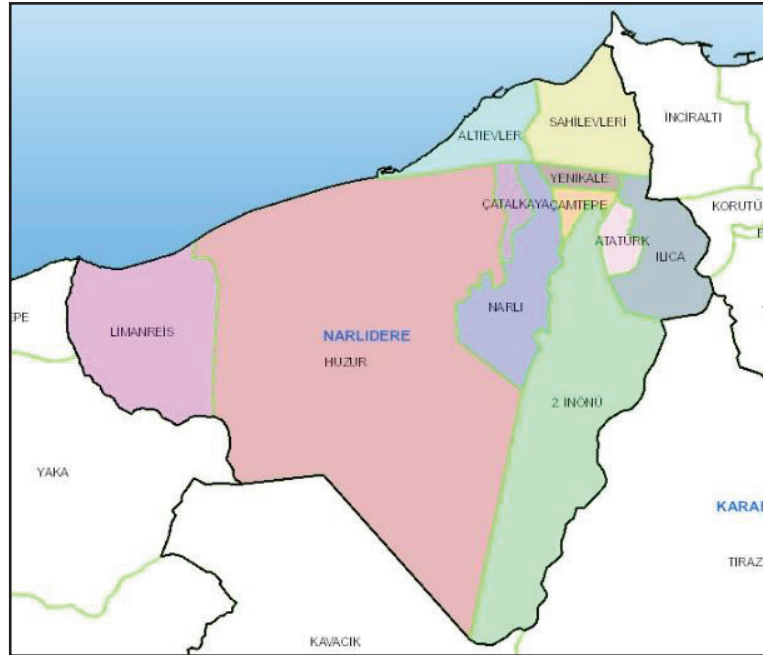
Narlıdere district is located in the south of the İzmir Bay and between the Balçova and Güzelbahçe districts. Its distance from Konak, which is the central district of İzmir, is 16 kms. Narlıdere is located on the important node of the transportation network of İzmir; İzmir Ring Road and Çeşme Highway pass through the district. As it is seen in the figure 5.1, as the north of Narlıdere district is bordered by the Aegean Sea and the south by the Çatalkaya Mountain, it is located between natural thresholds.



*Figure 5.1. The location of Narlıdere in İzmir*

*(Source: Narlıdere Municipality 2015-2019 Strategic Plan Report 2014)*

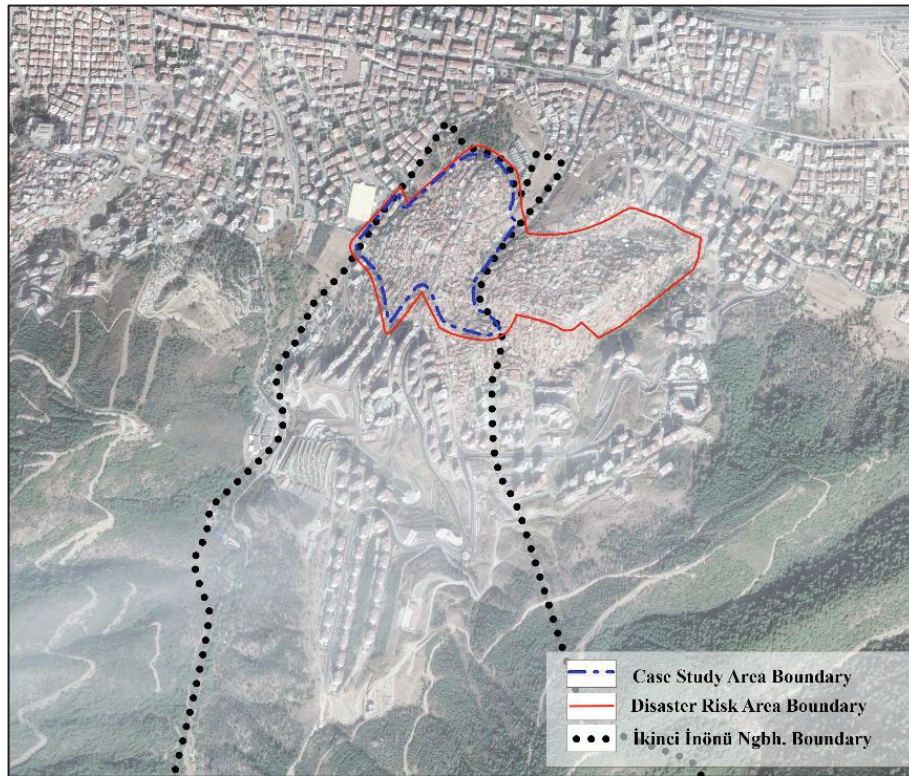
Figure 5.2. shows the neighborhoods of Narlıdere. Narlıdere has 11 neighborhoods, namely, İkinci İnönü, Altievler, Atatürk, Çamtepe, Çatalkaya, Huzur, Ilıca, Limanreis, Narlı, Sahilevleri and Yenikale.



*Figure 5.2. Neighborhoods in Narlıdere*

*(Source: Narlıdere Municipality 2015-2019 Strategic Plan Report 2014)*

According to the human development index of the districts in Turkey, Narlıdere district is in the 36<sup>th</sup> rank with the score of 0,578. Narlıdere belongs to the second higher group in the human development groups. Human Development Index includes economic situation, social facilities, education and health facilities, but does not cover the housing ownership rate and housing affordability index. However, the economic situation category of the index does not take into account the sale price of housing, the rental price of housing, the annual change in housing market prices for sale. According to the economic situation index, Narlıdere is 119<sup>th</sup> district in Turkey with 0,454 score (Human Development Index 2018). This situation must be considered due to the uneven development processes and low housing affordability rate in Narlıdere.



*Figure 5.3. Case study area, disaster risk area and İkinci İnönü Neighborhood boundaries*

*(Source: Prepared by the author on the satellite image, 2019)*

In neoliberal urbanization process in İzmir, Narlıdere became a district where the urban rent became higher through luxury housing projects that addresses to the high-income group. Urbanization in Narlıdere started with the squatterization, then housing production based on neoliberal policies have dominated the housing production types. There are two squatter housing areas that surrounded by luxury housing development.

The total size of these areas is 44 hectares; and one of them, which covers 24 hectares, is in the Atatürk and İkinci İnönü neighborhoods boundary; and, the second one, which covers 20 hectares, is in Çatalkaya and Narlı neighborhoods. There are 1710 squatter houses under the scope of the urban renewal project based on the Redevelopment of Areas Under Disaster Risk Law (no. 6306). The field research was restricted to 14.74 hectares in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood that covers 622 of the squatter housing units. Figure 5.3. shows the boundaries of İkinci İnönü Neighborhood, disaster risk area and the case study area.

The area under the scope of the case study hosts about the population of 3000 people. The area offers some advantages for the field research considering its following characteristics:

- There exist different housing types like squatter housing, urban transformation projects, mass housing cooperatives, luxury housing sites produced in different processes and ways.

- The urban rent has been increasingly rising, and large capital investments in housing have been continuing in the area. This change in housing production also leads to a change in the social profile in the area.

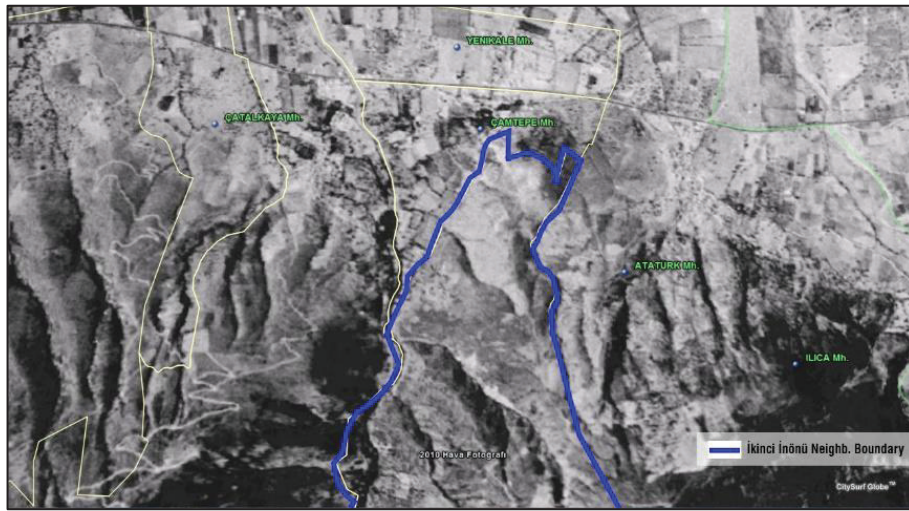
- There are two different urban transformation processes in the area. The first urban transformation had been completed in the early 2000s, and the ongoing urban transformation processes have been planned since 2013 under the Redevelopment of Areas Under Disaster Risk Law (no. 6306).

- Despite that the last zoning amnesty in 2018 is also currently in effect throughout the country, its implementation in the research area is cancelled by the Redevelopment of Areas Under Disaster Risk Law. This situation makes the squatter housing owners vulnerable regarding their housing rights.

A renewal project was prepared by the Narlıdere Municipality and submitted to the approval of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization. The administrative procedures in the ministry have not been completed yet. Therefore, digital and numerical data and detailed information about technical characteristics, constructors and the financial structure of the project could not be reached. The data on the project is based on interviews with the city planners and official staff of the Narlıdere Municipality.

## 5.2. Planning Process of the Case Study Area

The urbanization in Narlıdere firstly appeared following that the immigrants from Erzincan after the earthquake in 1939 were settled. The first urban settlement in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood also appeared in the early the 1940s. These residential clusters were formed without a planning process. Narlıdere Municipality was established in 1962 after the population in Narlıdere started to increase with the migrations from rural areas (Face-to-face interview in Narlıdere Municipality in 2018). Figure 5.4 is the satellite image of İkinci İnönü Neighborhood in 1963.

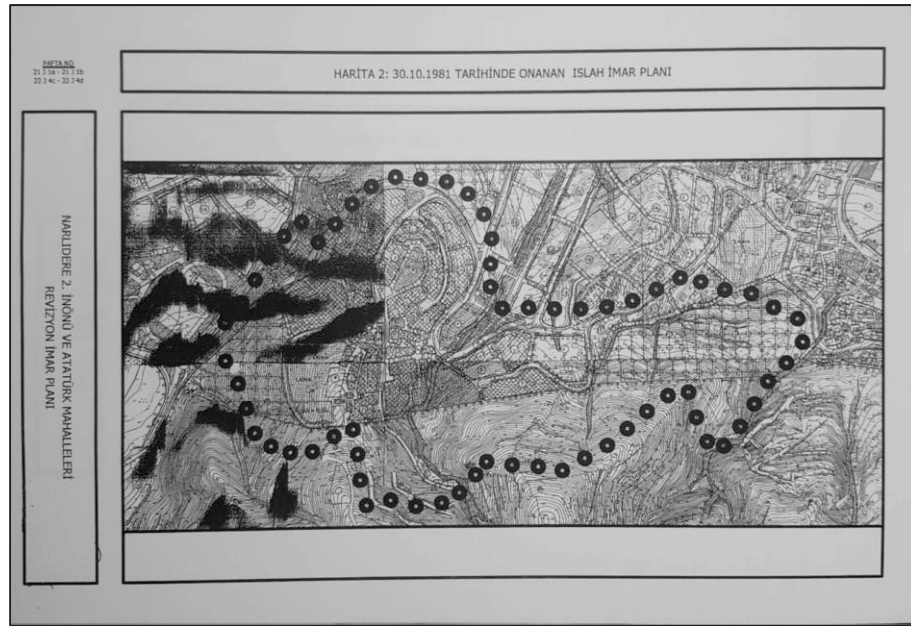


*Figure 5.4. The satellite image of İkinci İnönü Neighborhood in 1963  
(Source: Narlıdere Municipality)*

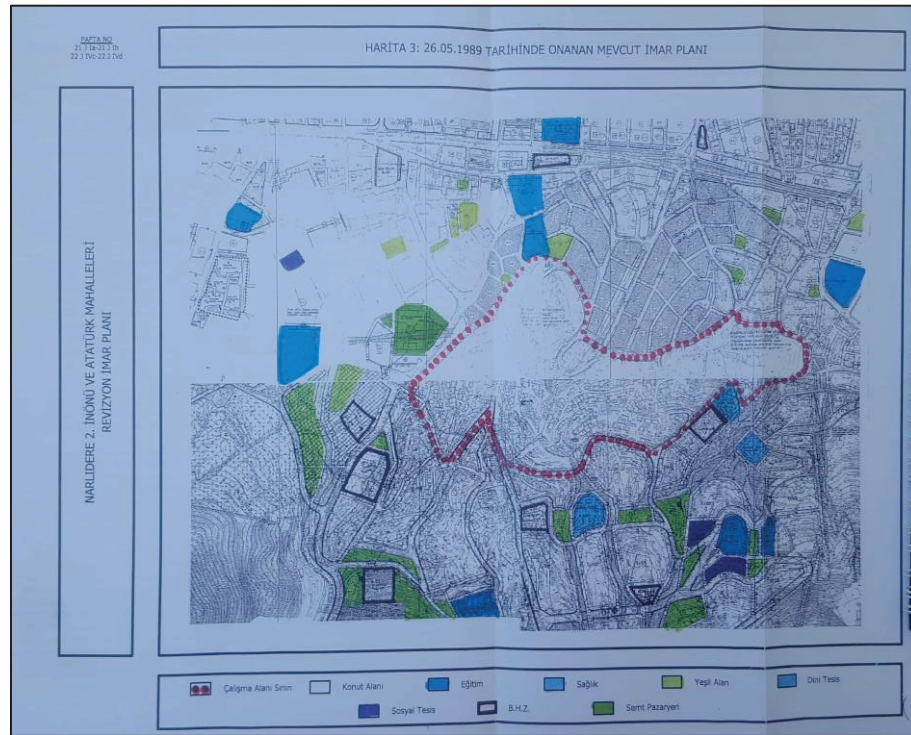
İkinci İnönü Neighborhood was planned based on the 1/5000 and 1/1000 scaled development plans in 1981, which are seen in figures 5.5. and 5.6. These plans were approved by the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement. In the 1/5000 scaled development plan, the residential zones are defined as medium-density population areas with social infrastructures, health facilities, and green areas. This plan regulated partnership shares rates for application and property ownership. The 1/5000 scaled development plan also defined this area as squatter housing prevention zone.

With the 1/1000 scaled supplementary development plan, the squatter housing area was declared as the area to be revised after the geological survey in 1989. This decision was approved by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality (Arkon, Özdemir and Serim 2010).

Figure 5.6 indicates the development plan of İkinci İnönü and Atatürk Neighborhoods dated 1989.



*Figure 5.5. The Development Plan in 1981  
(Source: Revision Development Plan Report in 2007)*

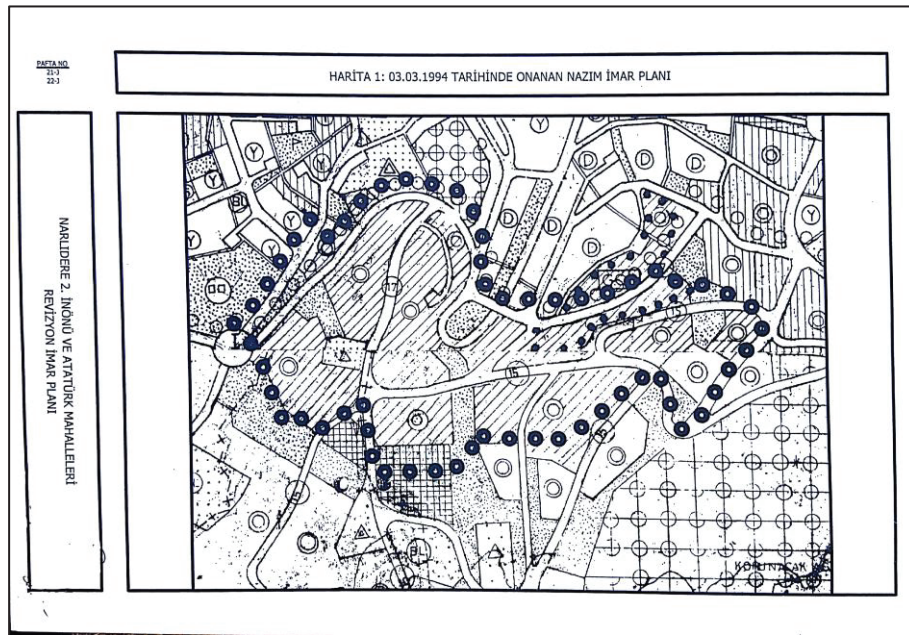


*Figure 5.6. Development Plan in 1989  
(Source: Revision Development Plan Report in 2007)*



The master development plan of 1/5000 scale was revised with the decision number 170 of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality in 1991. The municipality also approved the amendment in the 1/5000 scaled master development plan in 1994. With this development plan, the residential areas defined as medium density residential areas. In the development zones that was appropriate to construction, the population density was limited with at most 200 people per hectare. The restructuring condition was  $E=0.50-1,00$ . This plan also approved the area as squatter housing prevention zone (Arkon, Özdemir and Serim 2010).

The 1/5000 scaled master plan in 1994, which is seen in figure 5.7., declares the Atatürk and İkinci İnönü Neighborhoods as the areas to be revised after the geological survey. Following this plan decision, the transformation process of the area has started. A geological survey report was prepared in May 1995 and May 1997 for the Atatürk and the İkinci İnönü Neighborhoods.



*Figure 5.7. 1/5000 Master Development Plan in 1994  
(Source: Revision Development Plan Report in 2007)*

Additional Implementation Development Plan was prepared in 1995. Narbel and Narkent housing projects were prepared according to the implementation plan (Face-to-face interview in Narlıdere Municipality in 2018).



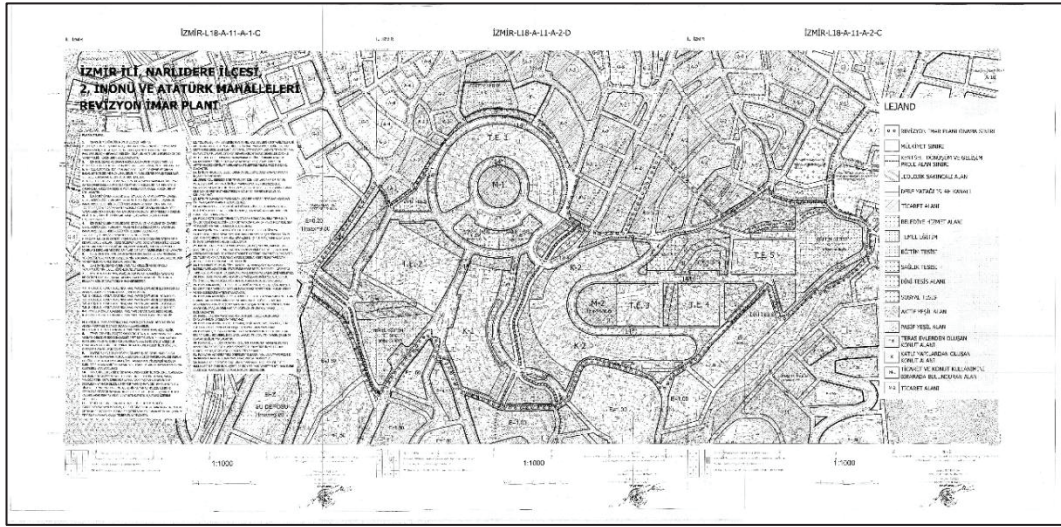
*Figure 5.8. The satellite image of İkinci İnönü Neighborhood in 1996  
(Source: Narlıdere Municipality)*

In the year 2000, circular no. 2360 stated that the geological reports should be reconsidered, and the area is not suitable for multi-storey building. With these revision decisions, in 2002, new revision plan was prepared (Arkon, Özdemir and Serim 2010).

In the 1/1000 scale Revision Structure Plan, which was held in 2002, the Narlıdere district was dealt with in three zones and plan decisions were developed for each. The first one is the coastal zone including Limanreis Neighborhood; the second coastal zone includes the Altievler and Sahilevleri neighborhoods; and, the third one is the urban zone which covers the boundaries of Atatürk, Çamtepe, Çatalkaya, Ilıca, Narlı, Yenikale, and İkinci İnönü neighborhoods. An area about 30 hectares within the boundaries of Atatürk and İkinci İnönü neighborhoods was determined as the zone to be revised based on the data of geological surveys (Face-to-face interview in Narlıdere Municipality in 2018).

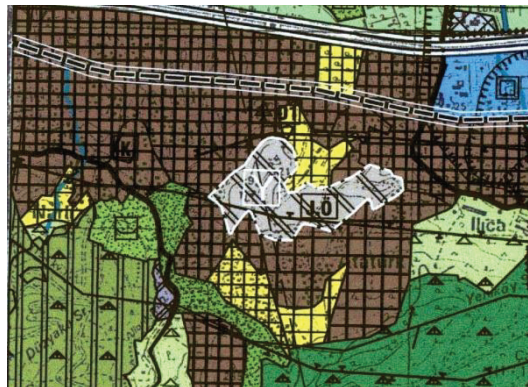
In 2005, a new geological survey report was prepared for Atatürk and İkinci İnönü Neighborhoods. The geological survey report for the squatter housing area was approved by the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement according to the Law on Precautions to be Taken Against Disasters and State-aids after Disasters (no. 7269) in 2005.

The Narlıdere Municipality prepared and approved the 1/1000 scaled Revision Development Plan in 2007 for the squatter housing area, which covers 30 hectares. It declares that the area is to be revised after the geological survey. This revision plan was submitted to the approval of the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality according to the Metropolitan Municipality Law (no. 5216) (Arkon, Özdemir and Serim 2010). Figure 5.9 shows the 1/1000 scaled development plan of the area in 2007 (see also Appendix B).



*Figure 5.9. 1/1000 scale development plan in 2007  
(Source: Chamber of the City Planners' Archive)*

The Izmir Metropolitan Municipality decided to revise some of the cases in the development plans and rejected the revision development plan in 2007. The plan decisions should be revised are listed as follows: the indication of the precedent values on the plan according to the decisions of the upper scale plan, mass settlement plan, determination of the re-area boundary considering the land ownership and construction, and review of social infrastructure areas. However, in 2008, İzmir Metropolitan Municipality rejected the revision plan and decided to maintain the decisions of the development plan in force (Arkon, Özdemir and Serim 2010).



*Figure 5.10. The squatter housing area in the master development plan in the scale 1/25,000*

*(Source: İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Archive)*

The Narlıdere Municipality stated that the revision plan was to be prepared according to the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality's feedback and structure design was prepared on the architectural scale because the squatter housing area was declared as the "rehabilitation and renewal area" by the 1/25.000 scaled master development plan on the 20<sup>th</sup> November 2008. Figure 5.10 shows the squatter housing area, which is covered by the case study, in the 1/25.000 scaled master development plan.

On the other hand, to create a livable residential area and solve the property problems, the area was declared as "urban transformation and development project according to the 73th article of the Municipality Law (no. 5393).

*Table 5.1. Plan decision changes on development plan in scale 1/1000  
(Source: prepared by the author based on the data in Arkon, Özdemir, Serim 2010)*

<b>Plan decision changes on zones</b>	<b>1/1000 development plan in 2007</b>	<b>1/1000 development plan in 2009</b>
T.E. 1 (residential zone)	Max. construction area 21600m <sup>2</sup> (2700 m <sup>2</sup> can be office on the first floor)	Max. construction area 21600m <sup>2</sup> (2700 m <sup>2</sup> can be office on the first floor)
T.E. 2 (residential zone)	Max. construction area 18000 m <sup>2</sup>	Max. construction area 18000 m <sup>2</sup>
T.E. 3 (residential zone)	Max. construction area 11400 m <sup>2</sup>	Max. construction area 10200 m <sup>2</sup>
T.E. 4 (residential zone)	Max. construction area 11400 m <sup>2</sup>	Max. construction area 10200 m <sup>2</sup>
T.E. 5 (residential zone)	Max. construction area 17400 m <sup>2</sup>	Max. construction area 15800 m <sup>2</sup>
K-1 (residential zone)	Max. construction area 26000 m <sup>2</sup>	Max. construction area 26000 m <sup>2</sup>
K-2 (residential zone)	Max. construction area 59500 m <sup>2</sup>	Max. construction area 51400 m <sup>2</sup>

(Cont. on next page)

Table 5.1. (continued)

M-1 (development area)	Max. construction area 18500 m <sup>2</sup> (4500 m <sup>2</sup> can be used as commercial area)	Max. construction area 13500 (4500 m <sup>2</sup> can be used as commercial area)
M-2 (commercial zone)	Max. construction area 4200 m <sup>2</sup>	Max. construction area 4200 m <sup>2</sup>
H <sub>max</sub> value in all zones is free in 2007; H <sub>max</sub> 24.80 m for the residential zones (for terraced buildings H <sub>max</sub> 15.80 m.		

In 2009, the 1/1000 scaled revision development plan was approved with amendments. The table above shows the changes in the plan decision number 7 related to the construction areas (Arkon, Özdemir and Serim 2010).

According to the expert report of the appeal against this revision zoning plan, the plan was evaluated in terms of the following issues.

- i. The alignment of the zoning plan with the upper scales
- ii. Compliance of the zoning plan with the geological survey report
- iii. Land use decisions of the zoning plan and compliance of structuring conditions with existing texture.

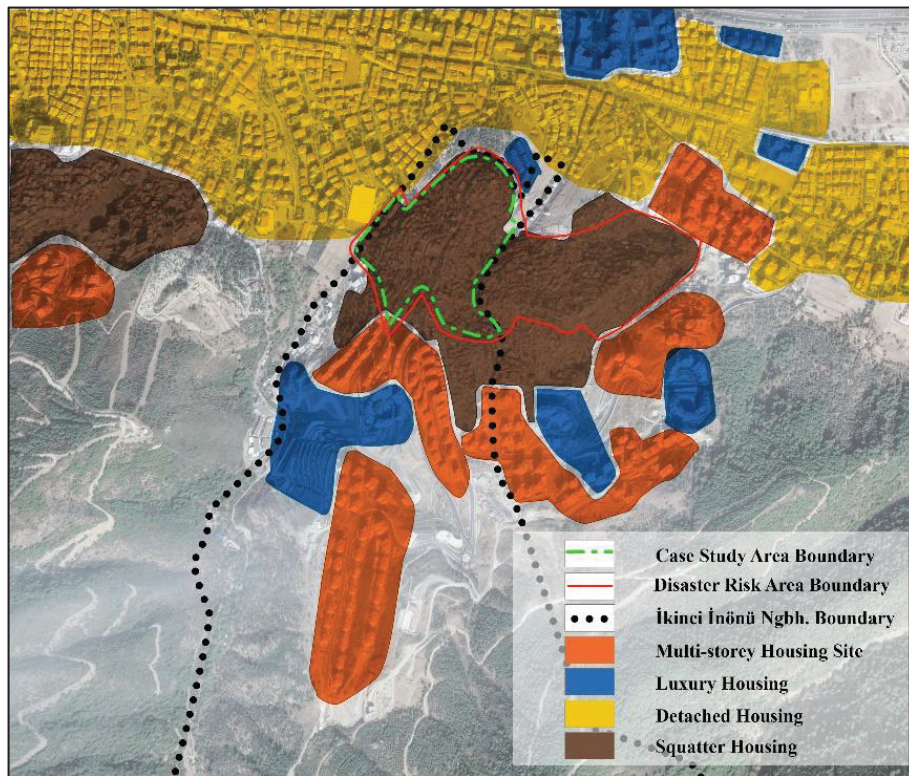
In 2013, the area was declared as the area under the disaster risk by Redevelopment of Areas Under Disaster Risk Law (no. 6306) and defined as urban transformation area. The prepared urban transformation project was submitted to the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization by the Narlıdere Municipality. In 2013, Narlıdere Municipality became the first municipality to receive a mandate from the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization based on the Law (no. 6306).

### **5.3. Housing Production in the Case Study Area and İkinci İnönü Neighborhood**

İkinci İnönü Neighborhood has a variety of housing provision forms. The housing texture in the neighborhood has formed beginning from the first urbanization with the squatter housing settlement structured by the migration from the rural areas in the late

1930s. In the 1990s, housing sites were built by the cooperatives and the municipality to transform the squatter housing area. In the 2000s, the fact that neoliberal policies became dominant in urban area affected housing production. The production process of luxury housing continues and dominates the housing typology on the area.

There are four main categories of housing representing the housing provision in İzmir as well as in the neighborhood and the surrounding areas. These are squatter housing, detached housing, housing sites including the mass housing sites constructed by the cooperatives and multi-storey housing sites, and luxury housing including the gated community and condominium developed in neoliberal housing production. Figure 5.11 demonstrates the housing types in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood and its surroundings.



*Figure 5.11. Housing types in Narlıdere*

*(Source: Prepared by the author based on the field study data)*

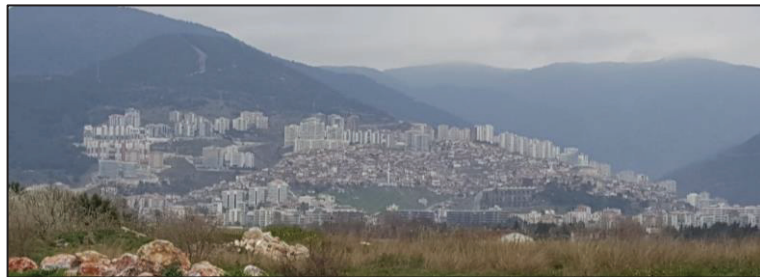
Squatter housing refers to the housing units built in someone else's land, in the treasury or public lands by violating the construction and zoning laws.

One of the most significant characteristics of the squatter housing area under the scope of the case study is that it is localised within Narlıdere district revealing a deep uneven development. Having been surrounded by the luxury housing projects, the

squatter housing units and their inhabitants are exposed to an increasing pressure of the urban rent. Figure 5.13, and figure 5.14 exemplifies the housing production that encircles the squatter housing units.



*Figure 5.12. Squatter housing in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood  
(Source: Taken by the author during the field study, 2018)*



*Figure 5.13. A view of the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood from İnciraltı  
(Source: Taken by the author during the field study, 2018)*



*Figure 5.14. Squatter housing area surrounded by neoliberal housing production  
(Source: Taken by the author during the field study, 2018)*

*Detached housing* refers to the low-rise single-storey buildings, and to single multi-storey apartment buildings.



*Figure 5.15. Detached housing in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood  
(Source: Taken by the author during the field study, 2018)*



*Figure 5.16. Detached multi-storey apartments in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood  
(Source: Taken by the author during the field study, 2018)*

*Multi-storey housing sites* refer to the site of residential buildings in the classical apartment typology. The multi-story refers to the structures that have identical characteristics in the classical apartment typology.





*Figure 5.17. Multi-storey housing in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood  
(Source: Taken by the author during the field study, 2018)*

Arslan defines the 1980s and the 2000s as the terms of increasing co-operatives and large capital flows to the construction sector. In those times, the middle- and upper-income classes preferences to live in the more homogeneous and sterile spaces led the increasing construction of housing sites (Arslan 2014). With this, in the squatter area in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood, Narklıdere Housing Cooperative Association was established in 1995 in order to built Narkent houses. Narkent houses had been constructed between 1997 and 1999.



*Figure 5.18. Narkent mass housing site  
(Source: Taken by the author during the field study, 2018)*

The Narkent project represents the characteristics of the urban transformation in Turkey between 1980-2000. The Narkent project primarily aimed to improve the living conditions of the residents of the squatter housings and to produce affordable and livable

housing units within the context of housing and neighborhood relationship, and to render the property rights to the squatter housing owners (Arslan 2013, 15).

There were 681 squatter housing units in the area in 1996. Within the framework of the project, Narkent blocks were constructed and it was planned for a gross 85 m<sup>2</sup> apartment for each squatter house in return without considering the size of the squatter houses, which were previously owned. The number of squatter housing residents in this exchange was 376. It was decided to arrange monthly repayments by taking into account the difference between the price of the land of the squatter housing and that of the new flats by paying installments in 48 months (Özdemir et al. 2005, 348; Arslan 2013, 17). The land additive cost of 357.600.000 TL per house was taken in 48 equal installments of 7.450.000 TL. This price is fixed and has not changed during the payment term (Arslan 2013, 109).

The title holders of this transformation project were the residents that have numbering, but some of the squatter housing residents without numbering and tenants could also have an apartment in Narkent. On the other hand, this transformation project caused 342 squatter housing to be demolished with the view of creating land for the project. Approximately 111 squatters in the cadastral parcel no. 1972 were excluded from this urban renewal project, and no solution was proposed for these squatter housings (Özdemir et al 2005, 366). Figure 5.19 shows the Narkent Mass Housing Area.

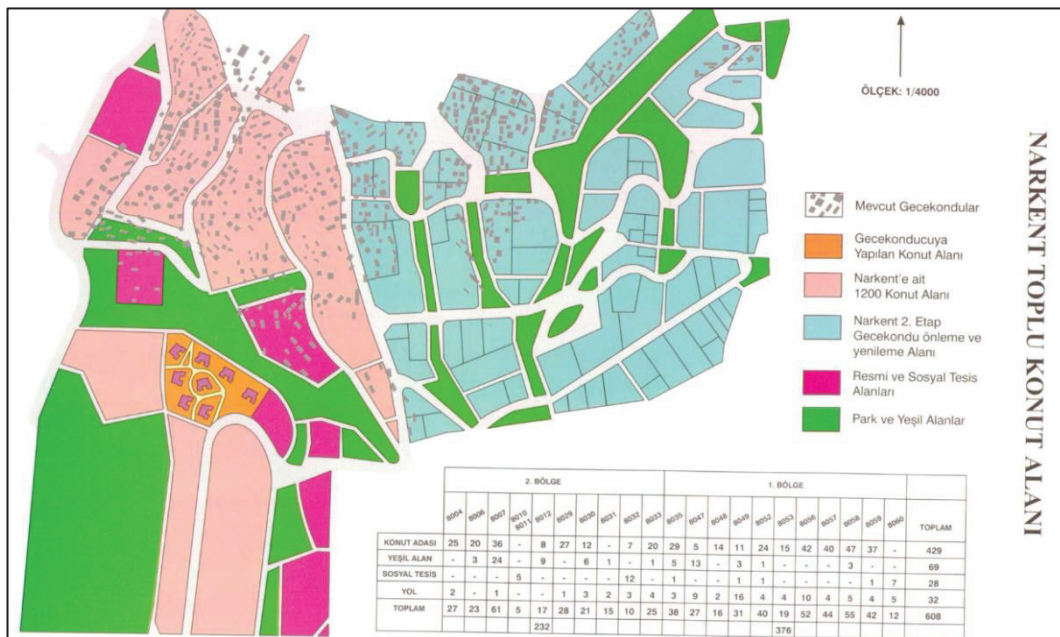


Figure 5.19. Narkent mass housing area plan

(Source: Arslan 2013)

In the period when Narkent was built, the Narbel Site, consisting of 850 houses and 22 blocks, was constructed under the initiative of the Narlıdere Municipality. Narbel inhabitants have different socio-cultural and economic characteristics compared to the residents in Narkent. The people living in Narbel describe the differences between them as cultural differences (Arslan 2013, 100-123).



*Figure 5.20. Narkent and Narbel Housing Sites  
(Source: Tugay Tatlidil archive)*



*Figure 5.21. Narbel mass housing site  
(Source: Taken by the author during the field study, 2018)*

Luxury housing refers to the housing types built under the neoliberal policies. These housing sites constructed by the big private companies with speculative aims. These projects do not meet the local needs and constructed insensible to the environment and socio-economic situation of the existing population. In the case study area, luxury housing covers the condominiums and gated communities.

Gated communities are the housing sites that have a security unit and security staff and are surrounded by restrictive elements such as walls and barbed wire to distinguish and isolate the buildings from their surroundings. Gated communities may consist of villas or multi-story luxury housing. These sites offer the facilities to meet luxury willings besides the basic needs.

Condominiums are the enclosed housing category that has the same features as gated communities considering security, boundaries and luxury facilities. Unlike the gated communities, these types of housings have boundaries around single multi-storey housing. These projects occurred because of the lack of land that is available for the mass housing projects. By the end of the 1990s, the agricultural lands in Narlıdere, which had previously been encompassed into urbanization through housing development, became insufficient to meet the land needed for luxurious residential construction. This situation led the construction industry to a new construction type called ‘condominium’ which includes luxury facilities such as tennis court and swimming pool in its garden (Özdemir and Türkseven, 2016).

The luxury housing production in and near the case study area started with the Folkart Narlıdere Houses that were built by Folkart Construction Company on the northern border of İkinci İnönü Neighborhood. The project has significantly contributed to the increase in rent in Narlıdere and to the appearance of rent gap levelling at the squatter housing area. The construction company’s decision to select the location of project was taken within the framework of the neoliberal urbanization trends in İzmir especially considering its way of land speculation, its financial structure, and to whom it addresses (Bal and Altun 2016, 71). Figure 5.22 shows the Folkart Narlıdere project.



*Figure 5.22. Folkart Narlıdere  
(Source: Google images)*

The construction of Folkart Narlıdere triggered the production of closed-site type of housing addressing the upper-income group in Narlıdere. The most basic characteristics of the new residential areas are homogeneous, sterile, secure and away from the city. These projects are based on the Implementation Plan in 1995. The luxury housing projects in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood is shown in the table 5.2. below.

*Table 5.2. Luxury housing projects in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood  
(Source: Prepared by the author)*

Year	Housing project	Information		
		Dwelling units	Housing features	Site features
2011	Mavi Su Evleri	9 blocks+ 174 units	Heating system Insulation system Fire prevention system Luxury kitchen and bath design	Multi-floor carparking Shelter Pool Paddling pool Sports center Security
2015	Asma Bahçeler	98 units	Smart housing system Luxury kitchen and bath design Heating system Insulation system Elevator in multi-floor units	Two carparking areas Shelter Pool Paddling pool Sports center Hobby area Security
2018	Bulut Orman Evleri	120 units	Smart housing system Luxury kitchen and bath design Heating system Insulation system	Multi-floor carparking Shopping area Hobby area Pool Sports center Security

(Cont. on next page)

Table 5.2. (continued)

2019	Vitalia Narlıdere	90 units	<p>Smart housing system</p> <p>Luxury kitchen and bath design</p> <p>Heating system</p> <p>Insulation system</p>	<p>Carparking area</p> <p>Shopping area</p> <p>Café and restaurants</p> <p>Sports center</p> <p>Common terrace and walking path</p> <p>Pool</p> <p>Play grounds</p> <p>Security</p>
------	-------------------	----------	--	---



Figure 5.23. Vitalia project during the construction stage rising next to the squatter housing

(Source: Taken by the author during the field study, 2018)



Figure 5.24. Vitalia Narlıdere

(Source: Google images)

As it is seen in the figure 5.23, these luxury housing projects are rising next to the squatter housing units. The number of the luxury housing project is increasing in the surrounding areas of the squatter housing, and this causes increasing urban rent pressure. Figure 5.13 and figure 5.14 indicates the luxury housing development encircling the squatter area. Regarding that the luxury housing represents huge physical, economic, social and cultural inequalities, it puts strain on the squatter housing inhabitants. The renewal project that is to be carried out in the squatter housing area was designed as being consonant with this luxury housing typology rising on the surroundings. This project will be examined in the section 5.5.

## **5.4. Fieldwork Findings**

### **5.4.1. Socioeconomic Characteristics**

In the study area, which has a total of 622 buildings, 60 questionnaires were applied to the residents of the squatter housing. Since the squatter houses were not homogenously distributed over the area, it was divided into three parts. 20 questionnaires were applied in each part according to the quota random sampling. The sampling rate is 10%. With this survey, the housing, economic and social conditions of the residents and their views on the transformation project concerning their living areas were inquired into.

#### *Population*

The population size of the squatter housing area is 2.839 (Revision Development Plan Report 2007). Total population of the İkinci İnönü Neighborhood is 9.047 in 2018. The rate of the population of the squatter housing area in the population of the İkinci İnönü Neighborhood is 31%. The population of the squatter housing area is assumed as fixed due to there is no new squatter housing construction after 2007.

#### *Household Size*

The average household size in the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood is 3,9 (Revision Development Plan Report 2007). The average household

size in squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood is 3,6 according to the fieldwork findings. While maximum household size is 8, the minimum is 1.

Profession/Employment

The rate of people with regular wage is 14%, while 26,0% of people work in low-waged and irregular jobs such as construction works, of which annual average is below the minimum wage. 46,8% is retired; and 3,8% of people own a workplace. The rate of unemployed people is 11,6%. In 75% of households, more than one-person work.

*Table 5.3. Employment types in the squatter area*

*(Source: prepared by the author)*

Employment types	Number	Percentile
People with regular wage	8	14%
People work with low-waged in irregular jobs	16	26%
Retired	28	46,8%
Own a workplace	2	3,8%
Unemployed	6	11,6%
Total	60	100%

*Table 5.4. Number of the workers in a household*

*(Source: prepared by the author)*

The existance of more than one worker in a household	Number	Percentile
Yes	45	75%
No	15	25%
Total	60	100%

Income

When the average household income was analyzed it is seen that the concentration in squatter housing area between TL1001-2000. If the household income is in between TL2001-5000, there are more than one waged labourer in the house and more people lives in one house compared to the average household size in İzmir (according to the TUIK data in 2018, it is 2,98). Table 5.5. shows household income ranges.



*Table 5.5. Average household income range*

*(Source: prepared by the author)*

Household income (TL)	Number	Percentile
0-1000	5	8,33%
1001-2000	38	63,33%
2001-5000	14	23,33%
5001- over	3	5%
Total	60	100%

The families earning more than TL5.000 monthly have an additional income like rent. As this table is considered in comparison to the hunger and poverty limit in 2019, March, nearly 72% of families have an income below the hunger limit. According to the data the Türk-İş Trade Union calculated for March 2019, the hunger limit of the four-people family is TL 2.014 and poverty limit is TL 6.561. In this case, the monthly income of almost all the squatter housing area residents in the İkinci İnönü Neighborhood is below the poverty limit (Türk-İş 2019; access date 17.04.2019).

#### *Social Security*

It is observed that in the study area there are disadvantageous families in terms of having social security.

*Table 5.6. Social security situation of the householders*

*(Source: prepared by the author)*

Social security	Number	Percentile
Has social security	44	73,33%
Does not have a social security	12	20%
Uses someone else's social security	-	-
Receives state aid	4	6,66%
Total	60	100%

However, 73,33% of the squatter housing residents has social security. The rate of the residents having no social security is %20. The main reasons for not having social security is unemployment and precarious works. And, 6,66% of households live depending on government aids.

### Immigration

The population of the squatter housing area is formed by the people who immigrated from the rural area, mostly because of the economic reasons. As it is seen in the table 5.7, the migration to the area is concentrated in the 1970s.

*Table 5.7. Moving date to the İkinci İnönü Neighb. squatter area*

*(Source: prepared by the author)*

Moving Date of the Families	Number	Percentile
60-70	15	25%
70-80	30	50%
80-90	-	-
90-00	10	16,66%
00-10	-	-
10-19	5	8,33%
Total	60	100%

*Table 5.8. The reasons for preferring İkinci İnönü Neighborhood*

*(Source: prepared by the author)*

The reasons for preferring İkinci İnönü Neighborhood	Number	Percentile
Job opportunities	24	40%
Closeness to the city center	4	6,66%
Cheap land	11	18,33%
Education	3	5%
Relatives living in İkinci İnönü Neighb.	12	20%
Born in İkinci İnönü Neighb.	6	10%
Total	60	100%

This table 5.8. shows the critical reasons of the preferences of the squatter housing residents in İkinci İnönü neighborhood. The closeness of the location of the neighborhood to the job opportunities and the city center, and the existence of relatives who already live in this neighborhood are the first three reasons why the neighborhood is preferred.

### Property Ownership

Squatter housing owners are the ones who built their dwelling when they moved to İkinci İnönü Neighborhood. The residents who live without payment are the ones who live in the dwellings that their families had already built when they moved to İkinci İnönü Neighborhood. Multi-families are included in this group.

*Table 5.9. Existing ownership status*

*(Source: prepared by the author)*

Ownership status	Number	Percentile
Owner	46	76,66%
Live without paying (relative's house)	8	13,33%
Rent	6	10%
Other (public housing vs.)	-	-
Total	60	100%

Tenants who are 10% of the total residents of the squatter housing area state that the reason why they live in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood is that the rent is cheap and they cannot afford any other house.

*Table 5.10. The situation about other property ownership*

*(Source: prepared by the author)*

Other property ownership	Number	Percentile
Yes	17	28,33%
No	43	71,66%
Total	60	100%

71,66% of the informants express that they do not own other property. Those who declared that they have other properties such as a squatter housing for rent, a squatter housing which the relative lives in, or secondary housing.

As seen from the table 5.11, a significant amount of the residents of the squatter housing did not attempt to acquire housing before. Only 13,33% of the households experienced a housing acquisition.

Table 5.11. Previous housing acquisition experience

(Source: prepared by the author)

Previous housing acquisition experience	Number	Percentile
Yes	8	13,33%
No	52	86,66%
Total	60	100%

Table 5.12. Willing to live in İkinci İnönü after the urban transformation

(Source: prepared by the author)

Willing to live in İkinci İnönü neighb. after the urban transformation	Number	Percentile
Not able to afford; migrate to hometown	6	10%
Not able to afford; willing to live in Narlıdere	13	21,66%
Not able to afford; willing to live in İzmir	11	18,33%
Stay in İkinci İnönü and pay the monthly payments	26	43,33%
Sell the share and move	4	6,66%
Total	60	100%

When the data in table 5.12 is evaluated, it can be stated that almost half of the residents (43,33%) will stay in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood and will be the house owner by paying monthly installments. However, as the groups declaring that they will not able to afford is counted, 50% of the residents will have to leave the neighborhood after the urban transformation project. In addition, 16,66% of the residents consider moving in case of difficulties in monthly payments of the houses from the project.

It was observed that most of the residents have an expectation to become a house owner with the urban transformation project, but they prefer detached housing. There are residents expressed that this urban transformation project is for rent and will not regard the benefit of the residents of the squatter housing area.

Those who saw the transformation project state that they may experience difficulties in paying the installments and even if they can able to pay the installments, they cannot afford the monthly dues. On the other hand, the tenants in the squatter housing area state that they cannot afford to live in Narlıdere after the transformation project and must move to a cheaper district.

## 5.4.2. Structural Characteristics of the Buildings

Spatial analysis of the thesis' case study area is based on the field study conducted within the scope of the thesis. Other sources are the analyzes done for the transformation project by the Narlıdere Municipality and 9 Eylül University Urban Research Internship Field Studies held in 2017 in Narlıdere.

The analyses carried out in the field are as follows; building license analysis, building function analysis, land ownership analysis, building quality analysis, building material analysis, construction year analysis.

The average housing size is 90 m<sup>2</sup> and the average plot size is 115 m<sup>2</sup>. The average room number for a housing unit is 2 and there are basic facilities but mostly in poor conditions in the units. All units in the area have the technical infrastructure. 58,33% of the squatter housings have courtyards.

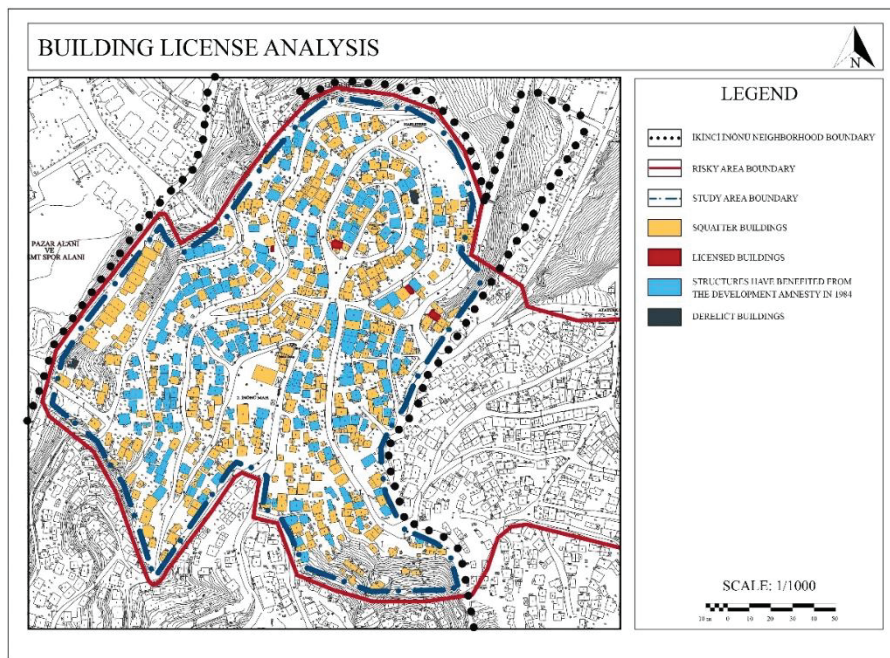


Figure 5.25. Building license analysis

(Source: Prepared by the author based on the data of Narlıdere Municipality)

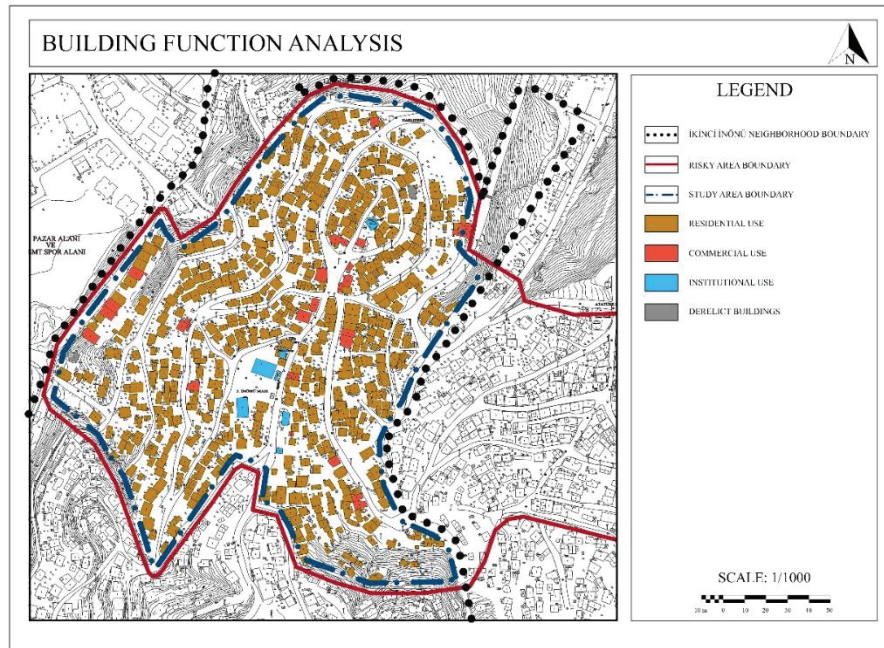
As it is seen in table 5.13, 0,64% of these buildings are licensed buildings, 35,20% of these buildings are the structures having benefited from the development amnesty in 1984, 63,8% of the buildings have the characteristics of squatter housing, and the last

0,32% of them is derelicted. Among the illegal structures defined as squatter, there are institutional structures like a mosque, three school buildings, one community clinic, and one head office building.

*Table 5.13. Building lisenze situation in the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood*

*(Source: prepared by the author)*

Building License Analysis	Number	Percentile
Licensed building	4	0,64%
Structures have benefited from the development amnesty in 1984	219	35,20%
Squatter building	397	63,82%
Derelict building	2	0,32%
Total	622	100%



*Figure 5.26. Building function analysis*

*(Source: prepared by the author based on the data of Narlıdere Municipality)*

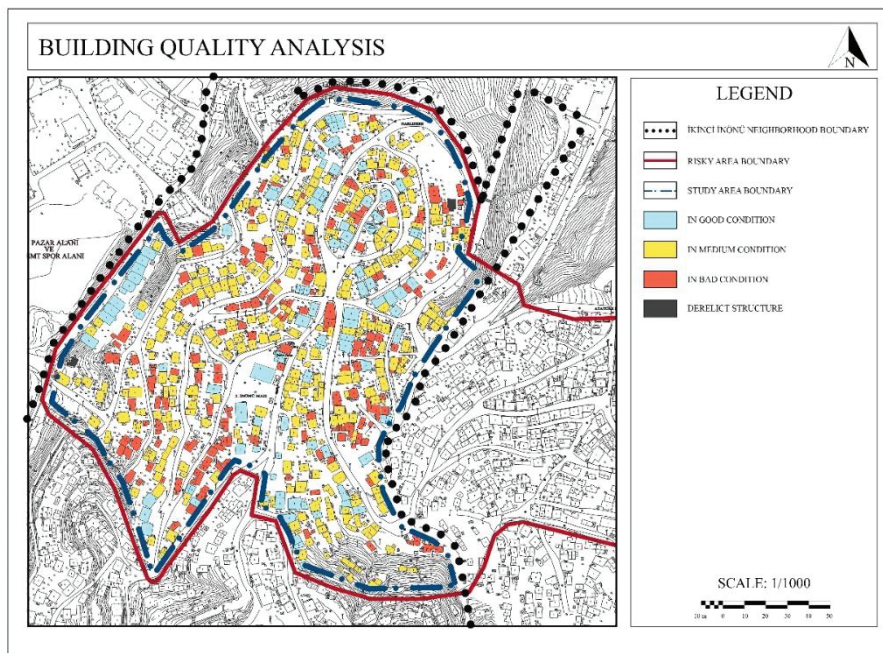
As to be seen in table 5.14, 93,56% of the buildings in the study area are in residential use. In a part of the area that can be called its, in addition to the use of community clinic, primary school and mosque, exist small trade businesses meeting basic

needs such as tailor, grocery store, pharmacy, and clothes shop. 4,98% of the buildings in the area are in commercial use.

*Table 5.14. Functions of the buildings in the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood*

*(Source: prepared by the author)*

Building Function Analysis	Number	Percentile
Residential use	582	93,56%
Commercial use	31	4,98%
Institutional use	7	1,125%
Derelict building	2	0,32%
Total	622	100%



*Figure 5.27. Building quality analysis*

*(Source: prepared by the author based on the data of Narlıdere Municipality)*

According to the building quality analysis during the field study, more than half of the buildings in the area is in medium condition. Although the rate of buildings in poor condition is 31,02%, the rate of the structures in good condition is 13,02%. In this case, the structure quality of the buildings in the area is ranged mostly between in the bad and the medium degree. Table 5.15 shows the data of building quality analysis.

Table 5.15. Building quality in the squatters in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood

(Source: prepared by the author)

Building Quality Analysis	Number	Percentile
In good condition	81	13,02%
In medium condition	346	55,62%
In bad condition	193	31,02%
Derelict building	2	0,32%
Total	622	100%

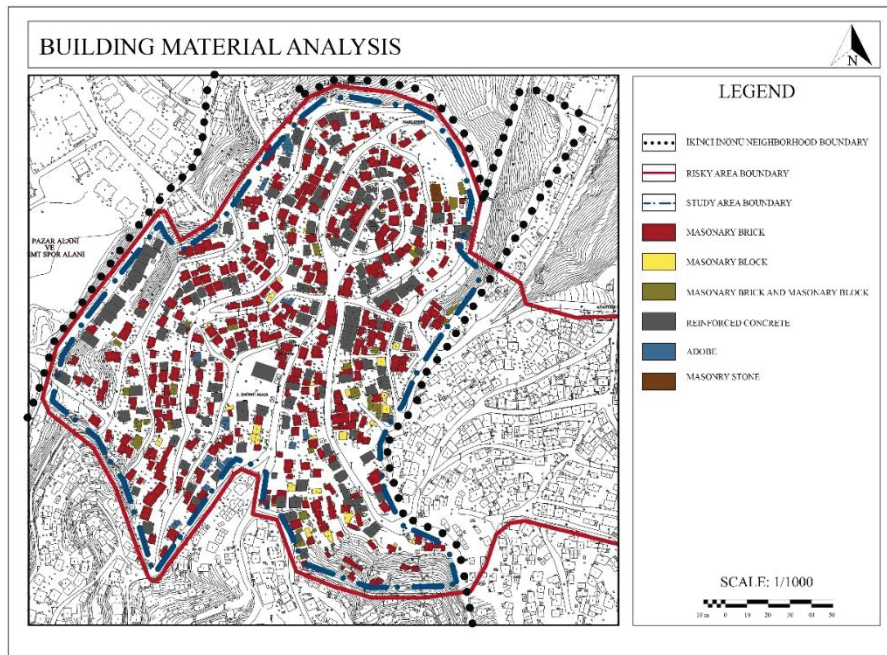


Figure 5.28. Building material analysis

(Source: prepared by the author based on the data of Narlıdere Municipality)

Building material analysis shows the 59,96% of the structures in the area was built with masonry brick. Secondly, 27,33% of the structures' material is reinforced concrete.

Table 5.16. Building material analysis

(Source: prepared by the author)

Building Material Analysis	Number	Percentile
Masonry brick	373	59,96%
Masonry block	28	4,50%

(Cont. on next page)



Table 5.16. (continued)

Masonry brick and masonry block	33	5,30%
Reinforced concrete	170	27,33%
Adobe	16	2,57%
Masonry stone	2	0,32%
Total	622	100%

When building materials and building quality are examined together, it is seen that the reinforced concrete buildings are in good condition. Besides, adobe and masonry stone structures are in poor condition.

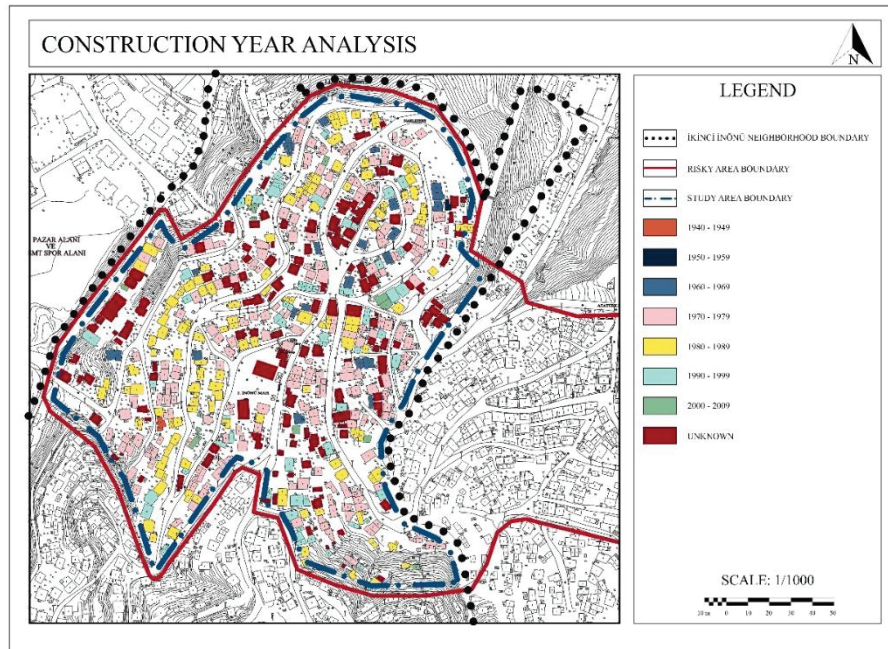


Figure 5.29. Construction year analysis

(Source: prepared by the author based on the data of Narlıdere Municipality)

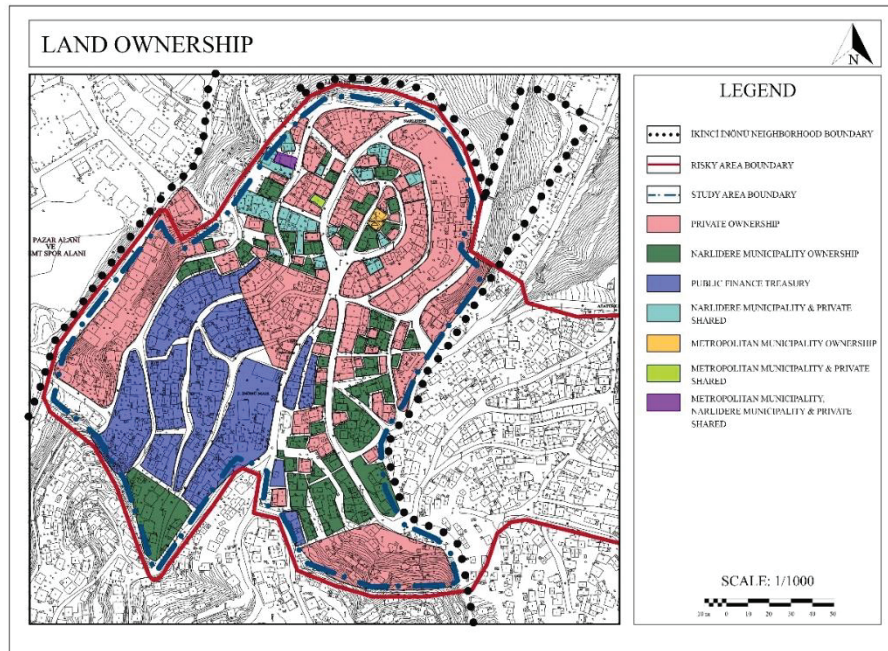
The squatting in Narlıdere concentrated in the period between 1970 and the late 1980s and continued in the 2000s. According to construction year table, as the squatting in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood started in the 1940-1949 period, it reaches to the highest rate with 31,35% in the period between 1970-1979. The rate of buildings of which construction years are unknown, is 27,49%. However, it should be noted that the population growth in squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood concentrated

between 1970 and 1990 (Arslan 2013). That is why, it is estimated that most squatter houses were built in these years.

*Table 5.17. Construction years of the squatter housing units in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood*

*(Source: prepared by the author)*

Years	Number	Percentile
1940-1949	2	0,32%
1950-1959	1	0,16%
1960-1969	28	4,50%
1970-1979	195	31,35%
1980-1989	143	22,99%
1990-1999	70	11,25%
2000-2009	12	1,92%
Unknown	171	27,49%
Total	622	100%



*Figure 5.30. Land ownership in the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood*

*(Source: prepared by the author based on the data of Narlıdere Municipality)*

Table 5.18. The ownership distribution of the lands in the squatter housing area  
(Source: prepared by the author)

Ownership Status	Hectare (~)	Percentile
Private ownership	5,44 ha	36,90%
Narlidere Municipality ownership	1,70 ha	11,53%
Public finance treasury	2,5 ha	16,96%
Narlidere municipality & private shared	0,45 ha	3,05%
İzmir Metropolitan Municipality ownership	0,0355 ha	0,24%
Metropolitan municipality & private shared	0,0089 ha	0,06%
Metropolitan municipality&Narlidere Municipality&private shared	0,0159 ha	0,107%
Streets etc.	4,59 ha	31,13%
Total	14,74 ha	100%

The biggest share with 36,90% is private ownership. Public finance treasury and Narlıdere Municipality ownership rates follow the private ownership with 16,96% and 11,53%, respectively.

When the fieldwork findings are interpreted together, it can be said that many of the buildings in the area are composed of unregistered structures with low quality. The dominance of land ownership belongs to the private owners. Despite the zoning amnesty applied in 1984 and the urban transformation in the late 1990s, squatting could not be prevented and squatter housing production continued until the end of the 2000s.

## 5.5. The Urban Transformation Project According to Redevelopment of Areas Under Disaster Risk Law no. 6306

The second urban transformation process in Narlıdere started with the revision plan in 2002. In this plan, nearly 30 hectares of the squatter housing area in Atatürk and İkinci İnönü Neighborhoods were determined as a region to be revised on the condition that the geological survey report was prepared. Following the geological survey report prepared in 2005, the 1/1000 scale revision development plan for Atatürk and İkinci İnönü

Neighborhoods was approved by the Narlıdere Municipality in 2007. However, the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality rejected this revision plan and requested it to be revised. Then in 2008, this area was declared as Urban Transformation and Project Development Area in accordance with the Article 72 of the Municipal Law (no. 5393) by Narlıdere Municipality. The main purpose of this decision was to solve the property problems in the squatter housing area.

After the approval of this plan by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality in 2009, at the end of the appeal proceedings, the area of 44 hectares, which is considered as geologically inconvenient in Atatürk, İkinci İnönü, Çatalkaya and Narlı neighborhoods, was announced as urban transformation area with the Redevelopment of Areas Under Disaster Risk Law (no. 6306) on 25.06.2013. The 24 hectares of this area is in the boundaries of İkinci İnönü and Atatürk Neighborhoods and 20 hectares of the project area in the Narlı and Çatalkaya Neighborhoods. The area covers 1710 squatter houses in total under the scope of this transformation project (see Figure 5.31). The case study of this thesis covers 622 of this squatter housing units in the İkinci İnönü Neighborhood.



*Figure 5.31. Disaster risk areas under the law no 6306  
(Source: Narlıdere Municipality)*

The Narlıdere Municipality submitted the transformation project to the approval of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanism. The detail of this transformation project is not certain yet because the approval procedures go on.

The data and knowledge about the transformation project are based on face-to-face meetings and in-depth interviews with the official staff of the Narlıdere Municipality. It is stated that this transformation project is planned to be undertaken and carried out by the Municipality and private real estate partnership based on of 50% shares for each. After

the approval of the transformation project by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanism, the process of reconciliation with the squatter housing owners shall be initiated and the contract defining the rights of squatter house owners shall be signed. Within the scope of the project, squatter housing inhabitants in the area, including tenants, will be defined as the title holders. However, the financial structure of the projects and the kind of rights and charges of the inhabitants are kept under secret. On the other hand, the intended population of this transformation project is defined as the middle- and upper-income groups by Narlıdere Municipality (Face to face interview in Narlıdere Municipality on 26.11.2018).

The statements of the Narlıdere Municipality about the urban transformation to be carried out in the squatter housing area are as follows: “title holder citizen”, “a peaceful urban transformation based on conciliation”, “healthy living area integrated to the city”, “modern social infrastructure”, “a housing complying with the disaster regulations”, “100% compromise with the inhabitants”. (The Brochure published by the Municipality before the Local Government Elections on 31th March 2019).

The project is planned and designed as the residential units with commercial area, social infrastructure and green area. The data about the details of the hectare and land distribution was not shared during the interviews due to the approval procedures of the project going on at the Ministry.



*Figure 5.32. Urban Transformation Project covers the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü and Atatürk Neighborhoods according to Redevelopment of Areas Under Disaster Risk Law no. 6306*

*(Source: Narlıdere Municipality, 2019)*



*Figure 5.33. 3D renders of the Urban Transformation Project covering the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü and Atatürk Neighborhoods according to Redevelopment of Areas Under Disaster Risk Law no. 6306*

*(Source: Narlıdere Municipality, 2019)*



*Figure 5.34. 3D renders of the Urban Transformation Project covering the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü and Atatürk Neighborhoods according to Redevelopment of Areas Under Disaster Risk Law no. 6306*

*(Source: Narlıdere Municipality, 2019)*

Although this transformation project defends the compromise with the residents, it seems that the project is an outcome of the increasing urban rent around the squatter housing area. The area was planned and designed as incompatible with the existing spatial

and structural texture and with the practices of the inhabitants (see Figure 5.32). Putting aside the area was designed without the participation process, there are inhabitants unfamiliar with the project, even though it was sent to the approval of the Ministry.

The poor that have experienced the housing question in different processes face with the exclusion through dispossession with this urban transformation project that is run within the political processes. It was observed that urban renewal process affected the squatter housing owners even though there is not yet a physical reflection of the project in the area.

The willing of squatter housing residents about having a clean and proper house and desire to pass on the upper social class, and desire for a more comfortable life for their children make the squatter house owners be willing to the urban renewal project. Lastly, the effects of the luxury housing development which surrounds the squatter housing area can be compiled in two subcategories; positive impacts on spatial and physical development and negative impacts in terms of the social and psychological status of the squatter housing residents.

## **5.6. Housing Affordability Index (HAI)**

Housing affordability is defined as the ability to afford a house that is suitable with the household's financial situation (Suhaida, et al., 2011). Housing Affordability Index (HAI) is a metric which is used to calculate whether housing is affordable for the households or not. Household income, housing prices, interest rates and loaning terms are taken as primary factors affecting housing affordability (Aşıcı, et al., 2011).

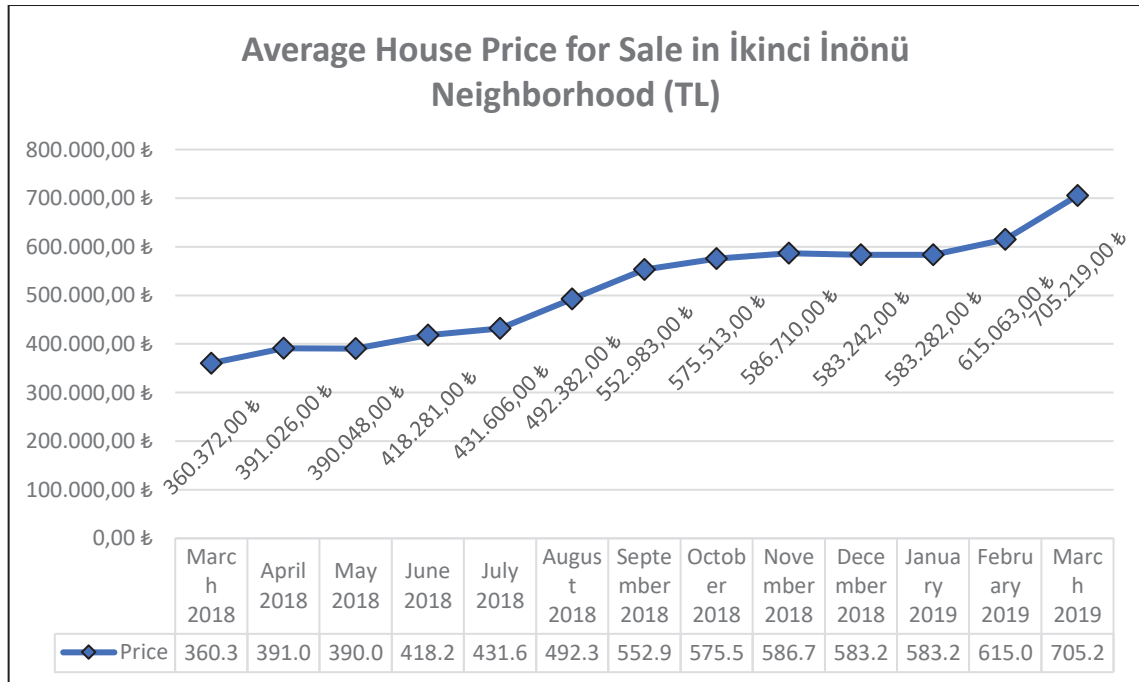
To predict that the squatter housing residents can afford a house after the renewal project, housing affordability index was calculated based on two different scenarios by using the average household income data and average housing price of the İkinci İnönü Neighborhood. The average housing unit area is fixed as 80 m<sup>2</sup> for both scenarios according to the housing unit size of the previous urban transformation projects implemented for similar neighbourhoods with similar socio-spatial and economic characteristics in İzmir. The outputs of HAI calculations are interpreted depending on the loan repayment capacity.

The first scenario depends on the advance payment which also has four cases in which the advance payment changes as 20%, 30%, 40% and 50%. The main reason of these scenario cases is that the details of the repayments of the transformation project were undefined, at least for the residents as well as the author of this thesis. Because it is assumed that the land cost is subtracted from the housing price in the calculation of the loan paybacks. In this type of scenario creating the share of the credit payment in the household income is fixed as 25%.

The second scenario is created depending the share of the credit payment in household income which changes as 20%, 30%, 40% and 50%. The reason for creating this type of scenario is the social character and squatter house residents' desire to own a proper and new house which observed during the field study.

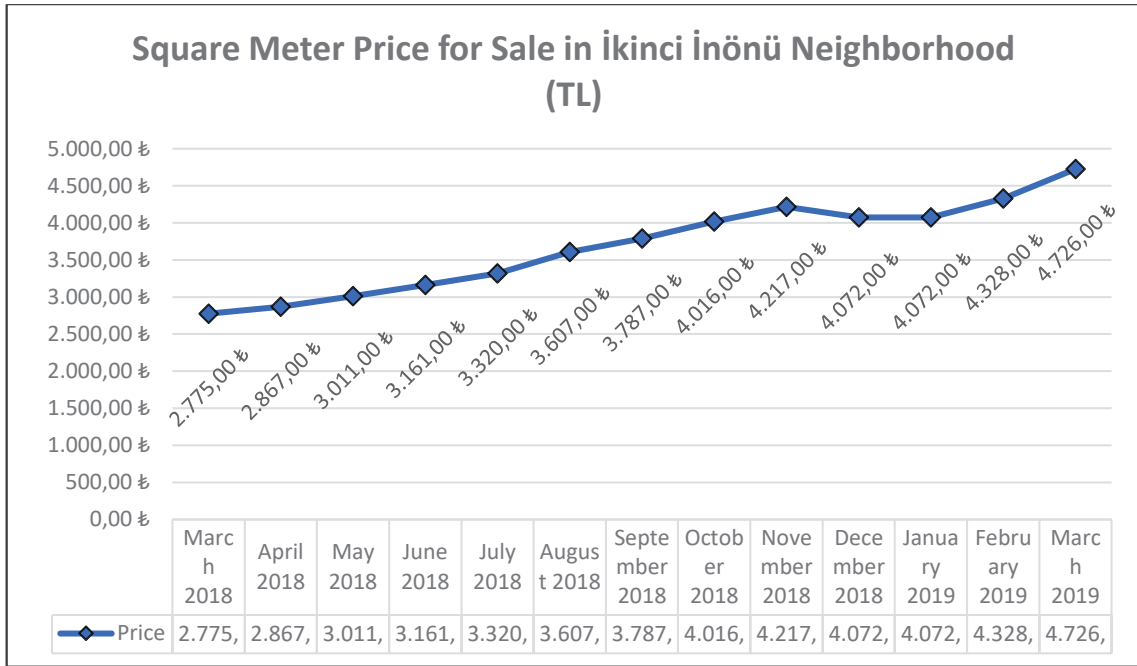
### Housing prices

Average housing price of İkinci İnönü Neighborhood were obtained from online sources based on the data on March 2019. In İkinci İnönü Neighborhood, an average housing price in 2019, March is 4.726 TL per m<sup>2</sup>. (Sahibinden Emlak Endeksi 2019, date of access: 17th March 2019,).



*Figure 5.35. Average house price for sale in İkinci İnönü Neighb.  
(Source: Prepared by the author based on the housing price data)*





*Figure 5.36. Square meter price for sale in İkinci İnönü Neighb.  
(Source: Prepared by the author based on the housing price data)*

In the last one year, the average housing price increase in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood is 95,69%. The average square meter price in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood has increased by 70,32% from 2018, March to 2019 March (Sahibinden Emlak Endeksi 2019, date of access: 17th March 2019).

#### *The mortgage rate and qualifying income*

To calculate housing affordability, typical housing was taken as 80 m<sup>2</sup> with reference to the previous urban transformation project. Based on the housing price in March 2019, the mortgage payment was calculated with the help of the online mortgage calculator. Ziraat Bank was selected as an example because it was the bank that gave the most favorable interest rate when the calculations were done (Ziraat Bankası, date of access: 20<sup>th</sup> April 2019). Necessary mortgage loan repayment plan was assumed to have a maturity of 120 months.

Monthly qualifying income refers to the income needed to pay the loan easily after deducting the money for the basic needs and other primary expenses. To calculate housing affordability index, household incomes are fixed at the average value of the income ranges in the survey results. There are 4 groups of household income as TL500, TL1.500, TL3.500, TL7.500.

Scenario 1-a

In this scenario, it was assumed that 20% of the price of the house would be paid in advance, and 80% of the house would be bought by retiring the housing loan. Qualifying income of households was calculated depending on the monthly repayment plan of this mortgage loan.

*Table 5.19. Calculated data of scenario 1-a  
(Source: prepared by the author)*

Typical housing units (m <sup>2</sup> )	80 m <sup>2</sup>
m <sup>2</sup> price	TL 4.726
Sale price of a typical house	TL 378.080
Advance payment	TL 75.616
120-month maturity loan	TL 302.464
Monthly repayment	TL 5.333
Monthly qualifying income	TL 21.332

To calculate housing affordability, the equation is;

$$HAI = \text{Median Family Income} / \text{Qualifying Income} * 100$$

The table below shows the calculated HAI values for each income group.

*Table 5.20. HAI calculation in scenario 1-a  
(Source: prepared by the author)*

Income group	Equation	Result
TL 500	$HAI = TL500 / TL21.332 * 100$	TL 2,34
TL 1.500	$HAI = TL1.500 / TL21.332 * 100$	TL 7,03
TL 3.500	$HAI = TL3.500 / TL21.332 * 100$	TL 16,40
TL 7.500	$HAI = TL7.500 / TL21.332 * 100$	TL 35,15

The housing affordability table shows if the housing price in the urban transformation is TL100;

the income group of TL500 has TL2,34,

the income group of TL1.500 has TL7,03,

the income group of TL3.500 has TL16,40,

the income group of TL7.500 has TL35,15.

In this scenario, there is no family that can afford the house after the urban transformation project.

Scenario 1-b

In this scenario, it was assumed that 30% of the price of the house would be paid in advance, and 70% of the price would be paid by retiring housing loan. Qualifying income of households was calculated depending on the monthly repayment plan of this 70% of mortgage loan.

*Table 5.21. Calculated data of scenario 1-b  
(Source: prepared by the author)*

Typical housing units (m <sup>2</sup> )	80 m <sup>2</sup>
m <sup>2</sup> price	TL 4.726
Sale price of a typical house	TL 378.080
Advance payment	TL 113.424
120-month maturity loan	TL 264.656
Monthly repayment	TL 4.666
Monthly qualifying income	TL 18.664

To calculate housing affordability, the equation is;

$$HAI = \text{Median Family Income} / \text{Qualifying Income} * 100$$

The table below shows the calculated HAI values for each income group.

*Table 5.22. HAI calculation in scenario 1-b  
(Source: prepared by the author)*

Income group	Equation	Result
TL 500	HAI= TL500/ TL18.664*100	TL 2,67
TL 1.500	HAI= TL1.500/ TL18.664*100	TL 8,03
TL 3.500	HAI= TL3.500/ TL18.664*100	TL 18,75
TL 7.500	HAI= TL7.500/ TL18.664*100	TL 40,18

The housing affordability table shows if the housing price in the urban transformation is TL100;

the income group of TL500 has TL2,67,

the income group of TL1.500 has TL8,03,

the income group of TL3.500 has TL18,75,

the income group of TL7.500 has TL40,18.

In this scenario, too, there is no family that can afford the house after the urban transformation project.

Scenario I-c

In this scenario, it was assumed that 40% of the price of the house would be paid in advance, and 60% by retiring housing loan. Qualifying income of households was calculated depending on the monthly repayment plan of this amount of mortgage loan.

*Table 5.23. Calculated data of scenario I-c*

*(Source: prepared by the author)*

Typical housing units (m <sup>2</sup> )	80 m <sup>2</sup>
m <sup>2</sup> price	TL 4.726
Sale price of a typical house	TL 378.080
Advance payment	TL 151.232
120-month maturity loan	TL 226.848
Monthly repayment	TL 4.000
Monthly qualifying income	TL 16.000

To calculate housing affordability, the equation is;

$$HAI = \text{Median Family Income} / \text{Qualifying Income} * 100$$

The table below shows the calculated HAI values for each income group.

*Table 5.24. HAI calculaton in scenario I-c*

*(Source: prepared by the author)*

Income group	Equation	Result
TL 500	$HAI = TL500 / TL16.000 * 100$	TL 3,12

(Cont. on next page)

Table 5.24. (continued)

TL 1.500	HAI= TL1.500/ TL16.000*100	TL 9,37
TL 3.500	HAI= TL3.500/ TL16.000*100	TL 21,87
TL 7.500	HAI= TL7.500/ TL16.000*100	TL 46,87

The housing affordability table shows if the housing price in the urban transformation is TL100;

the income group of TL500 has TL3,12,

the income group of TL1.500 has TL9,37,

the income group of TL3.500 has TL21,87,

the income group of TL7.500 has TL46,87.

In this scenario, as in the previous ones, no family can afford to buy a house after the urban transformation project.

Scenario 1-d

In this scenario, it was assumed that 50% of the price of the house would be paid in advance, and 50% by retiring housing loan. Qualifying income of households was calculated depending on the monthly repayment plan of this 50% of mortgage loan.

Table 5.25. Calculated data of scenario 1-d

(Source: prepared by the author)

Typical housing units (m <sup>2</sup> )	80 m <sup>2</sup>
m <sup>2</sup> price	TL 4.726
Sale price of a typical house	TL 378.080
Advance payment	TL 189.040
120-month maturity loan	TL 189.040
Monthly repayment	TL 3.333
Monthly qualifying income	TL 13.332

To calculate housing affordability, the equation is;

$$HAI = \text{Median Family Income} / \text{Qualifying Income} * 100$$

The table below shows the calculated HAI values for each income group.

*Table 5.26. HAI calculation in scenario 1-d*

*(Source: prepared by the author)*

Income group	Equation	Result
TL 500	$HAI = TL500 / TL13.332 * 100$	TL 3,75
TL 1.500	$HAI = TL1.500 / TL13.332 * 100$	TL 11,25
TL 3.500	$HAI = TL3.500 / TL13.332 * 100$	TL 26,25
TL 7.500	$HAI = TL7.500 / TL13.332 * 100$	TL 56,25

The housing affordability table shows if the housing price in the urban transformation is TL100;

the income group of TL500 has TL3,75,

the income group of TL1.500 has TL11,25,

the income group of TL3.500 has TL26,25,

the income group of TL7.500 has TL56,25.

In this scenario, no family can own a house after the urban transformation project.

### Scenario 2

In the case of scenario 2, the loan payment shares in the household income change in the range 20%, 30%, 40% and 50%, and the advance payment is fixed on 25%.

*Table 5.27. Calculated data of scenario 2*

*(Source: prepared by the author)*

Typical housing units (m <sup>2</sup> )	80 m <sup>2</sup>
m <sup>2</sup> price	TL 4.726
Sale price of a typical house	TL 378.080
Advance payment	TL 94.520
120-month maturity loan	TL 283.560
Monthly repayment	TL 5.000

To calculate the loan payment share, household incomes are fixed at the average value of the income ranges in the survey results. There are 4 groups of household income as TL500, TL1.500, TL3.500, TL7.500. Consequently, the payback amounts of the

households depending on the changes in share in different percentages are shown in the table below.

*Table 5.28. Payback money in changing shares of the income according to the scenario 2*

*(Source: prepared by the author)*

Household income	Share (%)	Payback (TL)
TL0-1.000 -500-	20%	TL 100
	30%	TL 150
	40%	TL 200
	50%	TL 250
TL1.001-2.000 -1.500-	20%	TL 300
	30%	TL 450
	40%	TL 600
	50%	TL 750
TL2.001-5.000 -3.500-	20%	TL 700
	30%	TL 1.050
	40%	TL 1.400
	50%	TL 1.750
TL5.000- and over -7.500-	20%	TL 1.500
	30%	TL 2.250
	40%	TL 3.000
	50%	TL 3.750

In this scenario type 2, none of the families can afford the monthly payment of the loans even if they set half of their monthly income aside for the repayments.

On the other hand, as it is supposed to be like scenario 1-d, if the land cost is substituted for the advance payment, and if the payback installments' share is 50% and the household can use 50% of its monthly income, then, only might the households having income of TL5.000 and over afford the monthly paybacks of the urban transformation project. With a very optimistic scenario, only would 5% of the squatter housing residents in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood have the repayment capacity. The remaining 95% of squatter housing residents is highly vulnerable in the face of dispossession and displacement.

## CHAPTER 6

### CONCLUSION

In the last few decades, Turkey has been experiencing housing question of the poor because of the housing production under the neoliberal policies and speculative urbanization. The domination of the housing market by luxury housing production has a direct impact on the housing problem of the poor. In this context, to examine the housing question of the poor, squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood in Narlıdere, İzmir was taken as an exemplary case.

The squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighborhood is surrounded by luxury housing projects. It is under the pressure of increasing urban rent and a renewal project directly addresses the squatter housing area that is under the scope of Redevelopment of Areas Under Disaster Risk Law (no. 6306).

Under the neoliberal policies and speculative urbanism, housing production is defined by the dominance of exchange value over the use value of housing. For the sake of capital accumulation from housing, urban renewal projects are instrumentalized to create land in squatter housing areas where the urban rent potential is high. As the urban transformation projects became a tool of producing luxury housing, the housing question of the poor turned to be a dispossession. In this case study, the renewal project has the luxury housing characteristics and addresses high-income group. It appears that the Redevelopment of Areas Under Disaster Risk Law (no. 6306) became the legal tool of luxury and speculative housing productions.

It is stated that the Narlıdere Municipality would accept all inhabitants of the squatter housing area as title-holder and the aim of the project is to redevelop the area with its inhabitants. However, the process of reconciliation with the squatter housing owners was not initiated and there was no agreement or contract defining their rights to housing. In addition, the squatter housing residents were completely excluded from the project design phase. The squatter residents were not informed about the financial structure and the actors of the project's implementation, their shares, charges, possible



gains and losses, despite that the Municipality submitted the project to the approval of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation.

All informants have an expectation to have a home after the transformation project. However, almost all households live below the poverty limit. Because of precarious works with low wages and unemployment, it is not possible for them to afford the housing price range defined under the pressure of the surrounding luxury housing development.

According to the Housing Affordability Index scenarios, under these economic circumstances, only 5% of the households in the squatter housing area can afford the price of a house after the transformation project. The advance payment is counted as 50% share, and the household can use 50% of their monthly income to buy a house. They can pay the installments after the land cost is counted as 50% of total house price and subtracted from the total price. However, it is possible only on the condition that are the squatter housing owners accepted as having already owned their building plot. Considering their income levels and their precariousness originating from working circumstances, it is an extremely optimistic assumption that they could regularly pay the installments and monthly dues.

Financialization of the housing and the increasing rent pressure exclude the poor from the housing market. In this case, the exclusion of the poor is experienced through an urban renewal project based on a recent law, the Redevelopment of Areas Under Disaster Risk Law (no. 6306), which is one of the most effective regulation of the state. Considering the characteristics of the renewal project designed and submitted to approval of the Ministry, it will be carried out as slum clearance and result in the exclusion and displacement of the poor through dispossession. It is because the housing production does not address the socio-economic conditions of the squatter housing inhabitants. The housing projects do not meet the need and demand of squatter housing residents. The inhabitants of the squatter housings are under pressure of their economic circumstances. Since the household income will not be enough, they will have to find new jobs until they are dismissed from their homes because the installments and dues can not be paid sustainably.

As a result, housing production through the urban renewal project under consideration is in contradiction with the concept of “right to housing”. The housing types produced do not meet the needs, and are compatible with the circumstances, of the poor. The housing became a profit-making tool and is run by private construction firms. The dominance of the private sector in housing production has led the housing to be turned

into a real estate. The financialization of housing resulted in the changing housing production, the rising inequalities in accessing the right to housing, and exclusion of the poor by dispossession.

The housing question of the poor is not only the living in the poor-quality house and the environment, but it is a multidimensional problem that covers the spatial, economical, social and even psychological dimensions at different scales. Most of the squatter housing residents live in the squatter area due to the economic reasons. As the urban transformation projects replaced the detached squatter housing units with the multi-storey mass housings, these new living spaces do not meet their economic, social and daily-life habits. After the dominance of the neoliberal policies in housing market, squatter housing residents are exposed to the pressure of the increasing urban rent in the surrounding areas. That the urban transformation projects became a tool of capital accumulation under neoliberal policies and speculative urbanism, the housing question of the poor turned to irrefutable exclusion through dispossession.

As to what is to be done, housing must be produced within the framework of the right to housing. The use value of housing must be defended against exchange value by emphasizing the priority of the needs and demands of the poor. The state should increase its efficiency in housing production, and the dominance of the private sector should be reduced. The aims and priorities should be defined in terms of the socioeconomic context and affordable housing production.

The urban transformation and renewal projects must be planned and implemented multi-dimensionally in social, spatial and economic terms. The process of transformation should be open to the participation and the area must be designed with the squatter housing inhabitants. For housing payments to be sustainable, full employment should be provided to those who live in squatters and do not have regular income. The area to be produced should be a multi-faceted, qualified area that can accommodate all possible inhabitants from different economic strata.

## REFERENCES

- Adaman, Fikret, Bengi Akbulut, and Murat Arsel, eds. *Neoliberal Turkey and its Discontents: Economic Policy and the Environment under Erdogan*. Bloomsbury Publishing, 2017.
- Adaman, Fikret and Çağlar Keyder. "Türkiye’de Büyük Kentlerin Gecekondu ve Çöküntü Mahallelerinde Yaşanan Yoksulluk ve Sosyal Dışlanma", 2005. [http://www.ec.europa.eu/employment\\_social/social\\_inclusion/docs/2006/study\\_turkey\\_tr.pdf](http://www.ec.europa.eu/employment_social/social_inclusion/docs/2006/study_turkey_tr.pdf)
- Aguilar, Adrian G., and Josefina Hernandigez. "Metropolitan Change and Uneven Distribution of Urban Sub-Centres in Mexico City, 1989-2009." *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 35, no. 2 (2016): 191-209.
- Arkon, Cemal and Ali Rıza Gülerman. "İzmir Büyükşehir Bütünündeki Nazım Plan Çalışmaları Üzerine Bir İnceleme." *Planlama Dergisi*, no. 2, (1995): 14-20.
- Arkon, Cemal, Semahat Özdemir, and Erkal Serim. "İkinci İnönü and Atatürk Neighborhood 1/1000 scaled Revision Plan Report." Expert Report, 2010.
- Arslan, Hakan. "Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Sosyal Dışlanma: Narlıdere Kentsel Yenileme Projesinin Sosyal Dışlanma Ekseninde İncelenmesi." *Sosyoloji Araştırmaları Dergisi* 16, no.1 (2013).
- Aşıcı, Mehmet, Özlem Yılmaz, and Ali Hepşen. "Housing Affordability Index Calculation Integrating Income Inequality in Turkey." *The Empirical Economic Letters* 10, no. 4 (2011): 359-367.
- Ataöv, Anlı and Sevin Osmay. "Türkiye’de Kentsel Dönüşüme Yöntemsel Bir Yaklaşım." *METU JFA* 24, no. 2 (2007): 57-82.
- Atasoy, Yıldız. "Repossession, Re-informalization and Dispossession: The ‘Muddy Terrain’ of Land Commodification in Turkey." *Journal of Agrarian Change* 17, no. 4 (2017): 657- 679. doi: 10.1111/joac.12182
- Aydın, Saadet. "Türkiye’de Konut Sorununun Ekonomik Boyutları." PhD thesis, Ankara University, 2002.
- Bal, Eylem. "Türkiye’de 2000 Sonrası Neoliberal Politikalar Çerçevesinde İmar Mevzuatındaki Değişimler ve Yeni Kentleşme Pratikleri: İstanbul Örneği." PhD thesis, Dokuz Eylül University, 2010.

- Bal, Eylem and Didem Akyol. "İzmir'de Neoliberal Kentleşme Eğilimleri Kapsamında Lüks Konut Üretiminde Yeni Yaklaşımlar: Folkart Konut Projeleri." *Planlama* 26, no. 1 (2016): 65-80. doi: 10.5505/planlama.2016.03522
- Balaban, Osman. "The Negative Effects of Construction Boom on Urban Planning and Environment in Turkey: Unraveling the Role of the Public Sector." *Habitat International* 36, (2012): 26-35. doi: 10.1016/j.habitatint.2011.05.003
- Balamir, Aydan. "Mimari Kimlik Temrinleri II: Türkiye'de Modern Yapı Kültürünün Bir Profili". *Mimarlık*, (2013): 18-23.
- Barchiesi, Franco. "Commodification, Economic Restructuring, and the Changing Urban Geography of Labour in Post-Apartheid South Africa: The Case of Gauteng Province, 1991-2001." *Urban Forum* 17, no.2 (2006): 93-124.
- Beckhoven, Ellen Van, Ronald Van Kempen. "Social Effects of Urban Restructuring: A Case Study in Amsterdam and Utrecht, the Netherlands." *Housing Studies* 18, no. 6 (2003): 853-875.
- Berry, Mike. "Neoliberalism and the City: or the Failure of the Market Fundamentalism." *Housing, Theory and Society* 31, no. 1 (2014): 1-18
- Borsch-Supan, Axel. "Housing Market Regulations and Housing Market Performance in the United States, Germany, and Japan." In *Social Protection versus Economic Flexibility: Is There a Trade-Off?*, edited by Rebecca M. Blank, 119-156. University of Chicago Press, 1994. <http://www.nber.org/chapters/c11257>
- Boschman, Sanne, Gideon Bolt, Ronald Van Kempen, and Frand Van Dam. "Mixed Neighborhoods: Effects of Urban Restructuring and New Housing Development." *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 104, no. 2 (2013): 233-242. doi: 10.1111/tesg.12015
- Brenner, Neil. "Open City of the Right to the City" In *Critique of Urbanization: Selected Essays*, edited by Walter de Gruyter, 2016. <http://ebookcentral.proquest.com/lib/iyte/detail.action?docID=4793913>
- Brenner, Neil, Jamie Peck, and Nik Theodore. "After Neoliberalization?." *Globalizations* 7, no. 3 (2010): 327-345. doi: 10.1080/14747731003669669
- Brenner, Neil and Nik Theodore. "Cities and Geographies of Actually Existing Neoliberalism." *Antipode* 34, no. 3 (2002): 349-378.
- Brenner, Neil and Nik Theodore. "Neoliberalism and the Urban Condition." *City* 9, no. 1 (2005): 101-107. doi: 10.1080/13604810500092106

- Brenner, Neil, Nick Theodore, and Jamie Peck. "Variegated Neoliberalization: Geographies, Modalities, Pathways, Global Networks." 10, no. 2 (2009): 1-41.
- Brenner, Neil, Peter Marcuse, and Margit Mayer. "Cities for People not for Profit." *City* 13, no. 2 (2009): 176-184. doi: 10.1080/13604810903020548
- Can, Oğuz S., "Urban Change Dynamics: İzmir Case, 1927- 2010." PhD thesis, İzmir Institute of Technology, 2013.
- Coq-Huelva, Daniel. "Urbanisation and Financialisation in the Context of a Rescaling State: the Case of Spain." *Antipode* 45, no. 5 (2013): 1213-1231. doi:10.1111/anti.12011
- Çalışkan, Özlem. "Mekansal Planlamada Sosyal Adaletin Yeri ve Sosyal Konutla İlişkisi: Türkiye’de 1980 Sonrası Dönemde Konut Politikaları Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme." Master’s thesis, MSGSÜ, 2017.
- Çelik, Özlem and Jamie Gough. "Introduction to the Special Section: Urban Neoliberalism, Strategies for Urban Struggles, and ‘The Right to the City.’" *Capital & Class* 38, no. 2 (2014): 414-451. doi: 10.1177/0309816814533291
- Çelikkilek, Ayça and Melis Öztürk. "6306 Sayılı Kanun Kapsamında Yürütülen Kentsel Dönüşüm Çalışmaları ve İzmir Uygulamaları" *İMÜ Sanat, Tasarım ve Mimar Fakültesi Dergisi* 3, no. 2 (2017): 187-213. ISSN 2587-1684
- Çınar, Ali Kemal. "Analysis of Illegal Physical Development in Metropolitan Cities: An İzmir Case." Master’s thesis, İzmir Institute of Technology, 2012
- Çınar, Tayfun. "Dünya Kenti Hipotezi ile Yeni Kentsel Politika Paradigması Üzerine Bir Değerlendirme." Paper presented at *Dünya Şehircilik Günü 36. Kolokyumu*, İzmir, 2012. Paper published in *TMMOB Proceedings Book* (2012): 47-55
- ÇŞB Kentsel Dönüşüm Sunumu. <https://izmir.csb.gov.tr/kapsamli-kentsel-donusum-sunumu-i-5578>
- Demirtaş-Milz, Neslihan. "The Regime of Informality in Neoliberal Times in Turkey: The Case of the Kadifekale Urban Transformation Project." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37, no.2 (2013): 689-714. doi:10.1111/14682427.12005
- DEU. Dokuz Eylül University Analytical Survey Report in Narlıdere in 2017
- Doğan, Bulut. "Afet Riski Nedeniyle Kentsel Dönüşüm: İzmir Örneği." Master’s thesis, Adnan Menderes University, 2016

- Doshi, Sapana. "The Politics of the Evicted Redevelopment, Subjectivity and Difference in Mumbai's Slum Frontier." *Antipode* 45, no. 4 (2013): 844-865. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8330.2012. 01023.x
- Eğercioğlu, Yakup. "Changing Dynamics of Urban Renewal: Uzundere Urban Renewal Project İzmir." Master's thesis, İzmir Institute of Technology, 2001.
- Eğercioğlu, Yakup. "The Effects of Improvement Plans on Urban Transformation Process in Illegal Built up/Squatter Areas in Turkey: İzmir and Ankara Cases." PhD thesis, İzmir Institute of Technology, 2008.
- Engelsman, Udi, Mike Rowe, and Alan Southern. "A Radical or Reformist Response to The Housing Question Today?." *An International Journal for Critical Geographies* 15, no. 3 (2016): 589-615.
- Eraydın, Ayda et al., "Büzülen Kentlerin Yeniden Canlandırılmasına Yönelik Bilgi ve Strateji Oluşturulmasına Katkı: İzmir Kent Bölgesinde Yayılma, Yığılma, Küçülme ve Büzülme Süreçlerinin Birlikteliği ile Ortaya Çıkan Yeni Mekansal Örüntülerin Avrupa Kentleri ile Karşılaştırılması" *Tübitak Project Report*, Project no: 109K590, 2013.
- Erman, Tahire. "Formalization by the State, Re-informalization by the People: A Gecekondu Transformation Housing Estate as Site of Multiple Discrepancies." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 40, no. 2 (2016): 425-440. doi:10.1111/1468-2427.12349
- Eroğlu, Ensarı. "Relocation from an Inner-city Neighborhood to Peripheral Mass Housing: from Kadifekale to Uzundere, İzmir" Master's thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2019.
- Face-to-face interview in Narlıdere Municipality in November, 2018.
- Feagin, R. Joe. *The New Urban Paradigm: Critical Perspectives on the City*. Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 1998.
- Flierl, Bruno. "Peter Marcuse and The Right to the City". *City* 13, no. 4 (2009): 471-473 doi: <https://doi.org/10.1080/13604810903298631>
- Forrest, Ray. "Globalization and the Housing Assest Rich". *Global Social Policy* 8, no. 2 (2008): 167-187. doi: 10.1177/1468018108090637
- Fox, Kevin. *The Secondary Circuit of Capital Reconsidered: Globalization and the US Real Estate Sector*. Tulane University

- Fraser, C James, and Edward Kick, L. "Governing Urban Restructuring with City Building Nonprofits." *Environment and Planning* 46, (2014): 1445-1461. doi:10.1068/a46169
- Genç, Fatma Neval. "Gecekonduyla Mücadeleden Kentsel Dönüşüme Türkiye’de Kentleşme Politikaları." *Adnan Menderes Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi* 1, no. 1 (2014): 15-30. doi: 10.30803/adusobed.188800
- Genç, Fatma Neval and Doğan, Bulut. "Afet Risklerinin Azaltımı Amacıyla Kentsel Dönüşüm: İzmir Örneği." *YYÜ Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Dergisi*, (2018)
- Gent, Van. "Neoliberalization, Housing Institutions and Variegated Gentrification: How the ‘third wave’ Broke in Amsterdam." *Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37, no. 2 (2013): 503-522. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2012.01155.x
- Goldman, Michael. "Speculative Urbanism and the Making of the Next World City." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, (2010). doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2010.01001.x
- Goonewardena, Kanishka. "Urban Studies, Critical Theory, Radical Politics: Eight Thesis for Peter Marcuse" *City* 13, no. 2-3 (2009): 208-218. doi: 10.1080/13604810902982219
- Gottdiener, M. "A Marx for Our Time: Henri Lefebvre and the Production of Space." *Sociological Theory - A Journal of the American Sociological Association* 11, no.1 (1993): 129-134.
- Graham, Stephen. "Luxified Studies." *City* 19, no. 5 (2015): 618-645. doi:10.1080/13604813.2015.1071113
- Gutierrez, Aaron and Xavier Delclos. "The Uneven Distribution of Evictions as New Evidence of Urban Inequality: a Spatial Analysis Approach in Two Catalan Cities." *Cities* 56, (2016): 101- 108.
- Güner, Deniz. "İzmir’de Konut Mimarlığı 1950-2006." *Planlama* 37, (2006): 123-141.
- Hankins, Katherine and Mechelle Puckett. "Forced Mobility: The Relocation of Public-housing Residents in Atlanta" *Environment and Planning* 46, (2014): 2932-2949. doi:10.1068/a45742
- Harvey, David. *Social Justice and the City*. The Johns Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1973

- Harvey, David. "Class Monopoly Rent, Finance Capital and the Urban Revolution." *Regional Studies* 8, no. 3-4 (1974): 239-255.
- Harvey, David. "The Urban Process under Capitalism: A Framework for Analysis." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 2, (1978): 101-131.
- Harvey, David. *The Limits to Capital*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- Harvey, David. "The Urban Process Under Capitalism: A Framework for Analysis." In *the Urbanization of Capital*, 1-31; 91-121. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1985a
- Harvey, David. *The Urbanisation of Capital*. John Hopkins University Press, Baltimore, 1985b
- Harvey, David. "From Managerialism to Entrepreneurialism: The Transformation in Urban Governance in Late Capitalism." *Human Geography* 71, no. 1 (1989).
- Harvey, David. "Between Space and Time: Reflections on the Geographical Imagination." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 80, no. 3 (1990): 418-434.
- Harvey, David. *Spaces of Capital: Towards a Critical Geography*. Edinburgh University Press, Edinburgh, 2001.
- Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford University Press, New York, 2005.
- Harvey, David. "Neo-Liberalism as Creative Destruction" *Geografiska Annaler: Series B, Human Geography* 88, no. 2 (2006a): 145-158.
- Harvey, David. *The Limits to Capital*. Verso, London-New York, 2006b
- Hayashi, Mahito. "Urban Poverty and Regulation, New Spaces and Old Japan and the US in Comparison." *Environmental and Planning* 46, (2014): 1203-1225.  
doi:10.1068/a4621
- Heynen, Nik. "Urban Political Ecology II: The Abolitionist Century." *Progress in Human Geography* 40, no. 6 (2016): 839-845.  
doi: 10.1177/0309132515617394
- Hodkinson, Stuart. "The new urban enclosures." *City* 16, no. 5 (2002): 500-518.  
doi:10.1080/13604813.2012.709403



- Hodkinson, Stuart. "Can We Really Ride the Urban Tiger of Global Capitalism?." *City* 15, no. 2 (2011): 270-272. doi: 10.1080/13604813.2011.568727
- Holm, Andrej, and Armin Kuhn. "Squatting and Urban Renewal: The Interaction of Squatter Movements and Strategies of Urban Restructuring in Berlin." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35, no. 3 (2011): 644-658. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2010.001009.x
- Immergluck, Dan. "A Symposium on the Subprime Crisis\* Core of the Crisis: Deregulation, the Global Savings Glut, and Financial Innovation in the Subprime Debacle." *City&Community* 9, no. 3 (2009): 341-356.
- İBŞBÇDP. İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi Çevre Düzeni Planı Raporu, 2012.
- İKBNİP. İzmir Kentsel Bölge Nazım İmar Planı ve Raporu, İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, İzmir, 2007.
- İYKMNİP. İzmir Yeni Kent Merkezi Nazım İmar Planı ve Raporu, İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi, İzmir, 2010.
- İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi İmar ve Şehircilik Dairesi Başkanlığı Nazım Plan Şube Müdürlüğü, 2012
- Jean-Paul D. Addie. "Claiming the University for Critical Urbanism." *City* 21, no.1 (2017): 65-80. doi: 10.1080/13604813.2016.1267331
- Jauhainen, Jussi S. *The Urban Process Under Capitalism: A Framework for Analysis*
- Jessop, B. "Liberalism, Neoliberalism, and Urban Governance: a State-theoretical Perspective" *Antipode* 34, no. 3 (2002): 452-472.
- Kaika, Maria. "Between Compassion and Racism: How the Biopolitics of Neoliberal Welfare Turns Citizens into Affective 'Idiots'." *European Planning Studies* 25, no. 8 (2017): 1275-1291. doi: 10.1080/09654313.2017.1320521
- Kaika, Maria, and Luca Ruggiero. "Land Financialization as a 'lived' process: The Transformation of Milan's Bicocca by Pirelli" *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 23, no. 1, (2016): 3-22
- Kaika, Maria, and Melissa Lamarca. "Mortgaged Lives: The Biopolitics of Debt and Housing Financialisation." (2016). doi: 10.1111/tran.12126

- Kaika, Maria, and Eric Swyngedouw. "Fetishizing the Modern City: The Phantasmagoria of Urban Technological Networks." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 24, no.1 (2000).
- Karaman, Ozan. "Urban Neoliberalism with Islamic Characteristics." *Urban Studies* 50, no. 16 (2013a): 3412-3427. doi: 10.1177/0042098013482505
- Karaman, Ozan. "Urban Renewal in Istanbul: Reconfigured Spaces, Robotic Lives". *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37, no. 2 (2013b): 715-733. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2012.01163.x
- Karataş, Togan. "Küreselleşme Sürecinde Finans Kapitalin Yükselişi ve 2007-2009 Dünya Ekonomik Krizi." Master's thesis, Marmara University, 2011.
- Karatepe, İsmail. "The State, Islamists, Discourses, and Bourgeoisie: The Construction Industry in Turkey." *Research and Policy on Turkey* 1, no. 1 (2016): 46-62. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/23760818.2015.1099781>
- Karasu, Mithat Arman. "Türkiye'de Konut Sorununun Çözümünde Farklı Bir Yaklaşım; Belediye-Toplu Konut İdaresi- Konut Kooperatifleri İşbirliği Modeli." *Ekonomik ve Sosyal Araştırmalar Dergisi* 1, (2005): 56-87.
- Kaya, Nursen. "Analysis of the Interaction Between Urban Theory and Practice in Urban Planning; Understanding İzmir Case." PhD thesis, İzmir Institute of Technology, 2002.
- Keleş, Ruşen. *İzmir Mahalleleri (Bir Tipleştirme Örneği)*. Sosyal Bilimler Derneği Yayınları, Ankara, 1972.
- Kılıç, Elif Mutlu. "Neoliberal Politikalar Çerçevesinde Türkiye'de Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Kentsel Mekanı Yeniden Adlandırmada Sözlü Tarih Bilgisi: İzmir-Kadifekale Kentsel Yenileme Projesi Örneği" Dokuz Eylül University City and Regional Planning Phd Thesis (2016)
- Kirkness, Paul. "The Cities Strike Back: Restive Responses to Territorial Taint in the French Banlieues." *Environment and Planning* 46, (2014): 1281-1296 doi:10.1068/a45636
- Kuyucu, Tuna, and Özlem Ünsal. "Urban Transformation as State-led Property Transfer: An Analysis of Two Urban Renewal in Istanbul." *Urban Studies* 47, no. 7 (2010): 1479-1499. doi: 10.1177/0042098009353629
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of Space*. London: Blackwell, 1974.

- Lefebvre, Henri. *The Production of the Space*. Blackwell, Oxford, 1991.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *Writings on Cities*. Blackwell, Oxford, 1996.
- Lefebvre, Henri. *The urban revolution*. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis-London. (2003)
- Lefebvre, Henri. *Space, State, World: Selected Essays*. Edited by Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden, 1-330. University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis, 2009.
- Lipietz, Warp. "Woof and Regulation: A Tool for Social Science" in *Space and Social Theory* edited by G. Benko and U. Strohmayr, 250- 283. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1996.
- Macleod, Gordon. "From Urban Entrepreneurialism to a "Revanchist City?" on the Spatial Injustices of Glasgow's Renaissance." *Antipode*, (2002): 602-624.
- Madden, David. "Neighborhood as Spatial Project: Making the urban Order on the Downtown Brooklyn Waterfront." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38, no. 2 (2014): 471-497. doi: 10.1111/1468-2427.12068
- Madden, David and Peter Marcuse. *In Defense of Housing*. London, New York: Verso, 2016.
- Marcuse, Peter. "From Critical Urban Theory to the City". *City* 13, no. 2 (2009): 185-197. doi: 10.1080/13604810902982177
- Marcuse, Peter. "In Defence of Theory and Practice." *City* 14, no. 1-2 (2010): 4-12. doi: 10.1080/13604810903529126
- Marcuse, Peter. "On Gentrification." *City* 14, no. 1-2 (2010). doi: 10.1080/13604811003732420
- Marcuse, Peter, and Bruno Flierl. "Urban Policy and Architecture for People, not for Power." *City* 13, no. 2-3 (2010): 264-277. doi: 10.1080/13604810902982235
- Marcuse, Peter and David Imbroscio. "Critical Urban Theory versus Critical Urban Studies: A Review Debate." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 38, no. 5 (2014): 1904-1191. doi:10.1111/1468-2427.12151
- Marcuse, Peter. "Reading the Right to the City." *City* 18, no.1 (2014): 4-9. doi: 10.1080/13604813.2014.878110

- Marcuse, Peter “Reading the Right to the City. Part two: Organisational Realities.” *City* 18, no. 2 (2014): 101-103. doi: 10.1080/13604813.2014.896646
- Marcuse, Peter. “Debates & Developments- Gentrification, Social Justice and Personal Ethics.” *International Journal Of Urban And Regional Research* (2015): 1263-1269, 2015 doi:10.1111/1468-2427.12319
- Mayer, Margit. “The ‘Right to the City in the Context of Shifting Mottos of Urban Social Movements.” *City* 13, no. 2-3 (2009): 362-374. doi: 10.1080/13604810902982755
- McCarthy, James. “Privatizing Conditions of Production: Trade Agreements and Environmental Governance.” *Geoforum* 35, no.3 (2004): 327-341.
- Meagher, Sharon M. “The Politics of Urban Knowledge.” *City* 19, no. 6 (2015): 801-819. doi: 10.1080/13604813.2015.1090183
- Merrifield, Andy. “The Right to the City and Beyond.” *City* 15, no. 3-4 (2011): 473-481. doi: 10.1080/13604813.2011.595116
- Molina, Emily T. “Foreclosures, Investors, and Uneven Development During the Great Recession in the Los Angeles Metropolitan Area.” *Journal of Urban Affairs* 38, no. 4 (2015): 564-580. doi: 10.1111/juaf.12258
- Morales, Ernesto Jose Lopez. “Urban Entrepreneurialism and Creative Destruction: A Case- study of the Urban Renewal Strategy in the Peri-centre of Santiago de Chile, 1990-2005” PhD thesis, University College London, 2009
- Morales, Ernesto Jose Lopez and Hyun Shin. “Urban Neoliberalism in the Antipodes Towards a Comparative Case-study Analysis on State, Market Agents, and Property-led Urban Redevelopment in South Korea and Chile.” Paper presented at *International RC21 Conference*, 2011.
- Moreno Louis. “The Urban Process Under Financialised Capitalism.” *City* 18, no. 3 (2014): 244-268, doi: 10.1080/13604813.2014.927099
- Narlıdere Municipality 2015-2019 Strategic Plan Report, 2014.
- Narlıdere Municipality Revision Development Plan Report, 2007.
- Newman, Kathe. “Post-Industrial Widgets: Capital Flows And The Production Of The Urban.” *International Journal of Urban Regional Research* 33, no. 2 (2009): 314-331. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2009.00863.x

- Oosterlynck, Stijn. "Regulating Regional Uneven Development and the Politics of Reconfiguring Belgian State Space." *Antipode* 42, no. 5 (2010): 1151-1179. doi: 10.1111/j.1467-8330.2010.00797.x
- Oosterlynck, Stijn and Sara Gonzalez. "Don't Waste a Crisis: Opening up the City yet Again for Neoliberal Experimentation." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37, no. 3 (2013): 1075-1082. doi:10.1111/1468-2427.12064
- Özbek Sönmez, İpek. "Kent Planlama ve Adalet İlişkisinin Değişen İçeriği." *TBB Dergisi* 98, (2012): 283-300.
- Özdemir et al., "İmar Afları Sonrasında İzmir'de Gecekondulaşma Sosyo-Ekonomik, Mekansal Bir Çözümleme" *Tübitak Project Report*, Project no: SBB8005, 2005.
- Özdemir, Dilek. "The Role of the Public Sector in the Provision of Housing Supply in Turkey, 1950-2009." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 35, no. 6 (2011): 1099-1117. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2010.00974.x
- Özdemir, Nurten and İlknur Türkseven. "Kapalı Konut Sitelerinin Kamusal Açık Alanlar Açısından Oluşturduğu Problemlerin İnsan-Çevre İlişkileri Bağlamında İrdelenmesi." *Megaron* 11, no.3 (2016): 359-371. doi: 10.5505/megaron.2016.05706
- Özkan, Hatice Aysun, and Şevkiye Sence Türk. "Emergence, Formation and Outcomes of Flexibility in Turkish Planning Practice." *IDPR* 38, no.1 (2016): 25-53. doi:10.3828/idpr.2016.2
- Peck, Jamie and Tickell A. "Local Modes of Social Regulation? Regulation Theory, Thatcherism and Uneven Development." *Geoforum* 23, (1992): 347-64.
- Peck, Jamie. "Neoliberalizing States: Thin Policies/Hard Outcomes." *Progress in Human Geography* 25, (2001): 445-55
- Peck, Jamie and Tickell, A. "Neoliberalizing Space." *Antipode* 34, no. 3 (2002): 380-404.
- Peck, Jamie. "Explaining wit Neoliberalism." *Territory, Politics, Governance* 1, no.2 (2013): 132-157. doi: 10.1080/21622671.2013.785365
- Peck, Jamie. "Cities Beyond Compare" *Regional Studies* 43, no. 1 (2015): 160-182. doi: 10.1080/00343404.2014.980801

- Penpecioglu, Mehmet. "The Political Construction Of Urban Development Projects: The Case Of İzmir." PhD thesis, Middle East Technical University, 2012.
- Penpecioglu, Mehmet. "Büyük Ölçekli Kentsel Projeler, Mekanın Üretimi ve Neo-Liberal Hegemonya: İzmir Örneğinde Karşılaştırmalı Bir Araştırma." *Megaron* 8, no.2 (2013): 97-114. doi: 10.5505/MEGARON.2013.87597
- Petit, Pascal. "Structural Forms and Growth Regimes of the Post-Fordist Era." *Review of Social Economy* 57, no.2 (1999): 220-243
- Pinnegar, Simon. "For the City? The Difficult Spaces of Market Restructuring Policy." *International Journal of Housing Policy* 12, no. 3 (2012): 281-297.
- Punter, John. "The Recession, Housing Quality and Urban Design." *International Planning Studies* 15, no. 3 (2010): 245- 263.  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13563475.2010.509478>
- Saegert, Susan, Desiree Fields, and Kimberly Libman. "Defleating the Dream: Radical Risk and the Neoliberalisation of Homeownership." *Journal of Urban Affairs* 31, no. 3 (2009): 297-317.
- Saegert, Susan. "Rereading 'the Housing Question' in Light of the Foreclosure Crisis." *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* 15, no. 3 (2016): 659-678
- Sahibinden Emlak Endeksi. Date of access: March 17, 2019.  
<https://www.sahibinden.com/emlak-endeksi>
- Schafran, Alex. "Origins of an Urban Crisis: The Restructuring of the San Francisco Bay Area and the Geography of Foreclosure." *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research* 37, no. 2 (2013): 663-688. doi:10.1111/j.1468-2427.2012.01150.x
- Sevgi, Cezmi. *Kentleşme Sürecinde İzmir ve Gecekondular*. İzmir Konak Belediyesi Kültür Hizmetleri, Uzman Yayıncılık, İzmir, 1988.
- Slater, Tom. "On Gentrification Still Missing Marcuse: Hamnett's Foggy Analysis in London Town". *City* 14, no.1-2 (2010): 170-179  
<https://doi.org/10.1080/13604811003633719>
- Slater, Tom. "Missing Marcuse: On Gentrification and Displacement.", *City* 13, no. 2-3 (2009): 292-311.

- Smet, Koen. "Housing Prices in Urban Areas." *Progress in Human Geography* 40, no.4 (2016): 495-510. doi: 10.1177/0309132515581693
- Smith, Neil. "Toward a Theory of Gentrification, A Back to the City Movement by Capital, not People." *Journal of the American Planning Association* 45, no. 4 (1979): 538-548.
- Smith, Neil. "Gentrification and Uneven Development." *Economic Geography* 58, no. 2 (1982): 139-155.
- Smith, Neil. "Gentrification and the Rent Gap". *Annals of the Association of the American Geographers* 77, no. 3 (1987): 462-465.
- Smith, Neil. "Of Rent Gaps and Radical Idealism: A Reply to Steven Bourassa." *Urban Studies* 33, no. 7 (1996): 1199-1204.
- Smith, Neil. "Creative Destruction." In *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, edited by Johnston, R. J., D. Gregory, G. Pratt and M. Watts, 119-120. Blackwell, Oxford, 2002.
- Smith, Neil. "New Globalism, New Urbanism: Gentrification as Global Urban Strategy." *Antipode* 34, no. 3 (2002): 427-450.
- Smyth, Stewart. "The Privatization of Council Housing: Stock Transfer and The Struggle for Accountable Housing." *Critical Social Policy* 33, no. 1 (2012): 37-56. doi: 10.1177/0261018312457870
- Soja, Edward W. "Response to Kurt Iveson: 'Social or Spatial Justice? Marcuse and Soja on the Right to the City'." *City* 15, no. 2 (2011): 260-262. doi: 10.1080/13604813.2011.568719
- Souza, Marcelo Lopes de. "Marxists, Libertarians and the City." *City* 16, no. 3 (2012): 315-331. doi: 10.1080/13604813.2012.687871
- Souza, Marcelo Lopes de. "From the 'Right to the City' to the Right to the Planet." *City* 19, no. 4 (2015): 408-443. doi: 10.1080/13604813.2015.1051719
- Stephen, Graham. "Luxified Skies." *City* 19, no. 5 (2015): 618-645. doi:10.1080/13604813.2015.1071113
- Suhaida, S. et al. "Housing Affordability: A Conceptual Overview for House Price Index." *Procedia Engineering* 20, (2011): 346-353.

Şeker, Murat, Çağla Bakış, and Barış Dizeci. "Human Development Index Report 2017", 2018

Şengül, Tarık. "Yerel Devlet Sorunu ve Yerel Devletin Dönüşümünde Yeni Eğilimler." *Praksis* 9, (2003): 183-220.

Şengül, Tarık. *Kentsel Çelişki ve Siyaset*. İmge Yayınevi, Ankara, 2009.

Şenol, Pervin. "A Critical Evaluation on the Concept of Justice in Planning Process- Judicial Oversight: The Balçova and Narlıdere Cases." PhD thesis, İzmir Institute of Technology, 2005

Taşar, Mehmet O. and Savaş Çevik. "Sosyal Konut ve Konut Sektöründe Devlet Müdahalesi: Avrupa Ülkeleri ve Türkiye." *Aksaray Üniversitesi İİBF Dergisi* 1, no. 2 (2009): 133-163.

Taylor, Kendra. "Book Reviews. Unequal City: Race, Schools, and Perceptions of Injustice by Carla Shedd." *City & Community* 16, no.3 (2017): 345-350. doi: 10.1111/cico.12249

T.R. Official Journal, 31th March 1950, date of access: 3/3/2019

T.R. Official Journal, 29<sup>th</sup> July 1959, date of access: 3/3/2019

T.R. Official Journal, 12<sup>th</sup> September 1963, date of access: 3/3/2019

T.R. Official Journal, 15<sup>th</sup> November 2000, date of access: 3/3/2019

T.R. Official Journal, 11<sup>th</sup> March 1988, date of access: 3/6/2019

T.R. Official Journal, 6<sup>th</sup> March 2007, date of access: 4/6/2019

T.R. Official Journal, 31th May 2012, date of access: 10/11/2018

T.R. Official Journal, 15<sup>th</sup> December 2012, date of access: 4/6/2019

Constitution of Republic of Turkey, 1982, date of access: 7/9/2018

Tekeli, İlhan. *Konut Sorununu Konut Sunum Biçimleriyle Düşünmek*. Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, 2009.

Tekeli, İlhan. "Türkiye'de Cumhuriyet Döneminde Kentsel Gelişme ve Kent Planlaması" In *75 Yılda Değişen Kent ve Mimarlık* edited by Yıldız Sey, 106-134. Türk Tarih Vakfı Yayınları, İstanbul, 2009.



- Tekeli, İlhan. *Kent Kentli Hakları Kentleşme ve Kentsel Dönüşüm Yazıları*. Tarih Vakfı, 2011.
- Tezcan, Fatih. “Kentsel Mekanda Ayrışma Bağlamında Toki Evlerinde Ayrışma Biçimi: Antalya Döşemealtı Örneği.” Master’s thesis, Akdeniz University, 2015.
- The Brochure published by the Municipality before the Local Government Elections on 31th March, 2019.
- The Report of the 1/1000 scaled Revision Plan of İkinci İnönü and Atatürk Neighborhood, 2007.
- The National Association of Realtors. Date of access: March, 2019.  
[https://www.nar.realtor/Research.nsf/files/Formulas\\_HAI.pdf/\\$FILE/Formulas\\_HAI.pdf](https://www.nar.realtor/Research.nsf/files/Formulas_HAI.pdf/$FILE/Formulas_HAI.pdf)
- TMMOB, Chamber of City Planners’ Archive, İzmir
- Turhanoglu, Aşkın. “Kentsel Mekânin Üretim Sürecinde Tarihsel Ve Kültürel Miras.” *Cyprus International University Folklor/Edebiyat Dergisi* 20, no. 78 (2014): 71-82.
- Türem, Z. U. “The State of Property: From the Empire to Neoliberal Republic.” In *Neoliberal Turkey and its Discontents: Economic Policy and the Environment under Erdoğan*, edited by Fikret Adaman, B. Akbulut and M. Arsel, 18-43. I.B. Tauris and Co. Ltd, London, 2017.
- Türk-İş, Poverty Limit Report in March 2019, Date of access: April 17, 2019  
[http://www.teksif.org.tr/mart-2019-aclik-ve-yoksulluk-siniri-2014-10-tl\\_icerik\\_10248-1.html](http://www.teksif.org.tr/mart-2019-aclik-ve-yoksulluk-siniri-2014-10-tl_icerik_10248-1.html)
- TMMOB İnşaat Mühendisleri Odası. “Türkiye’de Konut Sorunu ve Konut İhtiyacı Raporu.” [http://www.imo.org.tr/resimler/dosya\\_ekler/9ca6617c167713d\\_ek.pdf](http://www.imo.org.tr/resimler/dosya_ekler/9ca6617c167713d_ek.pdf)
- Türkün, Asuman. “Ruthless Transformation Efforts in the Housing Areas of the Urban Poor and Implications for the Right to Housing.” Paper presented at the *RC21 International Conference on the Ideal City: Between Myth and Reality*, Italy, 2015.
- Uzun, Nil. “In Defence of Housing: the Politics of Crisis. Edited by David Madden and Peter Marcuse.” *International Journal of Housing Policy* 17, no. 3 (2017): 465-467. doi: 10.1080/19491247.2017.1339451

- Ünverdi, Hayat. "Sosyo-Ekonomik İlişkiler Bağlamında İzmir Gecekondualarında Kimlik Yapılanmaları: Karşıyaka Onur Mahallesi ve Yamanlar Mahallesi Örnekleri." PhD Thesis, Dokuz Eylül University, 2002.
- Venugopal, Rajesh. "Neoliberalism as Concept." *Economy and Society* 44, no. 2 (2015): 165-187. doi: 10.1080/03085147.2015.1013356
- Waite Akçakaya, İmge. "Planning, Power, Politics: Urban Redevelopment in Istanbul". PhD thesis, University of California, 2016.  
<https://escholarship.org/uc/item/04f489ff>
- Waley, Paul. "Gentrification is Everywhere." *City* 21, no.1 (2017): 81-83.  
doi:10.1080/13604813.2016.1267356
- Walker, Richard. "Building a Better Theory of the Urban: A Response to 'Towards a New Epistemology of the Urban?'." *City* 19, no. 2-3 (2015): 183-191.  
doi: 10.1080/13604813.2015.1024073
- Walks, Alan and Clifford, Brian. "The Political Economy of Mortgage Securitization and the Neoliberalization Of Housing Policy in Canada." *Environment and Planning* 47, (2015): 1624-1642. doi:10.1068/a130226p
- Ward, Kevin. "Entrepreneurial Urbanism, State Restructuring and Civilizing 'New' East Manchester." *Area* 35, no. 2 (2003): 116-127.
- Whitelegg, Drew. "Selling Lifestyles, not Homes: Growth and Politics in Forsyth County, Georgia." *Southeastern Geographer* 45, no. 1 (2005): 104-119.
- Williams, Gwyndaf. "Rebuilding the Entrepreneurial City: the Master Planning Response to the Bombing of Manchester City Centre." *Environment and Planning B: Planning and Design* 27, (2000): 485-505. doi:10.1068/b2626
- Yörür, Neriman. "Use of Public Lands for Mass Housing Projects in the Privatization Process -İzmir Case." Master's thesis, İzmir Institute of Technology, 1999.
- Zariç, Sami. "Türkiye'de Kentsel Planlama Ve Toki'nin Planlama Yetkilerindeki Genişlemenin Boyutları." *Akademik Bakış Dergisi* 28, (2012).
- Zhao, Pengjun. "The Impact of Urban Sprawl on Social Segregation in Beijing and a Limited Role for Spatial Planning." *Tijdschrift voor Economische en Sociale Geografie* 104, no. 5 (2013): 571-587. doi:10.1111/tesg.12030
- Ziraat Bank Loan Calculator, <https://www.ziraatbank.com.tr/>, date of access: April 20, 2019



İZMİR-L18-A-11-A-1-C

İ. İZMİR

İZMİR-L18-A-11-A-2-D

İ. İZMİR

İZMİR-L18-A-11-A-2-C

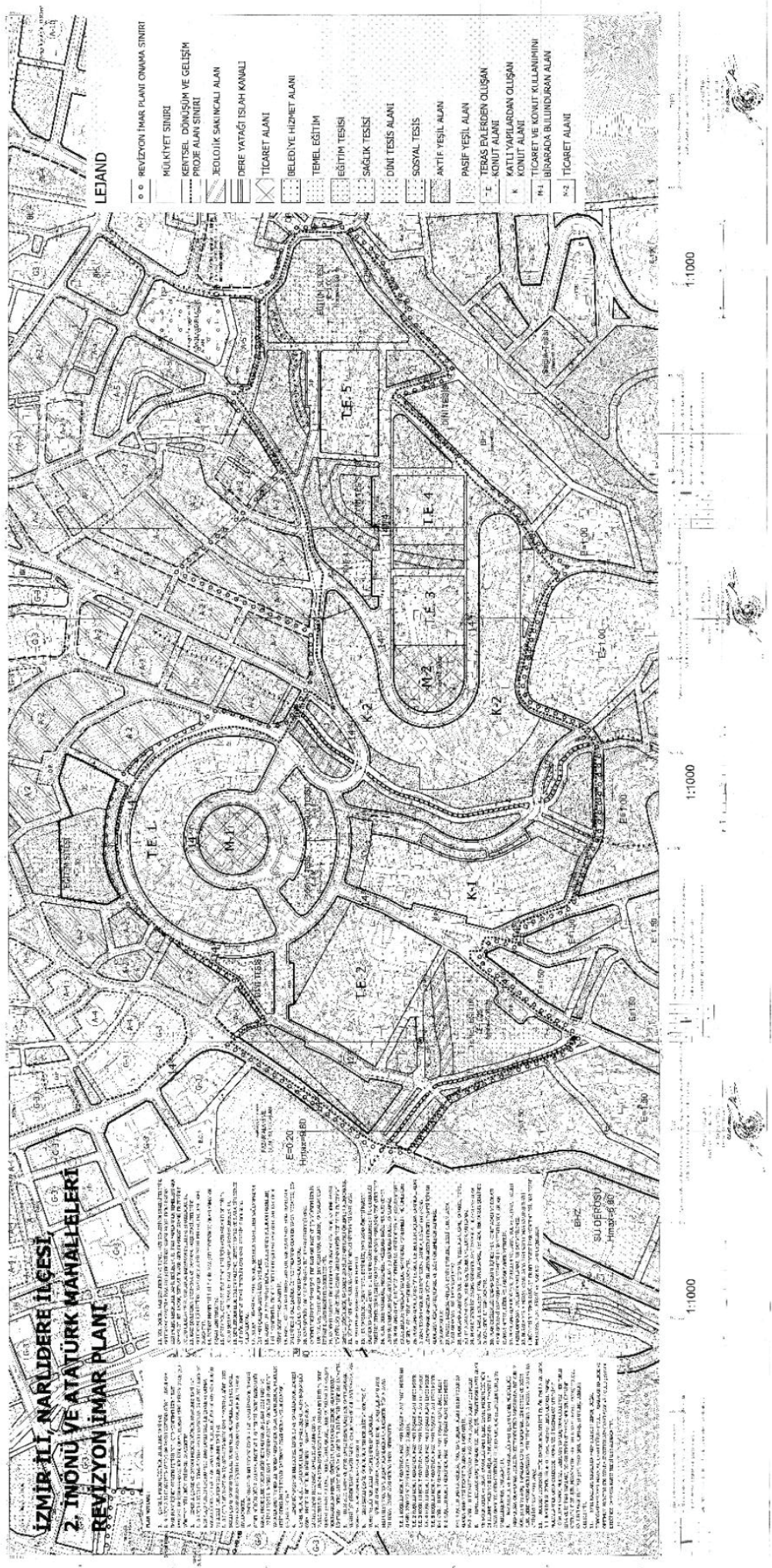


Figure A.2. 1/1000 scaled Narlıdere Revision Development Plan in 2007

(Source: Chamber of the City Planners' Archive)

## APPENDIX C

### HOUSEHOLD INTERVIEW SURVEY

Hane No. : .....

Adres: .....

Görüşülen kişi: .....

Evde kaç kişi yaşıyorsunuz?

Ne iş yapıyorsunuz?

Evde sizin dışınızda çalışan başka biri ya da birileri var mı? Kimler?

Hane gelir durumunuz nedir?

0-1000: .....

1001-2000: .....

2001-5000: .....

5000 ve üstü: .....

Sosyal güvenceniz var mı?

SSK: .....

Bağkur: .....

Emekli Sandığı: .....

Diğer: .....

Narlıdere'ye ne zaman geldiniz? Neden Narlıdere'yi seçtiniz?

İkinci İnönü mahallesine ne zaman geldiniz? Neden bu mahalleyi seçtiniz?

Konut sizin mi? Mülkiyeti kime ait? (Kira ise ne kadara oturuyorsunuz?)

Kendisine ait: .....

Akrabasının evi (kira vermeden oturuyor.): .....

Kira: ..... Bedeli: .....

Diğer: .....

Kira ise, neden bu konutu tercih ettiniz?

KONUTUN NİTELİĞİ

Arsa büyüklüğü: .....

Kat sayısı: .....

Oda sayısı: .....

Yapım malzemesi: .....

Durumu: .....

Bahçe: .....

Diğer notlar: .....

Altyapı özellikleri:

Elektrik: ...

Su: ....

Kanalizasyon: .....

Yol durumu: .....

Ekleme istedikleri: .....

Başka konutunuz var mı?

Konutlarınızı nasıl edindiniz? (kendi mi yaptı, satın mı aldı gibi)

İmar barışına başvuruda buldunuz mu?

Kiracı ise, daha önce konut edinme girişiminiz oldu mu?

Yeni kentsel dönüşüm projesi ile ilgili görüşünüz nedir? Mülk sahibi olmayı bekliyor musunuz?

Borçlanma durumu olur ise ne yapmayı düşünüyorsunuz?

Alanın etrafındaki lüks konut gelişiminin artması sizin yaşamınızı ve bölgenizi nasıl etkiledi?

## APPENDIX D

### FOCUS GROUP INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Neden Narlıdere’de konut edindiniz? Neden gecekondu tercih ettiniz? Bu konuta nasıl sahip oldunuz neden burada konut sahibi olmayı seçtiniz

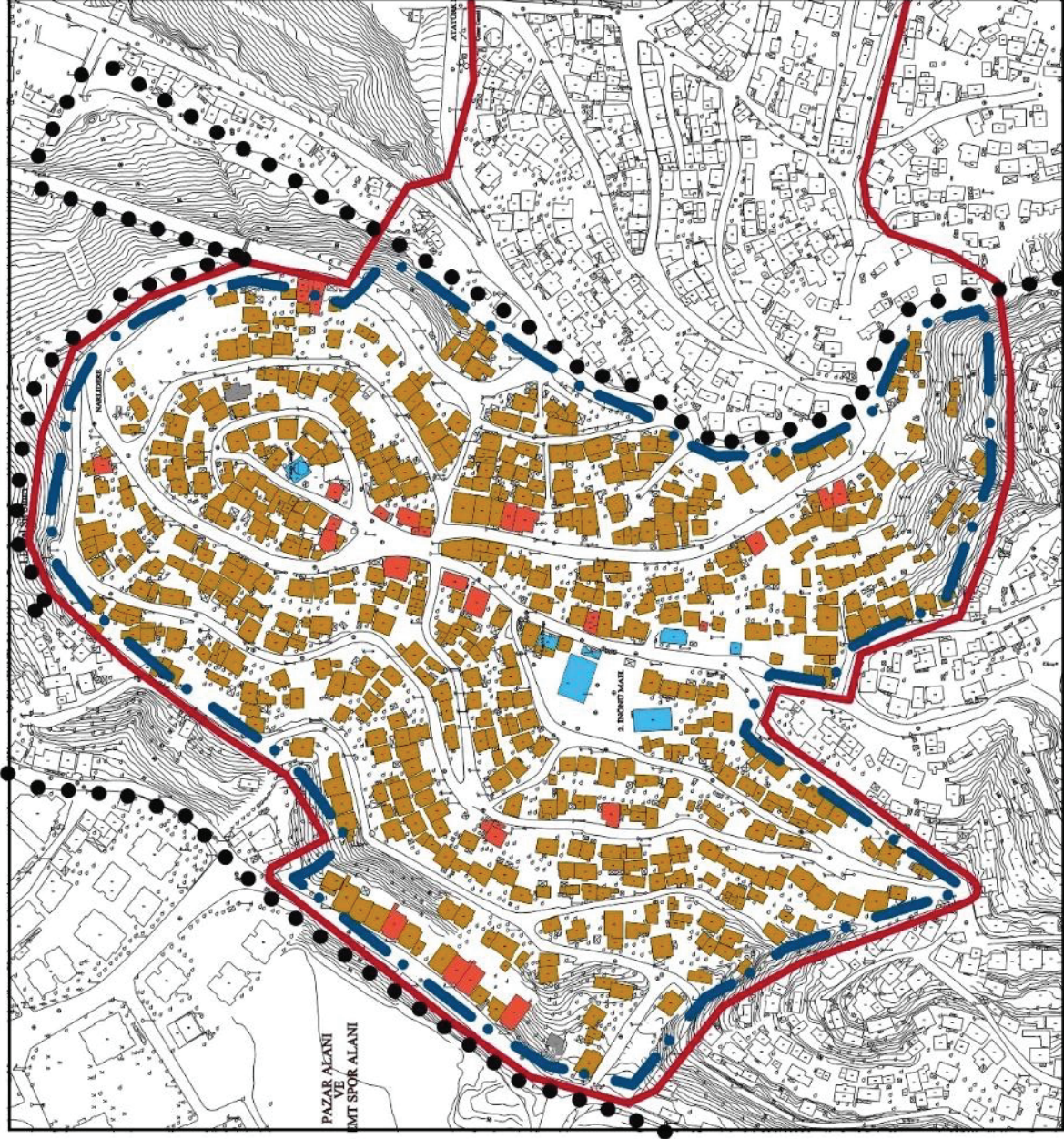
İmar barışına başvurduğunuz mu? Bu konuda beklentileriniz nelerdir?

Kentsel dönüşüm ile ilgili bugüne kadar size söylenenler neler? Neler vadedildi?








Kentsel dönüşüm ile ilgili beklentileriniz nelerdir?

Kentsel dönüşümle mülk sahibi olmayı bekliyor musunuz? Borçlanmayı düşünüyor musunuz?

BUILDING FUNCTION ANALYSIS



LEGEND

-  İKINCI İNÖNÜ NEIGHBORHOOD BOUNDARY
-  RISKY AREA BOUNDARY
-  STUDY AREA BOUNDARY
-  RESIDENTIAL USE
-  COMMERCIAL USE
-  INSTITUTIONAL USE
-  DERELICT BUILDINGS

SCALE: 1/1000



Figure A.3. Building function analysis of the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighb.

(Source: Prepared by the author based on the data of Narlıdere Municipality)



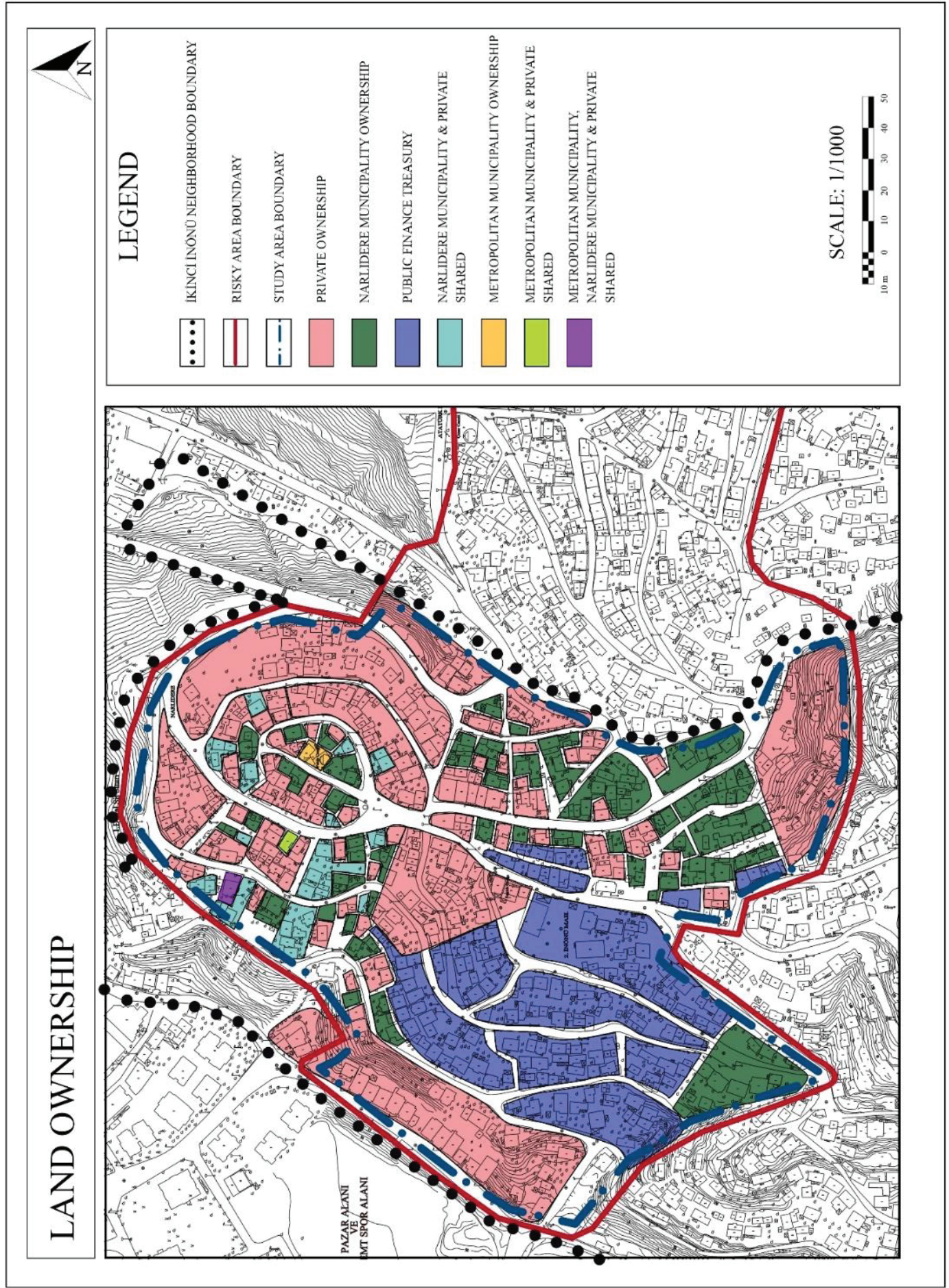
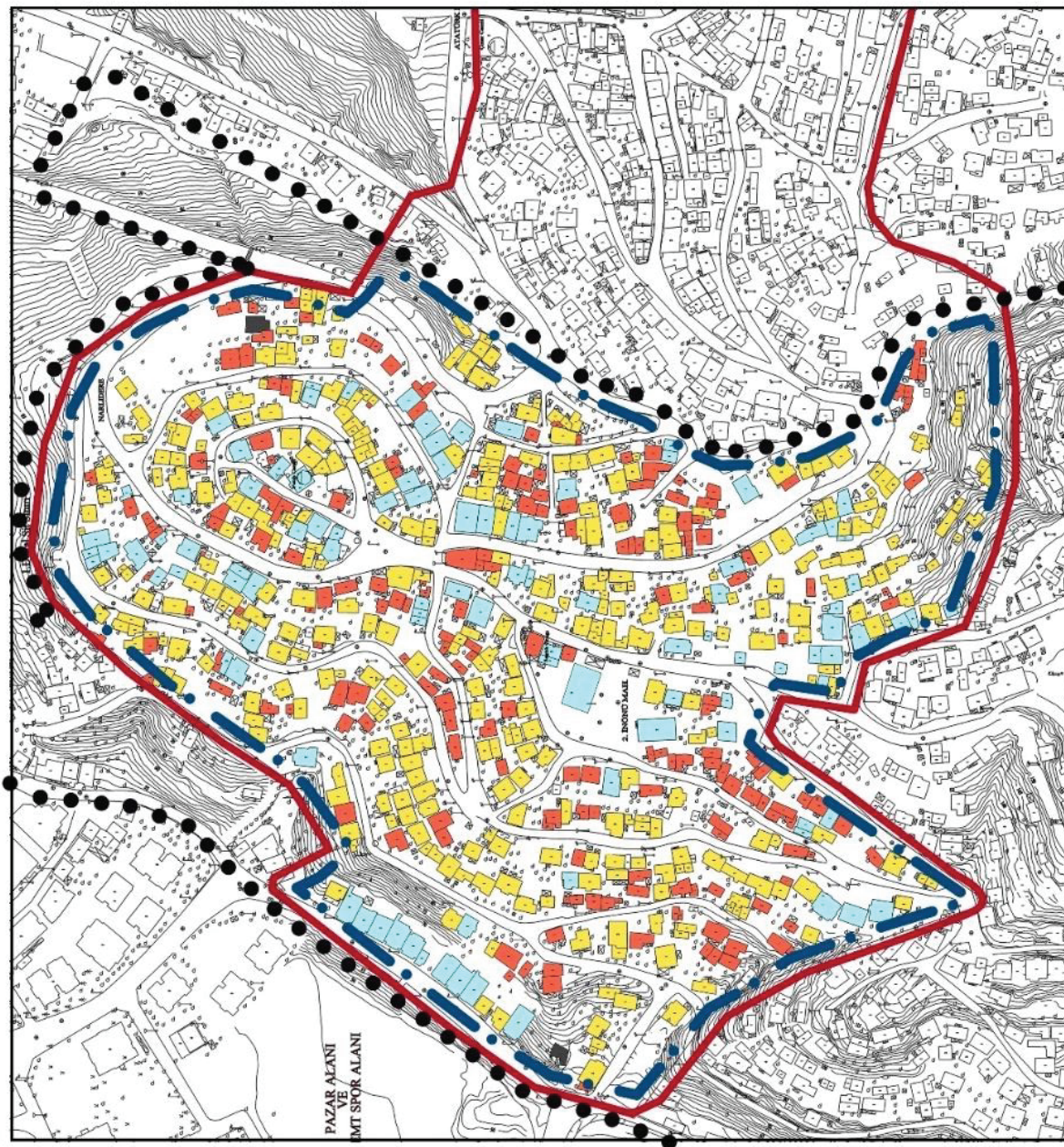


Figure A.4. Land ownership analysis of the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighb.








(Source: Prepared by the author based on the data of Narlıdere Municipality.)

# BUILDING QUALITY ANALYSIS

## BUILDING QUALITY ANALYSIS



### LEGEND

-  İKİNCİ İNÖNÜ NEIGHBORHOOD BOUNDARY
-  RISKY AREA BOUNDARY
-  STUDY AREA BOUNDARY
-  IN GOOD CONDITION
-  IN MEDIUM CONDITION
-  IN BAD CONDITION
-  DERELICT STRUCTURE

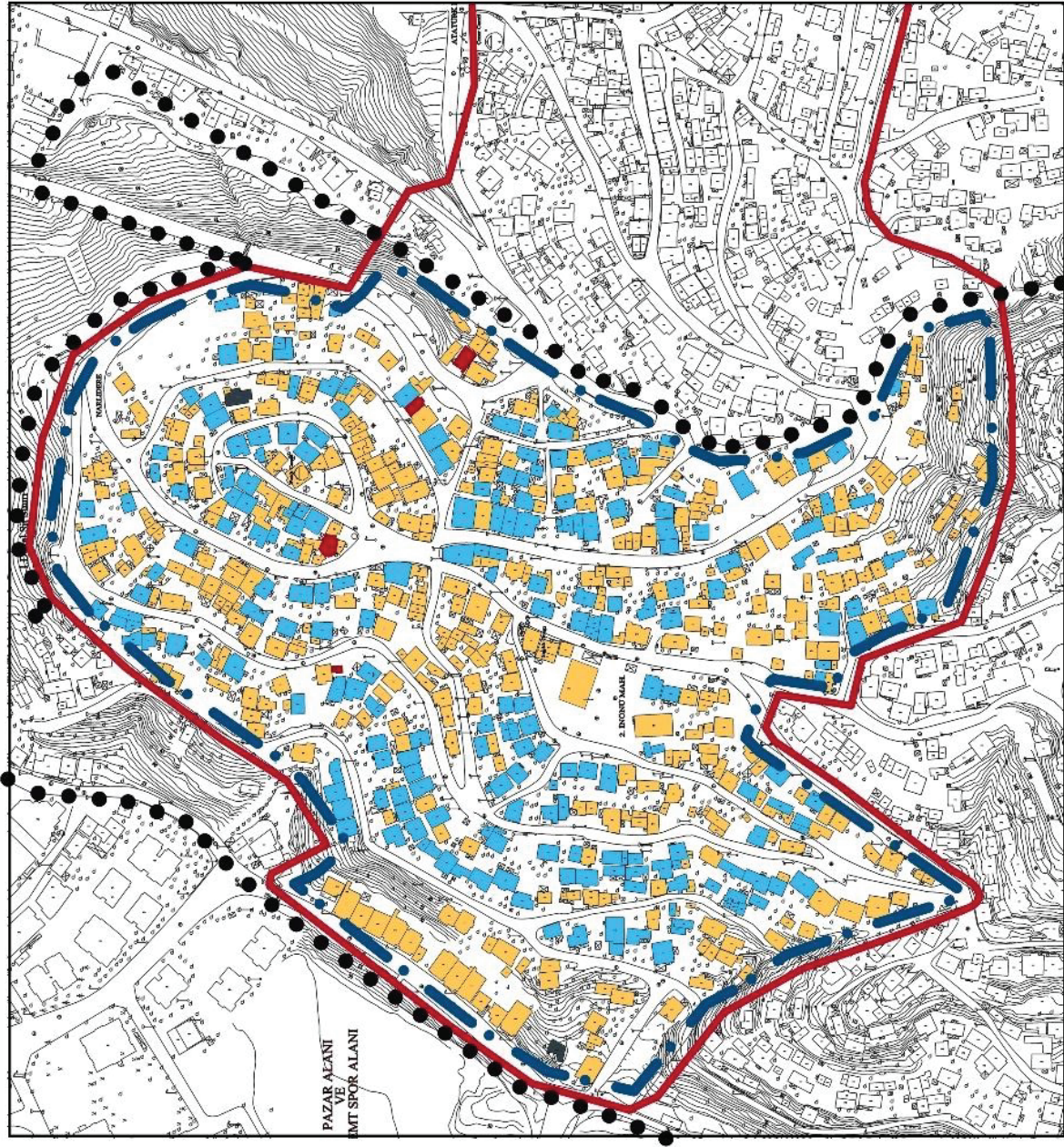
SCALE: 1/1000










Figure A.5. Building quality analysis of the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighb.

(Source: Prepared by the author based on the data of Nevşehir Municipality.)

BUILDING LICENSE ANALYSIS



LEGEND

-  İKİNCİ İNÖNÜ NEİGHBORHOOD BOUNDARY
-  RISKY AREA BOUNDARY
-  STUDY AREA BOUNDARY
-  SQUATTER BUILDINGS
-  LICENSED BUILDINGS
-  STRUCTURES HAVE BENEFITTED FROM THE DEVELOPMENT AMNESTY IN 1984
-  DERELICT BUILDINGS

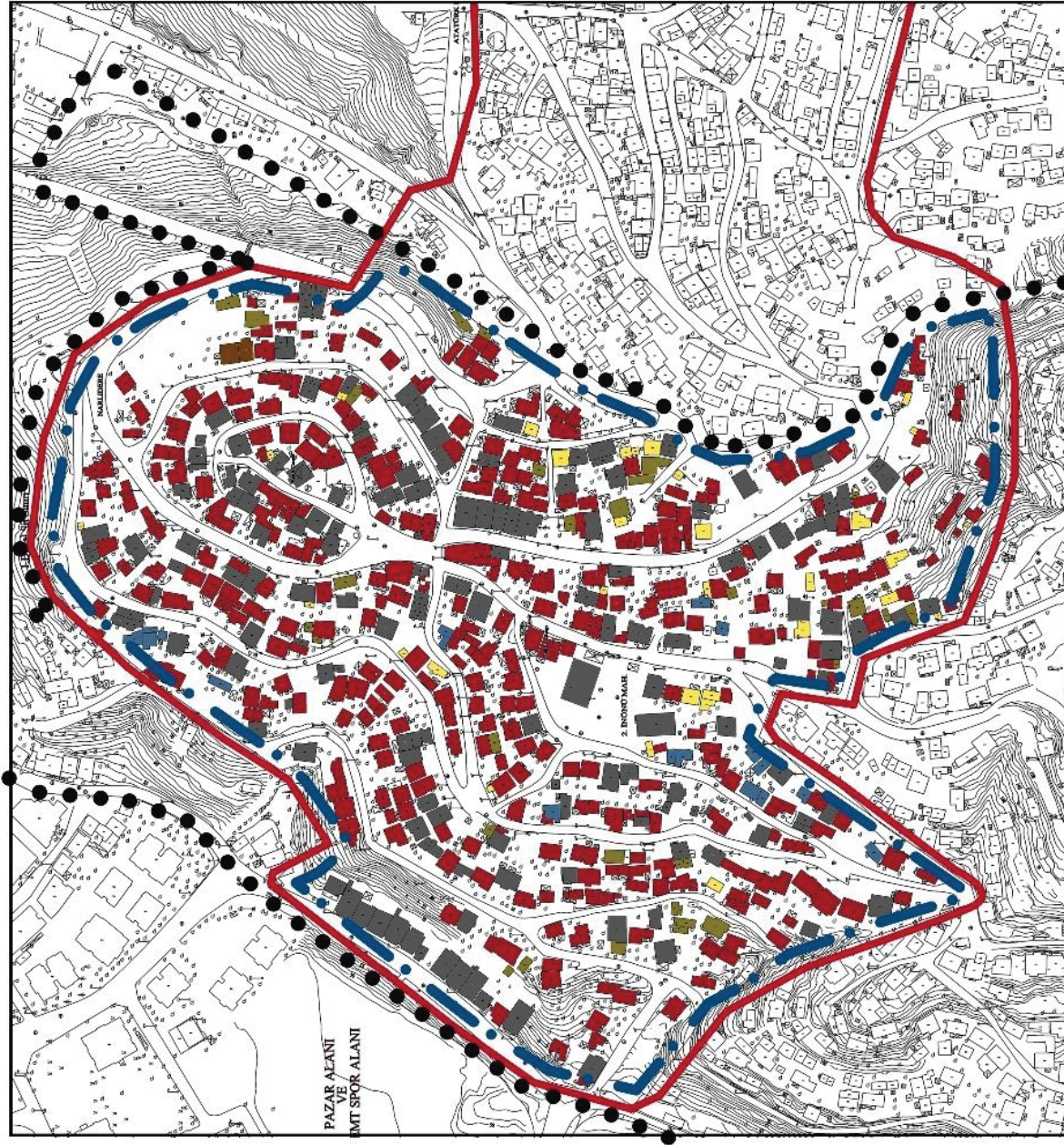
SCALE: 1/1000












Figure A.6. Building license analysis of the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighb.

(Source: Prepared by the author based on the data of Nevşehir Municipality)

BUILDING MATERIAL ANALYSIS



LEGEND

-  İKİNCİ İNÖNÜ NEIGHBORHOOD BOUNDARY
-  RISKY AREA BOUNDARY
-  STUDY AREA BOUNDARY
-  MASONARY BRICK
-  MASONARY BLOCK
-  MASONARY BRICK AND MASONARY BLOCK
-  REINFORCED CONCRETE
-  ADOBE
-  MASONRY STONE

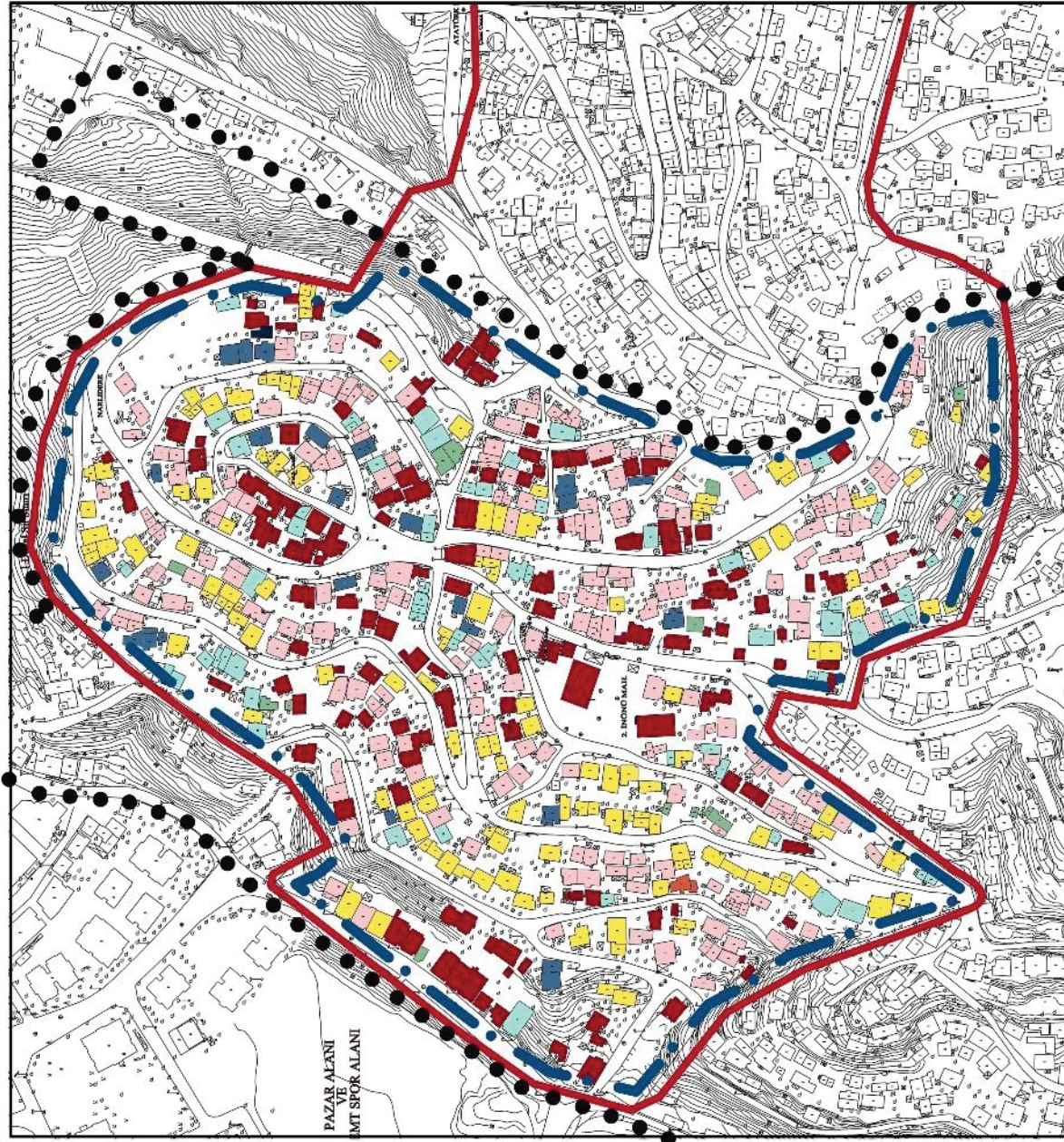
SCALE: 1/1000



Figure A.7. Building material analysis of the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighb.

(Source: Prepared by the author based on the data of Nevşehir Municipality.)

CONSTRUCTION YEAR ANALYSIS



LEGEND

- İKİNCİ İNÖNÜ NEİGHBORHOOD BOUNDARY
- RISKY AREA BOUNDARY
- STUDY AREA BOUNDARY
- 1940 - 1949
- 1950 - 1959
- 1960 - 1969
- 1970 - 1979
- 1980 - 1989
- 1990 - 1999
- 2000 - 2009
- UNKNOWN

SCALE: 1/1000



Figure A.8. Construction year analysis of the structures in the squatter housing area in İkinci İnönü Neighb.