TACTICS OF CONVERSION IN SOCIAL HOUSING SETTLEMENTS: UZUNDERE TOKI HOUSINGS

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ABSTRACT

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Urban and housing policies that started with the establishment of the Republic of Turkey and social housing projects and actors produced in Turkey were evaluated. Within the scope of this evaluation, the actors producing the social housing and the processes of producing the space were analyzed. While TOKI and local municipalities, which are dominant in the production of social housing in Turkey, are evaluated through the Uzundere TOKI Housings project, which has been selected as the case study, focuses on the dwellers who try to be included in the production process of the space. Dwellers from different social, cultural, and economic classes live in the space produced by these actors. The authority producing the designed space produces the standard and a uniform space independent of location causing the space to be converted by individuals according to different cultures and habits. For this reason, it is seen that the space produced independently of the individual is converted with tactics in order to realize the daily lifes, habits, needs, and expectations of the dwellers in these houses, in this place where they bring different groups together.

Within the scope of this master's thesis, Uzundere TOKI Housings dwellers will focus on the space conversions by their tactics. Thus, it will be tried to understand the expectations and reasons behind the dwellers' implementation of space conversion tactics.

Keywords: *Social Housing, Tactic, Conversion, Uzundere TOKI Housings*

ÖZET

SOSYAL KONUT YERLEŞİMLERİNDE DÖNÜŞTÜRME TAKTİKLERİ: UZUNDERE TOKİ KONUTLARI

Türkiye Cumhuriyeti'nin kurulması ile uygulanmaya başlanan konut politikaları ile Türkiye'de üretilen sosyal konut projeleri ve aktörleri değerlendirilmiştir. Bu değerlendirme kapsamında sosyal konutu üreten aktörler ve mekanı üretme süreçleri analiz edilmiştir. Türkiye'de sosyal konut üretiminde baskın olan TOKİ ve yerel belediyeler, çalışma alanı seçilen Uzundere TOKİ Konutlarına projesi üzerinden değerlendirilirken, mekanın üretim sürecine sonradan dahil olmaya çalışan konut sakinine odaklanılmıştır. Bu aktörler tarafından üretilen mekan içerisinde farklı sosyal, kültürel ve ekonomik sınıftan sakinler yaşamaktadır. Tasarlanan mekanı üreten otoritenin, standart ve yerden bağımsız olarak tek tip mekan üretmesi, farklı kültür ve alışkanlıklara göre bireyler tarafından mekanın dönüştürülmesine sebep oluşturmaktadır. Bu sebeple farklı gruplara bir araya getirildiği bu konutlarda sakinlerin gündelik yaşamlarını, alışkanlıklarını, ihtiyaçlarını ve beklentilerini gerçekleştirebilmek adına bireyden bağımsız üretilen mekanın taktikler ile dönüştürüldüğü görülmektedir.

Bu yüksek lisans tezi kapsamında, Uzundere TOKİ Konutları sakinlerinin taktikleri ile dönüştürdükleri mekana odaklanılacaktır. Böylece konut sakinlerinin mekan dönüştürme taktiklerini uygulama arkasında yatan beklentiler ve nedenler anlaşılmaya çalışılacaktır.

Anahtar Kelimler: *Sosyal Konut, Taktik, Dönüştürme, Uzundere TOKİ Konutları*

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim of the Study

Social housing is a type of housing produced by an authority (state institution, local government, association, etc.) to meet the housing needs of individuals in the low and middle-income group who cannot meet their own housing needs. The aim of social housing is not merely to meet the individual's need for shelter. It is to ensure that low and middle-income groups have the right to live under equal conditions with other individuals living in the city, with the social opportunities it offers beyond accommodation.

The social housing projects produced in our country are the projects realized with the policies of the period they were produced. Social housing is being built as a collection in order to create a short-term solution for the needs of the period. Generally, social housing projects consist of multiple housing blocks and are produced in similar designs in different geographies. Social housing, which is produced with low-cost demand, does not meet the social, cultural, and economic demands of the dwellers. Low-income individuals, who have no choice but to live in these residences, convert the space with their actions in line with their own needs and habits.

These conversion actions are not just tactics used by low-income individuals. Each individual is in the act of converting the space he lives in depending on his own culture, habits, daily life, and needs. The public and private spaces where daily life takes place are converted by the tactics they produce in line with the perception and experience of the person. And converting these conceived spaces takes place to the extent permitted by the authority that produces the space. It is possible to say that individuals in different social, economic, and cultural groups produce acts of conversion. Conversion tactics produced by different groups usually take place in private areas where the influence of authority is minimal. Having

a permanent or temporary property of the user can make it easier for individuals to produce conversion tactics within the home. However, the conversion tactics produced by individuals in the semi-public and public spaces are not as easy as in the private sphere. Individuals are often controlled by authority. The most important reason for this situation is that the individual is visible in public or semi-public spaces and these spaces are kept under control by the authority. This situation also shows that the tactics produced can generally be realized for a short time.

The authority generally sees the social housing it produces for the low-income group as the spaces it produces in order to hide the problems in the space produced by this income group. Different identities of individuals are made the same with the produced standard space by authority. Social Housing is produced in a standard typology, far from the needs, demands, and cultures of the individual who will live here. Individuals who move to social housing after urban transformation and urban improvement with the aim of creating a certain order are struggling with the impossibilities of the housing and housing environment. For this reason, dwellers convert the space according to their daily lifes.

Uzundere TOKI Housings, where the first dwellers settled in the Karabağlar district of Izmir in 2010, was determined as the case study in order to understand the spatial production process of the social housing projects and to examine the tactics produced by the dwellers who could not be involved in the production process. The reason why Uzundere TOKI Housings are preferred as the case study is that the places outside the housing created by the dwellers of the region during the first visit to the region, the culture of peddler shopping, and the individuals from different cultures become a whole in the space of daily life. It has been observed as the place of the user rather than the place of social authority.

In this study, it has been tried to understand the reasons for converting the space, together with the space conversion tactics of the dwellers living in Uzundere TOKI Housings with different past lives, cultural and economic levels. The study focused on conversion in spaces by dwellers, especially in Uzundere TOKI Housings. It has been observed how the dwellers of Uzundere TOKI Housings conversion or converted the space with their daily life practices, resistance, and tactics. It is aimed at understanding the causes and consequences

of this tactical effort. Another aim is to try to understand the spatial conversions experienced in Uzundere TOKI Housings through the narratives of the dwellers.

In this direction, in the following parts of the study, the tactics produced by the dwellers of Uzundere TOKI Housings will be analyzed in different spatial categories using interview, observation, and document analysis research methods.

1.2. Research Questions of the Study

Uzundere TOKI Housings, produced by TOKI and IzBB were built as social housing in order to meet the housing needs of individuals whose houses were destroyed due to urban transformation, urban renewal projects, who became homeless due to disasters, and who could not buy housing due to high housing prices in the city. Contrary to this situation, the low-income dwellers, accustomed to producing their own space, applied tactics to convert the space according to their daily habits. Within the scope of this study, it was tried to understand the conversions that the dwellers realized by taking advantage of the emptiness of the authority. For this purpose, answers to the following questions were sought in the thesis study;

- How was the space produced in Uzundere TOKI Housings?

- What are the users' expectations in Uzundere TOKI Housings?

- Why does the dweller convert space in Uzundere TOKI Housings?

- What are the tactics of conversion in Uzundere TOKI Housings?

1.3. Framework of the Study

Within the framework of this research, a theoretical framework based on a case study was structured in order to examine the tactics of the dwellers of Uzundere TOKI Housings and the convertions in the space. Interviews and observations the made in Uzundere TOKI Housings area were brought together with previous studies on this case study in the literature.

Previously published studies have been taken into account in order that the study on the case study will differ from previous studies and support the study as data during the study process. In the literature review on Uzundere TOKI Housings, it is possible to collect the studies found under 4 headings. In these studies, there is an approach focused on urban transformation and urban renewal, urbanization pressure, and social space. In previous studies on the case study, the most dominant perspective has been on urban transformation and urban renewal. These studies are *"Izmir'deki Kentsel Dönüşüm Projeleri Üzerinden Karşılaştırmalı Bir Coğrafi Analiz: Kadifekale – Uzundere Örneği"* (2013) by Mirioğlu, *"Neoliberal Politikalar Çerçevesinde Türkiye'de Kentsel Dönüşüm ve Kentsel Mekânı Yeniden Anlamlandırmada Sözlü Tarih Bilgisi: Izmir-Kadifekale Kentsel Yenileme Projesi Örneği"* (2016) by Mutlu Kılıç, *"Pierre Bourdieu Kavramsallaştırmaları Açısından Kentsel Dönüşümün Toplumsal Etkileri: Izmir, Gürçeşme ve Uzundere Örneği"* (2018) by Aksoy, *"Bir Kentsel Dönüşüm Deneyimi: Kadifekale-Uzundere İkileminde Bireysel Öyküler Üzerine Düşünmek"* (2018) by Mutlu Kılıç and Göksu, *"Relocatıon From An Inner-Cıty Neıghborhood to Perıpheral Mass Housıng: From Kadıfekale to Uzundere, Izmır"* (2019) by Eroğlu.

The study, carried out by Eranıl Demirli (2011) n a multidisciplinary field (Public Administration, Sociology, and Architecture), examines the changing spatial conditions and daily life practices of the people of Kadifekale who settled in Uzundere TOKI Housings due to the Kadifekale Urban Transformation Project. In this study, binary oppositions are revealed with field observations and literature reviews made in the Kadifekale region and Uzundere TOKI Housings. The research question of this study is in the direction of how the daily life practices and styles of individuals who have lived in Kadifekale for many years are affected.

In the study conducted by Mirioğlu (2013) n a multidisciplinary field (Geography, Public Administration, Urbanism, and Regional Planning), urban transformation projects, which are described as the solution to urban problems, were examined with a critical approach. The Kadifekale Urban Transformation project implemented in the province of Izmir was selected for this study. The geographical features of the Uzundere and Kadifekale regions, which are the study area, were evaluated by taking into account. And within the

scope of the study, a survey was conducted with 235 people who moved from Kadifekale to the Uzundere region.

In the research study conducted by Aksoy (2018) in the field of Sociology, French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu's concepts of capital, space, habitus, and symbolic violence were explained through the urban transformation areas of Izmir, Gürçeşme, and Uzundere. Aksoy's thesis is based on the problem sentence 'What kind of transformations occur in the relations of habitus and capital with the transformation of the urban area?'. A questionnaire technique with a quantitative research technique was used in the research. Interviews for the questionnaire were also directed to open and closed-ended questions. Two separate questionnaires were created: the residents of Uzundere, where people who have undergone urban transformation live, and the Gürçeşme region, where people who have not lived, live.

In the thesis study carried out by Mutlu Kılıç (2016) a human-centered approach was tried to be created in order to understand the socio-psychological, socio-spatial, and socio-economic changes experienced after the urban transformation projects and to prevent these problems. For this purpose, interviews were conducted with individuals who moved to Uzundere TOKI Housings after Kadifekale Urban Transformation. Mutlu Kılıç transformed this study into the article with Göksu. Within the scope of Mutlu Kılıç and Göksu's (2018) article, oral history study, which is also included in Mutlu Kılıç's thesis, has been advanced. The lives and expectations of individuals who moved from Kadifekale to Uzundere were examined comparatively.

In the research titled "Hızla Üzerine Kent Gelen Köyün, Kentleşme ile İmtihanı: Uzundere" carried out by Çilingir and Kut Görgün (2018) an examination was made on the pressure caused by the increasing housing in the Uzundere region on the surrounding areas. As a result of this study, the focus is on the impact of the settlement process and the change in daily lifes in Uzundere Village, which is close to Izmir Uzundere TOKI Housings.

The thesis conducted by Eroğlu (2019) in a multidisciplinary (Public Administration, Sociology, and Urbanism and Regional Planning) approach examines the problems experienced by poor individuals after urban transformation projects through the Kadifekale

Urban Transformation Project. She is focused on urban poverty in Turkey through the urban transformation project. For this study, 39 people were interviewed in order to analyze the impact of the Kadifekale Urban Transformation Project on the urban poor. In these interviews, semi-structured questions were directed to the participants. She tried to examine the Kadifekale Urban Transformation Project, which he handled within the scope of the study with findings, its multidimensional structure.

It is understood that Existing studies on the Uzundere TOKI Housings are limited between Kadifekale and Uzundere in research. However, within the scope of this thesis, it was examined how all individuals living in Uzundere TOKI Housings convert with tactics only TOKI's standard space. Instead of examining the conversion experienced in the space by grouping the actors creating tactics in the space, the tactics they have done to convert the space have been tried to be understood as a whole without separating all the groups in the space. In the Uzundere TOKI Housings, those who bought houses with the tender sale of IzBB, those who received social welfare from IzBB, those who came after the Izmir Earthquake, and those who settled after the Uzundere, and Kadifekale Urban Transformation projects live. The daily life practices of these different groups and accordingly the tactics of converting the space will be analyzed. Standard housing practices produced by TOKI regardless of location and culture will be evaluated through the eyes of heterogeneous groups living in these houses. Thus, it will be understood with the real-life dynamics that the standard housing produced by TOKI is tried to be converted with what tactics by the dwellers with different daily life practices, cultures, backgrounds, and economies living in the same region. The reasons for the dweller's conversion tactics will be tried to be understood.

1.4. Limitations of the Study

As in all studies, limitations are important in studies using qualitative research methods. Because these limits support answering the research questions within the scope of the research purpose. Thus, the collected data about the study can be separated if it is not suitable for the purpose and questions of the study. In addition, it ensures the systematic

transfer of the obtained information. To list the limitations created before and after the research;

1. Uzundere TOKI Housings, which is an example of social housing completed in 2010 in Izmir, was chosen as the case study within the framework of the research made on the subject of the study. The reason for choosing this sample area within the scope of this research is that this housing area is a living and used the area for 12 years. It is alive with its dwellers and short-term visitors. At the same time, the dwellers are people from different cultures and have lived here for many years. This reveals sufficient time for individuals living in the housing area to experience social housing and create their own spatial conversion. In the first phase of the study, the choice of the case study, the fact that the area is a place experienced and lived by its dwellers for a long time, constitutes the first important limitation.

2. With the semi-structured interview form prepared for the questions of the thesis, it was tried to collect information about the past habits of individuals, their expectations from social housing, and their conversion tactics. During the selection of the people participating in the interview, it was confirmed that the person to be interviewed was a dweller of the region. And also, individuals who will participate in the interview were selected from individuals who moved to Uzundere TOKI Housings for different reasons. Thus, the research will not be read within the framework of certain groups and their tactics. The participation of different social housing dwellers was important for the richness of the research data. The tactics of converting the space of all dwellers in the space were evaluated. The fact that the reasons for the settlement of the dwellers participating in the interview were different according to the regions, caused the data saturation of the research. For this reason, the interview was completed with 14 people.

3. Tactics researched through interviews and observations in Uzundere TOKI Housings were analyzed by using Lefebvre's perspective of spatial production and daily life, and De Certeau's tactics and strategies concepts theoretical framework. In order for the tactics produced to this extent to be defined as De Certeau's tactic concept, the

reasons for the use of the tactics by the inhabitants were tried to be understood. According to De Certeau's definition of the tactical concept of their actions, the conversion tactics of the dwellers are limited. In this direction, findings and arguments have been transferred through a certain filter.

1.5. Research Methodology

Qualitative research methods are used in the field of social science to examine individual and social behaviors that cannot be explained by quantitative data. For this reason, within the scope of this research, qualitative research methods were used in order to understand deeply the space conversion practices of Uzundere TOKI Housings users (Akman 2014, 14-17).Within the scope of this study, observation, interview, and document analysis for data collection, which is the qualitative research methods were used in order to understand the daily life practices, habits, needs, and demands of the dwellers.

Observation is a method used to understand the behaviors and actions of individuals in a certain area in daily life, to recognize the space, and to define its formal dimension. It is also possible to say that it is the way the researcher experiences the space. Instead of evaluating the behaviors occurring in the space only within the framework of the results of the interviews, the dynamics in the space were tried to be perceived with impartial observation (Baltacı 2019, 376).

One of the most preferred qualitative data collection methods for in-depth examination and explanation of the truth is the interview. During the interview, the researcher is involved in the daily lifes, user experiences, and memories of the participants to the extent allowed and explained by the participants. The participant can convey his/her original point of view to the researcher during the interview. Thus, it ensures that the individuals who carry out the research can answer the questions about the research correctly and that the participants can express themselves correctly (Johnson 2001, Baltacı 2019, 374).

Document analysis, one of the qualitative research methods, is a research method in which written sources containing information that can be used in the research are examined

in detail. It enables the data to be brought together in a systematic way. It also facilitates the order and accuracy of the information obtained during the interview and observation (Baltacı 2019, 376).

1.6. Structure of the Study

This thesis work consists of 5 separate chapters. In the first chapter, information about the aim, scope and limits of the thesis is given. The second chapter focuses on the concept of social housing. In order for a housing to be called a social housing, the boundaries of how the production process should be are drawn. In this section, the differences between the concepts of social housing and mass housing, which are used interchangeably in the literature, have been tried to be explained. At the same time, it provides a framework for evaluating the housing production style of the selected research area. The implementation process and actors of the concept of social housing in Turkey, which is understood in Chapter 2, are examined in Chapter 3. Thus, the actors who designed the case study to be examined in Chapter 4 (which will be identified with the concept of authority in Chapter 4) and the space production processes of these actors could be defined correctly. In Chapter 4, Uzundere TOKI Housing, which is the research area of the thesis, is focused on. In the case study of the thesis, the tactics of converting the space of the dwellers living in Uzundere TOKI Housings are investigated. At the same time, the research methods and conceptual framework of the study are explained in this section. Limited findings and arguments are shared in this section. With the limited findings collected, the last chapter, Chapter 5, was evaluated within the scope of thesis questions and concluded.

CHAPTER 2

SOCIAL HOUSING & STANDARDIZATION

2.1. Description of the Housing

Housing is a private and protected space that fulfills one of the most basic human needs, protection, and is usually enclosed or surrounded by physical barriers. Housing is defined as "buildings for people to live in" in Cambridge Dictionary website and "the place, dwelling, residence, the house, apartment, etc., where people live" in Turkish Language Association (TDK) website (Türk Dil Kurumu Sözlükleri 2019, Cambridge Dictionary 2022). These definitions can be said to be a definition related to the production style of housing today. This is because throughout history, people and living beings have always been in search of a place where they can find shelter to protect themselves from natural phenomena and living beings that harm them. While in the beginning, with the possibilities of nature, a sheltering area could be created, the sheltering area to be protected in the course of time became the present housing (Şiriner Önver 2016, 5-6).

Nowadays, the housing is not only the place where people perform their basic life activities. Over time, housing has become a commodity concept with high exchange value, reflecting the economic, social and cultural level of the people who live or will live in it. And housing typologies vary based on the location and status of the person living in it, its relationship to different economic and cultural classes, and the way it is acquired and used (Kuru 2021, 21-22, Yıldırım and Başkaya 2006, 285-286).

Within the capitalist system, social relations shape space. At the same time, they convert space itself into the space of action of capital. Moreover, it divides society into classes. This situation leads to the fact that the inequality between individuals from different socio-economic classes increases day by day (Amoros 2016, 129). The conversion of housing into an investment vehicle and a consumer asset has limited access to housing for low-income

people and the poor. The housing problem, which cannot be solved by individual interventions of low-income and poor people, has become a problem that the state considers in the context of economic and social development. Thus, housing has become a public service (Keleş, Kentleşme Politikaları 2016, 406-407, Gülsün n.d.).

The state builds housing, which it considers a public service, not according to people's preferences, but in order to create the necessary space in which people can satisfy their most basic housing needs. In other words, the state creates housing based on "housing need"[1] rather than "housing demand"[2]. In order to find solutions to social injustice in society and be a solution for large groups, "mass housing" and "social housing" have gained momentum under the leadership of public institutions (Keleş, Kentleşme Politikaları 2016, 409).

2.2. Definition of "Mass Housing"

According to the Turkish Language Association (TDK) (2019) mass housing is "a set of structures created with the help of loans and contributions from the government in a certain pre-planned housing area". Although this definition is correct, it should not be forgotten that the term mass housing, which has different meanings depending on the purpose of production and use, is a multidimensional concept. It is a phenomenon that can be explained both by quantitative data in terms of quality and quantity and by personal experience related to individual use. For this reason, it is difficult to draw social, cultural, economic, and societal boundaries in explaining mass housing (Ek 2012, 14-15).

While the definition of mass housing mentioned in the TDK dictionary focuses on how housing is procured, Kwofie, et al. (2014, 2) defined the mass housing as "the design and construction of standardized multiple domestic house-units usually in the same or several geographical locations, executed within the same project scheme and under the same management and contract". In addition, in the continuation of their studies, it was found that many definitions of mass housing were explained by the words "large unit production",

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[1] Housing need: the smallest sufficient space required per person (Keleş, Kentleşme Politikaları 2016, 401).
[2] Housing demand: expression used to describe the willingness and ability of families to pay the price or rent of a particular house (Keleş, Kentleşme Politikaları 2016, 401).

"multiple site location", and "repeated schemes" (Kwofie, et al. 2014, 2). Based on this explanation, the concept of mass housing is defined through the standard typology and legal process, unlike the TDK dictionary.

On the other hand, Ganju, Gupta, and Khosla define mass housing as a type of housing construction that is realized with all national efforts to produce low-cost housing, and its meaning becomes synonymous with low-cost housing (Ganju, Gupta and Khosla 1975). Based on this definition of mass housing, it can be said that mass housing mainly serves low-income people. However, it should not be considered separately from the mass housing environment. Mass housing projects aim to create an environment where low- and moderate-income people can maintain their economic, cultural, and social habits while meeting their housing needs. For this reason, the realization of the projects must take into account not only the costs in the construction process, but also the costs for the people who will live there during the entire life cycle (Noorzai, Jafari and Naeni 2020, 11).

Hasol (2010, 277) describes mass housing as "the term used to describe a large number of housing units built together with their social and physical infrastructure". In his definition, he points out the equal importance of the social and physical dimensions of mass housing. Keleş (2016, 408) defines mass housing as "large initiatives that can provide some technical, social, and economic benefits, not as individual buildings, but when built as large housing developments" and emphasizes the social benefits of mass housing projects.

Instead of considering mass housing as a housing group consisting of several houses in a project, it is necessary to see it as a form of housing that is connected to the city, which has the necessary social equipment and infrastructure, where neighborly relations can be established between the people living here, and the continuity of daily living habits can be ensured (Orhan 2008). Moreover, mass housing mitigates the density of the city center and enables individuals to satisfy their needs around their living space (Karadağ 1998, 212).

It is possible to expand the definitions of mass housing and explain it in terms of legal, technical, and property methods, as well as social and cultural details. However, if all the definitions are considered in general, mass housing is (Özbilen 2014, 5);

- A fast form of housing production

- A type of housing production that meets the need for mass housing

- Type of housing production in which more than one house can be completed in the same amount of time

- Solution to the increasing housing need and high housing costs throughout the country

- Large amount of capital initiatives with government support

- Housing with all the necessary social amenities

If we consider the concept of mass housing construction in Turkey, the mass housing construction projects in Turkey were considered and implemented in a certain framework with the Mass Housing Construction Law issued in 1984. In the Mass Housing Law of 2487, mass housing construction is defined as, mass housing is defined as "at least 200 hectares in areas where the land use plan was approved and ready for construction before the law came into force, and 750 to 1000 housing to be built in settlement areas with a minimum area of 15 hectares and their communal facilities, and refers to the total number of workplaces with their fields" (T.C. Resmi Gazete 1920, 2, Aslan 2007, 7).

In this work, the concept of mass housing has been used as the main heading for the concept of social housing. It refers to housing areas where several apartments built by public authorities and cooperatives are grouped together to meet the housing needs of the poor, low and middle income people without profit. The Mass Housing Administration, which plays the most active role in the production of mass housing in Turkey, refers to its housing projects as mass housing, but it can be seen that it considers social housing projects as subtitles of mass housing projects. An attempt has been made to explain this perspective of TOKI under the title 3.5. TOKI Social Housing Projects in Turkey.

2.3. Definition of "Social Housing"

However, the sole purpose of these projects is not to meet housing needs. Rather, it is to create a healthy and livable built environment and to design a new living space where different cultural groups can adapt to their location over time. Because mass housing is a form of housing production for low-income groups, it is often confused with the concept of public housing. These two terms are used interchangeably in everyday life. However, the reason for the production of social and mass housing is different (Özsoy 2011, Bingöl 2019, 86, Kuru 2021, 28-29).

According to Gülsün (n.d.) "social housing expresses the examples of the phenomenon of housing construction, which today has become a consumer object, an investment tool and an indicator of socio-economic status, as an alternative to market production for the middleand lower income groups, which is generally carried out by the public without the intention of profit" Mass housing, on the other hand, is a term that refers to the group of housing that is produced by the housing industry in large numbers at once. For this reason, social housing construction is different from mass housing construction, which is built with a specific profit goal (Özsoy 2011, Bingöl 2019, 86). According to another definition and with public support, the concept of social housing is a model of housing production that is realized by cooperatives, non-governmental organizations and social institutions with no profit objective (Gürbüztürk 2017, 5). In other words, Keleş (2016, 484) defined social housing as "standardized, minimum size and quality, suitable for health conditions, robust and cheap housing that can meet the housing needs of poor or low-income communities". He referred to social housing as "toplumsal konut" and "halk konut" (Keleş, Kentleşme Politikaları 2016, 484).

According to Hansson and Lungren (2018), social housing "x is social housing if and only if x is a system providing long-term housing to a group of households specified only by their limited financial resources, by means of a distribution system and subsidies". They argue that the answer to the question of how social housing is procured by the low-income

group indicates whether that building can be classified as social housing (Hansson and Lundgren 2018, 162).

The concept of social housing can have different meanings depending on each country's housing terminology. For this reason, it can be difficult to classify the housing production patterns of different countries. In Ireland, for example, the term social housing refers to rental housing provided by property owners for poor and low-income people. In Colombia, the social housing program provides rental assistance to meet the housing needs of poor and low-income persons who do not have housing. It also allows them to have a savings account through the creation of a savings account (GOV.CO n.d., Adema, Plouin and Fluchtmann 2020). In Sweden, there is no official social housing. However, houses are built for people with low incomes (Adema, Plouin and Fluchtmann 2020). The target group for which social housing is produced varies from country to country. While in some countries a low income is a prerequisite for social housing subsidies, some countries offer the possibility to use social housing for the middle income group (Kunduracı 2013, 59).

Law No 2487 (T.C. Resmi Gazete 1920, 2) defines social housing as "low-cost housing with a gross construction area of not more than one hundred square meters, which corresponds to the living conditions, social structure, customs and traditions of society". Otherwise, all housing other than the types of housing whose boundaries are drawn by the law are accepted as housing (Dönmez 2010). In the TDK Dictionary (Türk Dil Kurumu Sözlükleri 2019) social housing means "inexpensive housing suitable for health, specially built for low-income people".

Based on the above misconceptions, it is understood that the reason for the emergence of social housing is to improve housing opportunities for needy people living in unfavorable conditions in unfit dwelling. Social housing is a good alternative that can prevent the emergence of slums in countries where it is introduced (Kuru 2021, 29-30). However, although it is a good alternative, social housing has quality problems compared to other types of housing production because it is implemented in a limited time and with a limited budget. In social housing projects, project costs put pressure on design decisions and cause situations that need attention to be ignored (Gülsün n.d., Bingöl 2019, 86). When we look at the social

housing projects implemented in our country, we find that they are housing that are far from the users' habits and use inferior materials and construction techniques (Kuru 2021, 29-30).

2.4. The Criteria of Social Housing

If we look at the concept of social housing depending on the countries mentioned above, it is not possible to reduce the concept of social housing to a single definition. However, in order to define and understand the concept of social housing, it is important to answer the following questions to determine what types of housing are accepted as social housing depending on the countries' legislation. What is the purpose of housing production? by whom was the house built? who owns the house? the rent or sale price of the house? and the presence of credit support during housing production? (Akalın, Sosyal Konutların Türkiye'nin Konut Politikaları İçerisindeki Yeri ve TOKİ'nin Sosyal Konut Uygulamaları 2016, 109) If it is necessary to turn these questions into concrete points, they can be named as the target group, the form of tenure, the type of provider, public interventions and subsidies (Hansson and Lundgren 2018, 156). According to the United Nations, in order to define and correctly classify social housing, it is necessary to add the title of architectural and urban design standards and quality to these categories (Kalfaoğlu Hatipoğlu and Mohammad 2021, 638, United Nations 2006, 90-91).

1. Target: the answer to the question for whom the building is produced influences the organization of the whole process from the acquisition of the land to the delivery of the houses. This is because the target audience changes in direct proportion to the cost. While the first target audience in the production of social housing is low-income groups, this situation differs from country to country and becomes an application that includes different groups such as slum dwellers, middle class, workers, and immigrants (Kalfaoğlu Hatipoğlu and Mohammad 2021, 638).

2. The Form of Tenura: in this criterion, the answers are sought to the questions whether the social housing is used by the owner of the house, whether it is a rental social housing or a cooperative housing. It can be said that this is the least discussed question in the definition of social housing. Real estate experts and academics working in this field argue

that three different forms of tenure are possible for social housing (Hansson and Lundgren 2018, 159).

3. Type of Provider: it is well known that social housing is usually subsidized by the state, in the sense of the welfare state. But in addition to the state, it can also be funded by local governments, cooperatives, non-profit organizations, and the private sector. It is important to note that the institution or company implementing social housing should create inclusive and helpful housing for all without making profit (Hansson and Lundgren 2018, 159-160, Kalfaoğlu Hatipoğlu and Mohammad 2021, 638).

4. Public Intervention: Only the state, which is not the main contractor, should support, control and must be kept within the framework of a rule the social housing projects that local governments, cooperatives, and private companies want to realize. In other words, even if the state is not the main contractor of social housing projects, it should have been the controller (Kalfaoğlu Hatipoğlu and Mohammad 2021, 638). However, considering that only the state does not produce social housing, it is possible to say that interventions may not be made only by the state. Public or private subsidies are an important part of social housing practices (Hansson and Lundgren 2018, 161-162).

5. Subsidies: Social housing projects are a housing practice implemented to meet the housing needs of groups throughout the country and in this sense to close the housing supply in the country. Financial support is needed to provide housing needs below the market value for individuals who cannot meet the housing needs in the real estate market. And this social housing production depends on this financial support. Otherwise, it will not reach the target audience in need of housing (Hansson and Lundgren 2018, 160-161).

6. Architectural and Urban Design Standards & Quality: Although only architectural design is important in social housing applications, one of the factors that determine the quality of social housing is the relationship between architecture and urban planning. Social housing projects should not be seen as just a mass of buildings. In order for social housing applications to be long-term usable and livable healthy places, they must be

in social harmony with the surrounding structures and public spaces (United Nations 2006, 90-91).

2.5. The Concept of Social Housing Policies

Housing Policy means all of the legal regulations and action plans prepared and implemented by the state to meet the housing need throughout the country. Housing policy is divided into three groups. These policies are partial housing policy where there is no specific policy, holistic housing policies that allow housing to be produced by the state or under its strict control, and finally, the social housing policy, which is the main subject of this thesis (Ersöz 1994, 4-7).

Social housing policies are policies implemented by the state to meet the housing needs of individuals who cannot own a house for various reasons. Social housing is only one of the implementation tools of this policy. The state has certain criteria for those who will benefit from this housing policy. The most important of these criteria is that the people who will benefit from the social housing policy are below a certain income level. The state selects people who will benefit from social housing policies from different class groups, including civil servants, retired, elderly and slum dwellers, or grants rights to general groups in need of state protection socially and economically. There are social housing standards to ensure that the house to be produced is produced within the scope of social housing policies and that state resources are not wasted (Ersöz 1994, 5-6, Keleş 1966, 168).

With the social housing policy, it is to prevent the construction of unhealthy houses, to balance the difference between the housing need and the housing stock, and to produce housing for the purchasing power of the low-income group. Thus, the right to shelter, which is the most basic right of everyone person, will be provided to its citizens by the state (Uğraş 2019, 14).

2.6. Historical Development of Social Housing

The production of Social Housing projects started with the Industrialization Revolution, which started in England and spread to all European countries in a short time. Therefore Compared to previous centuries, the 19th century and later has been a century in which the fastest changes in history have been experienced (Akagündüz 2016, 422). The Industrial Revolution has divided the concept of Urbanization into two as Pre-Industrial Period and Post-Industrial Periods in the research and writings of Urbanization. This situation shows that industrialization is an important turning point on the urban scale (Çan n.d., 4). but also the period in which it took place (Telli 2010, 31).

With the industrial revolution, the rural population migrated to the city. While there has been a rapid increase in the urban population, the lands in the rural areas have been abandoned. The population more than the number of workers demanded to work in the industry has accumulated in the cities. This situation caused the working and living conditions to become difficult. Child workers began to be employed in difficult tasks. This population, who left their rural living areas due to job opportunities, tried to meet their shelter needs in inadequate and unhealthy housing. This situation has led to a significant increase in the proportion of workers trying to live in unhealthy conditions. As a result of this negative situation experienced in many countries, social housing projects have started to be made directly by the government or government support (Altınok 2021, 27).

Social housing practices, which emerged to meet the housing needs of the working class in Europe in the 19th century, started in Europe and spread throughout the world in the 20th century. The first legal regulation on social housing practices started in England in 1890. Later, in France, a legal arrangement was made regarding social housing practices in 1894 (Ay Ak 2021).

The ownership of the mass housing produced by the government or with the support of the government remained the property of the state and was rented to worker groups well below the market value. However, it is difficult to say that a solution has been created for the housing need since the mass housing produced by the state only meets the need for housing

and there is a lack of infrastructure. Social housing projects had realized by employers and charities other than the state could not be produced sufficiently due to the financing problem. For these reasons, II. The production of social housing projects continued to be limited in the period until World War II (Altınok 2021, 27).

After World War II, social housing applications gained value owing to the social state applications. Social housing applications in the total housing stock showed an increasing momentum until 1980. Social housing practices between 1945 and 1955 were generally detached houses with gardens for workers. Since the target audience trying to reach increased after 1955, social housing has turned into projects consisting of repeating multi-story blocks. In addition to the working class, the housing needs of individuals in the low-income group have been tried to be met (Kunduracı 2013, 58-59). However, social housing is mostly produced as a result of urban transformation projects carried out in slum areas in the 21st centur y (Ay Ak 2021).

Today, the Netherlands is the country where the most social housing implementations are made. The Netherlands, which started to implement social housing applications for the first time in 1901, is the country with the highest number of social housing examples today (Ay Ak 2021).

2.7. Important Social Housing Applications in the World

Social housing practices are one of the most costly aid programs undertaken by the state and which it is obliged to undertake with the ideology of the social state. It is aimed to provide maximum benefit in these applications, which are realized with high costs. In order to meet this purpose, the applications should be inclusive, functional, reliable, and unifying in the social and public sphere (Telli 2010, 44).

In the continuation of this title, examples of social housing, which have been realized from the past to the present, and which can set an example for the concept of social housing defined under the titles of 2.3. Definitions of Social Housing and 2.4. The Criteria of Social Housing are given.

2.7.1. Fuggerei

Fuggeria, the first example of social housing in the world, was built in Augsburg, Germany in 1516. Fuggeria is a social housing eternally donated by Jakob Fugger for those in need. The architect of this settlement is Thomas Krebs. It has 53 twin houses in 60 square meters. During World War II, most of the buildings were destroyed due to air raids in the region. In 1973, the number of buildings reached 67 (E. Yılmaz 2012, 111).

Figure 1. Fuggeria's Housing
(Source: Kamarlı n.d.)

Today, Fuggeria consists of 67 buildings (140 housing) located adjacent in 8 narrow streets. There are a total of 150 neighborhood dwellers in these housings. This life, surrounded by walls, can be thought of as a city with its own rules, run by the Fugger Foundation, within the city of Augsburg. There are certain conditions in order to continue your life in Fuggeria housing. These are being Catholic, praying in church three times a day, having lived in Ausburg for two years, and being a poor with no debt. The foundation demands 0.88 Euros per year from those who are entitled to live in Fuggeria housing. This annual rent has not been changed since its establishment (E. Yılmaz 2012, 113-114, The Fuggerei 2021).

Figure 2. The Museum Exhibits an Example of	Figure 3. The Museum Exhibits a
an Existing Flat	Fuggeria's Historic Flat
(Source: Kamarlı n.d.)	(Source: Kamarlı n.d.)

There are three museums in the neighborhood. These museums include a model flat showing an example of an existing flat, a historic condo, and a World War II apartment building. It was a bunker used during World War II. A certain amount of fee is requested from the tourists who want to enter these museums. In this way, the people of the region and the foundation obtain financial income from touristic activities in the neighborhood (The Fuggerei 2021, Çağlar 2021).

2.7.2. Familistére

The Familistére was built by the industrialist Jean Baptiste Andre Godin in the former French town of Guise in 1859 to meet the housing needs of the workers working in his factory. At the same time, the architect of Familistére is Godin. A river separated the Factory and the Familistére, and it was possible to pass between the two areas with the help of a bridge (Telli 2010, 54).

Figure 4. Familistére

(Source: Hidden Architecture 2021)

Familistére is a social housing project with 495 flats, created for a total of 1500 to 2000 workers and families to live. Godin wanted to build this structure in order to facilitate, beautify and facilitate their lives, instead of building a place where the business and its relatives could only meet their shelter needs. For this reason, there are many services that workers and families can benefit from in Familistere, including school, theatre, bathroom, swimming pool, and laundry. In addition, no wages have been charged to the working class for these opportunities (Edutheque n.d.).
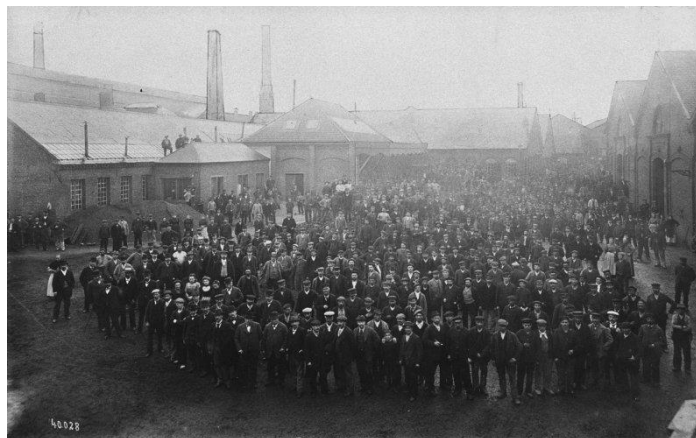
Figure 5. Workers at Godin's Factory

(Source: Hidden Architecture 2021)

With Godin's founding of the Capital and Labor Cooperatives Union in 1880, Le Familistére became the property of all its employees. And in the same year, the management

of Familtere was taken over by the workers of Godin's factory. After Godin's death in 1888, the factory and workers' housing, which continued to be in their old order, were renovated and transformed into different spaces as of 1918. In 2000, it started to transform into a venue that hosts cultural and educational activities (Hidden Architecture 2021).

2.7.3. Karl Marx Hof

Kar Max Hof municipal housing settlement, designed by architect Karl Edmund Ehn between 1927 and 1930, is the largest single social housing project built on a total area of 156,027 square meters in Vienna. This social housing, which has 5 different flat typologies, has the capacity to accommodate 5000 people in total with 1,382 flats. In addition, two centers include a laundry, library, kindergarten, health facilities, post office, Turkish bath, restaurant, café, and 25 shops for the benefit of individuals and families living in this social housing. It differs from other social housing projects in the same period, due to the social opportunities it offers (Bozdoğan 2019, 15, Blau 1999, 323).

Figure 6. Karl-Max-Hof, 1931
(Source: Blau 1999, 324)

In Austria, the increasing population due to industrialization has created a housing problem. The unhealthy conditions experienced by workers in England were also experienced by workers in Austria. Karl Max Hof, which was built to find solutions to this

housing problem and unhealthy conditions experienced by the workers, represents the working class with its magnificent design (Hatherley 2018).

2.7.4. Byker Wall

Byker Wall is a social housing project realized by the state in order to improve the infrastructure services of workers' housing structures called slums and to improve the structures (Longfield 2014, 2-3). It took place in Newcastle, England, between 1969 and 1982. The building, designed by architect Ralph Erskine, consists of 620 two-story adjacent apartment blocks located on an area of approximately 200 decares. And it is home to 9500 people (Erskine n.d.).

Figure 7. Byker Wall
(Source: Muncaster 2018)

As the name suggests in Byker Wall's design, the blocks of flats create a wall that appears in the design of the building. Thanks to this design, visual pollution is prevented as well as protection from natural factors. Thanks to the green areas created in the area, the people living here are encouraged to social activities (Erskine n.d.). In addition, there is a pub, social club, primary school, and shops on the site (Byker Community Trust 2022).

2.7.5. Rosengård Social Housing

The Swedish state created the Milion Programme social housing program between 1964 and 1979 in order to ensure that everyone owns a house with the understanding of the social state. In addition to the houses built from scratch within the scope of this program, many old buildings were demolished, and new houses were built (Chhaya 2017, 24). Rosengård Social Housing have become one of the largest housing areas in Scandinavia with a capacity of 10,000 flats and a capacity of 25,000 people. It was built in. The majority of Rosengård Social Housing dwellers are immigrants and the working class. Rosengard Social Housing are located in Scania, Swedish. And most of the social housing in this area was built between 1967 and 1972 (Gehl n.d.).

Figure 8. Rosengard Social Housing by Mikael Sjöberg
(Source: Esfandyari 2020)

The Swedish government, with projects such as Rosengard carried out within the scope of this program, preferred to build public housing instead of making the dwellers of the country property owners. For this reason, the state made direct investments in the construction process and provided affordable accommodation to individuals from all income groups living in the country. Thanks to the houses built in this way, suburban areas have developed and turned into self-sufficient social facilities (Blackmore 2019).

2.7.6. Dortheavej Housing

Completed in 2018, in Copenhagen, Denmark, Dortheavej Housing was built on a floor area of 6,800 square meters. It was realized by the non-profit organization Lejerbo with the mission of "Homes for All". The building, designed by the UK-based Bjarke Ingels Group (BIG), consists of 66 flats with large windows and open terraces (Hernández n.d., Merdim 2018).

Figure 9. Dortheavej Housing by Rasmus Hjortshõj
(Source: Hernández n.d.)

BIG architecture firm aimed to create sustainable, environmentally related, and functional housing instead of producing a building only to meet the need for shelter during the design phase. It has been created in typologies ranging from 60 to 115 m2, with a suitable size for daily use. Thanks to this structure, the need for affordable housing and public space in the region was met (Merdim 2018).

CHAPTER 3

SOCIAL HOUSING PROJECTS IN TURKEY

3.1. General Overview of the Housing Problem in Turkey

Housing is a living space that provides information about the social and economic situation of the local or country in which it is located. Therefore, it is a limited and inadequate statement to describe housing as just a walled mass. At the same time, who produced the housing, the quality of the housing, and the amount of housing are important indicators for the country's housing policies, measures, and studies (Keleş, Kentleşme Politikaları 2016, 406-407, Ulusoy 2020, 87-88).

With the acceleration of the migration process as a result of industrialization and urbanization, housing needs had increased. When the inadequate policies of the government, the government's failure to undertake the social-state duty, and the government's inability to provide suitable housing to the immigrant population and working people, the housing shortage continued to be an unsolved problem.

Two types of housing are frequently encountered in Turkey. One of them is gecekondu (slum). Gecekondus are unhealthy areas with no infrastructure, built illegally on unzoned lands by low-income groups in order to meet their housing needs. At the same time, gecekondu is a solution that individuals find with their efforts to their housing needs. In Turkey especially the three metropolitan cities (Ankara, Istanbul, and Izmir) are surrounded by gecekondus. The second most common type of housing produced in Turkey is luxury housing. Luxury housing is large, healthy, and expensive buildings where the high-income group lives. It is created with the preferences of those who will live in it, rather than meeting the need for shelter. This housing type, which is generally produced by the private sector, has been actualized by public institutions from time to time (Keleş, Kentleşme Politikaları 2016, 484-485, Karasu 2005, 57-58).

The private sector and public enterprises are building housing for the upper-income group. However, the housing is not produced sufficiently by the private sector, public enterprises, and cooperatives for the middle-income, low-income, and poor groups, which are all part of the country. The housing needs of individuals in the middle-income, low-income, and poor groups are not met by the existing institutions and the housing deficit continues to grow. As a result of this situation, the gecekondu, which is one of the most produced housing types in our country, continues to be produced repeatedly by the low-income and poor groups. It creates a build-and-break cycle for gecekondu areas between the government and the low-income group (Keleş, Kentleşme Politikaları 2016, 484-485).

While the production of gecekondus and luxury housing is high in our country, there is another type of housing that cannot be produced sufficiently but can meet the housing needs of middle-income, low-income, and poor individuals. In our country, the non-profit housing type that appeals to this large audience is social housing. Social housing creates an economical solution with multiple housing blocks and built environment in areas where housing need is high. In addition, it is an affordable housing production method in which individuals with low income have the opportunity to own a house as if they pay rent (Keleş, Kentleşme Politikaları 2016, 484-485).

The construction cost is important for social housing to reach the segment it appeals to. Since the housing cost will affect the sales price of the house, it is a factor that determines which groups will buy the house. During the design process of the project, the groups that are targeted to purchase the produced housing may change because of the increase in cost. For this reason, first, how the land is procured is an important issue. Public institutions have a greater advantage over the private sector and cooperatives in providing land for social housing projects (Karadağ 1998, 211-212, TOKİ 2022). There are three different land acquisition methods for housing projects to be made by public institutions: public lands, lands acquired through expropriation, and lands acquired through purchase. However, if we consider the private sector, the private sector can only obtain land by purchasing. This situation directly increases the costs of housing projects made by the private sector. For this reason, the role of public institutions and organizations in social housing production is very

important, especially for the housing need of low-income and poor groups (Karadağ 1998, 213).

Housing need, which is an important problem in our country, has been tried to be solved by the decisions taken by the government for different economic and cultural classes. As a result of these decisions, public institutions have given various opportunities to cooperatives and the private sector in order to accelerate housing production. Especially to produce social housing, which is a fast and economical way to meet the housing need for low-middle income groups, important decisions were taken by the government, institutions were appointed, and housing loans were provided. In the continuation of the study, the housing policies applied in Turkey, the regulations and practices in Social Housing will be explained in detail.

3.2. Turkey's Housing Policies and Social Housing Policies

With the proclamation of the Republic, a new period has begun for Turkey. Restructuring policies have been implemented by the government in all areas. New institutions and new legal regulations have been established regarding the problems experienced throughout the country. The government has created development plans by taking into account the social and economic problems of the period the country is in (Akbaba Eshak 2014, 5, E. Akın 2007). Especially in the founding years of the Republic, the government, which was the largest landowner, played an important role in shaping the housing market with housing planning (Akbaba Eshak 2014, 165-170, E. Akın 2007). Under this title, the examination has been made on the housing policies of the country, which is included in the development plans that started to be implemented in Turkey as of 1923.

The studies carried out by the government on the development of housing policies in Turkey have varied depending on the situation and needs of the country. For this reason, it is possible to analyze the development of housing policies by dividing them into five periods: The Period Between 1923-1945, The Period Between 1945-1960, The Planned Period (1961-1980), The Interim Period (1980-1983) And The Liberal Period (1987 and Later) (Keleş, Kentleşme Politikaları 2016, 489-525).

3.2.1. Housing Policies in the Period Between 1923 and 1945

With the proclamation of the Republic, the way of the country's architectural style has started to change and steps have been taken by the government in housing production, albeit slowly. The social and cultural structure that changed with the proclamation of the Republic also affected the way of housing production. Turkey's new architectural style has become modernism with a quick decision made by the government. The main reason behind this decision is to move away from Ottoman culture and to reveal a new architectural style belonging to Turkey. However, due to the economic problems in the country and the low development of the construction sector, the modern architectural style was not reflected in the houses produced for the middle and low-income groups (Hesapçıoğlu 2010, 31-33).

With the acceptance of Ankara as the capital in 1923, urban development decisions were made on the scale of Ankara. The fact that most of the people living in Ankara were government officials caused the government housing policies to be shaped to solve the housing problem of government officials at that time. For this purpose, the government made regulations in the content of the new law, gave allowance for housing to government officials, and appropriated funds for housing production. One of the produced housing for development officials in these years was the Government Official's Housing built in Ankara Kızılay in the late 1920s, and the other was the II. Vakıf (Evkaf) Apartment, built-in 1928 (Figure 10). In addition, the government started the construction of housing for government officials with Law No. 4626 on "Government Official's Housing", which effectuated into force in 1944. The first application of this law was Ankara Saraçoğlu District, which was completed between 1944-1946 (Figure 11,12) (Hesapçıoğlu 2010, 31-34, Keleş, Kentleşme Politikaları 2016, 490, Akalın, Sosyal Konutların Türkiye'nin Konut Politikaları İçerisindeki Yeri ve TOKİ'nin Sosyal Konut Uygulamaları 2016, 111-112).

Figure 10. A photograph of Second Vakıf
Apartment from 2022
(Source: Diclehan Bekir)

Figure 11. A Photography from The
Early Days of The Housing Types in
Saraçoğlu Neighborhood
(Source: Bonatz 1946)

Figure 12. Saraçoğlu Neighborhood
(Source: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara
Şubesi 2020)

The period between 1923 and 1945 was a period when the government tried to find the architectural style of Turkey and find solutions to the housing problem of metropolitan Ankara. In addition to working for government officials, the government has made important efforts to provide housing opportunities for the compatriots who migrated from Thrace to Anatolia. According to the "Exchange, Development and Settlement Law" numbered 368, which was enacted in this direction, 132,000 houses were built until 1945. In addition, during this period, social housing projects for workers were initiated under the leadership of the government (Demir 2019, 39, Hesapçıoğlu 2010, 35).

During this period, the government assumed responsibility for housing production. It founded Emlak ve Eytam Bank in 1926. This institution has been an important opportunity for non-homeowner citizens. In addition, in order to minimize the effects of the worldwide war within the country, the housing rental prices for 1939 were fixed until 1947 by the government (Hesapçıoğlu 2010, 35-36, Keleş, Kentleşme Politikaları 2016, 490).

The government supported the establishment of building cooperatives in order to increase the effectiveness of cooperatives in housing production. The first building cooperative was established in Ankara in 1934 and the number of building cooperatives continued to increase over time. Bahçelievler Cooperative, the first building cooperative of the Republic, had built Bahçelievler Building Cooperative Houses in 1934 (Şumnu 2012, 26)(Figure 13,14,15,16). This housing was created by Hermann Jansen, who works on urban planning in Ankara. Although the housing planning of the project was changed several times by Hermann Jansen, its construction was completed in 1938 and the housing units were handed over to their new owners And then new owners have settled in the houses (Kansu 2009, Huniler 2010, 11-15).

Figure 13. Bahçelievler Building
Cooperative Housing
(Source: Kansu 2009)

Figure 14. B4 Type Two-Sstory Detached
House
(Source: Kansu 2009)
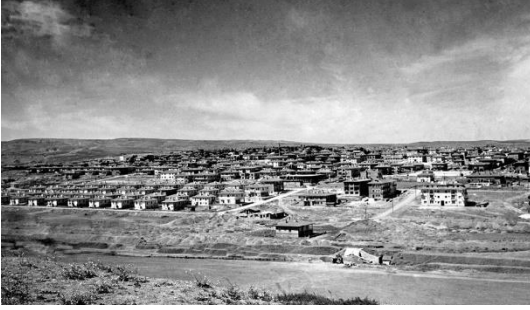
Figure 15. Bahçelievler Building
Cooperative Housing
(Source: Abla 2016)

Figure 16. The Plans of Bahçelievler
Building Cooperative Housing
(Source: Kansu 2009)

3.2.2. Housing Policies in the Period Between 1945 and 1960

Urbanization accelerated in the period between 1945 and 1960, which coincided with post-World War II. One of the biggest reasons for this situation has been the rural population who migrated to metropolitan cities to work in the industry. Immigrant groups have sought alternative ways for their housing needs due to the limited work of the government on housing and the high cost of housing. One of these alternatives has been to build gecekondus, which is the cheapest method of housing in the city. The gecekondus, which were built illegally on public lands, became a very important problem for the following periods, as they were not under the control of the government. Many laws enacted until 1966 were enacted to prevent squatting. However, most of these laws were not even mention the word gecekondu. In addition to the laws enacted, efforts were made to increase housing production in order to stop squatting. Despite the efforts made, squatting, which started in the 1950s, still continues to be a problem for today's Turkey (Keleş, Kentleşme Politikaları 2016, 490-

491, Oral 2014, 73-75, Akalın, Sosyal Konutların Türkiye'nin Konut Politikaları İçerisindeki Yeri ve TOKİ'nin Sosyal Konut Uygulamaları 2016, 113).

By 1951, the involvement of local governments in housing production was made compulsory by Law No. 5656 in "the Municipality Law". In order to solve the increasing problem of gecekondus in cities, local municipalities had charged by the government (Hesapçıoğlu 2010, 41). In addition, the government has not done any work to meet the housing needs of low-income individuals. For this reason, the high difference between the income level of especially working class and housing acquisition costs has become the catalyst for gecekondu production (Akalın, Sosyal Konutların Türkiye'nin Konut Politikaları İçerisindeki Yeri ve TOKİ'nin Sosyal Konut Uygulamaları 2016, 113-114).

The number of housing cooperatives increased due to the laws numbered 5218 and 5228 enacted in 1948 to encourage housing construction. It is possible to say that Housing Cooperatives play an important role in housing production. Cooperatives have accelerated the process of owning a house with the opportunities they provide to their own individuals. In the housing cooperatives that emerged, two types of housing production came to the fore. The first one is the houses that can contain small groups in a single building mass. 96's Apartment (Figure 17), Hayat Apartment (Figure 18), and Hava Meydanları Cooperative Building (Figure 19), which were built in Ankara between 1956-1958, are examples of housing. The second type of housing production came to the fore in the 1950s, and they are single-detached housing with gardens on newly opened lands by cooperatives with 150-200 members. In these residences, the design of the streets and common areas, as well as the interior of the house, was of great importance. Merbank Mensupları Building Cooperative Housing exemplify the second type of subject type produced by housing cooperatives (Figure 20) (Şumnu 2012, 26, Sivil Mimarlık Tarihi Ankara 1930-1980 2014).

Figure 17. 96's
Apartments
(Source: Sivil Mimarlık
Tarihi Ankara 1930-1980
2014, 109)

Figure 18. Hayat Apartment
(Source: Sivil Mimarlık Tarihi
Ankara 1930-1980 2014, 117)

Figure 19. Hava
Meydanları Cooperative
Building (another known
name is Cinnah 19)
(Source: Sivil Mimarlık
Tarihi Ankara 1930-1980
2014, 137)

Figure 20. Merbank Housing (Merbank Mensupları Building Cooperative Housing)
(Source: Sivil Mimarlık Tarihi Ankara 1930-1980 2014, 125)

While the rule of building only one house on a parcel was valid until the mid-1950s, in 1954, with the regulation made in the Land Registry Law, more than one person had the right to construction servitude on a single parcel. For this reason, property developers were

legalized. Property Developers also increased with the entry into force of "The Property Ownership Law" in 1965. As a result of this, a race to obtain rent in housing production had started (Hesapçıoğlu 2010, 43, Demir 2019, 45). This situation had been made it more difficult for the low-income and poor groups to purchase housing.

Emlak ve Eytam Bank, which that founded in 1926 was renamed Emlak Kredi Bank at the beginning of this period. Emlak Kredi Bank, with its new name, had achieved new legal obligations. Until 1951, it was the only public credit institution that provided financing for building cooperatives for housing production. Levent Neighborhood's Housing Project, which was started to be built in 1947 in the Istanbul Levent District, was implemented with the financing of Emlak Kredi Bank (Figure 21,22) (Hesapçıoğlu 2010, 39-40).

Emlak Kredi Bank had bought the Levent Mahallesi Social Housing Project land from Beşiktaş Municipality. In addition to 1091 houses, the project, whose construction continued until 1960, includes small commercial areas. Realized by Emlak Kredi Bank, the project was sold to individuals in the income group determined by Emlak Kredi Bank. Moving away from being a social housing project for the middle-income group, it has become a project that appeals to the middle class and senior government officials (Şen 2017, 61-62).

Figure 21. Levent Neighborhood General Layout
(Source: Erbaş 2012)

Figure 22. A Photograph from The Period When It Was Built from The Levent Neighborhood
(Source: Erbaş 2012)

With the initiatives of Emlak Kredi Bank, the Ataköy Project with 12.000 housing was implemented in Istanbul. This project has been the biggest housing initiative of Turkey until then. At the same time, Ataköy is the first planned social housing and the first satellite city in Turkey. This satellite city project outside the city started in 1957 and lasted until 1991. The housing that started to be designed for the middle-income group were mostly purchased by the upper-income group due to the increase in costs (Figure 23,24,25) (Hesapçıoğlu 2010, 36-37, Bozyokuş 2019). Ataköy Project, which started as a social housing project, was completed above the anticipated costs. For this reason, although the houses sold to the upper-income group started with the aim of producing social housing, they did not end with this purpose (Şen 2017, 55-56).

Figure 23. Ataköy Neighborhood General Layout
(Source: Şener 2000)

Figure 24. Ataköy
Neighborhood
(Source: Her Umut Orta Karar
2021)

Figure 25. Ataköy
Neighborhood photography,
from 2006
(Source: Tekeli 2006)

In the 1945-1960 period, studies on worker housing continued by the government. Established in 1945, the Ministry of Labor and the Social Insurance Institution gave rise to the idea of giving some of the insurance premiums to worker cooperatives for housing loans. This idea became a reality with the "Old Age Insurance Law" enacted in 1949 (Keleş, Kentleşme Politikaları 2016, 491-492).

In 1958, the Ministry of Construction and Settlement was established in order to find wide-ranging solutions to the housing problem and to take the necessary precautions before and after a natural disaster (Demir 2019, 42).

3.2.3. The Planned Period Between 1961 and 1980

With the 1961 Constitution, Turkey gained the status of a social state that takes and implements decisions within the framework of social and economic rights. In this context, the Republic of Turkey as a social state aims to provide the necessary living conditions to every individual living within the country's territory and who cannot meet their basic needs to survive. In addition, the social state works to provide social justice, social welfare, and social security and to keep social and economic rights in an equal balance between individuals. The right to housing is one of the most important issues of the social state understanding (Temel 1992, 51-55).

According to Article 49 of the 1961 Constitution, the government is obliged to provide housing to individuals who cannot afford the own house. Within this scope, for the first time, the government dealt with the housing problem in the Constitution. In addition to the successive legal regulations, the State Planning Organization (DPT) was established in 1963. DPT had prepared and implemented four five-year development plans to be realized between 1963-1983. These Five-Year Development Plans are I. Five-Year Development Plan (1963-1967), II. Five-Year Development Plan (1968-1972), III.Five-Year Development Plan (1973-1977) and IV. Five-Year Development Plan (1978-1983 (Demir 2019, 42, Oral 2014, 75)).

Years	The Need Arising From Population Growth	The Need to AArise from rhe Renewal of What Has Become Obsolete	The need Arising From Disaster and Urban Development	The Need to Arise from the Demolition of Gecekondus	Total Need
1962	91.367	10.726	4.700	12.000	118.793
1963	95.936	16.089	4.700	12.000	128.725
1967	116.611	37.541	4.700	12.000	170.852
1975	172.286	37.541	4.700	12.000	226.527

Table 1. Housing Needs in Cities Between 1960 and 1975
(Source: 1. Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planında Konut Sektörü 1963)

Years	Population Growth	From Renewal	From Disasters	Eliminate The Crowd	Total
1962	71.600	20.650	2.000	10.734	104.984
1963	73.100	20.650	2.000	10.734	106.484
1967	79.800	20.650	2.000	10.734	113.184
1975	95.800	20.650	2.000	10.734	129.184

Table 2. Housing Needs in Villages Between 1960-1975
(Source: 1. Beş Yıllık Kalkınma Planında Konut Sektörü 1963)

I. Five-Year Development Plan revealed the concept of social housing in order to minimize the waste and inefficiency in the field of construction, taking into account the economy of the country. The social housing to be produced can appeal to the lower and middle-income classes, as they are small square meters and low-priced. For this purpose, the housing standards created by the government were made compulsory for the public and these standards were expected to be encouraging for the private sector at the same time (Keleş, Kentleşme Politikaları 2016, 492-493, Oral 2014, 75-76, Temel 1992, 60-62). In the II. Five-Year Development Plan (II. FYDP), the government transformed its role in housing production from an investor to a regulator. It had supported those who want to build their own house and provide financing with housing loans (R. Akın 2015, 94) Contrary to the strict rules prohibiting the construction of gecekondu, it taken steps to legalize gecekondus. With the Gecekondu Law No. 775, it was possible to legalize the gecekondu construction process and the product that had emerged as a result of the construction process (Keleş, Kentleşme Politikaları 2016, 493-494, Oral 2014, 76). In the IV. Five-Year Development Plan, on the other hand, the idea that the house should be built in order to meet the housing needs of

individuals in the lower-income group is dominant. For this reason, it is emphasized within the scope of this plan that the housing to be built should be built collectively to serve the majority of individuals in the lower-income class and to keep their costs at a minimum, instead of producing them one by one (T.C Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı 1979, 476-477).

3.2.4. The Interim Period (1981-1983) / 12th September Period

Despite the development plans implemented, the housing deficit continued to grow until 1980. In order to prevent this growth, the Mass Housing Law No. 2487, which could not be implemented before, was enacted in the 12th September Period, which was called the Interim Period. With the Mass Housing Law, important decisions were taken to encourage large-scale housing projects instead of a detached houses, to produce houses for individuals for low and middle-income groups, to expropriate mass housing areas, and to realize projects in the government administration (Çoban 2012, 93, Ulusoy 2020, 99).

With the law numbered 2487, effective institutions had emerged in Mass Housing production as a result of the new task distribution and new constructions within the existing government institutions. The major of these institutions was the Mass Housing Fund. The Mass Housing Fund had opened in Turkey Emlak Kredi Bank, oversees public services. The most important source of this fund was the government budget. Resources up to 5% of the government's expenditure budget were transferred to this fund every year (Çoban 2012, 94). And also, central and local committees were established to manage the decisions and practices taken pursuant to the Mass Housing Law No. 2487. These committees were the Toplu Konut Yüksek Committee and the Provincial Mass Housing Committee (Keleş, Kentleşme Politikaları 2016, 504).

Building Savings Account, which is applied in European countries, had become widespread in Turkey with the Mass Housing Law. This account had been an accumulation method applied between the years 1950-1985. The building savings account was an account opened in authorized banks for the purpose of saving money for those who wanted to buy a house. One year after the account was opened, an application was made to the Turkey Emlak

Kredi Bank to purchase a house, and a Building Savings Loan could be obtained at 1.5 times the amount saved. In addition to these, an incentive premium was applied to individuals who wanted to buy a house with a legal savings account. The government had mentioned that this premium amount would also be deducted from the building savings loans (Keleş, Kentleşme Politikaları 2016, 502-503).

3.2.5. The Liberal Period (1984 and Later)

Within the Mass Housing Law No. 2487, there were many opinions against the decisions taken regarding the private sector and local government's inability to produce mass housing effectively, the number of payments to be made for the expropriation of the lands, the limitation of the housing defined as social housing to 100 square meters, and the exclusion of the excess square meters from the government aid. In addition to the opposing views, the failure of the plans during the action and the stagnation in the construction market led to the repeal of the Mass Housing Law in March 1984. With the abolition of Law No. 2487, Mass Housing Law No. 2985 entered into force. At the same time, in addition to the enactment of the Mass Housing Law No. 2985, the Housing and Public Participation Administration was established in 1984 (Çalışkan 2017, 104-105).

Law No. 2985 differs from the Mass Housing Law No. 2487 in that it provides individual loans, the inclusion of private housing companies within the organizations producing housing, the increase in the square meters of housing to 150 square meters, and the granting of loans to people who want to own a second home. In addition, with the Law on Encouragement of Savings and Acceleration of Public Investments enacted in 1983, the management of the housing fund has changed. Thus, with the Law on Mass Housing and Incentive and Acceleration of Public Investments, comfort has been created in the use of housing funds (Çalışkan 2017, 104-105, Çoban 2012, 100). The purpose of the new Mass Housing Law is to regulate the issues affecting mass housing production and to develop building materials to be used in mass housing construction (Keleş, Kentleşme Politikaları 2016, 507-511).

While the authority to determine the Mass Housing Settlement Areas was given to the governorships with the Mass Housing Law No. 2985, a statement added to the regulation ensured that the governorships work in cooperation with the local municipalities. In order for an area to be selected as a mass housing area, the requirement that it should be large enough to accommodate at least 1000 houses in big cities and at least 400 houses in other cities have been introduced in the Mass Housing Law. In addition, for an area to be determined mass housing area, the existence of housing needs, the absence of elements that prevent urban development in the area, the lack of infrastructure and social facilities are important criteria (Keleş, Kentleşme Politikaları 2016, 507-51).

In the V. Five-Year Development Plan, Since the houses produced in the previous period (IV. FYDP) were demanded by the upper income group, the house typology was changed to be produced at reasonable prices with functions suitable for the Turkish family lifestyle. For this purpose, housing purchases of low-income groups will be supported by the Mass Housing Fund, and loan terms and interests will be kept at reasonable levels. Again, in the same framework, it is aimed to minimize the costs of public housing production and to meet the need for affordable housing throughout the country by constructing public house. (T.C Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı 1984, 166-168). In the VI. Five-Year Development Plan, the government made a suggestion that municipalities make arrangements for low-income people to rent or buy housing, assist in infrastructure works, and build housing to those in need to prevent squatting (Oral 2014, 78).

The VIII. Five-Year Development Plan (VIII. FYDP), which was effective between 2001 and 2005, was prepared in order to compensate for the damages of the Düzce and Marmara earthquakes that occurred in Turkey and caused serious destruction. The government has taken measures to prevent illegal construction and squatting in order not to face the same results in the future (Oral 2014, 79, Demir 2019, 55-56).

In the X. Five-Year Development Plan, which was effective in 2014 and after 2014, it was emphasized that buildings and areas in cities should be transformed due to reasons such as the existence of frazzling and worn-out housing, unhealthy housing, idle areas in the city, and also loss of function and value of the city center. According to the figures announced

in 2013, a total of 3,876 hectares of land, consisting of 46 different regions in 19 provinces, was declared a transformation area. It was decided within this planning that the houses to be renovated within the scope of urban transformation would be created by taking into account the social, economic, and environmental dimensions. In this planning, decisions were taken both to close the housing gap in the cities and to improve the existing structures and areas. However, more emphasis was placed on urban transformation (Keleş, Kentleşme Politikaları 2016, 525).

3.3. Actors in Housing Practices in Turkey

With the increase in population in our country and the increase in migration from the village to the city, the problem of housing was encountered, especially in metropolitan cities. The increasing housing need had led to the emergence of different types of housing production depending on the development plan of the current period. If we look at the housing production and presentation styles from the past to the present, it is possible to say that two main groups are active in housing production: those who produce housing in the city's zoned lands (legal) and the city's unzoned lands (illegal) (Es and Oral 2014, 96).

It is possible to talk about private enterprises, building cooperatives, property developer's production, mass housing companies, building cooperative associations, and local governments in the group that produces housing on the city's zoned lands. On the other hand, those who build houses on the undeveloped and unzoned lands of the city, are the lower-income group who build shanty houses with their efforts (Es and Oral 2014, 96). It is possible to divide into two groups based on the housing representation style of the groups that produce housing through legal means. The first of these is the housing representation style of any non-profit cooperatives, municipalities, social security institutions, Mass Housing Administration (TOKI). Another is small-capital (property developer) and large-capital private housing offering firms that are for-profit and contain speculative concerns (Alkan and Uğurlar 2015, 36-38)

The main institution involved in social housing production on behalf of the public is the Housing Development Administration (TOKI). TOKI, which took its current name in

1984, was established to meet the housing needs throughout the country with the projects it would realize. Another public institution is Armed Forces Pension Fund (OYAK), which produces housing for its personnel, and Emlak Kredi Bank, which both provides loan support to build houses. In addition, Bağkur (social security organization for artisans and the self-employed) and the Social Insurance Institution (SSK), which was founded in 1946, had become the source of financing for housing production. Different from the private sector and cooperatives, social housing, which is a form of housing production provided by the government to own officials, disaster victims, rural housing, poor, low-income, and middle-income groups, is constantly produced by TOKI. Other public institutions also build social housing for their members, although not often (Es and Oral 2014, 96, Kömürlü 2006, 122-124, Eryıldız 1995, 19).

Emlak Konut Gayrimenkul Yatırım Ortaklığı Inc., which established with the partnership of TOKI, produces demand-driven housing in Turkey. Emlak Konut, a construction company of which 49% is owned by TOKI and 50.6% is publicly traded, produces housing for individuals in the middle and upper-income groups, different TOKI (Emlak Konut 2016, Toki mi Emlak Konut mu? 2020).

Local governments and cooperatives organized by local governments in housing production have realized important mass housing projects throughout Turkey. An example of this is Kocaeli Municipality, Kent Konut Construction Industry and Trade Inc. subsidiary. Kent Konut carries out urban transformation and mass housing projects in Kocaeli (Es and Oral 2014, 96, Kent Konut n.d., Kömürlü 2006, 68-69, Keleş, Kentleşme Politikaları 2016, 435-442). Another example of local government participation is Egeşehir Planning Inc., which was established by Izmir Metropolitan Municipality. Egeşehir Planlama carries out mass housing projects in many regions of Izmir like Kent Konut (Karadağ 1998, 219-221).

One of the institutions that were established in December 2004 and has a public status is Toplu Konut- Büyükşehir Belediyesi İnşaat Emlak Mimarlık ve Proje A.Ş. (TOBAŞ) TOBAŞ, which was established in 2004 with the partnership of institutions (T.R. Ministry of Environment and Urbanization, Mass Housing Administration 49%, companies affiliated to TOKI 1%, Ankara Metropolitan Municipality 49% and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality

Affiliated Companies 1%) in accordance with the Kuzey Ankara Giriş Urban Transformation Project Law No. 5104, carries out many urban transformation projects in Turkey and abroad (TOBAŞ 2022).

The Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (İBB) participation, whose corporate structure changed in 1995 and took the name of Istanbul Housing Development Plan Industry and Trade Inc. (KIPTAŞ), harried out urban transformation projects, real estate development projects, and consultancy services in many regions of Istanbul. It built 75 thousand houses in Istanbul from the year it was founded to up until today. It, which determines the housing policies of IBB, carries out studies to meet the housing needs of the city. One of the most important duties of it is the work it carries out for the transformation and reconstruction of risky structures to prevent the destructive effects of the possible earthquake expected to occur in Istanbul (KİPTAŞ 2022).

A large share of the housing production in Turkey is realized by the private sector. Contractors and private construction companies, which carry out constructions to gain high profit, especially urban transformation projects, are part of the private sector In addition to companies, housing production for individuals' shelter needs is also a part of the private sector (Es and Oral 2014, 96, Kömürlü 2006).

In addition to government institutions, another important group that builds houses on zoned lands in Turkey are those who produce houses individually and property developers. In the individual housing production model, the individual has been building a house at his request by fulfilling legal and technical obligations. In the production model of property development, the contractor company builds houses following legal and technical obligations. It adds a certain amount of profit to houses and sells it to the buyer. (M. Yıldırım 2018, 73-75).

Cooperatives are autonomous organizations where individuals with common economic, social, and cultural values come together. Many of the cooperatives support people who fall under their structure as socially and economically (T.C. Ticaret Bakanlığı 2019). Turkey's first building cooperative was established in Ankara in 1934 under the name of

Bahçelievler Cooperative. And later on, new cooperatives continued to be established by different communities. In our country, especially after 1980, low-income people living in the city started to lean towards cooperatives to acquire housing. The inspection of the building cooperatives active in the construction sector had also been carried out by the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization. Housing Cooperatives play an important role, especially in the low and middle-income families to own a house. Cooperatives enable individuals to acquire housing by providing credit support in cases where small savings are necessary. Established in 1985, Türk Konut is an example of this. Türk Konut is a cooperative that forms together of more than one cooperative. It has been involved in mass housing production for many years to meet the housing shortage across the country. However, today, owning a house through cooperatives has lost its significance of favor due to the extension of loan terms, the decrease in loan interest rates, the increase in the mortgage system, and public and private housing producing companies (Kömürlü 2006, 69, T.C. Milli Eğitim Bakanlığı 2014, 17-18, Türk Konut 2022).

In the continuation of the study, the focus is on the Housing Development Administration (TOKI) public institution, which has been realizing out projects for housing production since 1984.

3.4. Housing Development Administration (TOKI)

Housing is defined as a physical place where people meet their basic shelter needs, isolate themselves, and live their privacy away from the outside world. Every individual needs a house throughout their own life and holds owns a house temporarily or permanently in accordance with her economic power. However, the need for housing, which increases in direct proportion to the population growth, has left countries and cities faced with a significant housing shortage problem. For this reason, people who do not have economic power have been unable to meet their shelter needs (Boyacıoğlu 2010, 1, Arıcan 2010, 13-15, Berberoğlu and Teker 2005, 59). This problem has become a problem that the government has to solve. Considering these situations, the government should provide livable, healthy, and reliable housing to its citizens in need (Arıcan 2010, 13-15, Eşkinat 2015, 159-160).

With the uncontrolled growth of immigration-receiving cities, the problem of housing shortage has ceased to be a problem of only local governments over time (Akbaba Eshak 2014, 5). Therefore the Housing Development Administration (TOKI) was established in 1984 by the President of the time, Turgut Özal, under the name of the Mass Housing and Public Partnership Administration. However, the Mass Housing and Public Partnership Administration had become an inactive institution due to the problems experienced during the implementation of the decisions on housing production taken within the development plans. During the 59th Government period, with the repeal of " the Law of Konut Müsteşarlığının Kurulması ve Arsa Ofisi Kanununda Değişiklik Yapılması" numbered 4698, TOKI had been affiliated to the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement in 2003, to the Prime Ministry in 2004, and in 2018 the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization with the Decree-Law as a final. (TOKİ, Kuruluş ve Tarihçe 2021).

On TOKI's official website (TOKİ, Kuruluş ve Tarihçe 2021), the duties and authorities of the institution defined by Law No. 2985 are listed below:

- To support the industry related to housing construction or those working in this field.

- Issuing domestic and foreign bonds and all kinds of securities with or without a government guarantee.

- To decide to take a loan from abroad, upon the approval of the Undersecretariat of Treasury, to be used for expenditures related to its field of duty.

- To take measures to ensure the participation of banks for the financing of houses, to provide loans to banks when necessary for this purpose, to determine the procedures for the implementation of this provision.

- To ensure that all kinds of research, project, and contracting processes are carried out by contract when necessary.

- To perform duties assigned by-laws and other legislation.

At the beginning of 2003, the Immediate Action Plan of the AKP Government led to the implementation of urban transformation projects with the emphasis on housing mobilization in the planning, and this situation led TOKI to become a decisive actor (Birgün 2010, N. Koç 2016, 26-27). While TOKI supported those who built houses in the process until 2003, with the legal changes made in 2003, it undertook the task of building houses directly (Şiriner Önver 2016, 89-90). In line with the Immediate Action Plan, with the law numbered 4966 published on March 6th, 2003, regulations regarding TOKI's resource use and fields of activity were made. Additional definitions of the duties and authorities of the Law No. 2985 are listed below (Resmi Gazete 2003, E. Yılmaz 2016, 35-36);

- Developing projects directly or through its affiliates at home and abroad; to make or have housing, infrastructure, and social facilities applications.

- Establishing companies related to the housing sector or participating in established companies.

- To build, encourage and support housing and social facilities together with their infrastructures in regions where natural disasters occur.

- To make or have applications made with profit-oriented projects to provide resources to the administration.

- To provide individual and collective housing loans, to provide loans for projects for the development of village architecture, the transformation of gecekondu areas, the preservation and renewal of historical texture and local architecture, and to make interest subsidies on all these loans when necessary.

If we consider at the job descriptions above, we understand that TOKI is undertaken important duties in the implementation of the country's housing policies. In addition, if we look at and categorize these job descriptions in general; It undertakes 3 basic tasks depending

on the government in housing construction, credit support, and strategic planning (N. Koç 2016, 27).

Apart from the job descriptions framed by the laws, TOKI also shapes employment in the construction sector, urbanization policies, city plans, housing culture, and lifestyle due to the projects it carries out. For this reason, it is a limited statement to say that TOKİ is only involved in the construction sector. Considering TOKI's powers, duties, and housing production, it had become an increasingly effective institution in many economic, political and social fields (Şiriner Önver 2016, 92-93).

3.4.1. TOKI's Fields of Activity

TOKI carries out various projects in 81 provinces of Turkey in line with its duties in the Mass Housing Constitution and the discourse of housing mobilization emphasized by the Immediate Action Plan. Appearing as a growing institution in the field of construction, TOKI carries out mass housing projects, social housing projects, and luxury housing projects in the country, while it also produces a built environment abroad (N. Koç 2016, 27-28, Şiriner Önver 2016, 92-93).

TOKI, with the discourse of "housing mobilization" that emerged with the Immediate Action Plan, aims to make the low-income group and the poor homeowners and to find jobs for these people. With the Plan, TOKI had aimed to produce "accessible housing", especially for the low-income group and the poor (Bayraktar and Yılmaz Bakır 2019, 36-38). TOKI explains its own perspective on housing production on its official website (2021) as follows:

> "By its founding philosophy, it continues to serve with a "friendly hand" approach in meeting the housing expectations of our low-income citizens" (TOKİ, Sosyal Konutlar 2021).

It is known that the government's gecekondu problem, which started in the 1950s, had not been solved today, especially in metropolitan cities. The most important reason for this is that it is insufficient to meet the housing needs of low-income citizens (Bayraktar and

Yılmaz Bakır 2019, 36-37). For this reason, certain changes were made in the way of housing production, and TOKI started to realize projects for the transformation of gecekondu areas. TOKI focused on urban transformation projects in order to solve the problem of gecekondus, to transform areas under disaster risk, and to improve the housing areas of low-income and poor-class citizens. Over time, gecekondu transformations have become the most important activity of TOKI (Çardak 2011, 38, TOKİ, Kentsel Yenileme 2021).

In addition to the shantytowns, TOKI is involved in the renewal of the areas that have lost their function in the city, which have lost their function, physically and socially deteriorated, and make them healthy through urban transformation projects. For this reason, TOKI works in cooperation with local governments to prevent squatting, transform gecekondu areas, and improve historical and traditional housing stock (N. Koç 2016, 32-33).

TOKI is the institution responsible for the rehabilitation or reconstruction of structures that have suffered physical damage after the disaster, as well as the works carried out to improve the areas under disaster risk in our country (TOKİ 2021). TOKI is implementing Low and Poor-Income Group, Low and Middle-Income Group, Urban Transformation and Disaster Housing Projects, Immigrant Housing for immigrants who took refuge in our country, Agricultural-Village Applications aimed at improving village living standards, Resource Development and Revenue Sharing Projects for the production of housing appealing to the middle and upper group, and Satellite City Applications are carried out for the production of housing with the necessary equipment on the periphery of the city (N. Koç 2016, TOKİ 2021, TOKİ 2021, TOKİ 2021).

In addition to being the contractor, TOKI is a contractor, according to the provisions of the Mass Housing Loans Implementation Regulation announced in the official gazette in 1997, the Housing Development Administration provides housing and services to the actors (mass housing construction cooperatives, social assistance institutions, property developers, individual housing producers, and municipalities) involved in mass housing production provides credit support for infrastructure projects. TOKI can provide housing loans, municipal loans, martyr loans, and earthquake applications loans (H. Yıldırım 2012, 37).

3.5. TOKI Social Housing Projects in Turkey

In Turkey, TOKI has built many housing after 1984, individually and in cooperation with other institutions. TOKI financed loans for 950 thousand houses between 1984 and 2002 and completed the construction of 43,145 houses (TOKİ, Kuruluş ve Tarihçe 2021). However, with the Immediate Action Plan of 2003 and the Law No. 6306 of 2012 on the Transformation of Places under Disaster Risk, TOKI's jurisdiction has gradually increased. So, TOKI gained speed in housing production (TOKİ, Sosyal Konutlar 2021). As explained in detail under the fields of activity in the TOKI's website, TOKI implements different housing production models according to different income levels. Being one of the most important housing manufacturers as of the year it was founded, TOKI is an important source of information about the development of housing in our country with the projects it has realized from past to present.

Distribution of Housing Applications	2002–2015		2002–2016	2002–2017		2002–2018	
	Thousand	%	Thousand	Thousand	%	Thousand	%
Low and Poor-Income Group	146.232	22,62	-	150.465	18,91	-	-
Low and Middle-Income Group	265.295	41,04	-	355.938	44,73	-	-
Urban Transformation	97.257	15,04	-	135.364	17,01	-	-
Disaster Housing	37.613	5,82	-	37.734	4,75	-	-
Agricultural-Village Practices	5.658	0,88	-	6.052	0,76	-	-
Total Number of Social Housing	**552.055**	**85,39**	**585.418**	**685.553**	**86,16**	**717.154**	**86,46**
Total Number of Resource Development Projects	94.418	14,61		110.107	13.84	112.265	13,54
Total Number of Housing	**646.473**	**100**		**795.660**	**100**	**829.419**	**100**
Number of Sold Housing	567.210		588.221	628.747		695.572	
Number of Delivered Housing	531.285		564.445	609.498		655.194	
Number of Built Housing	5.309		5.453	5.790		5.923	
Construction and Project Cost (TL)	68,4		74,28	96,11		0	

Table 3. 2002-2018 TOKI Housing Production Report

(Source: Ayaz 2019, 37)

In Table 3, the distribution of houses built by TOKI between 2002-2018 according to the application types had summarized. According to this, between 2002 and 2018, TOKI built 829,419 housing in 81 provinces. It was spent 104.7 billion TL on the construction and project costs of the housing. While 86.16% of these residences express the housing produced as social housing, the remaining percentage refers to resource development projects (Figure 22) (Ayaz 2019, 35).

In the information graphics on TOKI's official website, 500 thousand houses were built between 2002 and 2011. According to TOKI information graphics, TOKI foresaw that the construction of 700 thousand houses would be completed in the period from 2011 to 2023. TOKI announced the number of houses it targets in 2023 as a total of 1 million 200 thousand houses (Figure 27).
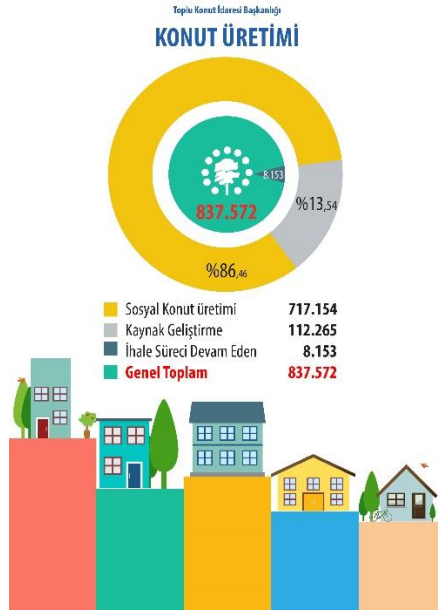
Figure 26. TOKI Information Graphics (I)
(Source: TOKİ 2022)

Figure 27. TOKI Information Graphics(II)
(Source: TOKİ 2022)

Since 1987, TOKI has been producing housing projects for low- and middle-income individuals on lands it owns and has been providing the opportunity to pay by their income under market conditions. TOKI helps these non-resident groups to purchase the houses that are produced as if they pay rent (Uğraş 2019, 62). It is possible to say that the projects

produced by TOKI are social housing projects, as they are produced by a non-profit government establishment and provide the opportunity to pay by taking into account the socio-economic status of the people.

When we look at the housing applications made by TOKI for the years 2002-2018 in Table 3, it is seen that some housing applications are considered as social housing, while Resource Development and Revenue Sharing Projects are excluded from this category. Based on this information, it is possible to say that some of the housing applications carried out by TOKI are social housing projects. These titles are Low and Poor-Income Group, Low and Middle-Income Group and Disaster Housing, Urban Transformation, Agricultural-Village Practices. Social housing projects implemented with these five different housing applications aim to provide property for low-income and no-income individuals (Koçancı 2014, 103-105, Ayaz 2019, 36).

If we look at the data between 2002-2015 given in Table 3; It is seen that the ratio of housing, disaster housing, and village-urban applications produced by TOKI for the low-income group and the poor income group in the share of the total housing produced is lower in 2002-2017 compared to 2002-2015. However, against this situation, it is seen that the share of the total housing produced housing in the low and middle-income group and urban transformation housing applications has increased (Ayaz 2019, 35-36).

3.6. TOKI Housing Projects Through Discourses & Criticisms

Playing an active role in the production of the built environment in addition to the housing projects it has implemented, TOKI remains at the center of many criticisms due to the breadth of its powers and duties. In particular, the fact that housing policies exist independently of other government policies causes TOKI to be at the center of criticism. In addition to the authority of the institution, the weak audits of the institution as per the laws increase the criticism (Şiriner Önver 2016, 100).

One of the criticisms made for TOKI was included in the 2001 data of the State Planning Organization (DPT). According to the DPT, the houses built by TOKI are criticized

for their architecture and appeal to the middle and upper-income groups. In addition, in the same article, it had stated that the housing built by TOKI for the lower-income group are of the same type and high enough to cut off the individual's connection with the ground (T.C. Başbakanlık Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı Müsteşarlığı 2001, 89-90, Şiriner Önver 2016, 100).

Erdoğan Bayraktar, who served as TOKI president and vice president between 2002-2011, tried to respond to the criticisms of TOKI projects based on the amount of housing produced. In addition, TOKI has realized housing projects that are not preferred by the people of the region because the houses produced are of a single type and are not suitable for the people and the environment in which they had produced. This is understood from Bayraktar's "We couldn't sell a house without a balcony in Şanlıurfa"[3] statement. However, even though TOKI realizes that the houses it has built are unsuitable for the people who will live here, it has continued to produce multi-story and many houses to prevent the housing shortage (Karaca 2017, 59). In the article titled "Shock Confession from TOKI President!" published on Arkitera's website in 2011 (Arkitera 2010), Erdoğan Bayraktar gave the following response to the criticisms regarding the quality of housing;

> *It is said that the constructions we do all over Turkey have an unappealing appearance. This is true, 60 percent true. But today, there is a housing problem, a sheltering problem, a housing problem in our country. These houses are bought by low-income people who try to spend the money they find on their children's education. Urban transformation is Turkey's most important problem. It is a problem that goes head-to-head with the problem of terrorism in the southeast. A very serious resource is needed.*
>
> *When buying the house of our citizen who has built a house on the treasury land and has no rights, you have to give him a house. You have to calculate "How can I cost 1 cent less?". That's why we have to build tunnel formwork systems, cheap and fast houses. But I hope that when Turkey's income level reaches 15 thousand dollars,*

---

3 "Şanlıurfa'da balkonsuz ev satamadık"

Turkey will be different. We will build very beautiful architecture by using our local architecture from the Karakhanids, Seljuks, and Ottomans" (Arkitera 2010)

Haluk Karabel, who served as the vice president after Bayraktar, created a new design unit within TOKI, taking into account the criticisms of the previous period. The purpose of establishing this design unit is to produce site-specific designs in future projects (Karaca 2017, 61). According to the article titled "The call for housing according to the Turkish family structure", which had published in the news of İhlas Haber Ajansı (İHA) from the Journal of Architects and Engineers in 2013, Karabel had emphasized that the suitability of the house produced for the user is important for TOKI (İhlas Haber Ajansı 2013).

> *"Karabel said that when the average nuclear family size in Turkey is considered to be 5 people and the family structure including the elders was taken into consideration, the variety and size of housing were shaped by economic supply and demand.*
>
> *Expressing that he followed a similar path in TOKI applications, Karabel said that various applications are made in different regions and economic accessibility, from 2+1 housing to 5+1 housing and detached village houses. Karabel said, "Maximum effort would be made to create more suitable housing and living environments in terms of exterior and interior plans and quality, both in our current practices and in the housinges to built within the framework of urban transformation"* (İhlas Haber Ajansı 2013).

TOKI is an institution established to realize projects targeting the low-income and poor classes. However, it also realizes housing projects for the upper-income class to finance the houses that will be produced for individuals in the lower-income class over time. This situation has caused injustice among individuals with different incomes over time. In the TOKI Report published by the Chamber of Civil Engineers of TMMOB in 2011, it had seen that the rate of housing produced for the poor class is 22%, while the production of luxury housing is 56%. And the Chamber emphasized that public resources are used by the upper-income class, based on this report (Şiriner Önver 2016, 102-103).

The houses produced by TOKI are not easily payable in cash or installment payments by low-income and poor individuals. Those who can buy repayment housing from TOKI sell their houses back for reasons such as lack of regular income, basic needs, fixed expenses, and dues. Apart from the problems related to payment, the inadequacy and unsuitability of the housing for the users is also an important criterion for the lower-income class. Another important problem is that the number of households that will live in it is large, but the place is small. The fact that individuals in the lower-income class have crowded households causes unhealthy accommodation conditions in small spaces (Şiriner Önver 2016, 103-104).

The gecekondu transformations carried out by TOKI cause the people living here to be displaced directly or over time. This situation had been criticized by politicians, activists, academics, and chambers. Critics with different expertise think that urban transformations in gecekondu areas have different interests such as increasing capital mobility and sharing the rent value in the region (Eğilmez 2010, 617, Mutlu 2007, 63-64). As a result of this, as a result of new legal regulations in Turkey, urban transformation projects have ceased to be the preference of individuals. In this way, public institutions began to take and implement rapid urban transformation decisions. Urban transformation practices, which were carried out with Municipality Law No. 5393 until 2012, had been started to experience a different process in 2012 with the enactment of Law No. 6306 on Transformation of Places under Disaster Risk (Akbıyıklı, Çınar and Koç 2017, 6306 Sayılı Kanun Uygulama Yönetmeliği 2012).

If we look at the content of these laws, the law numbered 5393 has the content of "changing the outdated appearance of residential, commercial or social areas with the decision of the Municipality and Municipal Council and the consent of the property owner". However, Law No. 6306 states that the places determined as risky areas by TOKI, and the Ministry will be declared as risky areas upon the acceptance by the President. After the area is declared as a risky area, the owner is ejected with consent or forced and rental assistance is provided as of the date of demolition (Akbıyıklı, Çınar and Koç 2017, 6306 Sayılı Kanun Uygulama Yönetmeliği 2012).

TOKI is often subject to negative criticism from different groups. Although these criticisms had sometimes been accepted by the people who chaired TOKI, no changes were made in TOKI 's housing projects and the practices of these projects. Generally, these criticisms are expressed by the institution with numerical data. TOKI's information on the quality of the housing is hidden behind the numerical values it emphasizes. For this reason, this institution, which has extensive rights in the field of housing production and is the only one by its authority, will continue to be at the center of criticism (Şiriner Önver 2016, 104-105).

CHAPTER 4

TACTICS OF CONVERSION IN UZUNDERE TOKI SOCIAL HOUSINGS

4.1. Urban Development in Izmir

The city of Izmir, which has hosted different civilizations for centuries, has always been an important center with high commercial potential due to its historical texture, fertile agricultural lands, rich natural resources, ports, and railways. Especially in the 1950s, the industrial development in the city caused the city's feature of being a center to increase even more. As a result of this situation, a serious İncreasement in population occurred in Izmir. This has caused the city's feature of being a center to increase even more. This rapid increase in the urban population resulted in a rapid decrease in the rural population. In the period from 1950 to 2012, the urban population increased from 46.8% to 91.4%. This rapid increase over the years has brought along spatial, socio-economic, and cultural problems (Karadağ and Mirioğlu 2014, 47)

Due to its importance, Izmir started to receive immigration before the 1950s. For this reason, it would be more accurate to say that squatting began in the 1930s for Izmir. The first squatting was started in Yeni İstiklal, Zeytinlik, Yeşildere, and I. Kadriye Neighborhoods. In the same period, Cumhuriyet Neighborhood and Naldöken began to turn into Gecekondu areas. Between 1940 and 1950, gecekondus began to form in Kadriye, Gültepe, Ferahlı, Kadifekale, Gürçeşme and Boğaziçi Neighborhoods. As of the 1970s, the Karabağlar region has ceased to be an empty land and has turned into a dense gecekondu area (Akalın, Katılımlı Kentsel Dönüşüm Projelerinde Mahalle Derneklerinin Rolü: İzmir Karabağlar Kentsel Dönüşüm Hak Arayanlar Derneği Örneği 2016, 397). Immigrants took advantage of the authority gap in Izmir and transformed public lands into settlement areas. For this reason, the problem of squatting, started in 1930, became even more widespread in the 1950s. However, since the government did not give the necessary importance to the gecekondus built on

undeveloped lands in the 1950s, Izmir continued to be squatting rapidly until the 2000s (Eğilmez 2010, 612-613)

Mass housing units were built on the ridges surrounding the city center in order to stop the increase in gecekondus and reduce the urban density in the local area of Izmir. In addition, while choosing the land for these housings, which consist of more than one housing block, attention was paid to building on roads accessible to the city center and on lands suitable for construction (Karadağ 1998, 212). After 1975, public institutions and mass housing constructions both in Izmir and throughout the country gained speed and the scales of the projects started to grow (Karadağ 1998, 214).

The economic and political problems experienced in Turkey in the 1980s also affected the construction industry. With the Mass Housing Law No. 2487 enacted in 1981, the state brought dynamism to this stagnation in the construction sector. In addition, with the establishment of TOKI in 1984, state-supported projects in the field of mass housing gained momentum (Karadağ 1998, 214-215). At the same time, with the changes made in the Mass Housing Law in 1984, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality (IzBB) started to play an active role in mass housing construction (H. Koç 1998, 32).

As in 1984, IzBB started mass housing production, of the most economical and fastest way suitable for the low-income and poor group living in the city. Between 1984-1985, IzBB started to build housing and urban environments in a total of 500 hectares, including Çiğli Egekent 1, Buca Evka 1, Çiğli Evka 2 and Bornova Evka 3 projects. In 1989, a total of 17,550 housing built on an area of 500 hectares were completed. Government incentive loans, some cooperatives and Ege Şehir Planlama Inc. established by the metropolitan municipality, were used to finance the 17.550 houses produced (Karadağ 1998, 215-221).

The EVKA project realized in 8 different regions in Izmir between 1984-1998, and the Izkonut, Izkent and Izyuva projects realized in two different regions are mass housing projects realized by the Izmir Metropolitan Municipality. Between the same years, Konkent, Çiğli-Koop, Buca-Koop, and Bor-Koop mass housing projects were realized under the leadership of district municipalities. In addition to public institutions, there are mass housing

projects realized by Ege-Koop, Emlak Bank, building cooperatives and private construction companies (Karadağ 1998, 215-232, Temiz 2009, 31-33). Especially after 2003, TOKI has become an important actor in mass housing production in Izmir (Yakut and Ceylan 2020, 551).

In the process from 1950 to the present, the increasing unhealthy construction in the city of Izmir has led to the search for new solutions. According to the 2009 Izmir Urban Zone Master Plan Report (IKBNIPR) (2009) , 4310 hectares of 11102.8 hectares of urban area in Izmir consists of low-quality and unhealthy buildings developed as a result of gecekondus and zoning amnesties. In order to transform these areas into healthy and safe settlements area, plans have been made by IzBB and TOKI in order to meet the housing needs of low-income individuals living in these areas. Within the scope of these plans, the renewal-rehabilitation program area has been determined in 10 different districts throughout Izmir. These districts are Karabağlar, Gaziemir, Konak, Buca, Karşıyaka, Çiğli, Menemen, Bayraklı, Bornova, Narlıdere. Despite the cancellation of the IKBNIPR Report in 2012, no changes were made in the renewal-rehabilitation program areas accepted in the content of this report. Urban transformation projects were carried out on an area of 410 hectares by increasing the program areas to 14 regions by IzBB. These regions are the Kadifekale Urban Renewal Project, Yeşildere Urban Transformation Project and Gürçeşme Urban Renewal Project, where the dwellers of the region moved to social housing due to their determination as areas subject to disaster, and Karşıyaka – Örnekköy, Bayraklı, Konak – Ege, Konak – Ballıkuyu, Gaziemir, where urban transformation will be carried out on-site. – Aktepe and Emrez district, Karabağlar - Uzundere district, Karabağlar - Cennetçeşme district, Menemen Ahıhıdır, Torbalı Çaybaşı, Bayındır Necati Uza-Yenice-Hatay Neighborhoods are urban transformation areas (Mirioğlu 2013, 69-73).

4.2. Urban Development of Izmir Karabağlar District

Karabağlar district was separated from Konak district in 2008 with the decision of the Council of Ministers and gained district status. Today, the district of Kaarabağlar includes 58 neighborhoods. Karabağlar, one of the districts of Izmir close to the city center, has a total

surface area of 9,870 hectares (Karabağlar Belediyesi 2017, Özdemir Metlioğlu 2017, 100-101). According to the Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK) 2021 data, 478,788 people live in the district (Karabağlar Belediyesi 2022). arabağlar, located within its current borders, is a district where individuals from different cultures live, such as Bozyaka, Yeşilyurt, Old Izmir, Poligon, Hatay, Esendere, Üçkuyular, Limontepe, and Uzundere. For this reason, Karabağlar is expressed as "Little Turkey" (Karabağlar Belediyesi 2017).

Karabağlar has been a place where individuals from different cultures came from many parts of Turkey after 1970. However, the region called "Little Turkey" has been suffering from a master plan problem for 30 years. For this reason, distorted urbanization has been observed with the settlement of those who come to the region on public lands. There are still not many building licenses in the region, 80% of which are gecekondus. There are also infrastructure and superstructure problems in existing building areas that do not have these licenses. Although quality materials are used in the constructions that continue to be made in the Karabağlar region today, it is considered a gecekondu because there is no master plan (Emlak Kulisi 2016).
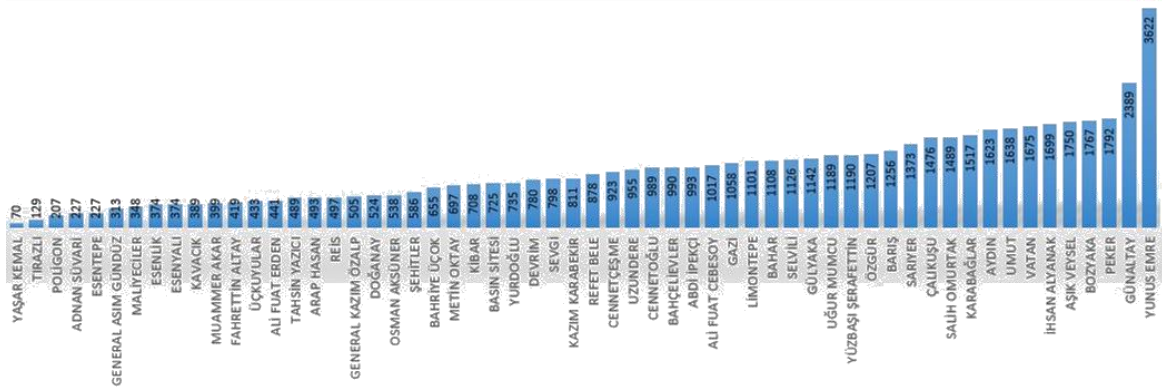
Figure 28. Number of Houses by Neighborhoods in Karabağlar
(Source: Karabağlar Belediyesi 2022)

Karabağlar region experienced rapid population growth after 1970, due to migration. The attractiveness of the region has increased due to its proximity to the center, the presence of places such as the Izmir-Aydın Highway, Industrial Zone, Fair, and Airport. In addition to the growing importance of the region, it can't develop due to the unhealthy and unqualified

housing of the region. Considering the situation and problems of the region, studies have been started for the realization of the Karabağlar urban transformation project, which is the largest of the urban transformation projects that have been or will be made in Turkey. With the decision on Transformation of Areas Under Disaster Risk, published in 2012, a large part of the gecekondu areas in the Karabağlar region was declared risky areas (Özdemir Metlioğlu 2017, 103). Covering an area of 540 hectares, this urban transformation project directly concerns 53,500 people and 17,260 buildings, 137 of which are licensed (Akalın, Kentsel Dönüşümün Karanlık Yüzü: Soylulaştırma, Yerinden Edilme ve Mekânsal Dışlanma 2016, Valilik Kentsel Dönüşüm 2018).

In the urban transformation projects that have been or will be made throughout Izmir, there is a need for new housing areas where the displaced dwellers can continue their lives. While these housing areas are chosen at the city peripheries in order to relieve the city center, they are built on the transportation axes to the city center so that individuals can continue their daily lifes. Karabağlar district was chosen in line with these objectives. Before 2012, that is, 540 hectares of land within the Karabağlar district border was declared as an Area Under Disaster Risk, the Uzundere TOKI Housings project was built as a preparation for the urban transformation projects to be experienced in Izmir. The construction of this social housing was realized under the contract of TOKI for the settlement of the dwellers in the areas where urban transformation will be made by IzBB.

4.3. General Features of Uzundere TOKI Housings

Figure 29. Uzundere TOKI Housings
(Source: Diclehan Bekir 2019)

Uzundere TOKI Housings were built on 47 hectares of land owned by TOKI, within the borders of Yaşar Kemal District[4], which is now a part of Karabağlar[5] district of Izmir (Özdemir Metlioğlu 2017, 101). While Uzundere Village, Izmir Fair Area, and Gaziemir Free Zone are in the immediate vicinity of Uzundere TOKI Housings, there are 540 hectares Karabağlar Urban Transformation Area, Olympic Village, and Olympic Houses which are physically separated by Aydın-Çeşme highway (İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi n.d.). The housing land, which has a very sloping land, has a view of both the forest and the Izmir Bay.

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[4] Since the housing was built within the boundaries of the Uzundere Neighborhood in the years when the Uzundere TOKI Housings Project was realized, it is known as the Uzundere TOKI Housings Project However, in 2015, the area where the Uzundere TOKI Housings are located was separated from Uzundere District as Yaşar Kemal District (Özdemir Metlioğlu 2017, 101).

[5] Due to the rapid increase in the population of Karabağlar, it was separated from the Konak district in 2008 and gained the status of a district (Özdemir Metlioğlu 2017, 101).

In addition, the distance between Konak, which is the Izmir City Center, is 9 km (E. Mutlu Kılıç 2016, 228-229).
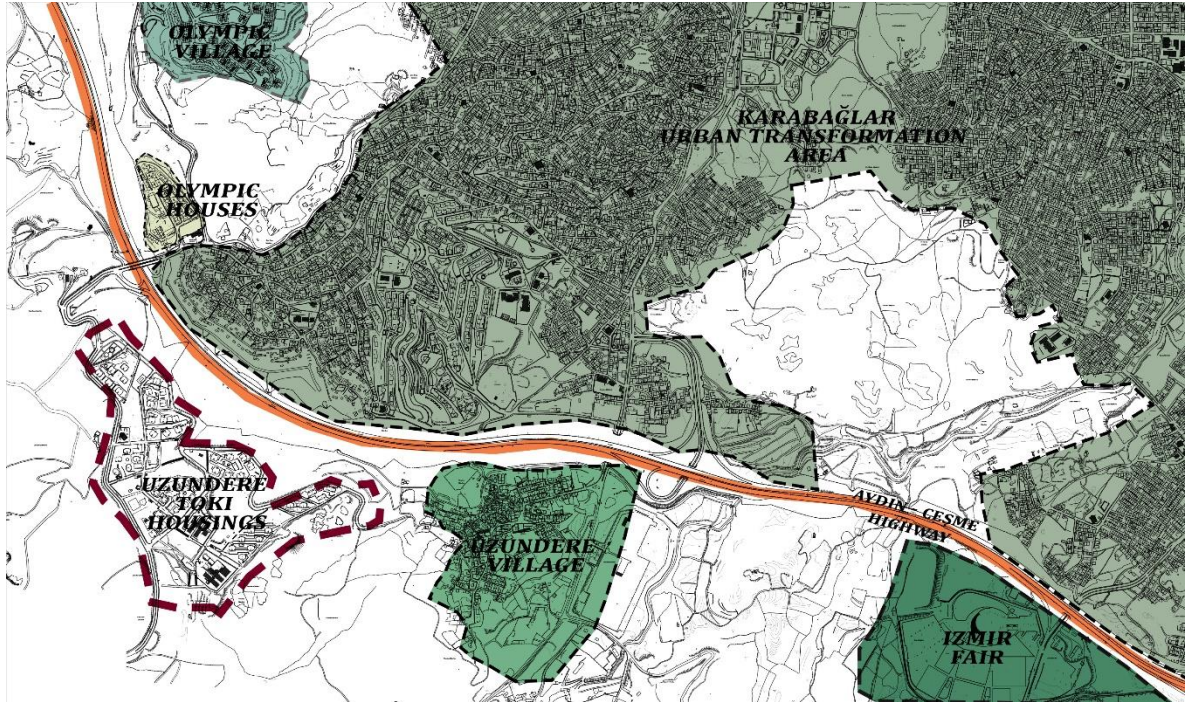
Figure 30. The Settlements Around Uzundere TOKI Housings
(Source: IzBB, data was processed by the author)

There are a total of 3080 houses in Uzundere TOKI Housings, which consists of housing of different typologies. In addition to these, the construction of social facilitie such as a school, multi-purpose hall, children's and youth center, mosque, primary health care center, market area, sports grounds, and commercial center was completed on different dates in order to meet the basic needs of the individuals who will live in the region (Mirioğlu 2013, 153).
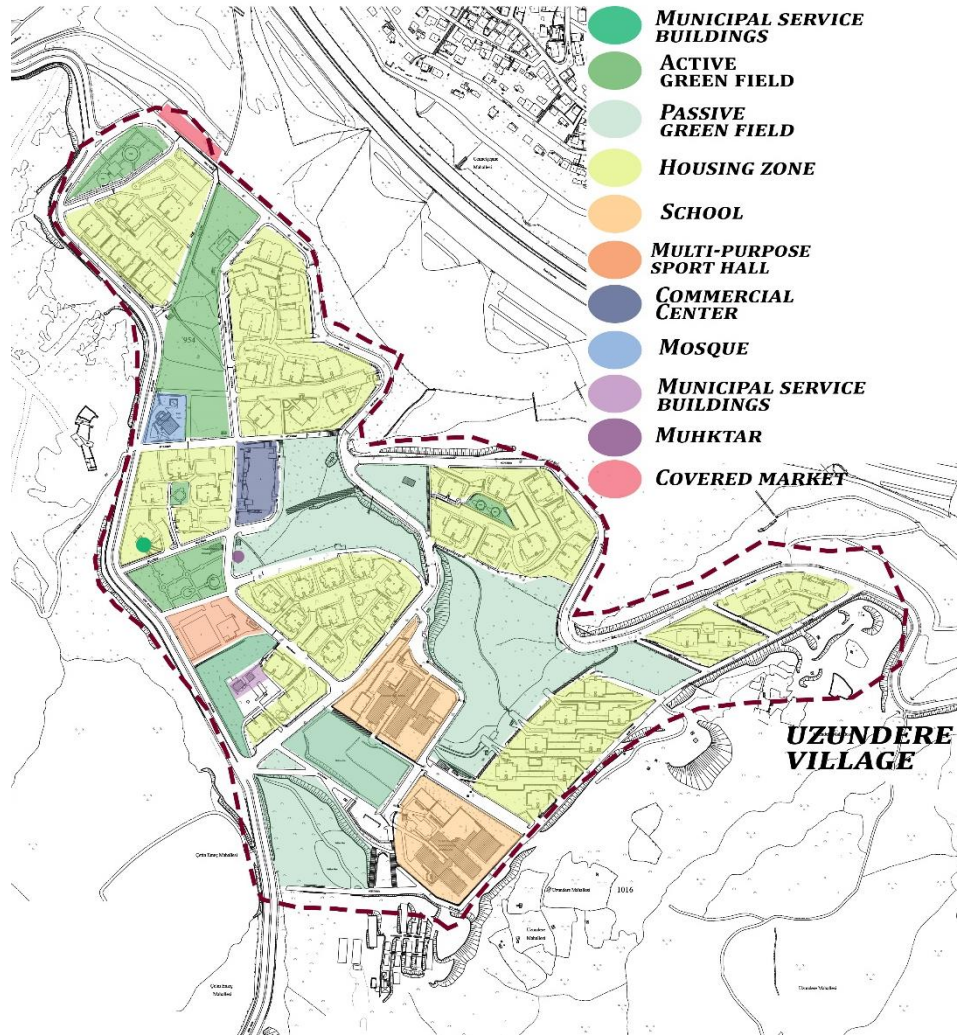
Figure 31. Land'use Plan of Uzundere TOKI Housings

(Source: IzBB, data was processed by the author)

4.4. Methodology of Study

The information obtained because of observation, interview, and document analysis of research methods was analyzed by content analysis. This analysis consists of four stages. The first is the coding of the data, the second is the finding of codes, categories, and themes, the third is the organization of the code categories and themes, and the last is the explanation of the findings (Baltacı 2019, 378). Within the scope of the research, the data obtained primarily during the content analysis were examined and the data were coded by dividing them into meaningful sections. The codes discovered in the first stage were collected in

themes under certain categories in the second stage. In the third stage, a systematic structure was created with these themes. In the last stage, the findings were interpreted by using the information obtained from the document analysis, interviews, and observations made within this structure.

Instead of evaluating the tactics produced in the place only from the frame of the interviewees, the place was observed on different days and time intervals for 3 years. For this purpose, the latent observation method was used. In this method, the conversions created by the users in the space are monitored remotely. Users do not know that they will have been observed. Dwellers are not informed that the area has been observed by the researcher. The dwellers of the area were analyzed in their daily routine. During the visits made on different dates and time periods, photographs were taken and notes on the tactical use of the space were made on the site plan of the region. These data were used in the field study (Baltacı 2019, 376).

Semi-structured interview technique was used in order to explain the user conversion process in Uzundere TOKI Housings. The reason why semi-structured interviews are preferred is to conduct interviews within the theoretical framework of the research topic. In this context, a semi-structured interview form consisting of previously prepared questions was used (Baltacı 2019, 375). These questions were handled in 3 main categories. A total of 15 questions were directed to the participants (Appendix A). The interviews were recorded with a voice recorder with the permission of the participants. This categorization was made in order to understand their past life and habits, to determine their expectations about Uzundere TOKI Housings, and to analyze the conversion and adaptation process of Uzundere TOKI Housings. Thus, it is aimed to understand the past habits and daily life practices of the dwellers, which cannot be explained only with quantitative data.

Face-to-face interviews were conducted with a total of 14 dwellers of Uzundere TOKI Housings, 6 of whom were male and 8 were female. The places chosen as face-to-face meeting environments are usually houses and open spaces. Participants were asked to choose the places where they would feel most comfortable during the interview. In this context, the interviewees were a person from Uzundere Mahallesi Urban Transformation, 7 people from

Kadifekale Urban Transformation Project, 3 people after the Izmir Earthquake on October 29, 2020, 2 people who purchased from IzBB through a tender, and a person living in this region with the social assistance opportunity provided by IzBB. The research was left in the number of 14 people due to the data saturation.

The age range of the participants is between 21 and 95. Before the Uzundere TOKI Housigs of the interviewees, 13 people lived in the city of Izmir, while 1 person lived outside the city of Izmir. Those coming from the province of Izmir were lived 2 people from Uzundere District, 1 person from Alsancak, 3 people from Bornova, 1 person from Balçova, and 7 people from Kadifekale. One person from Van province comes to Uzundere TOKI Housings from outside the province of Izmir. The duration of living of the participants in Uzundere TOKI Housings varies between 6 months and 11 years.

The information of the participants will be coded as 'Interview Order (Kn) (n symbolizes the interview sequence), Gender (M: Male, F: Female), Age, where they lived before Uzundere TOKI Housings. The gender information of the participant will be expressed with the letter "E" if it is male, and the letter "K" if it is female. For example, a thirty-year-old female participant who lived in Kadifekale before Uzundere TOKI Housings and was the second interviewee would be coded as 'K2, K, 30, Kadifekale'.

Within the scope of the research, other written documents related to Uzundere TOKI Housings were scanned and the data that could support the research were analyzed. In this context, the data given about the region within the scope of different research helped to systematize the data within the scope of this research. Thus, the accuracy of the information given by the individuals during the interview was ensured.

In order to convey the researched phenomenon objectively, interviews, observations, and discourses about the region were used in Uzundere TOKI Housings. With the collected data, starting from the production process of the Izmir Uzundere TOKI Housings space, the role of the authority producing space was examined under the headings of the "Production of Space by TOKI" and the "Production and Distribution of Space by IzBB" topics. The tactics created by the dwellers of these housings to create the living space were explained under the

"Re-Production of Space by the Dwellers" topic. The narrative is categorized and detailed according to the areas where the tactics used by the dwellers take place. The study is categorized according to the areas where the tactics used by the dwellers take place and detailed in subcategories.

4.5. Conceptual Framework of the Analysis

4.5.1. Looking at Space with Lefebvre's Concept of Space Production and Everyday Life

According to Lefebvre, space is both the producer and the product. Apart from physical and mathematical perceptibility, it is the basis of economic and social relations. In order to understand the production of space, it is not enough to consider it alone. According to Lefebvre, the production of space can be understood through the spatial triad of lived space, perceived space, and conceived space, which are inseparable from each other. Lefebvre argues that it is possible to understand a space only with three different moments of space production. (Lefebvre 1991, 31-33). Space is not absolute. The space is alive and in constant conversition. For this reason, the spatial triad has been reconceptualized by Lefebvre as spatial practice (perceived space), representations of space (conceived space), and spaces of representation (lived space) in order to understand the meanings that space has and gains over time (Arslan Avar 2009, 7-8).
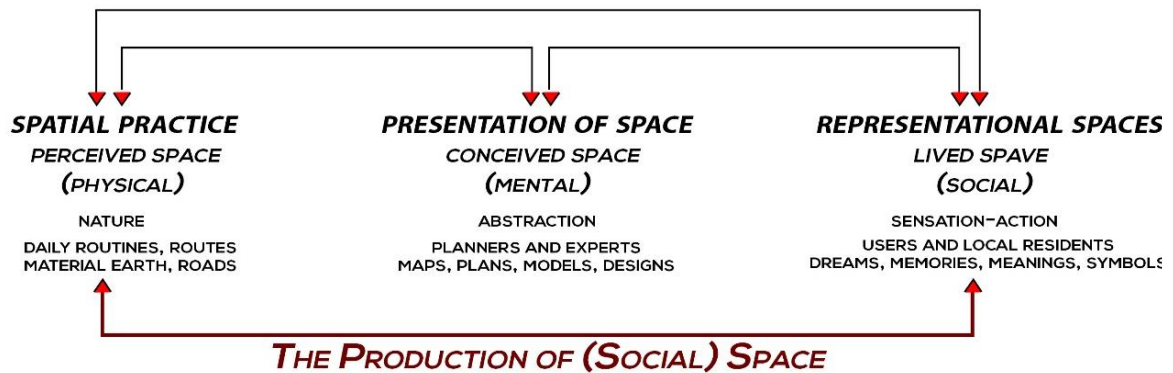
Figure 32. Henri Lefebvre's Spatial Triad

(Source: Lefebvre 1991, organized by author)

Lefebvre, in his book The Production of Space, expresses Representation of Space in the following sentences;

"Representation of space: conceptualized space, the space of scientist, planners, urbanists, technocratic subdividers and social engineers, as of a certain type of artist with a scientific bent – all of whom identify what is lived and what is perceived with what is conceived. (Arcane speculation about Numbers, with its talk of the golden number, modulli and 'canons', tends to perpetuate this view of matters.) This is the dominant space in ant society (or mode of production) ... (Lefebvre 1991, 38-39)*"*.

Based on Lefebvre's expression, the representation of space is the space produced for consumption. It is a space designed and objectified within the framework of technical knowledge by the experts associated with space production. The conceived space has more say than the perceived and lived space, as it is the space of capital and sovereign power. The user's personal cultural, economic, and social background is irrelevant. While the user tries to produce the space with passive actions in the designed space, the representation of the space is oppressive with a certain strategy and ideology (Savaş 2020, 25-26, Karaçetin Sarıkaya 2019, 11). According to Lefebre, Spatial Practice is;

"Spatial practice: The spatial practice of society secretes that society's space; it propounds and presupposes it, in a dialectical interaction; it produces it slowly and surely as it masters and appropriates it. From the analytic standpoint, the spatial practice of a society is revealed through the deciphering of its space (Lefebvre 1991, 38)*".*

Lefebvre's perceived space creates Spatial Practices revealed by the daily actions and inactions of space users. The space is experienced with user actions in this production process. It can be produced again and again by the space users over time. It is the users' own space. It is concrete and real space (Yurdadön Aslan and Yavan 2018, 305, Karaçetin Sarıkaya 2019, 11) According to Lefebre, Representational Space is;

"Representational spaces: spaces as directly lived through its associated images and symbols, and hence the space of 'inhabitants' and 'user', but also of some artists and perhaps of those, such as a few writers and philosophers, who describe and aspire to do no more than describe. This is the dominated – and hence passively experienced – space which the imagination seeks to change and appropriate. It overlays physical space, making symbolic use of its objects… (Lefebvre 1991, 39)*"*

"'Modern' spatial practice might thus be defined – to take an extereme but significant case – by the daily life of tenant in a government-subsidized high-rise housing project (Lefebvre 1991, 38)*".*

According to Lefebvre's definition, the Representational of Space is produced by the hero of everyday life, the user. Representational of spaces, which are the spaces where the emotions, experiences, and thoughts of the user are created, express the space where the user is active, unlike the conceived space. While living space includes the perceived and conceived space, it produces the difference, keeps the space alive, and makes it original. It creates situations that can be developed against the rules created in the conceived space. (Savaş 2020, 27-29, Karaçetin Sarıkaya 2019, 11)

4.5.2. Producer (Authority)-Consumer (Dweller) Actions in Space from De Certeau Perspective

Micheal de Certeau, who is among the important names of the theory of everyday life, was interested in the consumption of modern urban life. In this context, while discussing the authority of decision-making mechanisms over the individual in daily life, he had defended Lefebvre's idea of the potential of free spaces created by everyday life (Deniz and Kentel 2016, 747-748). According to De Certeau, the users of the space take certain actions to create transformations in accordance with their daily life practices wherever the control mechanism is lacking. Actions created between producers and users, that is, actions between the strong and the weak, are discussed as 'tactic' and 'strategy' in De Certeau's book The Practice of Everyday-I (Eranıl Demirli 2011, 35-38).

According to De Certeau, "*strategy*";

"the calculation (or manipulation) of power relationships that becomes possible as soon as a subject with will and power (a business, an army, a city, a scientific institution) can be isolated (Certeau 1998, 35-36)"

In other words, De Certeau's strategy is the actions of the space creator, who has the opportunity to organize and control the space. The space creator constantly produces and plans a strategy in order to maintain its power over the space.

According to De Certeau, "*tactic*" is *"a calculated action determined by the absence of a proper locus (Certeau 1998, 37)"*.

Tactics are actions performed in the space of others by the users of the space. For De Certeau, every action (walking, talking, shopping, cooking, etc.) performed in the authority gap in daily life constitutes a tactic. Tactics evaluate the time when the producer's dominance is reduced or absent as an opportunity and convert the spaces in their own way. Tactics can be considered as spatial, social, and cultural maneuvering movements within the existing area (Eranıl Demirli 2011, 35-37, Certeau 1998, 37).

While Lefebvre's living space and De Certeau's tactical concept are produced by the user; Lefebvre's conceived space and De Certeau's strategy concept are produced by the creator of the space. The conceived space, produced by the power of certain strategies, transforms the space with the tactics of the passive user and produces a new space (Demirpolat 2021, 356-358).

In this context, the space of Uzundere TOKI Housings will be analyzed through Lefebvre's spatial triad and De Certeau's concepts of tactics and strategy. While the standard housing typology prepared with professional technical knowledge by powerful individuals with expertise such as architects, engineers and planners working within the TOKI institution, the digitized features of the house are considered as the presentations of space, that is, the conceived space. In this conceived space, the daily repeated tactics of different users will be evaluated. Thus, the perceived space will be analyzed. The tactics they produce in line with the habits and demands of the dwellers came from different cultures and the spatial dynamics they establish between themselves and the authority, will be seen as representational spaces. Within the scope of this thesis, the emphasis will be on the lived and perceived space, which reveals the fluidity and variability of the space, rather than the conceived space.

Lefebvre's living and perceived space within the spatial triad of Lefebvre, who looks at daily life on a production basis, will be viewed from De Certeau's consumption-based perspective on daily life. In this context, reading will be made through the relations of tactics and strategy that convert the space.

4.6. Findings and Arguments

The focus of the study is the tactics that the user applies to the space and the space that is converted because of these tactics. This main frame is divided into sub-themes because of observation, interview, and document analysis with Lefebvre's spatial triad and De Certeau's concept of tactics and strategy. These sub-themes are "Production of Space By TOKI", "Production and Distribution of Space by IzBB", and "Re-Production of Space by the Dwellers". While "Production of Space by TOKI" and "Production and Distribution of

Space by IzBB" will focus on the conceived space of the authority, the tactics of converting the space of the dwellers living in the area of the settlement under the title of "Re-Production of Space by the Dwellers" are categorized according to their action areas.

4.6.1. Production of Space by TOKI

Uzundere TOKI Housings were built in 4 stages and with the partnership of 3 construction companies of TOKI. The 1st Stage (672 houses) of the housing project, continues in 4 stages, Ve-Na Construction Firm, the 2nd Stage (Supply Construction) (1176 houses) Can Construction Firm, the 3rd Stage (616 houses), and the 4th Stage (616 houses) are owned by Kuzu Mass Housing Construction Firm and Bozoğlu Construction Firm was built in partnership with. (TOKİ 2022). The projects, whose contracts were signed in 2008, were completed in 2009. As of 2010, the houses started to be delivered to their owners. Housing projects consist of high-rise buildings in 4 different housing types. These are called B, B2, C, and F types. The reasons why they were named in this way were related to the different housing typologies and square meters. And different numbers of houses from each type were built (Eranıl Demirli 2011, 80-85).

Type	Story Height	Number Of Flats on The Floor	Typology	Gross Space	Units
B Type	Ground Floor + 12 Level	4	2+1	75.06 m²	560
B2 Type	Ground Floor + 12 Level	4	2+1	94.91 m²	840
C Type	Ground Floor + 12 Level	4	3+1	120.18 m²	1568
F Type	Ground Floor + 7 Level	2	2+1	94.60 m²	112

Table 4. Housing Type of Uzundere TOKI Housings

(Source: Eranıl Demirli 2011, 80, data was processed by the author)
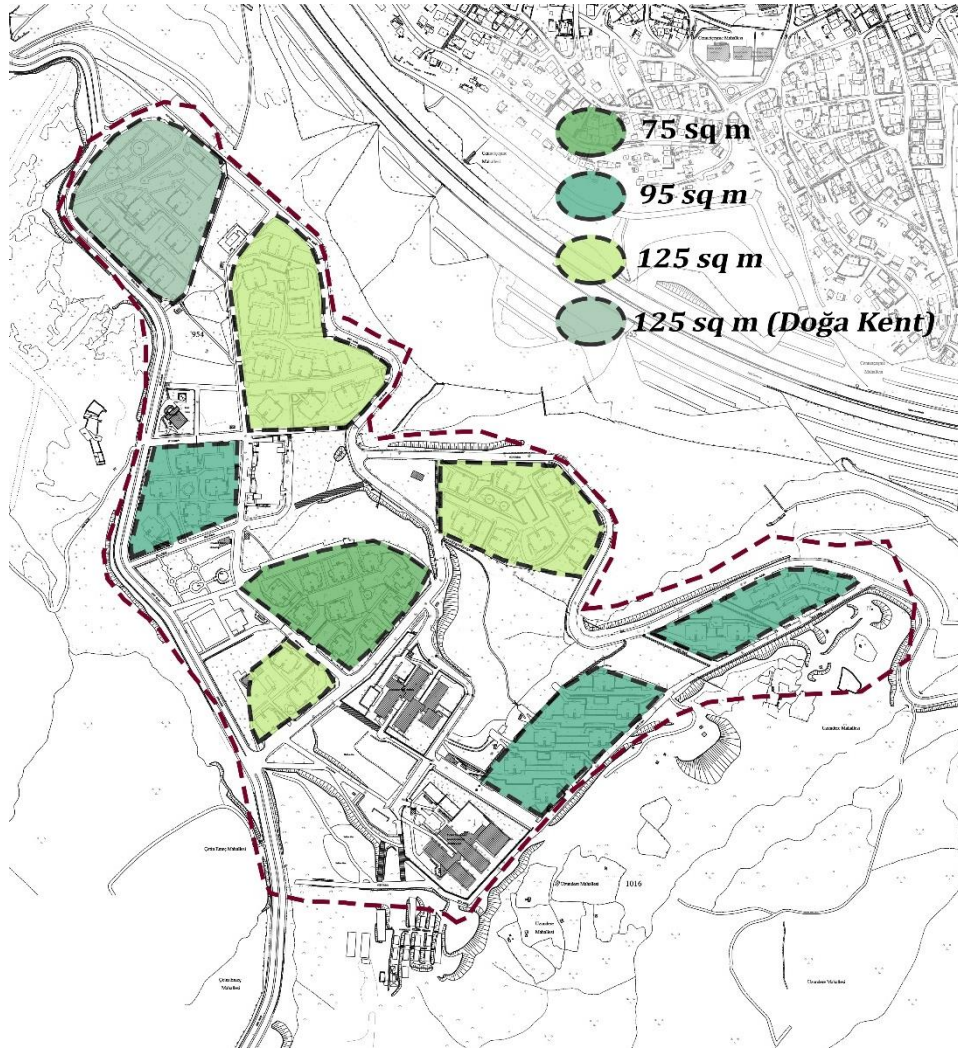
Figure 33. Placement of B, B2, C and F Housing Types on the Land

(Source: IzBB, data was processed by the author)

Social reinforcements were also built within the Uzundere TOKI Housings project, which consists of 3,080 houses, and were transferred to IzBB. Primary school (44 classrooms, 6 laboratories, sports hall), high school (38 classrooms, 9 laboratories, gym), mosque, commercial center (15 shops), 3 municipal service buildings, social facilities and covered market were built by TOKI within the scope of this project. However, the lands of 2 multı-purpose sports halls, which were within the scope of the project but were not built by TOKI, were transferred to IzBB (Eranıl Demirli 2011, 62, Akdağ 2009, 764).

In 2005, the Metropolitan Municipality signed a protocol between Konak Municipality, which is a district municipality, and TOKI. Within the scope of this protocol, due to the fact that Kadifekale, which is connected to the Konak district of Izmir, is under the threat of landslides, decisions were taken to demolish the houses in the region and to use the region as a recreation area. In this context, it has been decided to move the houses to be evacuated to Uzundere TOKI Housings to the beneficiaries (İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi 2007, 322-323). However, the problems occured regarding the valuation and transfer of the houses to be demolished during the project period caused these three institutions to experience disagreements. For this reason, IzBB purchased a house from TOKI in 2008 with an additional protocol (İzmir Kenti Tübitak Projesi n.d., Arkitera 2008)

4.6.2. Production and Distribution of Space by IzBB

Uzundere TOKI Housings project, which was undertaken by TOKI, started in 2008. After the rough construction of the houses was completed, 3080 houses were purchased by IzBB. In 2006, the local government decided to expropriate 9 neighborhoods (İmariye, 19 Mayıs, Vezirağa, Hasan Özdemir, Yeşildere, Kosova, 1st Kadriye, Altay and Kadifekale) that were declared as "Disaster Exposure Region" with the decision of the Council of Ministers. An expropriation decision was made in 2006 (İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi 2010). As of April 12, 2010, 2156 of the 3080 houses purchased by IzBB have been gradually delivered to the citizens in the regions that were evacuated due to the landslide risk. Mayor of the period Aziz Kocaoğlu stated that the remaining 924 houses will be evaluated for possible urban transformation and urban renewal projects. He also emphasized that the transportation axis for Uzundere TOKI Housings has been completed and they are in progress to work to make a new housing area ready with its infrastructure (İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi 2007).

The first dwellers of the houses, which started to be delivered in 2010, are the families who settled in this region with the decision of the Kadifekale Exposure Region. Reconciliation was reached with 1700 people among 2508 house owners identified within the Kadifekale Urban Transformation area. Among the 1700 beneficiaries, 1100 house

owners settled in Uzundere TOKI Housings, while 600 people demanded the expropriated price. IzBB after urban transformation offered 2 different payment methods for those who agreed to move to these houses. One of them is the possibility of paying the difference between the price determined for their own house and the house in Uzundere TOKI Housings in cash, or instalment that will take 15 years (Mirioğlu 2013, 152, Mutlu Kılıç and Göksu 2018, 212). In order to determine these costs, the "Valuation Commission" and the "Entitlement Commission" were established. After the work done by these commissions, IzBB Urban Transformation Branch Office held meetings with the beneficiaries. Payment plans were calculated by deducting the cost of the expropriated house. No solution has been produced for individuals living as tenants in the urban transformation area (Mirioğlu 2013, 104-106, Mutlu Kılıç and Göksu 2018, 206).

Apart from this, there is a group that buys houses from IzBB's housings through a tender offer (Emlak Kulisi 2018). According to the announcement made on the official social media account of IzBB, in 2017, a total of 114 houses with 120 square meters, 3 room 1 hall in 3 different housing blocks were put up for sale by tender (İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi 2017) (Figure 34).

Figure 34. Announcement of Sale by Tender Offered by IzBB for Uzundere TOKI Housings

(Source: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi 2017)

In addition to the groups that bought houses from IzBB for a certain price, IzBB provided housing opportunities to earthquake victims in this region, after the Izmir Earthquake, within the scope of social municipality[6] (Emlak Kulisi 2020). The earthquake victims were placed in 224 houses (4 blocks with 56 flats), which were completed shortly after the earthquake. Before the earthquake survivors were placed in the houses, a house arrangement was created in which white goods, furniture and all the necessary items for their daily needs were found. As of the due date of their settlement, their payments such as rent, electricity, water, heating and dues have been undertaken by IzBB. Earthquake survivors have been granted free housing for 1 year (İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi 2020) It has been decided to extend the free use of housing for another 6 months within a period of close to the end of one year (Öncü Şehir 2022).

According to the news in the Sabah newspaper on May 31, 2022, a notification was sent by IzBB to the earthquake victims to evacuate their housing until July 20, 2022, with the instruction of IzBB is on the side of present mayor Tunç Soyer. (Gürcaner 2022). During the last visit to the site on May 21, 2022, it was observed that the earthquake victims continue to live in most of the housings reserved for earthquake victims in Uzundere TOKI Housings. Many of them have not plan about when they would leave home and what they would do.

The number of square meters of the houses where the dwellers, who had to vacate their housings due to the urban transformation that took place in Kadifekale and Karabağlar, were determined according to the existing (the housings they own) housing square meters. Which block, which floor and flat facing the front of the housing in the determined square meter were decided by drawing lots by IzBB. The housing that the dwellers who purchased through tender will live in were determined by lottery, just like those who came after the

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[6] Social Municipality: Social services, social security, social assistance and social policies implemented in order to protect every individual of the society and to ensure that they live in prosperity, explains the understanding of the social state. The local reflection of the social state also constitutes the social municipality. These are the actions taken by the local government with the support of the state in order to ensure the comfort of life and improve the standards of individuals within the borders of their own province or districtThese actions include not only economic actions to meet basic needs, but also actions to meet the cultural and social needs of individuals (Ülkü 2016).

urban transformation. Individuals who moved to these housings due to the earthquake were placed in the housing blocks allocated for social welfare according to the order of arrival.

Figure 35. Uzundere TOKI Housings's Dweller in the News of IzBB – I (Source: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi 2010)

Figure 36. Uzundere TOKI Housings's Dweller in the Nnews of IzBB -II (Source: İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi 2010)

IzBB has aims to eliminate the negative thoughts created about these housings with the news it has made on its official website. The municipality is trying to show that the people who will live in these housings would be as happy as in the photos displayed, and as livable as in their narratives. One of these news articles is *"...And 'life' has begun in Uzundere"* and consists of pictures showing the interviews with 2 families who settled in the house and their peaceful and happy lives in the house (Figure 35, 36) (İzmir Büyükşehir Belediyesi 2010).

4.6.3. Re-Production of Space by the Dwellers

Actions have been taken to convert the place according to their own identities, depending on the daily lifes, cultures, and habits of different user groups living in Uzundere TOKI Housings. These actions are what De Certeau calls tactics, speech, walking, etc. what the individual performs in daily life includes ordinary actions. While the authority, which determines the lifestyles with the space it designs, implements with the architectural design the rules and strategies of the place, the dwellers try to convert and personalize the space by taking advantage of the emptiness of the authority (G. G. Yılmaz 2017, 67-68).

In the first years that the dwellers of the region moved to this housing, there were no areas in the region that could meet their accommodation needs. The area consists of housing blocks designed and completed only by TOKI and IzBB. There is no service area where living dwellers can meet their basic needs. For this reason, these inhabitants first created a life in this region with their actions and demands. Later, by reducing the pressure created by the physical space and the authority in the space, they produced their own spaces with their tactical actions.

4.6.3.1. Tactics of Conversion

Housing of the region convert the imposition space created by TOKI's architectural design and planning and IzBB's placement strategies, with their own tactics in line with their lifestyles, habits and needs. The tactics applied by different economic, cultural and social groups living throughout the housing on converting the space are divided into sub-categories for the area where the actions take place. These categories are Public Space, Semi-Public Space and Private Space.

4.6.3.1.1. Tactics of Conversion in Public Space

4.6.3.1.1.1. Getting Organized to Make Life

The fact that some of the equipment mentioned earlier in Uzundere TOKI Housings, which started to be delivered as of 2010, has been completed or is not open to service, has negatively affected the lives of individuals who have moved to the region (Mirioğlu 2013, 154). While the social facilities such as religious, commercial, educational and health facilities in Uzundere TOKI Housings were completed by TOKI in time with the contractor companies, the landscaping, playgrounds, sports fields and resting areas were built by the Municipality after they settled in this area in order to meet the daily needs of the users. However, although the necessary protocols were signed with the municipality in 2008, there are no mosques, schools, health care centers, markets, etc. in the housing areas were not built. The missing social facilities were completed 1-2 years after the dwellers settled in the area.

During this period, prefabricated mosque was established during special times such as Ramadan. Again, during this period, education could not start in schools, and the children living in the region were sent to schools in the surrounding neighborhood (Eranıl Demirli 2011, 62-63). K7, who moved to this region in 2011, explained the differences and difficulties between the time they came and the present with the following sentences;

> *"We have lived here for 11 years. We are one of the first to arrive. When we first came here, there was no green space, there was no Barış Gross, there was no market, there was no grocery store. A few people would come by car. You knew his time. If you catch it you can catch it. If you can't catch it, it will go. I don't remember if it's about 1 year on average. We were left without a grocery store, without a market. Mosque, school… I did not have my children at that time. People were taking the children to Uzundere Village. We had a lot of trouble in the first year. There was a lot missing. In fact, they missed a lot and sent us (K7,K,38,Kadifekale)".*

After the construction of Izmir Uzundere TOKI Housings started, a blog was established for the dwellers to communicate among themselves. This blog was first used in March 2009 and was continued to be used until 2012, the year the houses were delivered. The results of the meetings and requests made with TOKI, Izmir Metropolitan Municipality and Bimer were shared in the blog, which was used effectively especially in 2009 and 2010 (TOKİ Uzundere n.d.).

Figure 37: Creating Life with Blog Posts (Don't stop, you do something too)

(Source: GRS 2010)

Under this title, the absence of any vehicle going to the city center, the absence of a health center, education, trade center and social facilities has led individuals to come together in the blog and act together. After they moved to this area, they were started to apply tactics on the blog with the title "Don't Stop, You do something too", which they created in order to

demand services that are not provided in the housing area (Durma Sende Birşeyler Yap 2010).

While housing meets the shelter needs of people, its surroundings should also meet the needs of the individual in order to continue his daily life. Social areas outside the house are important during house selection. It is not possible to keep the inside of the house independent from the outside of the house and its facilities. In social housing projects produced by TOKI, it is produced to meet the housing needs of the lower and middle-income classes. For this reason, most of the social housing projects are realized in the city periphery due to the high rent value of the urban transformation lands. It is seen that the individuals placed in the urban periphery struggle with the impossibilities of the place (Alpaslan and Tüter 2016, 36). For this reason, they seek new ways to create their own lives. The use of blogs has also emerged for this purpose. It is understood from the official decisions shared in the blog that the requests written in different blog titles are realized (Durma Sende Birşeyler Yap 2010).

The dwellers of the region tried to make one of them an authority in the region, the mukhtar, in order to improve their living conditions. For this, the necessary legal procedures were carried out. K1 stated that the social services that are not provided by TOKI and the local government have made the lives of the dwellers very difficult since they first settled down, and therefore they have made a lot of effort as follows;

> *"When we came here, there was no being a mukhtar. People were walking down to Uzundere village from here. He was getting into a car if s/he had a car. He was getting on a minibus if s/he does not have a car. There were two minibuses. We tried. When we arrived, we gave a petition or something and separated this neighborhood. We built the being a mukhtar's office. We opened an association. We opened a condolence house. We did something. People no longer have to walk or ride anything to get to the mukhtar* (K1,E ,66,Kadifekale)*"*.

4.6.3.1.1.2. Creating Alternative Shopping Space

According to the definition in the TDK Dictionary (2019) , mobile means "person who does not have a fixed location, mobile, traveler". The peddler is also derived from this meaning and is defined as a "Person who provides goods or services without being tied to any place" according to Yıldız (M. C. Yıldız 2008, 344) At the same time, peddling is a one-man, small-scale act of earning money for the individual who has difficulty living in the city (M. C. Yıldız 2008, 344-345). Peddlers can also be seen as people who have observed the demands and needs of the region and created a certain opportunity for this region. Peddlers provide an alternative solution to groups that do not prefer shopping areas such as shops or markets in their region due to different reasons (high price, inability to bargain, lack of variety, habit, product supply, etc.). Generally, peddlers are preferred by low-income individuals in order to meet their needs with lower-priced products in the region they live in (Kılıç 2010, 22).

Figure 38. Greengrocers Peddler

(Source: Diclehan Bekir 2022)

Figure 39. Grocer Peddler

(Source: Diclehan Bekir 2022)

Figure 40. Peddler	Figure 41. Peddlers
(Source: Diclehan Bekir 2019)	(Source: Diclehan Bekir 2022)

In addition to peddlers, grocery stores are places where low-income individuals prefer to shop. Grocery stores, which are the traditional shopping places of low-income individuals, are also preferred because they offer the opportunity to pay later for the person who buys the product. In addition, the selection of the product to be sold in the grocery store according to the income level of the people of the region is another reason why the grocery store is preferred as a shopping place (Doğan 2015, 893). Before settling in Uzundere TOKI Housings, K3 who lived in the slum and did their shopping at the grocery store criticizes the absence of a grocery store.

"The grocer forced us here the most. There are two markets, there is no grocery store. There are so many neighborhoods but there are two markets... The price of this place differs with the price of the one below. 1-2 lira makes a difference. I don't have a car. I can't go down. If I go, I will pay the same money again. Same thing happened (K3,E,70,Uzundere)".

The housings far from the commercial center were converted into a grocery store in order to meet the shopping needs in the area they found (Figure 42). Thus, while individuals in the region can meet their daily needs within the immediate region, they can maintain their habits such as buying on credit (Figure 43).
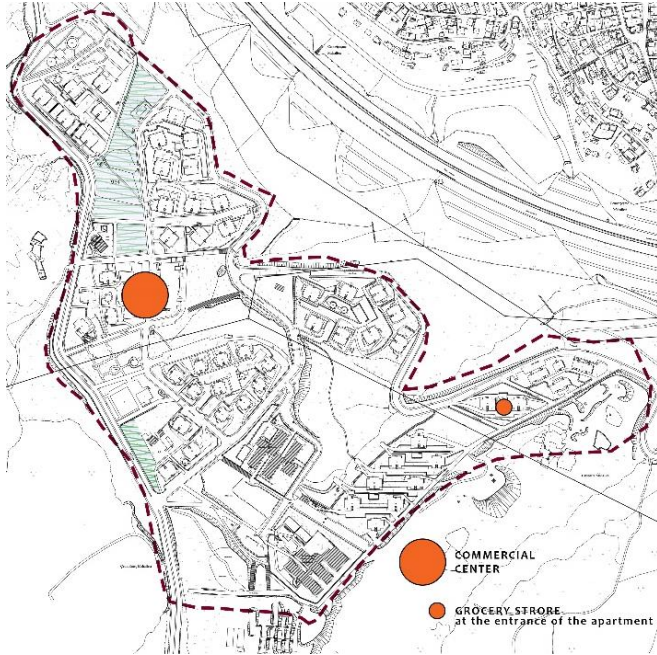
Figure 42. The Distance Between the Market on
The Ground Floor of The Grocery Store
(Source: IzBB, data was processed by the author)

Figure 43. Conversion of The
Ground Floor of the Apartment into
a Grocery Store
(Source: Diclehan Bekir 2019)

K10 expressed the advantage of being in the city center of Ballıkuyu, where he used to live, and that he has a certain shopping habit with "*We were providing almost everything. The grocers were coming. It was this way. There were those who came and went on a mobile basis*"[7] sentences. In this region, he explained that they continued their previous habits and did not shop at the markets in Uzundere TOKI Housings with the following words;

> "*Here, too, gardeners come and go. Gardeners used to come to our old house, too. There is even a brother who comes to sell bread just because we live downstairs. He is coming, he is going. We buy bread from him; he sells things like bread and boyoz. He comes as a mobile. He comes on the back of his car as a mobile. The gardeners are coming, the milkmen are coming. The system continues just like in Ballıkuyu. Of course, we go out when we have great needs (K10,K,37, Kadifekale)*".

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[7] *(K10,K,37, Kadifekale)*

K14 talks about a peddler with whom they regularly shop. He stated that they do their kitchen shopping from peddlers who come to this region instead of the markets in the region.

> "There is one Tahsin brother here. We are not shopping at the market; we are waiting for it. In case we can shopping at more affordable prices... Tahsin brother brings us, we buy from him (K14,K,49,Kadifekale)".

Explaining that the most difficult reason for getting used to this area is that there is no place to shop for food, K3 criticizes the marketplace, which exists in such a commercial center, for not having enough food products.

> There is nothing to eat in the bazaar... The municipality gave us service, but there is nothing in the bazaar. There is nothing to eat. You get cheese, you get olives, you get eggplant, they don't exist. There is only fruit (K3,E,70,Uzundere)".

K4, who suffered from the same situation, stated that instead of buying high prices from the markets with K3, they went to the mountains on the south side of Uzundere TOKI Housings and collected vegetable there. In addition, he stated that he received milk from those dealing with animal husbandry in the public land of Yaşar Kemal Neighborhood, in the area close to the housings. Also, he stated that they are looking for alternatives within the region in accordance with their budget.

> "We go hiking in the mountains. We find it there. There are mushrooms. We are making aubergines by the creek, by the water... There is also a farm here. We buy sheep's milk. 15 liras. We do a lot of things with it. It is more affordable than the market (K4,E,65,Uzundere)".

Chain markets have become attractive shopping venues in urban life due to the sale of discounted and promotional products (Pıçak and Bilen 2009, 34). However, the fact that the markets in the region have to spend more money in order to meet the food needs of the people of the region has created a reason for them not to prefer these markets. In addition, the markets are not preferred by the dwellers of the region due to the high price policy, the

scarcity of the product variety, the inability to supply enough products to the region, and low service. While Barış Gross, which has been serving as the only market in the region for a long time, has been criticized for its poor service quality and high prices, A101, which has been opened recently, has been criticized for its adequacy to the region, although it has offered more affordable alternative to the dwellers.

K11 and his family, who used to live in Balçova and bought this house with the IzBB tender sale, said that the reason why they do not usually do their grocery shopping in the housing area is the expensiveness of the products. For this reason, they stated that they mostly prefer shopping places in the surrounding areas.

"The market is in a certain place. We use it. Adequate, but we prefer other places for the price. Again, we go to close circles for this. It is Selway Outlet, it is Balçova. We are looking for an alternative. The prices here are high (K11,E,21,Balçova)".

K5 associates the reason for the high prices of the products in the market with the fact that it is the only one in the region. For this reason, it states that the quality of the service provided is low-quality and it is very pricey.

"Markets are not enough. If we think about it this way. There are 56 flats in each building here. Both in 2+1 and 3+1. There are as many people in a flat as a village. Is only one market enough for all these flats? Is the product grown? When the seller is single, he can raise or lower the prices as he wishes, according to his own mind. Because you have to take it. He doesn't care either (K5,E,66,Alsancak)".

Uzundere TOKI Housings dwellers try to transfer their shopping habits to the space in order to resist time-place-based displacement. That is, the way to convert region over time is to change the neighbors of the people of that region and the regions they shop with (Sönmez 2014, 46-47). Consciously or unconsciously, this shopping resistance realized by the dwellers of this region shows that the dwellers have converted the possibilities of this region in

accordance with their own shopping habits. They adapt the possibilities or impossibilities of this region to suit them with their own tactics.

4.6.3.1.1.3. Converting Open Spaces Into Private Property

It has been designed by TOKI in order to meet the daily needs of the users in Uzundere TOKI Housings with social facilities such as religious, commercial, education, health, and the accompanying environmental plannings, playgrounds, sports grounds and resting areas. Today, environmental plannings, playgrounds, sport rounds and recreational areas are being developing getting repaired and maintained by the Municipality (E. Mutlu Kılıç 2016, 231). However, for these social facilities produced by designers (architects, landscape architects, city planners) working within TOKI to be successful, they must be used by the people living in this region (Jacobs 2017, 109-110).

According to K1, behaviors such as creating an individual area, limiting the area, planting fruits and vegetables around the apartment or in the housing area are prohibited and are considered as an intervention to *"the public land"*[8]. The maintenance of the common areas is carried out by the people responsible for the environment and gardens appointed by IzBB. And ornamental plants are planted in the parks and gardens in the region by the teams of the IzBB in charge. Apart from this, no area is reserved for the dwellers to deal with the land. However, the dwellers of the region continue their crop actions, which they enjoy in their daily lifes and support the family economy. They grow their own fruits and vegetables around their apartments. One of these fruit and vegetable growing activities is done out by the mukhtar. The mukhtar maintains a certain area for fruit and vegetable planting right next to the being a mukhtar.

K1 describes the harvest he got from the apple tree he planted in a small area with the following words; "*I'm planting here too. I planted apples. There are 50 of a tiny trees. We're eating. It's going well"*[9].

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[8] *(K1,E,66,Kadifekale)*
[9] *(K1,E,66,Kadifekale)*

Figure 44. Fruit and Vegetable Growing
Areas Created by Dwellers within
Uzundere TOKI Housings
(Source: Diclehan Bekir 2021)

Figure 45. Fruit and Vegetable Growing
Areas Created by Mukhtar within Uzundere
TOKI Housings
(Source: Diclehan Bekir 2022)

These housings, designed by TOKI, define the limits between public space and private space precisely. The street, which is a part of the lives of individuals living in slum areas, is no longer an extension of the house. A controlled area where certain rules and movement are restricted (Erman 2011, 27).

It is understood that the open areas, sports grounds, and playgrounds located between the housing blocks are the areas that different age groups benefit from at the maximum level. However, in addition to the existing areas, the existing social facilities, and open spaces in the region as well as alternative gardens were created by the users. The items that people can sit on in these gardens are not portable or light. It usually consists of heavy and difficult to carry furniture suitable for use in the home. This situation also shows that those who create their own space use this space constantly and do not refraion from create these spaces.
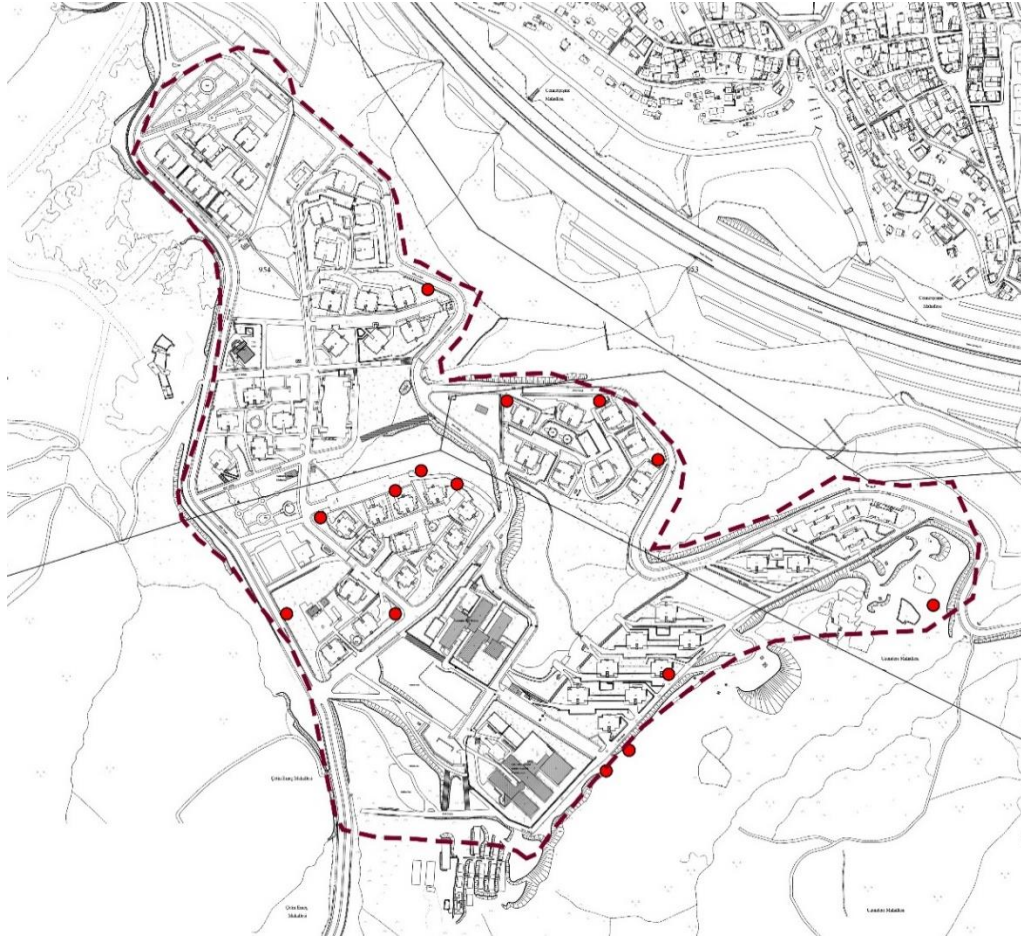
Figure 46. Open Spaces Converted into Private Property

(Source: IzBB, data was processed by the author)

Figure 47. Sitting Areas created in Open
Area of Uzundere TOKI Housings – I
(Source: Diclehan Bekir 2021)

Figure 48. Sitting Areas created in Open
Area of Uzundere TOKI Housings – II
(Source: Diclehan Bekir 2019)

Figure 49. Sitting Areas created in Open Area of Uzundere TOKI Housings – III (Source: Diclehan Bekir 2022)

Figure 50. Sitting Areas created in Open Area of Uzundere TOKI Housings – IV (Source: Diclehan Bekir 2022)

Figure 51. Private Property of the Dweller
(Source: Diclehan Bekir 2022)

Space creation and socialization actions vary according to age groups. Another reason for creating a space is related to the land where these houses are produced. Individuals living in the city center and the green areas that are difficult to access generally prefer benches in front of the apartments to socialize. The benches were moved from the parks to be used in front of the apartments. This movement of a few users has spread to the housing area over time. Currently, there are benches in front of many apartments.

K8 stated that the only area he can use in Uzundere TOKI Housings for socializing is in front of the apartment door; *"Well, I can't walk, you know, uphill, I'm afraid that I will fall. We sit on benches with friends. We go out when the weather is nice"*[10].

Figure 52. Elderly Group Socializing in Front of The Apartment

(Source: Diclehan Bekir 2019)

While elderly people use the front of the apartments for their socialization areas, young dwellers want to use the region's facilities. During the interview, K2 said, *"We intended to use the gym for a while, but we could not use it. It is an indoor gym only for sportmens"*[11]. During the interview with a K11 in the same age group, he stated that they were trying to create their own gym because they could not use the indoor gymnasium, with the sentence *"Some apartments dwellers are considering building their own downstairs or inside any house"*[12].

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[10] *(K8,K,81,Bornova)*
[11] *(K2,E,21,Van)*
[12] *(K11,E,21,Balçova)*

4.6.3.1.2. Tactics of Conversion in Semi-Public Spaces

4.6.3.1.2.1. Converting Empty Spaces in Apartment Blocks

In the house, apartments or open areas, individuals do not have areas such as storage or cellar where they can put their excess belongings. This situation forced the new apartment dwellers to create alternative spaces in order to store excess items. According to the decision taken by the apartment building management, the shelters cannot be used as storage areas. These decisions have been taken by the apartment building management in order to implement and to prevent the dwellers from using the interiors of the apartments for storage and other purposes. However, these decisions, which are made, and which individuals are obliged to comply with, try to restrict the habits and behaviors of the individuals living in these housings. At the same time, it eliminates the differences of individuals.
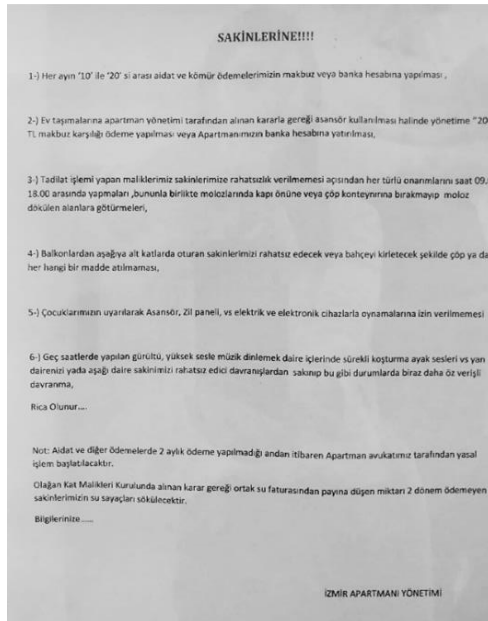
Figure 53. Apartment Building
Management's Rules
(Source: Diclehan Bekir 2022)
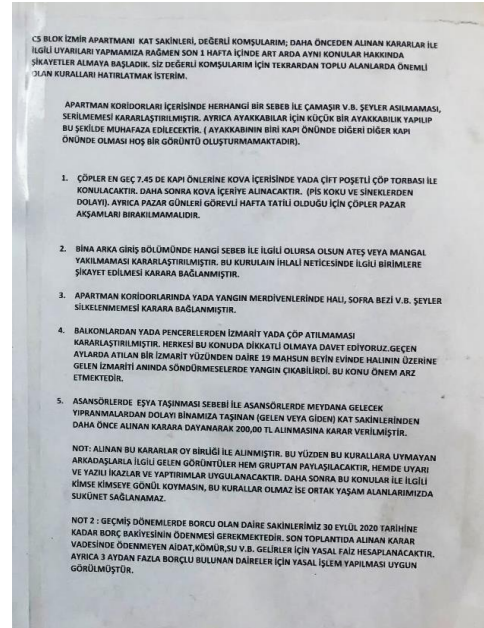
Figure 54. Apartment Building
Management's Rules
(Source: Diclehan Bekir 2022)

It is seen that the written language is harsh in the apartment decisions in Figure 53 and Figure 54. The reason for the formation of this harsh language is the effort to control the disorder brought about by the placement of individuals who are not accustomed to apartment life. The individual, who is used to hanging laundry in his old house in his neighbor's garden and on the street, tries to use the corridors of the apartment for the purpose of hanging laundry, or he sees the front of the door that only belongs to him in his detached life, as well as the front of the apartment door that belongs to him in the apartment. In addition, apartment interiors, fire escapes and apartment surroundings are also used as storage areas by the dwellers.

Figure 55. Interior of the
Apartment – I
(Source: Diclehan Bekir
2019)

Figure 56. Interior of the
Apartment - II
(Source: Diclehan Bekir
2022)
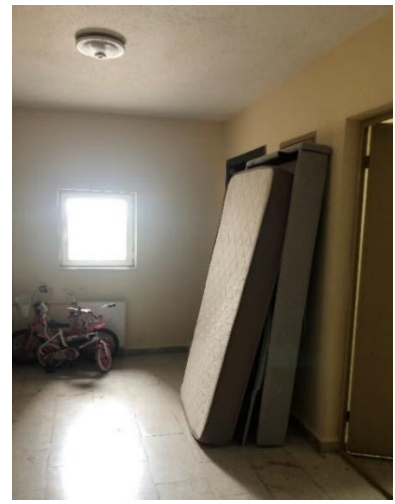
Figure 57. Interior of the
Apartment - III
(Source: Diclehan Bekir
2022)

Before moving to K5 Uzundere TOKI Housings, he lived in an apartment in Alsancak for many years. He states that no matter how accustomed he is to the apartment rules and life, he also does this behavior, which is created to produce enough space in the housing area.

"I came from the picnic and put the barbecue by the fire escape. Apartment building manager says to get it but I haven't bought it since winter. This happened

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during the winter. But we have very few things in our apartment. But this situation is very common in the apartments in the center (K5,E,66,Alsancak)".

Figure 58. Using the Fire Escape as a
Storage Area
(Source: Diclehan Bekir 2019)

Figure 59. Using the Areas Outside of the
Apartment as a Storage Area
(Source: Diclehan Bekir 2019)

Most of the dwellers who moved to the region due to urban transformation are engaged in occupations such as peddlers, greengrocers, mussels, and marketers (Karayiğit 2005, 10-13). Dwellers who earn money with these business lines have difficulty in positioning the work equipment they brought with them in the apartment life in order to continue their work. For this reason, they placed these vehicles in places they deem appropriate within the site (Figure 60, 61).

Figure 60. The Bench of Those Living
in The Region Who Are Peddlers
(Source: Diclehan Bekir 2019)

Figure 61. The Bench of Those Living in The
Region Who Are Peddlers
(Source: Diclehan Bekir 2021)

K10, who settled in these housings due to the Kadifekale Urban Transformation Project, had to sell his housing in Uzundere TOKI Housings because he could not pay his installments due to the pandemic. In the same period, it bought a house in this housing area from another dwelling block sold by IzBB through tender. K10, who lived in housings with different user profiles, expressed the actions of those who could not adapt to apartment life as follows;

> *"Coming from Kadifekale before, my friends live there. They find it very Fare a lot of problems in the apartment... Throwing the garbage from the balcony, vinegar on the carpet, working on the fire escapes... Because there are many people who do not apply the system and do not comply (K10,K,37,Kadifekale)".*

4.6.3.1.2.2. Creating Spaces for Women to Socialize and Work

It is seen that there is no specific area created for the individuals living in especially the gecekondu area, in the Uzundere TOKI Housings, which are produced by TOKI. It is seen that there are no areas where women to wool beat, to wool ruffle, to wash their carpets, men can farm and use as storage. In the open areas in the region, there are only parks for children and areas with sports grounds for adults.

Especially in low-income families, it is the woman who spends the most time in the house. In front of their doors, balconies or gardens are the only areas where they can socialize. For this reason, the change of living place causes, a change of neighborly relations, that is, the change in the social life of the woman (Ocak 2007, 165-166). The woman, who broke off from friendly neighborly relations, has difficulty adapting to the conditions she encounters in her new environment. She tries to convert the environment according to her old life and habits. Cultural habits such as neighborhood weddings, sacrifices, carpet washing, and wool beat continue in the apartment and its surroundings (Kalanlar and Kublay 2015, 46-47)

Women who are accustomed to living in detached houses with their families or neighbors have become isolated in Uzundere TOKI Housings, which consist of many floors

and flats. K9 expressed this loneliness as *"the TV and me sit all day"* [13]. IzBB has decided which house the dwellers who will move to the houses will settle in. For this reason, they needed places outside the home where they could meet and socialize with their neighbors in their new living spaces.

Figure 62. Woman Beating Wool Under the Apartment
(Source: Diclehan Bekir 2021)

K12 Uzundere said that after coming to Uzundere TOKI Housings, she could not establish neighbor relations and her former neighbors did not settle in this housing area. She added that they communicate with longing and happiness through social media. She stated that they were afraid of communicating with people in their new home with the following words;

> *"There is no neighbor here. There are no neighbors in my building anyway. That's right, I don't go and come too much to anyone. I can't go, since my daughter and I were alone, we did not prefer to go to the neighbors much. We are afraid of people, especially men. I live with my young daughter. We are talking to a few people from Kadifekale. They stayed in Çimentepe, Eşrefpaşa, each of them went somewhere, but we found each other again on Instagram (K12,K,57,Kadifekale)".*

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[13] *(K9,K,66,Bornova)*

Interviews were made with K13 and K14 while they were chatting in the living area they created under the apartment. K13 and K14, who have been neighbors for many years in Kadifekale, said that they never broke up with each other because we were in the same apartment. For this reason, he stated that they had no difficulty in adapting to this region. He stated that they use the sitting areas they created in the house and in the garden of the apartment to meet with other friends.

"I've never had a problem here. So, we have a very good relationship with 3-4 neighbors... We also sit in these areas in the evenings. We sit during the day. Drink tea and eat burghul salad during the day. We eat, we drink. Our neighborly relations are good. We can go door to door day and night. We were always like this. We love home visits (K13,K,53,Kadifekale)".

"We use her (he is talking about another friend sitting next to them in the garden) house. She goes to her daughter because she is taking care of her grandchild. Her house is closed. We go to her house for hospitage. We are that good. She originally bought a house elsewhere. She couldn't stand it, she sold it there without us, she came here (K14,K,49,Kadifekale)"

Figure 63. Women Spending Time in The Space They Created Under the Apartment
(Source: Diclehan Bekir 2021)

4.6.3.1.3. Tactics of Conversion in Private Space

4.6.3.1.3.1. Extending Space in the Houses

TOKI Housings are not of the size and design that wider families can easily continue their lives. It is not possible for TOKI Housings for individuals to have their own space. The small size of the houses caused wider family structures to turn into nuclear families. Thus, the habits of individuals living together had to changed. This situation has led to an increase in the distance between relatives. In addition to living together, TOKI Housings also make it difficult to host guests. The housings do not have enough space to accept relatives or overnight guests. It has enough space for an only nuclear family. The adequacy of this area is not only related to the number of people to live. Another problem is that the items they brought from their previous homes are less or more than their new home (Ocak 2007, 163-164).

K4 stated that he could not live according to his own tradition due to the inadequacy of his house with the following words;

> *"We currently live with 4 people. Well, it's not enough... I said it's 60 square meters, right... It's like a student house... We have 2 children at home. One of my children is also outside. He's coming too. We're just slipping. After all, we are eastern people, we have many guests. I do not accept the incoming. I say if you come, you'll sleep in the hallway, I'll hit your head. They are already afraid and do not come. They eat and leave immediately. We say there is no place. This is not a place suitable for our culture and customs. But we have to (K4,E,65,Uzundere)".*

Due to the fact that the sizes and designs of the houses are not suitable for the individuals who settle in these houses, certain changes have been made inside the house. Mostly apartment balconies were closed and used as cellars. K7 explained how he made the size and usage of the house sufficient for his own family with the solutions he found himself, with these words;

"We have one small toilet, for example, I closed it and built a cellar for myself... For example, our balcony was open. I turned it off. I made two armchairs in the opposite corner, sliding like this... I put my supplies, plastics and stuff there. Since there is not enough space... I love the sofa set very much. Since my room is small, the sofa set does not fit. Even if it enters, we cannot sit. Because we are a large family. So we have a lot of relatives... We're still trying to open up space... I had dinnerware. My mother-in-law's house is a little bigger because she lives alone. For example, I gave it to her. It's still there. I have dinnerware, table, buffet and beds, for example, from my dowry, they are always my mother-in-law. I couldn't fit any of them in the house (K7,K,38,Kadifekale)".

4.6.3.1.3.2. Improving Standarts of Housing

Housing projects carried out by TOKI generally focused on resource development projects, which reduced the number of projects realized for individuals in the low and middle-income group. It has begun to be criticized about these social housing, which is produced in small numbers. One of the institutions making this criticism is the TMMOB Chamber of Civil Engineers (IMO). IMO (2011, 12) describes the social housing produced by TOKI as *"...poor quality, unqualified or unusable..."* and *"...constructed by cutting costs without considering living and living criteria..."*. In this context, these houses, which are built to provide housing opportunities for the low-income group, mean that the expenses will increase for the owner of the house in the long run. It can be said that these houses, which are owned by middle and low-income individuals in the long term, have high maintenance and repair costs due to the poor quality of workmanship and materials used, as well as the purchase price (Ören n.d., 9).

In most of the interviews conducted with the dwellers of Uzundere TOKI Housings, the dwellers have said a sentence stating that they had to make changes in the house after the dwellers moved has been used. Especially the wall-to-wall carpet, bathroom tiles, and shower cabins used on the floors of the houses completed by IzBB are replaced or repaired by the people who moved them. K6, who settled in these housings due to the urban transformation

of Kadifekale, said, *"The paint was done, we were got kitchens. We had the floors done, we had the bathroom done…"* [14] and stated that they made many changes in the house. K10's situation inside the house they took delivery of, *"The wall-to-wall carpet was filthy by the time we arrived. It's impossible to sit like that anyway. There are no shower cabins. Surely a paint whitewash…"* [15] she explained. K7 said, *"My kitchen counter was broken when I arrived. I had to change it"* [16] and stated that in addition to the expense he spent to buy the house, new expenses were also incurred in the house.

K11, who bought a house by participating in the IzBB's tender offer, had said, *"We had a parquet made. The bathroom was problem trouble when we first arrived. When we first came, the Municipality looked completely, took care of the repair"* [17]. K11, with its own sentence, had indicated that the municipality took responsibility for the problematic areas in the house after buying a house. K5, who bought a house in the same way, said, *"Before I entered the house, I changed everything. There is only one door left"* [18] He stated that he had undertaken the changes related to the house himself. However, he describes the wall-to-wall carpet as *"a loss of money"* [19] because it had to be thrown away, and criticizes the expenditure made by the local government.

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[14] *(K6,K,95,Bornova)*
[15] *(K10,K,37,Kadifekale)*
[16] *(K7,K,38,Kadifekale)*
[17] *(K11,E,21,Balçova)*
[18] *(K5,E,66,Alsancak)*
[19] *(K5,E,66,Alsancak)*

CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

Housing is a sheltered place where the individual performs vital actions such as sheltering, feeding, and sleeping. But more than that, the housing is a place where the individual lives, socializes and organizes his/her culture according to own economy and habits. It is in constant motion depending on the individuals living in it. It is not stationary.

Most of the housings produced in the world and in our country are built in a process where the user is not involved in the design process. In addition, it is possible to make only an estimation about who the user may be for the housing manufacturer. The way to make this estimation is to answer what the purchase price of the house will be. It is possible to say that the low-income group, which has difficulties in meeting the need for accommodation in the city and needs the support of the authority, has solved the housing need with the support of the authority's social housing. However, social housing is not a type of housings produced only to meet the need for shelter of the individual. It is a type of housings production where the individual who will live in it can meet the requirements of daily life and experience social and cultural differences. And the production of social housing should not be realized with an understanding of "As if".

The quality of the house produced in social housing projects is calculated over the money spent during the project process and the number of houses produced. This situation is also related to the fact that there is a large majority of individuals and groups who are in demand for social housing in the country and cannot meet their housing needs. It is seen in the housing policies that started to be implemented as of 1923 in Turkey that it was aimed to improve the conditions of the period, and long-term solutions could not be found. At the same time, this explains why TOKI, the leading actor of mass housing production in Turkey, realizes the houses it produces with a limited perspective and is in repetitive production processes.

Within the scope of this study, it has been tried to understand how Uzundere TOKI Housings, which are social housing, were converted with tactics produced by the dwellers. While explaining the production process of this space, it has been tried to answer the expectations of the dwellers about the housing, the tactics of converting the designed space of the authority and their reasons for produced tactics. How they change the perceived space with the tactics they produce in line with their daily lifes and needs is explained by the tactics. The contrasts between the dweller and the authority are considered as the analysis of the living space. Unlike the standard TOKI social housing produced for everyone, the house produced in this way is a place that belongs to the dwellers here.

Uzundere TOKI Housings is a social housing project, the technical drawings of which were made by the TOKI expert team and built under the main contractor of TOKI. What distinguishes this social housing project from other TOKI applications is that IzBB also plays an important role in the production and distribution process of housings. The rough construction of the housings was completed by TOKI, and the housings were completed by IzBB and the housings were made ready for sale. The dwellers determined by IzBB started to live in these housings with the conditions determined by IzBB. These conditions have determine the people who have the right to buy a house in these houses after the urban transformation project, to settle in these houses after the Izmir earthquake, and to buy a house with the sale of tendersIn addition to determining these people, IzBB also has determine how many square meters of flats, on which floor and on which front the flat will be located in this housing.

The Uzundere TOKI Housings project in Izmir, which started with the protocol signed between IzBB and TOKI, aimed to create a healthy and comfortable living space for the dwellers who will ve displaced due to the urban transformation projects to be realized throughout Izmir and especially in Kadifekale province. This social housing was undertaken by the local administration and TOKI since the individuals living in the neighborhoods where urban transformation will take place are composed of individuals who cannot afford their housing. With this project, TOKI and IzBB realized the life they idealized for the dwellers in the designed space. They preferred to ignore the problems that the new dwellers may experience in this designed space. The areas where the dwellers of the region lived before

have been the places that are targeted to be converted by the authority due to cultural and spatial problems. The Authority thought that it can keep the people living in it under its own control with Uzundere TOKI Housings, which is its own designed space.

In particular, individuals who will be displaced due to urban transformation projects have tried to make their problems in the city visible with the tactics they applied before and while moving to these housings. However, due to the physical distance of Uzundere TOKI Housings produced by TOKI and IzBB to the city center, those who moved here made it even more invisible than their previous lives. The problems faced by the displaced became as real as the problems of citizens passing through the city's exit roads. K9 supported this situation with the following words;

> *"On our way to Çeşme, we were talking how these houses were built and who is sitting here We thought they were student houses before. I wonder if those houses are the houses we live in now. We don't know. After all, we only were seeing this place while driving by car* (K9,K,66,Bornova)*".*

Displaced groups who could not continue their social, cultural and economic habits in this housing were forced to establish a life here. The dwellers, who were in the demand and excitement of living in a comfortable, healthy and modern housing before settling in these housings, demanded to return to their old lives and habits after settling in this housing. However, the dissatisfaction of the new dwellers of Uzundere TOKI Housings caused by this inconsistency caused the groups that were financially obliged to live here to produce their own tactics to convert the space.

The process of collecting information about the construction process of the Izmir Uzundere TOKI Housings by the authority was made possible by document analysis. However, 14 dwellers were interviewed to come to a conclusion about the living space and perceived space and how this space converted the space. With the questions asked within the scope of this interview, it was tried to understand the past lives of the individuals, their expectations from Uzundere TOKI Housings and the tactics they applied to meet their own expectations. As a result of the interviews, the majority of individuals and groups who settled

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in this region expressed the lack of social reinforcement in the region, the deterioration of neighborly relations, the expensiveness of living in this region, the small and unqualified production of housing. Although they expressed that they were not satisfied with the houses they lived in due to these difficulties, they tried to adapt to the region with the tactics they produced in and around the houses, since the majority of the dwellers who started to live in this region did not have the opportunity to move. It has been understood that these emerging tactics vary depending on the places. For this reason, within the scope of this study, the tactics made by the dwellers were divided into different categories as public space, semi-public space and private space.

The groups that settled in these housings in the region as of 2010 could only use this place as a shelter. Because the region did not allow life to be created here due to the lack of social facilities. The limited and insufficient social facilities in this region have forced the people of the region to go to the social facilities in the surrounding regions. Struggles about the deficiencies of the region were given on the internet and in real life by the dwellers of the region. While these struggles revealed the inadequacy of the designed space, the idea that a system was needed in order for the space to have the lived and perceived space situations prevailed among the dwellers. Yaşar Kemal Neighborhood Mukhtar's office was opened at the request of the people of the region. Mukhtar While representing the authority in the field of housings due to his duty is at the same time a person who applies tactics, as he is the dweller who came here after the urban transformation. In this authority, one of the dwellers is the mukhtar, who is aware of all living conditions, habits, and cultures.

Alternative solutions have been sought in the new housing area for the expenses increase with the apartment life. There were places that sold products affordable to their income in the region where they lived before, or they had the chance to choose according to the price because there was more than one shopping place in the area where they were located. However, when the dwellers moved to this area, they had to use their old neighborhoods or Uzundere Village to shop. This situation has also put pressure on opening the markets here in a short time. However, the existing markets were not preferred because they provide services above the prices that the dwellers of the region can afford. They started to use the parking areas around the commercial center, which consists of unpreferred markets,

as an area where the peddlers can open their stalls all day long. The mobile shopping habit shaped by the dwellers of the region also caused the commercial center to differentiate and spread to new areas. In addition, the housings surrounding a certain area in or around the housing areas grow their own fruits and vegetables under their apartments and in the surrounding vacant lands. Thus, they resist the increasing cost in the region with their tactics. The mukhtar, like other inhabitants, surrounds a particular area and grows fruits and vegetables to survive in that area.

Dwellers do determine a certain area only for planting fruit and vegetables. In order to continue their old socialization habits in the region, they tried to produce an area where they could meet with their neighbors scattered in different housings blocks with the gardens they created. These spaces are mostly created within the fenced areas of the apartments or are delimited within the apartment garden using fences. With the furniture they use in these spaces, they show that this space is produced as permanent spaces. In order to maintain the neighborhood relationship, they use the tactic of creating ownership on the public land in order to change the layout within the housing area. Dwellers who are reluctant to surround a certain area or cannot do this due to their age, have also defined areas for themselves by placing benches in the area in front of the apartments. Although this behavior started with a bench, it has now turned into a tactic used by many apartment dwellers.

In Uzundere TOKI Housings, it was observed that the dwellers tried to include the interiors of the apartments and the surroundings of the apartments in the house area in order to find a solution to the spatial insufficiency of the house. This situation emerges as tactics used by families who have lived in detached houses for a long time. Since this housing is an insufficiently sized space for the dwellers living here, they are trying to reflect the usage habits of their detached housing and their surroundings in this housing area. There is never room for an extra item in the housing where the housing offers a limited space even for the people who will live in it. The absence of a warehouse in the housing or in the apartments has also caused the door fronts, apartment spaces and fire escapes of the individuals to be converted into storage areas. Although the use of these areas for storage has been harshly reported by the apartment building management, the dwellers continue to convert the spaces with their own tactics. Thus, the space limited by the rules is taken out of the borders by the

tactics of the user. Although the rules are enforced on dwellers by the apartment building management, the space is always converted by the dwellers with their own tactics.

Especially in low-income families, it is women who feel poverty at home. Women produce their actions (cleaning, cooking, elderly, or childcare) in the house according to the possibilities and impossibilities of the house. The place where the woman can get away from the house and the situation is either on the balcony or in front of the door. Because women can reach other women through these places. However, the built-in balconies designed by TOKI, and the balconies closed due to the inadequacy of the house prevent women from being included outside through the balcony. In addition, the fact that it is multi-story separates the woman from the street and daily life and enables her to exist as a spectator. Again, these multi-story houses do not have an area called a front of the door. In these housing, the front of the door mostly means the common area shared with the 4 flat dwellers you have just met. For this reason, the front of the apartment is used instead of the front of the door. The fronts of the flats have been converted into places where women prepare food, beat wool, and wash carpets. These areas in front of the apartments where they can socialize and do their work were defined by women or produced by women temporarily in order to do the work. These actions of women are the tactic of the low-income family women, who are trying to be imprisoned in the designed space, in order not to be alone in the space.

The inhabitants of the region applied tactics for spatial conversion to shape the habits of their former lives in their private spaces according to their daily lifes and needs. They have converteed the interiors of their houses according to the old daily life practices as much as the size of the house allows. The space, designed by the power with certain patterns and rules, has been redefined by the dwellers. Dwellers have changed their furniture to create space for themselves inside the house. They closed the balcony and included it in the kitchen. Furniture that can collect supplies and kitchen utensils was also used in the enlarged kitchen area. The area, which was used as a small toilet in the plan, was turned into a storage area in order to collect the excess belongings from the house balcony. Dwellers do not only change the function of the spaces inside the house. In addition to its function, there are technical problems in the housings completed by IzBB. These problems have created a new burden on individuals who have paid a certain price for housing. Although the spatial convertions

carried out in the house have targeted TOKI's design and the repairs carried out by IzBB, the tactical actions carried out in the house are tactics that show the inadequacy of the space to the authority of the individual to improve his daily life. As it can be understood from the discourses of the participants who participated in the interview, they are tactics created critically for the space production process of TOKI and IzBB.

Uzundere TOKI Housings, produced by TOKI and IzBB, have become a place where different social, cultural, and economic groups live together. Different cultures living in this housing have united with their tactics according to different daily life habits in similar places according to their own culture and habits of the existing area It is the actions of those who do not have the chance to move from these housings to another housing, according to their own lives, in order not to lose this place. These tactics involve an effort to own the space and establish a sense of belonging to this region. At the same time, the tactics of individuals in Uzundere TOKI Housings can be read as tactics taken against displacement pressure[20] by an individual who has come to this region for many reasons and does not have a different opportunity. For these reasons, tactics same time have turned into a show of power on the ground.

Figure 64. Graffiti Deleted by Authority

(Source: Diclehan Bekir 2019)

Figure 65. Graffiti Rewritten by a Dweller

(Source: Diclehan Bekir 2019)

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[20] Displacement pressure according to Marcuse (1985, 207); "When a family sees the neighbourhood around it changing dramatically, when their friends are leaving the neighbourhood, when the stores they patronise are liquidating and new stores for other clientele are taking their places, and when changes in public facilities, in transportation patterns, and in support services all clearly are making the area less and less livable, then the pressure of displacement already is severe. Its actuality is only a matter of time. Families living under these circumstances may move as soon as they can, rather than wait for the inevitable; nonetheless they are displaced".

Within the scope of this thesis, although the spatial conversion tactics of the dwellers have been examined in the case study of Izmir TOKI Housings, it is important to emphasize that every area where ordinary people of daily life are found is a tactical space. Tactics carried out by individuals or groups by taking advantage of the authority gap reveal the lived and perceived space situations of the space. The usage habits and demands of the users differentiates the conceived space. The user goes beyond the architectural design decisions that were foreseen and decided beforehand. The user moves away from the idea of seeing this space as a physical boundary. It makes the space a living place where our daily life takes place beyond accommodation. Thus, daily life creates its own space.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

YARI YAPILANDIRILMIŞ GÖRÜŞME FORMU

Bu görüşme, Izmir Yüksek Teknoloji Enstitüsü Sosyal ve Beşeri Bilimler Bilimsel Araştırma Yayın Etik Kurulu onayı ile gerçekleştirilen "**Sosyal Konut Yerleşimlerinde Dönüştürme Taktikleri: Uzundere TOKI Konutlari**" adlı Mimarlık Fakültesi Yüksek Lisans Tezi kapsamında yapılmaktadır. Paylaşmış olduğunuz bilgiler yalnızca bilimsel amaçlı kullanılcaktır. Görüşme sırasında verdiğiniz kişisel bilgiler saklı tutulacaktır. Görüşmeyi kabul ettiğiniz ve zaman ayırdığınız için teşekkür ederim.

<div align="right">Diclehan Bekir</div>

GÖRÜŞME YAPILAN KİŞİ HAKKINDA BİLGİ

İsim Soyisim:

Doğum Tarihi:

Doğum Yeri:

1. ÖNCEKİ ORTAM

1. Uzundere TOKI konutlarına taşınmadan önceki evinizde kaç sene yaşadınız?
2. Kaç kişi yaşıyordunuz? Evin büyüklüğü ve şartları sizin için yeterli miydi?
3. Daha önce yaşadığınız evi ve çevresini tarif edebilir misiniz?
4. Eski yaşadığınız mahallede komşuluk ilişkileriniz nasıldı? Neler yapardınız?
5. Eski yaşadığınız bölgenin kent merkezine ve sosyal donatılara (ticari, sağlık, eğitim ve dini mekanlar) olan uzaklığı ne kadardı?

2. BEKLENTİLER VE HAYALLER

1. Sizin için ev ne anlama geliyor? Uzundere TOKI Konutlarına gelirken nasıl bir ev hayal ediyordunuz?
2. Sizin için açık alan ne anlama geliyor? Uzundere TOKI Konutlarına gelirken nasıl bir çevre hayal ediyordunuz?
3. Bu bölgeye isteyerek mi taşındınız?
4. Uzundere TOKI Konutları içerisinde tasarlanan ticari, eğitim, dini, sağlık ve açık alanları kullanıyor musunuz? Bu alanlar sizin için yeterli mi?

3. DÖNÜŞÜM VE ADAPTASYON

1. Kaç yıldır Uzundere TOKI Konutlarında yaşıyorsunuz?
2. Buraya alışmakta zorlandınız mı? Sizi zorlayan neydi?
3. Uzundere TOKI Konutlarında kaç kişi yaşıyorsunuz? Evin büyüklüğü sizin için yeterli mi?
4. Taşındıktan sonra evin içerisinde değişiklik yaptınız mı?
5. Evin dışındaki alanlarda değişiklik yaptınız mı?
6. Uzundere TOKI Konutlarındaki yaşam, komşuluk ilişkilerinizi etkiledi mi? Komşularınız ile ortak kullandığınız mekanlar var mı?

Görüşmeyi kabul ettiğiniz ve zaman ayırdığınız için teşekkür ederim. Araştırma ile ilgili aklınıza takılan her soru için, tarafıma +90 553 747 19 XX numaralı telefon numarasından ulaşabilirsiniz.