

**URBAN POLICIES AND CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF  
URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN İZMİR:  
YEŞİLDERE CASE**

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## ABSTRACT

### URBAN POLICIES AND CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF URBAN TRANSFORMATION IN İZMİR: YEŞİLDERE CASE

This academic study focuses the living space of the urban poor in İzmir through the Yeşildere region. Gecekondu areas in Turkey have emerged in 1950s with the immigration of people from rural to the city who migrate for reasons such as job, education and health care to meet the housing needs of people. These areas have become against to construction law, unplanned, without infrastructure together with serious environment and health problems. Yeşildere has become a gecekondu area in order to meet the housing needs of people who migrated to İzmir between 1960-1975 due to the establishment of industrial buildings and job opportunities. In time, having stuck in the city center, some interventions and works have been started under the name of so-called “urban transformation” because of the increased value of the land and the gecekondu residents were sent to other parts of the city or mass housing in the city’s peripheries.

Yeşildere, besides housing the aqueducts which still remain today from the Roman and Ottoman era, is being used as a gecekondu settlement due to the accelerating industrialization in the country. In recent years, demolitions have been carried out by the local government for certain reasons and new infrastructure works have been carried out in the region. In this context, the aim of the thesis is to evaluate and criticise the historical transformations of İzmir and Yeşildere, the physical and social characteristics of the urban poor’s living space, the recent interventions by local government, the urban migrations and urban transformation practices.

The thesis is constructing a critical analysis on Yeşildere and aiming to support the recent literature studies through the in-depth interviews with the people in the neighbourhood. For this reason, these semi-constructed interviews were conducted during the study with the individuals who is living and already lived in Yeşildere together with the literature study.

**Keywords:** Poverty, Gecekondu, Urban Transformation, Urban Policies.

## ÖZET

### KENTSEL POLİTİKALAR VE İZMİR'DEKİ KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜMÜN ELEŞTİREL ANALİZİ: YEŞİLDERE ÖRNEĞİ

Bu akademik çalışma, İzmir'deki kentli yoksulun yaşam alanını Yeşildere bölgesi üzerinden incelemektedir. Türkiye'de 1950'lerden itibaren görülmeye başlanan gecekondu alanları köyden kente iş, eğitim ve sağlık hizmeti gibi sebeplerle göç eden insanların barınma ihtiyacını karşılayan imar kanununa aykırı, plansız, altyapısız, ciddi çevre ve sağlık sorunlarını barındıran alanlar olmuştur. Yeşildere, alana sanayi yapılarının kurulması ve iş olanaklarının oluşması sebebiyle 1960-1975 yılları arasında İzmir'e göç eden kişiler tarafından barınma ihtiyacını karşılamak amacıyla gecekondu bölgesi haline gelmiştir. Zaman içinde bu bölgelerin kent merkezi içinde kalması ve arazilerin değerinin artması üzerine sözde "kentsel dönüşüm" adı altında çalışmalar ve müdahaleler başlatılmış, bölgede yaşayan gecekondulular kentin başka bölgelerine veya kent çeperlerindeki toplu konutlara gönderilmiştir.

Yeşildere, Romalılar ve Osmanlılar döneminde yapıлып günümüze kadar varlığını sürdüren su kemerlerini barındırmasıyla birlikte, ülkede sanayileşmenin hızlanması sonucu gecekondu yerleşim alanı haline gelmiştir. Son yıllarda ise, bölgede yerel yönetim tarafından belirli sebeplerden ötürü yıkımlar gerçekleştirilip yeni altyapı çalışmaları yapılmaktadır. Bu bağlamda tezin amacı, İzmir ve Yeşildere'nin tarihsel süreçteki dönüşümlerini, kentli yoksulun yaşam alanının fiziksel ve sosyal özelliklerini, yakın zamanda yerel yönetimler tarafından gerçekleştirilen müdahaleleri, kent içi göçleri ve kentsel dönüşüm uygulamalarını değerlendirmektir.

Tez, Yeşildere üzerine eleştirel bir analiz inşa etmekte ve güncel literatür çalışmalarını mahalledeki insanlarla derinlemesine görüşmeler yoluyla desteklemeyi amaçlamaktadır. Bu sebeple, çalışma sırasında literatür çalışması ile birlikte Yeşildere'de yaşamış ve yaşamakta olan bireylerle yarı-yapılandırılmış görüşmeler gerçekleştirilmiştir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Yoksulluk, Gecekondu, Kentsel Dönüşüm, Kentsel Politikalar.

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# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1. Problem Statement

Gecekondu in Turkey are unzoned and unplanned settlements where people migrate from rural areas to the city due to miscellaneous motives such as work, education, health care in 1950's. Individuals have formed their own life strategies to sustain their lives in the sheds they built in accordance with their own means without the support of the state. These settlements were the areas that have serious environmental and health problems without infrastructure due to being unzoning areas and having no specific function attributed.

The relationship between the gecekondu and the city can be examined in different periods. Between 1950 and 1960, first migrations from the rural to the city took place along with industrialism and the state exhibited a positive attitude towards the formation of gecekondu areas for the fact that it acknowledged gecekondu inhabitants as cheap labor resources. Between the years of 1960-1975, with the development of industrial zones, the gecekondu developed in the city center near industrial areas. Yeşildere started to be formed as a gecekondu settlement area in this period with the tanneries established around Meles Creek and the job opportunities they offer. Between 1975 and 1985, with the development of industry, gecekondu areas began to spread into different parts of the city along the industrial axis. Since 1985, gecekondu have been expanded with increasing employment opportunities in the city's service and trade sector, and together with Gecekondu Amnesties, they owned a legal state and turned into apartment buildings and became a build-sell market.

According to the inhabitants of the city, because of the educational, social and economic differences between the individuals living in the gecekondu and themselves, they were defined as inter-culture and they were "marginalized" as individuals used for labor force. In this context, the fact that gecekondu remained in the city center in time has become a problem by local administrations and urban residents and new housing,

commercial and social space has been planned for the area. As a result of this situation, gecekondu inhabitants are either placed to the mass housing in the city's peripheries or moved to other parts of the city and the isolation and removal actions are carried out between the low and middle-income group and the high-income group. While public lands have become an area of rent<sup>1</sup> for the building trade, the inhabitants of the gecekondu continue their new lives and struggles in the mass housing as "urban poors".

Urban transformation, on the other hand, can be defined simply like this: as a result of expanding the city limits in time and gecekondu areas' remaining either in city center or in valuable areas, the state bring this areas into use again with commercial and social activities by moving gecekondu inhabitants from where they live to the mass housing in the city's peripheries. In this context, urban transformation has become a tool for urban policy through discourses such as "living in a modern city" and "owning a house".

When the mass housing is considered, great number of houses have been built in "monotype" buildings in the city's peripheries in order to slow down the squatting process after 1985 exclusively in İzmir. The mission of TOKİ (The Housing Development of Turkey), which is a state-sponsored organization, is to create living spaces that have social and technical characteristics and integrated with natural and cultural values. But TOKİ constructs the buildings all in the same shape and construction by ignoring local and regional architecture in Turkey and also, it produces standard residences that do not take into account the level of income, cultural and social structures of users. In Uzundere TOKİ, there are people from other urban transformation areas of İzmir as well as inhabitants from Kadifekale and Yeşildere. On the contrary of the social interactions between the inhabitants of gecekondu settlements, in Uzundere TOKİ there are only limited areas that people can socialize and getting together which differentiate their lifestyles.

The importance of the study is to construct a critical eye and to express how urban policies shape and regulate urban space and urban residents spatially, economically, socially and culturally in accordance with the conditions of the time.

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<sup>1</sup> In this study, the concept of "rent" sometimes describes the word "rant", which means unearned income related to value of the land in Turkish.

Another important point of the study is that although there have been many academic studies on other gecekondu and collapse areas in İzmir, such as Kadifekale and Basmane, there is no study on Yeşildere region, which has both a historical value and an element of water and at the same time it is a gecekondu settlement. In this study, the values of Yeşildere in the historical process will be considered and the current situation and the lives of its inhabitants in the new housing estate are discussed.

## 1.2. Aim of the Study

Throughout the study, the questions such as below have led the research:

- What is the reflection of changes in urban policies on urban space and living spaces and how it get the power to transform?
- What kind of changes have occurred in the settlement area of the poor by means of from rural to city and intra-city migration?

Based on these questions as research problems, the purpose of addressing the gecekondu area of Yeşildere is to examine and analyze the historical, social, economic and political processes of İzmir starting from the migration from the rural to the city and continuing until the urban transformation and the living spaces, conditions and struggles of the urban poor living in three regions (gecekondu, apartment building and mass housing).

Yeşildere has begun to be evacuated by the local administration because of the reasons such as landslide risk and unhealthy construction. Instead of developing living conditions and standards in settlements, urban transformation and displacement-oriented solutions are produced, and in doing so, the habits and social lives of the inhabitants are not taken into account. This is similar to Michel de Certeau's daily life analysis. Local administrations and planners create their own *strategies* by claiming that they create "ideal solutions" on the area; the gecekondu and mass housing inhabitants as urban poors demonstrate their *tactics* to maintain their struggle for survival and to continue their daily life practices. In all other respects, correlations within gecekondu, socially shaped by users in accordance with needs and mass housing that has been brought into use by the state, on account of a superior power in the frame of particular standards, match up with correlation of Henri Lefebvre's *social space* and *abstract space* concepts.

While the gecekondu areas are known as the settlements where the poor people live in the city, today this poverty is distributed to the apartment buildings all over the city or to the mass housing in the city's peripheries. It is aimed to explore the causes of urban migration and the new living spaces of the poor by establishing macro-scale and micro-scale connections. In short, the focus of the study is to examine the effects of the economically and politically superior on the city, space and people in the context of neoliberal urbanization and to determine the living space of urban poor and its relationship with the city.

### **1.3. Methodology**

In order to achieve this study, a qualitative research method has been used and a case study has been conducted in line with the oral and written sources. First of all, entire study areas (gecekondu, apartmen building and mass housing) have been observed and open-ended questions have been prepared and then asked along with the daily conversations with the inhabitants. In the later stages of the study, semi-constructed interviews have been conducted in these settlements. During the interviews, conversations have been conducted on basic concepts such as urban migration, poverty, urban transformation, neighborhood relations, living in gecekondu, living in apartments and living on the site. As a result of these studies, three residential areas have been compared and inferences have been made about the living space and social lives of urban poor.

#### **1.3.1. Pilot Work**

In June 2018, Yeşildere was visited for the first time within the scope of the course that AR 548 Lived Space: Exploring the Urban. An interview was made with the mukhtar<sup>2</sup> of Küçükada neighborhood and some important informations were received from her. Daily conversations were held about the problems of the people living in the region, their expectations from the local government and each other. Abandoned industrial areas and gecekondu settlement were examined and photographs were taken.

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<sup>2</sup> The elected head of a village or of a neighborhood within a town or city.

In May 2019, Yeşildere was visited for the second time within the scope of the course that AR 547 Critical Debates in Contemporary Architectural and Urban Design Processes. Within the scope of this course, the situation of the abandoned industrial areas and the impact of their situation on the region were examined from a different perspective and photographs were taken.

### **1.3.2. Interviews**

The purpose of this study is to show the stages of poverty spaces in our country and their present state in line with urban policies, and to provide the opportunity to explain the living spaces and conditions of the poor urbans. This group, which has differences and potentials in itself, needs to be understood and offered a healthy social and physical life rather than being excluded and accused by the state and other citizens. Accordingly, in line with economic and political decisions, face-to-face interviews were held in Yeşildere which is a gecekondu settlement area, Şirinyer and Yıkıkkemer districts, where people moved from Yeşildere and settled, and Uzundere TOKİ which is a mass housing, to demonstrate the spatial and social change of urban poor in İzmir. The in-depth interviews with a constructed outline of the questions involving 8 people were held in these four different residential areas. These particular insides helped to restructure the main argument of the thesis.

Snowball method has been used to determine the people to interview, and their guidance has been used by meeting the mukhtars and acquaintances from the neighborhood. In order to protect the privacy of interviewees, their real names are not used, and numbers are given them in the order of the interview. The research was carried out in the houses and mukhtars' offices, 6 interviews were made at houses and 2 interviews at the mukhtars' offices. Although 8 main interviews were held, the family members of the individuals and 1 family member of the researcher who made the interview were participated in the conversation. Interviews conducted in January and February of 2020 lasted on average between 1 and 2 hours. Following the interviews recorded with the permission of the interviewees, they were transferred into written text. It is only noted in written form at Uzundere TOKİ that audio recording is not allowed.



The people who were interviewed were asked about their education and employment status, their relations with their houses, neighborhoods, neighbors and İzmir, and their thoughts and expectations about urban transformation. While asking the questions, interviews were held in the mood of conversation in order to prevent any discomfort on the interviewees, and the questions were changed as necessary, according to the interviewed people. In this context, the answers received are mostly personal answers.

Table 1. Interview table with information about interviewees.

	Relationship with Yeşildere	Reason for coming/living in Yeşildere	Number of people living at house	Number of rooms in the house	Employment status	Number of people working at house
Interviewee 1	still living	family problems and migration	3	1+1	Working (police)	1
Interviewee 2	moved	marriage	3	2+1	Not working (housewife)	1
Interviewee 3	moved	born in there	3	2+1	Not working (engineer)	1
Interviewee 4	moved	born in there	4	2+1	Working (telephone repairman)	1
Interviewee 5	still living	family problems and migration	3	1+1	Not working (retired)	1
Interviewee 6	still living	family problems and migration	3	1+1	Not working (retired)	1
Interviewee 7	still living	find a job	3	2+1	Not working (retired)	1
Interviewee 8	moved to TOKİ	regional problems and migration	1	2+1	Working after retired	1

In addition to the information given above, the people living in Yeşildere became homeowners because they built their houses with their own means, the families who moved from Yeşildere to other districts became homeowners by paying a certain amount of debt and the family who moved to Uzundere TOKİ due to the landslide risk is paying debt to the municipality to become a homeowner. The relations of the people with their houses, neighborhoods and neighbors, daily life practices, what they like or dislike about the settlement, their needs and expectations from the local government and the state are mentioned in the following chapters of the thesis.

## CHAPTER 2

### GECEKONDU AND URBANIZATION

#### 2.1. Gecekondu and Urbanization in İzmir and Turkey

Urbanization and inadequate housing areas are the main problems encountered in developing countries where the urban population increases rapidly. According to Keleş, urbanization movement should be defined as a process of population accumulation that results in the increase of the number of cities and the growth of cities, in parallel with the economic development, creating an increasing rate of organization, division of labor and specialization, and leading to changes in the behavior and relations among people (Keleş, 2014:20). Urbanization is emerged and shaped by the changes in the economic, political, social and cultural structure of a society. All changes in the economy, the political sphere, and the social and cultural life are reflected in the urbanization and thus the settlement and space arrangements and the social lives of the people.

In capitalist societies, urban structure has distinct class divisions, including poor, middle-class and wealthy people, and urbanization is often irregular and unplanned (Keleş, 2014:28-29). Since housing in these societies is seen as a consumption commodity, it is very difficult for the poor families to own a house for sheltering or to rent a house suitable for their budget. For this reason, gecekondu settlements, where people meet the need for shelter by their own means and gecekondu settlements spread over large areas, have emerged in countries that have rapid urbanization and lack of adequate and affordable housing stock.

Gecekondus in Turkey, have emerged since the 1940s and defined as “A shelter made hastily in a place that does not belong to him, contrary to zoning laws, health and science rules” (Keleş, 2014:365). According to Gecekondu Law enacted in 1966, gecekondu are defined as “Structures built on the land that belonging to others and without the consent of the landowners, contrary to the zoning and building laws” (Keleş, 2014:365).

## **2.1.1. Gecekondu and Urbanization in Turkey**

### **2.1.1.1. Planning in Turkey in the Modern Republic Period**

The first law on the gecekondu that rapidly became widespread in Turkey after Second World War was the law numbered 5218 for the Ankara gecekondu. Law No. 5228 and 5431, which are the nationwide provision, has been enacted for the prevention and demolition of illegal structures, but these laws have not been achieved. Law No. 6188 on the Encouragement of Building Construction, which was enacted in 1953, legalized the gecekondu built up to this date and prohibited the construction of these buildings afterward. Law No. 7367, which came into force in 1959, foresees the transfer of treasury lands within the municipal boundaries to the municipality (Mutlu, 2007:39-40). The policies and decisions made in the pre-plan period were like this, but these laws could not prevent the increase of gecekondu and the gecekondu were legalized.

After the 1960s, the government established the State Planning Organization to establish a planned development movement and began to set goals for the needs of gecekondu settlements and low-income families through five-year development plans. In the First Five-Year Development Plan (1963-1967), three objectives were identified: improvement, elimination and prevention of gecekondu, and the aim was to increase the construction of healthy and cheap public dwelling type houses and to provide land for those who want to build houses at affordable prices. In the Second Five-Year Development Plan (1968-1972), it was stated that internal migration should be controlled and economic public housing should be built instead of gecekondu to be demolished. In the Third Five-Year Development Plan (1973-1978), it was emphasized that the state would take part as a regulator rather than an actor. In the Fourth Five-Year Development Plan (1978-1983), it was aimed to lead social housing construction, rent control and cooperatives to meet the needs of the low-income groups with the increase in housing needs along with migrations. In the Fifth Five-Year Development Plan (1985-1989), within the scope of Law No. 2981 on Gecekondu Amnesty, it was aimed to provide infrastructure services to gecekondu settlements and to improve their situation, and it was widely implemented and, this plan mentioned mass housing practices for the first time. In the Sixth Five-Year Development Plan (1990-1994), it is stated that the necessary arrangements will be made for the production of rental and

property housing for the families who do not have housing, primarily for the lower income groups. In the Seventh Five-Year Development Plan (1996-2000), determinations were made regarding urban land speculation, urban rent, increase in illegal construction and inadequate infrastructure and urban services. It was mentioned that the people living in the *gecekondu*s were notable to become urbanized and integrate with the city and, it was stated that the lower income group would be supported to own a house in mass housing or using their own facilities. The Eighth Five-Year Development Plan (2001-2005) dealt with illegal construction and structural and environmental disturbances caused by illegal construction. In the Ninth Five-Year Development Plan (2007-2013), it is stated that measures will be taken to address the problems of cultural mismatch caused by migration, not to *gecekondu*s and illegal settlements. In the Tenth Five-Year Development Plan (2014-2018), the settlement of the lower income group housing problem and urban transformation practices are mentioned (Mutlu, 2007 and Keleş, 2014).

Although the zoning plans were designed to be implemented in the urban area, they became inapplicable due to the policies of local administrations and the struggle of the inhabitants to hold on the city. *Gecekondu*s are settlements that are covered by the *zoning crime* because they are built illegally without complying with zoning rules. On one hand, individuals build their *gecekondu*s with the need for shelter, while on the other hand, politicians take a mild attitude towards these constructions due to voting concerns and interests. “The more successful the formal, the more likely it will be to transform the informal into formal, either spontaneously over time or by effective intervention” (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2001:56). Urbanization taking place in Turkey, which is predominantly informal and can not be prevented, formal legalizes the informal. Due to the inevitable *gecekondu* settlements and housing a serious population, informal settlement areas became distressed and problematic formal settlements with zoning amnesties. Most of the problems such as urbanization, business opportunities, *gecekondu*s, transportation and housing are not included in the zoning plans. Yet, development plans try to influence them only indirectly. In short, it cannot be said that the problems of our cities are solely caused by the zoning plans; the administrators and the citizens have a common duty in the emergence and prevent of these problems. “It is a more rational and realistic way to prevent irreversible damages to society by means of

zoning offenses, by regular and healthy form of urbanization, rather than enacting laws to forgive zoning offenses” (Keleş, 2014:397).

The *gecekondu*, the informal settlements that emerged with urbanization, attracted the attention of the formal market when they became important points of the city and became investment and transformation areas by the state and real estate investors. Local governments initiate urban renewal activities in cities for reasons such as “living in modern housing”, “protecting them from natural disasters” and sending *gecekondu* people to mass housing on the peripheries of the city by charging with a debt. In this context, as Işık and Pınarcıoğlu pointed out, “While informal becomes formal, formal becomes informal” (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2001:63).

### **2.1.1.2. City and Urbanization in Turkey**

Urbanization is a dynamic concept that describes a change in time and a process. Therefore, it is necessary to distinguish the *urbanization movement* from the *level of urbanization* (from the degree of urbanization or the state of urbanization), which describes the proportion of the population living in cities in a country on a given date (Keleş, 2014:20). While urbanization and economic development have progressed together in developed societies, it is seen that economic development has developed after urbanization in our country and other developing countries. Therefore, it is not possible to talk about the same level of urbanization in these societies. Every society has its own economic structure and specific urbanization depend on its own development.

*Gecekondu* settlements as a form is not unique to Turkey. In other underdeveloped, developing and even developed countries, individuals living below a certain income, at the bottom of the space hierarchy, have similar settlements. These settlements are *ghettos* in the United States, *suburbs* in France, *quarteri peripheral* (outskirts) or *quarteri degradati* (poor neighborhoods) in Italy, *problemområde* in Sweden (problem areas), *favela* (tin neighborhoods) in Brazil, *villas miseria* (misery neighborhoods) in Argentina and continues to exist under different names as *gecekondu*s in Turkey (Wacquant, 2011:11). While *gecekondu* interacts with the city or becomes integrated with it on some grounds alongside the similarities such as poverty, insufficient, utility services, high crime rates, low education level, exclusion between

“gecekondu” in Turkey and the concepts of “ghetto, suburb, etc.” in the process of urbanization, these areas are the ones where cannot be integrated with the city. In all these settlements where the poor live, it is very common for the dispossessed families living in the region to be underestimated, excluded by some other urbanites, deprived of some of their urban and vital rights, and accused of danger.

The main reasons for the emergence of gecekondu are population growth, rural to urban migration and inadequate housing. Gecekondu are a housing problem as well as underdevelopment situation. Gecekondu are informal settlements since they are places that do not belong to the planned development of the city. As a result of illegal construction, it has caused the informal housing market and the informal labor market in order to earn the wage for living (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2001:50). This informal housing and labor market have emerged for the survival of individuals in a developing country.

As Keleş stated, according to Lefebvre, although the *usage value* is related to the physical environment, human resources and raw materials; *exchange value* is a concept related to the values of the products produced by the capitalist mode of production to present to the market (Keleş, 2014:50). Since the usage value is a concept explaining the fulfillment of personal needs for non-profit purposes, it shows that the gecekondu meet the shelters’ usage value only by the people who migrated from rural to urban areas in the early periods. However, especially after the 1970s, the first generation of gecekondu producers, rented and sold housing for commercial purposes and the situation became commercial and personal benefits came to the fore. This shows that the usage value is replaced by the exchange value.

Gecekondu in Turkey have emerged firstly in big cities and close to the industrial areas with loose inspection. Over time, both their numbers increased and they started to spread to other parts of the city. In the 1950s, the illegally built gecekondu were institutionalized and tried to be prevented by laws and zoning plans because of the lack of adequate and appropriate housing for the migrants from rural areas.

During the period from 1945 to 1960, the usage value in the gecekondu, which were provided only by the poor, on the territory of the treasury land with the own effort of the poor, was in the foreground. The rental houses were very few and they started to benefit from the infrastructure services after the political integration with the city

towards the 1960s. People who settled in the city during this period can be called the first generation of gecekondus. Between 1960 and 1970, migrants built their own gecekondus and both newly migrated and first generation gecekondus began to rent their new housing if they could do a little more economically. With the establishment of the rent market, a number of physical improvements were made in gecekondus, interest in consumer goods increased and gecekondus were started to buy and sell. Gecekondus have become an investment tool with the need for housing. During this period, the existence of the gecekondus was officially accepted by the Law No. 775 and it became settlements that gained infrastructure with both this law and the zoning amnesties. After the 1970s, the extra floors were added to the gecekondus and became apartments, and serious rent revenues started to occur and the exchange value of the gecekondus became commercial with new power balances. After 1980, the value of the land on which the gecekondus will be built and benefit from rent (unearned income) came to the fore. During this period, the discomfort experienced by the citizens from these areas began to increase. The gecekondus settlements were reflected by the media and some political discourses as crime scenes and marginalized to create social polarization and began to fall into the hands of land speculators. As a result, the polarization of income, culture and life was created among individuals living in the city. After the 2000s, with the fact that these regions remained in the city center over time, the gecekondus were started to be sold for the rent they obtained to either real estate investors or the state intervened under the name of “urban transformation” and started to transfer the generated unearned income to the private sector.

Network relations, congregations, fellow societies are solidarity units that are frequently seen in informal sections. These solidarity units are effective in finding and building houses, finding jobs, maintaining habits and traditions, having a voice against local governments and supporting each other in various fields when migration from rural to urban areas. This has both positive and negative effects. In the following chapters, it will be shown the effects of these solidarity and interactions in other settlements where poverty is experienced in Yeşildere and İzmir.

When we think of the people who are urbanized, they are either families who lived in the city for long generations or migrated from rural to urban areas in large masses. The vast majority of these migrants are poor families and are generally

employed as workers who seek to find jobs in various ways in the city. It has also been noted that as the time they live in the city increases and they have the opportunity to develop themselves, they turn to work in different business areas. At the same time, with the change in educational status of migrant families, there are differences in life and economic power between the first generation and other gecekondu dwellers. In short, urbanization is, in a sense, the migrants switch to formal life from informal life and labor force. The individual who lives in the gecekondus and becomes urbanized, adapts to the constantly changing and transforming city and affects, and changes the physical and social environment.

As societies go through the evolutionary stages of their development, they need individuals with appropriate attitudes and behaviors called “urban culture” and the appropriate settlements in order to be able to industrialize and maintain their industrialization (Tekeli, 2011:28). Here, a good oriented need is mentioned in urbanization, on one hand the development of industry and employment for development, on the other hand individuals with a certain level of culture to sustain this industrialization are mentioned. However, people who migrated from the rural with the development of the business field in İzmir could not immediately adopt the “urban culture” and maintained their own traditions and habits for many years. Among the families living in the gecekondus, it is seen that it is easier for the second and third generation individuals to adapt and integrate with the city as the duration of stay in the city increases. Therefore, the “urbanization level” of the second and third generation dwellers is higher than the first generation dwellers.

Some of the problems which can be seen in Turkey’s urbanization are different status and privileges in residential areas, business life and urban services according to the class and income groups. While the individuals of the formal sector live their modern and individualized lives, the individuals of the informal sector try to maintain their traditions as much as possible in the urban environment and work in the job they find to survive and live in the house that they can afford.

## **2.1.2. Gecekondu and Urbanization in İzmir**

### **2.1.2.1. Commercial and Urban Changes in İzmir**



The commercial and cultural activities in İzmir in the 18th and 19th centuries were influential in shaping İzmir in the 20th and 21st centuries. Through the Port of İzmir, developments in the economy of the world, Mediterranean, Ottoman, Turkey and İzmir at different scales have been interact with each other (Kaya, 2010:44). Port of İzmir, which has been home to ships since the 16th century and provides products circulation around İzmir and the world, plays a major role in the development of the city as a business center and a big city. According to Kıray, İzmir, “It is evident that the unique transportation and communication system of the single big city phenomenon, which is based on an agricultural production structure with simple technology, but which integrates a regional economy connected to an intensive trade outward, emerges as the settlement place of socio-economic organizations with its transportation and communication characteristic” (Kıray, 1972:33). Commercial activities in the port affected the city’s economy as well as the social structure and settlement in the city. The increase in the accumulation of foreign trade and fund has allowed the investment such as the regulation of streets in the urban space, the establishment of water, electricity and gas companies, the start of the operation of railways. (Kaya, 2010:61). In order to store and export the products such as cotton, tobacco, grapes and figs produced in and around İzmir, inns and storages are located around and back of the port, and highways and railways have been constructed to facilitate access to it. Alsancak Station, which was operated by the British in the 19th century, was the beginning of the İzmir-Aydın Line connecting to the Mediterranean, and the Basmane Station operated by the French was the beginning of the Kasaba Line, which provides connection to Kasaba Line. After the 1950s, the port was foreseen to be developed and new storages and institutions were built at the back of the port.

The position of İzmir Port in foreign and domestic trade has been affected by economic, political and social factors affecting the whole world such as wars and crises and experienced periods of stagnation and ascension. After the 1930s, railway lines and some companies, which were under the management of foreign companies, were nationalized. Although development plans have been prepared by the State Planning Organization, İzmir has not been affected by these developments economically. After Second World War, İzmir has received a significant share of loan and infrastructure assistance within the scope of Marshall Aid and together with the industry investment loans provided by the Turkey Industrial Development Bank, food, textile, chemical,

cement, iron and steel enterprises have been established (Kaya, 2010:89). In the 1950s, due to these developments in the industrial fields and the employment of workers, an intensive migration from the rural started in İzmir. However, after the 1980s, the number of export in İzmir increased with the introduction of neoliberal economic policies, this increase remained below the increase in overall Turkey has caused a decline in the share of Turkey's economy (Kaya, 2010:71). With the shift of industry to Marmara Region as years passed, declines started to be experienced in the industry and export in İzmir and since 2004 the companies in İzmir started to export deficit. The city, which has undergone some breaks from the 16th century to the 21st century, has entered a different period since the 21st century. These continuities and breaks in the economy have affected the people living in the city, the emergence of different income groups and the settlement arrangements in the city in each period.

After the 1950s, all the ridges of the İzmir Bay began to be filled with gecekondus, and bus and minibus lines emerged in order to provide urban transportation for the increasing population. In the 1970s, according to Vedat Dalokay's statement of "The coasts are the property of everyone, everyone living in the society should be able to reach it" the coasts began to be surrounded by roads instead of being closed with mansions (Tekeli, 2011:325). In the following periods, the coasts started to be filled and the mansions along the coast line were demolished and apartments were built instead. Both the apartment buildings built by the build-sell sector and the gecekondus meeting the housing needs of the migrants have shifted to another settlement type in the city. After the 1980s, in line with the neoliberal economy policy, the state investments were replaced by the private sector, and the dominant agricultural and industrial business areas in the city started to be replaced by the service sector. This situation caused the lower income group of the society to become more impoverished and the working areas within the city to be narrowed. The gecekondus settlements formed around the industrial areas in the city have become collapsed areas with the closure of industrial areas over time. As it can be seen, urbanization and space affects the transportation, trade, social life and the changes realized in them transform the urbanization and space in the city.

The reason why these urban transformations in İzmir and the poor's gecekondus settlements, which occupy large areas in the city, are formed should not be sought only on poor individuals. Commercial changes, political attitudes, urban policies and

changing socio-cultural life have an impact on these urban and spatial transformations. With the effect of neoliberal policies, İzmir has undergone a new transformation since 2000 and the gecekondu areas, which cover large areas in the city center and turn into rent areas, have started to be demolished under the name of “urban transformation” studies. The reasons of these new transformation processes and their effects in İzmir will be examined in Chapter 3.

### **2.1.2.2. Planning in İzmir in the Modern Republic Period**

In 1922, after the liberation of the city from Greek occupation, the fire caused considerable destruction in the city and property problems arose because the owners of the buildings in the fire area mostly left the country. In order to solve this problem, with the Law No. 642, if more than 150 buildings were burned, it was decided to accept these areas as fire places (Tekeli, 2011: 322) and to reorganize them. Before the migration movements started in the 1950s, fires and earthquakes in İzmir made the local governments to meet the housing needs of the population. For this reason, the mayor of the city took action because of the need for planning in the city. In 1924, the municipality had an agreement with Rene and Raymond Danger, and Henri Prost acted as consultant in this planning. “Dangers’ and Prost’s İzmir plan dated 1924-1925 was a city planning project reorganizing the city as a whole” (Bilsel, 2009:12). In this plan, in order to revitalize the urban economy and provide spatial organization, they proposed an industrial zone, a central station connecting transport lines, green isolation zones and low-density “Garden-town” residential areas.

Following this planning, Mayor Behçet Uz signed an agreement with Le Corbusier in 1939 to obtain a new plan for the development of the city. As Akış stated that, Corbusier, based on the idea of a green industrial city of İzmir, designed four basic urban functions for it: "Shelter, Work, Body, Spirit Development and Navigation. ...Of course this unpractical mastermind plan will not happen, but it will penetrate into future plans” (Akış, 2011:65). Another study carried out by Behçet Uz was the decision to hold the İzmir International Fair in order to revive the city, which had shrunk as a population due to fire, and to give the city a new identity, and to replace the fair in Alsancak three years later.

Upon the inability to obtain a viable result from this initiative, a competition was opened in 1951 and the plan prepared by Kemal Ahmet Aru, Gündüz Özdeş and Emin Canpolat was chosen and this plan was put into effect in 1953. According to Cana Bilsel, the proposal for the amendment of the “neighborhoods where the workers and the poor are inhabited by illegitimate and unfriendly sanitary conditions” is mentioned in the competition, indicating that gecekondu problem began in 1951 (Bilsel, 2009:16). This project is planned for workers’ neighborhoods associated with the industrial zones, but separated by the green spaces and the city is divided into functional areas such as housing, trade, business center, port. However, when we consider Yeşildere, we see that the settlement of the region is also related to industry and business, but it has emerged as a residential area that was created by inhabitants’ own resources rather than state’s decision in order to meet the need for housing of migrants.

Because of the increasing population in the city after 1950, this plan was also inadequate, gecekondu areas spread to the city and the planned green areas were not implemented. The urban economy started to mobilize in the 1950s and the large-scale industrial enterprises started after 1965 with the accelerated migrations to İzmir (Türkçü, Gökmen, Kaya, Süer, Onat, Sönmez, Günhan: 16). The migrants tried to find solutions to the housing problem by their own means. Gecekondu settlements such as Yeşildere, Ballıkuyu, Bayraklı and Gültepe, close to the city center of İzmir, have emerged. In short, it has lost its “modern” city purpose to an unsupervised urbanization process and struggle.

### **2.1.2.3. City and Urbanization in İzmir**

According to the definition of Tekeli, the city is “a type of settlement where non-agricultural production is carried out and all production is controlled, its distribution is coordinated, brought together by certain technology and reached levels of size, density, heterogeneity and integration” (Tekeli, 2011:20). And again, according to the definition of Tekeli, urbanization is “the increase in the degree of integration of size, density and heterogeneity as a result of increasing non-agricultural production rate in a settlement or settlements of a country and intensifying the control and coordination of all production” (Tekeli, 2011:20).

Cities reflect the social and cultural characteristics, economic status and political attitude of the society to which they belong. The growth and development of cities are closely related to their values, production power and economy. In İzmir, as been a port city, it was inevitable gecekondu settlements since industrialization increased and urbanization could not meet the housing needs of people who migrated from the rural through migration. Migrants were affected by the city as well as the city was affected by them and, this interaction is still continuing. The urbanization concept should be considered with the city. Once the city has reached a certain level, urbanization should be seen as a change of the city in a certain direction (Tekeli, 2011:16). In İzmir's urbanization, the fact that it is a port city and industrial areas have important effects on both the settlement type and the types of space and the socio-cultural life. "Industrial capital, which dominated the city, reorganized the city according to the logic of developing capitalism" (Tekeli, 2011:33).

Rural to urban migration has a close relationship with urbanization. Migrations have been realized due to reasons such as fragmentation and insufficient agricultural land, mechanization in agriculture, insufficient health and education in the rural and, job opportunities in industry and trade, education, health and infrastructure services and high living standards provided by the city. Even today, the positive and negative effects can be seen of this situation both in rural and urban areas.

When we examine the process of gecekondus in İzmir, the first ones started appearing in the 1930s and this process continued until the 2000s (Karadağ and Mirioğlu, 2014:47). As stated by Karadağ and Mirioğlu, the first examples of gecekondus in İzmir were Yeşildere, Yeni İstiklal, Zeytinlik and I. Kadriye neighborhoods between Buca and Basmane. In the same period, Cumhuriyet Neighborhood and Naldöken also emerged as gecekondu settlements between Basmane and Çiğli. From the 1940s to the 1950s, new gecekondu settlements such as II. Kadriye, Gürçeşme, Boğaziçi, Gültepe, Ferahlı have emerged and the intensity of existing neighborhoods has started increaseing (Karadağ and Mirioğlu, 2014:47-48). When we examine the process of gecekondus in İzmir, between the years 1950-1960, the gecekondu has shown a slow and limited increase in parallel with the urban economy which started to mobilize. The neighborhoods around the Meles Creek such as Ballıkuyu, Gürçeşme and Kadifekale, which are close to the city center, have started to

be reshaped with gecekondu. Between the years 1960-1985, with the realization of mechanization in agriculture in rural areas and the industrial sector in the city to offer job opportunities, gecekondu started to spread to different neighborhoods and districts of the city. Yeşildere became a region where the workers built their gecekondu for shelter because of the leather factories and other industrial establishments that existed around the Meles Creek during this period. It was stated that the Mayor İhsan Alyanak, who served in the period from 1973 to the military coup in 1980, gave title deeds to most of the gecekondu on which extra floors were added or newly built (Çetin, 2012 as cited from Kılıç and Göksu, 2018:207). After 1985, the city continued to allow migrants due to the increasing number of business areas and the old gecekondu areas became increasingly crowded and expanding. In the past, the gecekondu were located close to the city center where the industry was active, but recently increased in areas such as Buca, Narlıdere and Güzelbahçe (Türkçü, Gökmen, Kaya, Süer, Onat, Sönmez, Günhan: 16-17). After 1985, local government started housing projects such as Evka, İzkent, Gazimir and Uzundere TOKİ especially in recent years, in order to reduce the gecekondu movement and to ensure that the citizen has an affordable housing in a healthy physical infrastructure. The gecekondu settlements, which increased rapidly until 1985, became as a *transition settlement* spatially and socio-culturally, because of the characteristics of both rural and urban areas. Gecekondu have become a *new way of life* in the city.

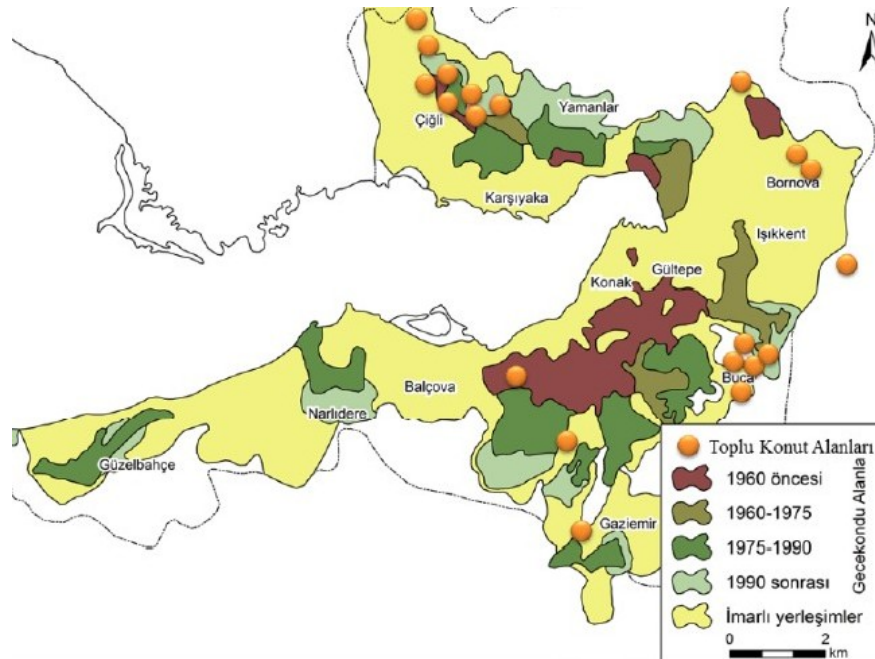


Figure 1. Gecekondu areas varying according to years and distribution of mass housing in İzmir (Karadağ and Mirioğlu, 2014:48).

In recent years, land speculation has started to occur on the gecekondu settlement areas in the city center such as Kadifekale, Yeşildere, Ballıkuyu and Bayraklı. Both gecekondu dwellers and real estate investors are looking for ways to make a profit from rent. While these areas are seen as unsolicited and unsafe areas by modern citizens due to the bad image they create in the city, the private sector and investors are looking for ways to capture these areas and turn them into rent. In this context, the decisions and attitudes of the local government are very important in providing physically healthy, budget-friendly housing with infrastructure services to the people living in that neighborhoods and preventing the transformation of the city for the profit of investors.

## **2.2. Internal and Urban Migrations**

Migration is the change of place where a person lives individually or together with his/her family due to compulsory reasons such as political tensions and natural disasters or personal reasons such as employment and education opportunities. Although it includes social, economic, political and cultural elements, it is generally a movement and process made from one place to another (Ulutaş and Kamber, 2016:2). Internal migration is an act of changing the space of living, which is affected by and at the same time affecting, economic and social changes in society, changes in production and spatial structure. It is a method of adapting to change and transformation, as well as tensions in society due to adaptation processes (Tekeli, 2008).

In Turkey, when the transition from agricultural society to industrial society took place after the 1950s, migration from rural to the city urbanization that has formed the main axis of internal migration (Tekeli, 2008). The main reasons of internal migration in Turkey; population growth, mechanization in agriculture, fragmented farmland, urban development projects, development of the industrial sector and transportation, and the hostile environment created by terror and political circumstances (Üçdoğruk, 2002:161). Internal migrations that took place in Turkey are labor and seasonal migration between 1923 and 1950, increasing labor migration since the 1950s, and migration between 1960-1970 with the aim of benefiting from better education and health services together with job opportunities. Since 1980, migration from rural to urban areas has also emerged from urban to urban areas, and as the local authorities

have not taken the necessary measures, the gecekondu settlements in the big cities have gradually increased or expanded (Ulutaş and Kamber, 2016:3).

There have been some social and economic changes as a result of the internal migration movements in the country, and some problems have emerged due to the decrease in the rural population and the inability of the city to provide sufficient space and facilities for the whole population. Nevertheless, the urbanization rate has reached 100% in most of the big cities, including İzmir. For this reason, it cannot be said that urbanization is the cause of internal migration and even external migration. Today, different compulsory or personal reasons cause migration. According to the system, migration is a tool that enables the organization of the space to function in accordance with the demands of the system by redistributing the workforce in the space (Tekeli, 2008).

According to Tekeli, the emergence of migration in industrial societies is explained in different frameworks. The first explanation in which the system is effective is the migration from rural to urban in urbanization process and accumulation of the labor in cities during urbanization. Second, as a result of spatial inequalities and instabilities in areas such as work and environment, the individual's decision on migrating to change the quality of life. In this respect, both the system and the individual are effective. The third is the desire to migrate because of the heterogeneity of places and people and as a motive of the idea of "change", even if there is no transformation or inequality in society. The individual himself/herself is effective in this migration decision (Tekeli, 2008).

Over the years, both long and short-distance migrations have been made to İzmir. Whilst İzmir has received immigrants from Eastern provinces such as Erzurum, Kars and Mardin for security and economic reasons, it has received immigrants from nearby provinces such as Manisa, Kütahya and Uşak due to economic reasons and educational opportunities. İzmir, which is one of the cities where industry and trade is developed, was the province which received the highest number of immigration after İstanbul until 2000, but after 2000 the net migration amount decreased and the provinces such as Ankara, Antalya and Kocaeli left İzmir behind in net migration (Işık, 2017:1). In İzmir, which has not have sufficient and affordable housing stock to accommodate migrants from rural areas since the 1950s, has lost its attractive features



compared to other provinces with the emergence of gecekondu neighborhoods spread over large areas in different districts as well as economic stagnation since 2000s and the loss of workers' jobs. For these reasons, decreases in net migration have started to be seen. Since the year 2000, with the mobility of the population between 1950 and 2000, migration has been continuing for both common and different repulsive and attractive reasons. At this point, whereas job opportunities and economic conditions are the main causes of these migrations, migration movements continue due to personal preferences such as having different education and living conditions or compulsory reasons such as natural disasters and political tensions.

With the act of changing location, the migrant provides mobility between spaces and affects both the area he/she is leaving and the one he/she is going to. While the emigration place generally loses its active and developed population and undergoes social change with the decrease in production and consumption, getting more than needs and capacities of the receiving place also leads to negative consequences in the city and individuals. Migration can lead to positive consequences such as offering a new living space and way of life, creating new opportunities, creating social and professional opportunities, as well as negative results such as unemployment, lack of expectations, social and spatial exclusion. Material and moral compliance problems are the main problems of immigrants. In order to cope with these problems, it is necessary to analyze how the need for migration emerges, how the migration decision is made and the qualitative characteristics of the immigrant person, and whether the destination can meet these requests and needs. If these analyzes are made, it is possible to minimize compliance problems.

People who migrated to İzmir from different cities, mainly Eastern provinces, built their gecekondu when they came to İzmir because they did not have shelter and mostly they did not reach the quality of life, because they had been seen as unqualified workers. Migrants, who usually move for economic reasons in Turkey, have faced some problems such as temporary jobs, housing shortages, urban poverty, failure to integrate with the city psychologically, socially and spatially. Also, migrations have led to the emergence of distorted structures in cities, increase in unemployment and crime rates, and social and spatial polarization in society. The migrant population is economically and spatially separated from the native population and generally settled in areas close to

industrial zones (Ulutaş and Kamber, 2016:1). The inhabitants of gecekondu living in places like Yeşildere and Kadifekale, which are very close to the city center, cannot benefit from the cultural, social opportunities and even educational and health facilities realized in the city as much as the other urban people. Despite the proximity, they are excluded because of the region, housing type and their lifestyle. In this sense, they could not fully integrate with the city due to the problems they experienced during the adaptation process with the city and formed the *gecekondu culture*. The formation of gecekondu culture is a result of spatial and socio-cultural adaptation to the place of migration. However, after a few generations, it is seen that individuals living in gecekondu can integrate better with the city and benefit from the opportunities of the city as well as contribute to the city.

The families living in the gecekondu started to move to apartment buildings or mass housing in other parts of the city either voluntarily or due to the urban transformation works of the local government. This situation can be caused by both economic and cultural transformation as well as necessities. Yet, it is seen that the integration with the city increases in the families who move with their own will and they prefer to live in the apartment instead of living in the gecekondu. Families who lived in Yeşildere and moved with their own will or whose houses were destroyed due to landslides and urban transformation activities started to live in neighborhoods such as Uzundere TOKİ, Şirinyer, Akıncılar and Zeytinlik.

### **2.2.1. Migrations Depend on Compulsory and Economic Factors**

*Driving problems* such as political tensions, wars, human rights violations, weak economy policies, natural incidents and destruction of natural resources are the main factors that cause people to migrate against their will (Üçdoğruk, 2002:159). Since the 1950s, with the transition from agricultural society to industrial society, İzmir became one of the cities receiving the most immigration. The population of İzmir, which exceeded 1 million in 1960, reached 2.7 million in 1990, 3.5 million in 2000 and exceeded 4 million in 2015 according to the Address Based Population Registration System (Işık, 2017:4). Increasing terror incidents in the Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia regions after 1990 pushed the inhabitants to migrate, while the developing industrial and commercial areas in the Mediterranean and Marmara regions, particularly

in İstanbul and İzmir, became *attractive factors* (Işık, 2017:2). However, at the same time, the economic and social transformations in the country have relatively reduced the labor market's capacity to absorb the labor force coming to the city, and after 1990, migrants have faced more housing, urban poverty and unemployment problems than those who had previously migrated (Ulutaş and Kamber, 2016:4). In this context, as a result of the economic and spatial marginalization of individuals, crime has increased those areas and the gecekondu settlements have been labeled as dangerous places by other citizens. In short, gecekondu neighborhoods and individuals were socially and spatially excluded as urban poor.

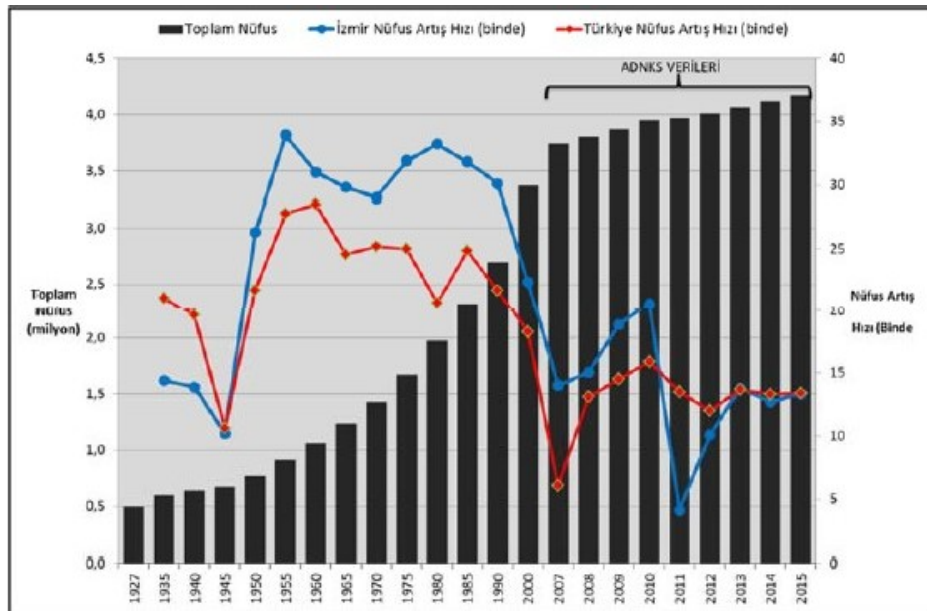


Figure 2. Growth and increase rate of the population in İzmir and Turkey (Işık, 2017:4).

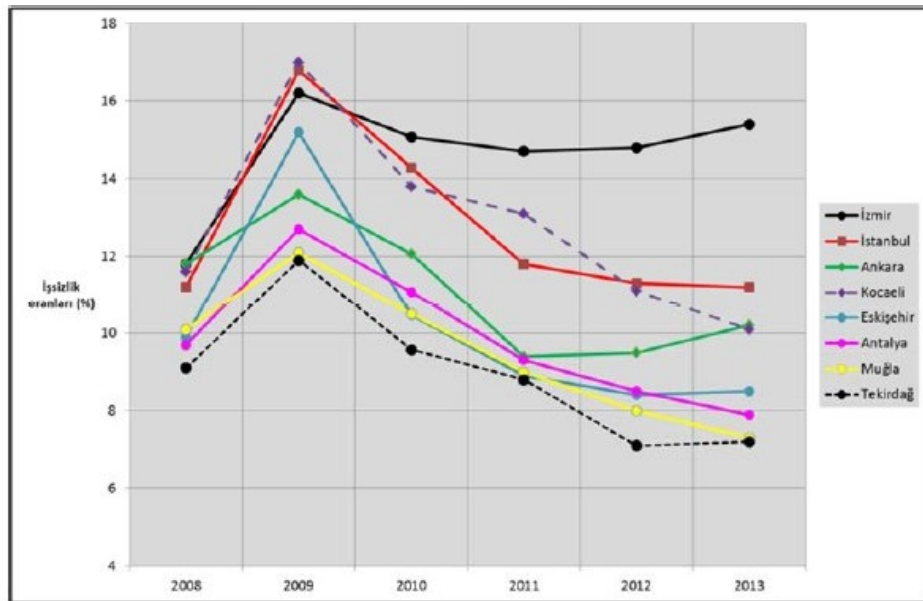


Figure 3. Annual unemployment rates in İzmir and other selected cities (Işık, 2017:11).

As it can be seen from Figure 2 and 3, since 2000, İzmir has declined its position in the country in terms of net migrations, and provinces such as Antalya, Tekirdağ and Kocaeli, where industrial, tourism and trade areas are developing and becoming centers of attraction, have started to receive high rates of migration. According to the data in Table 2, due to the decrease in the attractive factors of the city over time and the increasing employment opportunities of other provinces, while the migration received to İzmir decreased, most of the individuals who settled in the city continued to live in the city despite the decreasing employment potential and increasing unemployment rate.

Table 2. The number of in-migration, out-migration and net migration in İzmir (Işık, 2017:7).

	Aldığı göç	Verdiği Göç	Net Göç	Verdiği göçün aldığı göçe oranı %
2010-2015**	580.518	503.891	76.627	86,8
1995-2000*	306.387	186.012	120.375	60,7
1985-1990*	276.378	130.170	146.208	47,1
1980-1985*	194.245	112.072	82.173	57,7
1975-1980*	203.777	83.881	119.896	41,2

\* Daimi ikamet ölçütü verileri \*\*ADNKS verileri

The level of industrialization, development rate, education and health facilities, employment potential, quality of life and environmental conditions of the cities determine the extent to which they will be affected by migration (Işık, 2017:3). Because of the fact that İzmir was a port city for centuries and offered employment opportunities existed, people who migrated to İzmir from different rural areas and settled in Yeşildere generally changed their living spaces due to economic reasons or living in a more developed city. Having said that, the establishment of Yeşildere between two hills and landslides in the area posed a danger for the people living in the gecekondus and the local government started demolition works to prevent this situation. This time, people living in the area had to move either to Uzundere TOKİ, which is further away from the city center, or to different districts of the city. With the hierarchical stratification of the urban space and the region becoming a valuable area in the city center, the gecekondus began to be separated from the city center spatially and socially. Afforestation works were carried out in some areas where destroyed gecekondus were located and the Konak Tunnel, which was started in 2011 and completed in 2015 (Yenişafak, 2016), is located very close to this region and highly reduced the traffic of the city. The region is becoming a new development area in the city both in terms of natural disaster prevention and in line with the urban policies and plans of local governments.

Families who settled in Yeşildere due to employment opportunities and migrated to a new region together with the labor market, or left the gecekondus due to demolitions and settled in mass housing, went through compliance processes during adaptation to the spatial and social structure in the new region and sometimes establishing new social relations. It is because, along with the immigrant, culture, tradition, customs and lifestyles also moves (Üçdoğruk, 2002:159). Internal and external migration brings along changes in social and spatial conditions and social compliance problems.

### **2.2.2. Migrations Depend on Personal Preferences**

Displacement actions carried out with personal preferences rather than compulsory reasons of external factors become a category used in the regulation of human-place relationship in modern societies. The individual who moves with his or her own willingness can evaluate the driving and attractive factors, perceive a number of opportunities and follow it, and integrate with the place where he/she goes through the adaptation processes faster.

The most important point in personal preferences is the identity of the migrants and their choices. It can be a migrating individual or family. The choice of the individual may be due to personal reasons as well as the preference of the family due to different variables such as employment, education and health opportunities. Spatial and social adaptation processes can be easier for migrants who are dependent on personal preferences rather than for compulsory reasons. The reverse situation is also possible if there are conflicts in the place of migration with personal qualities and expectations. For this reason, the migrant's qualities, abilities, habits and expectations from the destination are very important factors in adapting to the destination both spatially and socially.

The beginning, process, causes and consequences of migrations due to personal preferences differ from compulsory migrations and are generally derived from economic reasons that can be predicted about the destination (Taş and Özcan, 2013:2). People who have migrated due to personal preferences are those who have the opportunity to move to their former place of residence or elsewhere. In addition, due to

natural disasters and urban transformation, people who had to migrate from Yeşildere, people some of which living in the region became unemployed while the leather factories and other industrial areas in the region were moved to Menemen by the local government, other part of which migrated to different districts of the city to work in another business areas. This displacement decision and process have been influenced by the both necessity and personal preferences of families who have improved their economic situation to live at better living standards.

In the direction of Manuel Castels' work, it was foreseen that in the future information society, the phenomenon of migration would remain behind and displacement would become continuous and the *spaces of flows* would be formed (Tekeli, 2008). Today's society is in transition phase, and industrial phenomena and implications are gradually diminishing (Lefebvre, 2013:131). In the globalized world, which will be shifted from industrial to information society, the population will be largely urbanized and the mobility of people will increase due to education, work, health and personal preferences and will be displaced without compliance problems. Whereas the process and results of shifting from agricultural to industrial society is being experienced both in İzmir and Turkey, it is not yet predicted how the preferred and voluntarily displacement of individual affects the spatial and cultural formation of society. Constant displacements will lead to changes in private and common spaces as well as reorganize social relations.

### **2.3. History of Yeşildere**

The city of İzmir was established in Tepekule (Bayraklı) in BC 3000, and the settlement in Tepekule was replaced by the city founded at the foothills of Pagos Mountain (Kadifekale) between the years of BC 500 and 300 (Akurgal, 1993 as cited from Gümüş, 2013:555). The city, which was founded on alluviums between Meles Creek passing through the skirts of Kadifekale and Halkapınar spring and had a port, became a commercial center in a short time (Gümüş, 2013:555). Economic, social and cultural developments and tensions experienced throughout the world for centuries have affected İzmir as an important port city.

The fact that the natural port formed by the Bay and the city is located on the old trade routes has given İzmir the potential for development over the centuries, and İzmir has become a center where agricultural production is collected, controlled and marketed from the surrounding regions (Ürük and Pınar, 2013:65). After First World War, the Greeks' withdrawal from the city caused a major destruction in the city, damaged buildings and settlements, as well as a major reduction in the population. Despite all these destruction on the city, the planning which was realized by the local authorities for the city in Republic Era and expanding production and trade volume in the city allowed İzmir to be one of the pioneer acquainted city to modern urbanization. After 1950, with the increasing infrastructure investments, credit facilities and incentives, large-scale industrial facilities using high technology started to be established and the places where the products such as grapes, figs, tobacco in the city center were processed and stored gained an administrative function (Ürük and Pınar, 2013:65-66). Until 1960, the settlements surrounding the bay as a thin strip, except for the old city core, were spread from the coastal area to the plain bases and the foothills of the mountains surrounding the bay with the uncontrolled and unplanned settlement of the people who migrated from rural areas to work and live in the city in the following years (Gümüş, 2013:556).

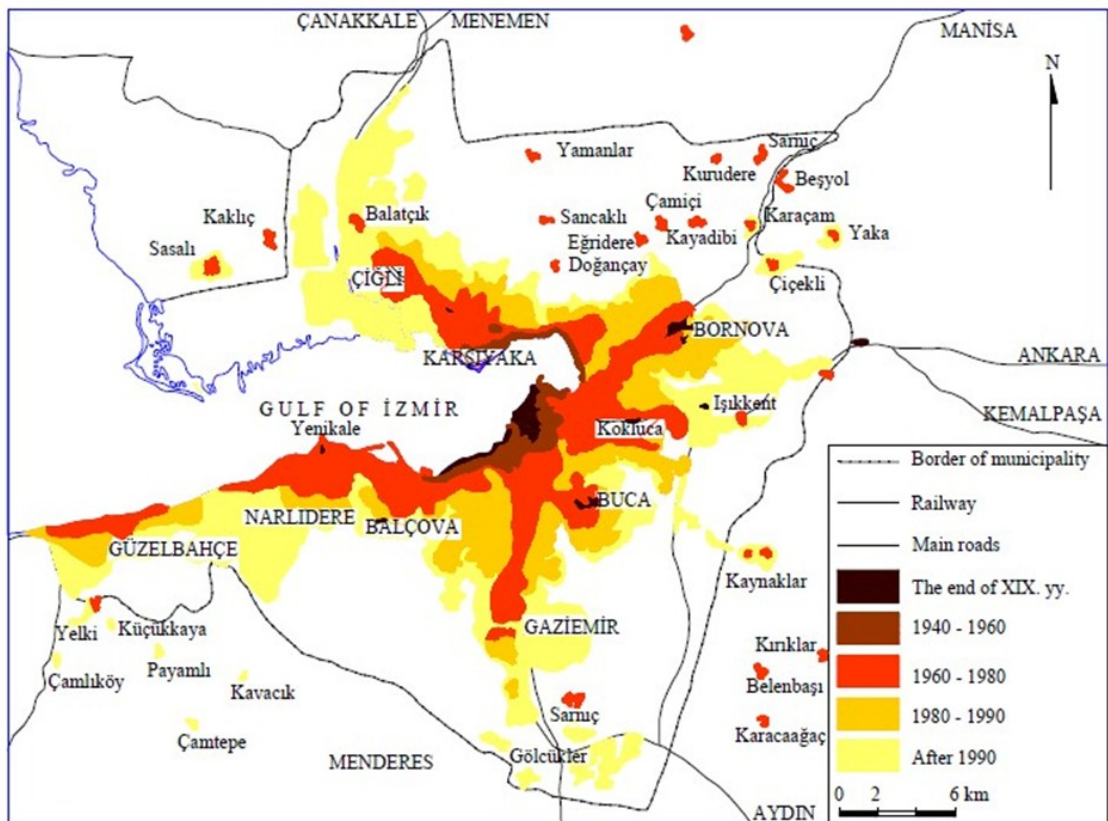


Figure 4. Urban development of İzmir (Karadağ, 2000 as cited from Gümüş, 2013).

It is seen that the industrial facilities in İzmir are mostly built on the main roads and highways on the city. The leather factories in Yeşildere were located in the southeast direction of Yeşildere Street where access to the city center had been provided for many years. Beginning with the establishment of industrial facilities in the 1950s, people who migrated from rural to the city center have built their gecekondu in areas such as Yeşildere, Ballıkuyu and Gürçeşme, around the old city center Kadifekale, due to its proximity to the city center. Yeşildere is a gecekondu residential area, which used to be road for camel caravans in history and used as a recreation area with creeks and aqueducts. Today, it is located between the skirts of Kadifekale and Gürçeşme hills and connected to the Konak district of İzmir and İZBAN line, Yeşildere Street and Meles Creek are passing through the area.

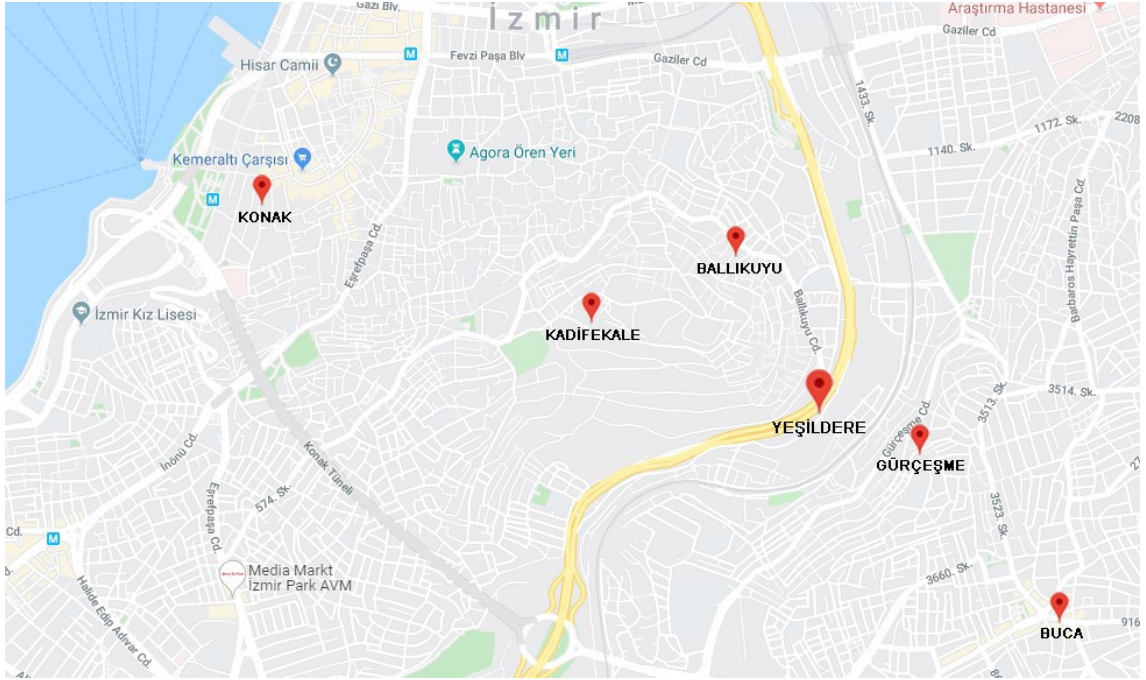


Figure 5. Yeşildere and other settlement areas in the vicinity of Yeşildere.

### 2.3.1. Yeşildere Before Industrial Era (Until 1950)

İzmir Port, which was one of the most important ports of the Eastern Mediterranean trade in the 16th century, became the port where the caravan roads followed by Iranian silk reached the 17th century. After these developments, customhouse, bedesten and inns which were effective in the economic and social life of the city were built (Kaya, 2010:46). The port, which exports grain and vegetables until



the 18th century, also started to export cotton and tobacco after the 18th century and increased the trade volume of İzmir. In the 19th century, seasonal workers, migrants from rural areas and individuals living in the Aegean islands started to settle and live in İzmir and its surrounding provinces in order to work in İzmir Port, which is the biggest export port of the Eastern Mediterranean (Kaya, 2010:50). This situation shows that people who migrated to İzmir due to economic reasons go back to ancient times.

Due to its being a port city, İzmir has been the last port of the products and caravan trade routes coming from Anatolia for many years, and a specialized craft and foreign trade center of a region determined according to the transportation, communication, production and residual product facilities and political, economic organization of the time (Kıray, 1972:19). In the 19th century, trade of agricultural products increased in İzmir and the surrounding provinces to export to Europe, and exports of cereals and pulses such as figs, raisins and wheat were realized. As Kıray pointed out, towards the end of the 19th century, İzmir-Aydın and İzmir-Kasaba train lines were built along two fertile river valleys that perpendicular to the sea in order to ensure the rapid transportation of these products produced in Anatolia to İzmir. However, a new form of organization has emerged in order to collect the product from the manufacturer and bring it to the train station and İzmir. Around 1888, these organizations, which we can call the transportation company of the period, were camel caravans (Kıray, 1972:25-26). Thus, camel caravans emerged as a new business line in the process between taking the product from the manufacturer and transporting it to the port. Camel caravans and train lines providing transportation of the period have been effective in improving İzmir's foreign trade. In the inns built between the castle and the coast, housing of caravan merchants and animals was ensured, and Yeşildere has become a transition area with its waterways and aqueducts for caravans traveling to reach the inns and port.



Figure 6. Paradiso and Kızılçullu locality, today known as Şirinyer (URL 1).

At the end of the 19th century, the storage of the products, unlike the inns of the 18th century, gained importance and the inns were organized according to the new form of trade such as the storage of the products and housing the administrative units. Also in these years, in connection with the developing domestic and foreign trade, banking was developed and new hotels and entertainment places were built. This development in trade influenced the architecture of the inns as well as bringing new buildings into the city. In the 20th century, camel caravans almost completely disappeared as railways and roads began to provide transportation between the region and the port.

The road network, which resembles an outward-facing tree model from the port to the city of İzmir, has also formed the basis of the transportation network of the province throughout history (Ürük and Pınar, 2013:22). The use of both camel caravans and railways together until First World War was effective in the transportation of products produced in the surrounding regions of İzmir. Before the railways and highways networks began to be widely used, camels were used to transport products and horse and donkey carts were used to transport passengers. Together with the construction of the railway, places such as Bornova, Buca, Şirinyer, Seydiköy and Karşıyaka, which were formerly known as summer houses and recreation areas and partly as agricultural settlements, have become settlements where daily visits are made (Ürük and Pınar, 2013:32). As for the Republic Era, road connections were established with the surroundings of İzmir. During this period, trains and buses became the main means of transport of workers from their *gecekondu* settlements to the industrial areas

and the city center. Buses, minibuses, ferries, metro, İZBAN suburban line, tramway, taxis, personal vehicles and bicycles are used in İzmir today.

Kadifekale, which is 186 meters above sea level and dominates the surroundings of İzmir, extends from the southeast and surrounds the city and is located at the summit of Mount Kadifekale, which gives the castle its name (Pınar, 2013:83). Kadifekale has been used by Romans and Ottomans as a settlement and strategically protected area for centuries and some of it has survived until today. During the times when technology was not developed yet, it was very difficult to transport and use water in the city, which was established at high points. Since ancient times, water systems and architectural structures such as fountains, pools, cisterns, embankments, aqueducts, baths and bridges have been constructed for the transportation and use of water and water resources. The water, which was initially brought to a point in the settlements, was extended to squares, neighborhoods and streets, and made available to use of the people (Ürer, 2013:186). The aqueducts were built during the Roman and Ottoman periods which enabled the water to be transported from its source to the settlement in Kadifekale, cisterns were used for the storage of water, and water was offered to the public with fountains.

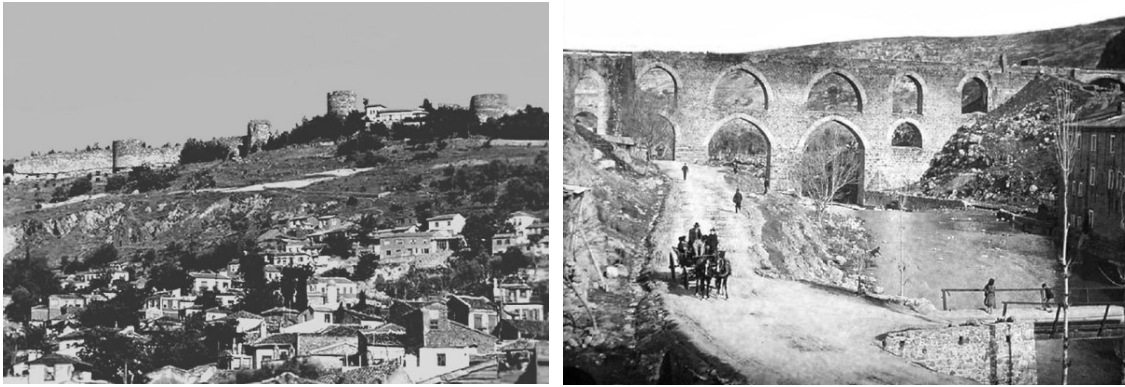


Figure 7. Kadifekale in the past (URL 2).

Figure 8. Kızılcıllu Aqueducts and caravans (URL 3).

As Ürer states, if water sources are far from the settlements, the main methods used for conducting water are: open canals, covered canals and tunnels carved on rock slopes and pipes made of various materials. Aqueducts and the system called reverse siphon are the methods used to cross the valleys and sometimes both systems are used together to reduce the height of aqueducts. In the aqueducts, generally water pipes were laid on the arches, and in the reverse siphon, the water level was reduced on one side of the valley and on the other side the water started to slide off (Ürer, 2013:187).

Seven waterways, known as Karapınar, Bizans, Akpınar, Buca, Vezir, Osmanağa and Kapancıoğlu, were identified in İzmir. These waterways carried the water from the different points of the city and passed the Meles Creek with aqueducts and reverse siphon to ensure that the water was delivered to Kadifekale and its surroundings. In 1899, in accordance with the studies of the German Archaeological Institute, Georg Weber found some water transport elements such as stone pipes, antique brick pipes, earth pipes used in the houses around Kadifekale (Weber, 2011). The most important factor after the establishment of the water transmission system is the storage of water. Four of the six cisterns, identified in and around Kadifekale, are located in the castle in the west and the other two in the big castle square in the east (Ürer, 2013:188). These cisterns were buried in the ground, and the walls and roof of the cisterns were made with broken stones and very few bricks were used.

Osmanağa Waterway transported water from a spring near Buca to the Meles Creek through a channel covered with stone plates, and from there to the city through the Kızılçullu Aqueducts. Kızılçullu Aqueducts on the Meles Creek, which is located in Kızılçullu (Paradiso) and today known as Şirinyer, was built by Romans during the reign of Emperor Augustus between the years of BC 133 and AD 395 to carry water to Kadifekale and its surroundings (Republic of Turkey, Ministry of Culture and Tourism, İzmir Provincial Directorate of Culture and Tourism). Osmanağa Waterway was built by Köprülü Fazıl Ahmet Pasha. According to a foundation dated 1730, a wealthy person named Osmanağa repaired Kızılçullu Aqueducts and built 20 fountains in the city and delivered water to the city with these fountains (Ürer, 2013:190). In 1809, the waterway was renewed from the spring to the aqueducts, and the channel covered with sheet and zinc was enlarged and deepened (Weber, 2011). Kızılçullu Aqueducts, most of which have survived, are made up from two consecutive aqueducts that, one of which is 50 meters and the other is 120 meters. The two-storey aqueducts were built with rubble stone and lime mortar during the Roman Period and have the characteristics of Roman architecture with round arch arrangements. Unlike the long one, in the short aqueduct all the openings except for one opening are pointed arches. For this reason, it is thought that the small aqueduct was built during the Turks period.

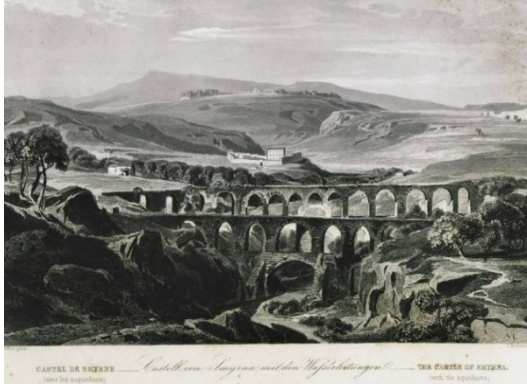


Figure 9. Previous status of Kızılçullu Aqueducts (URL 4).

Figure 10. Current status of Kızılçullu Aqueducts (URL 5).

Vezer Waterway was passing through Yeşildere area and transporting the water to the city via Vezirsuyu Aqueduct, which is now on Yeşildere Street. Part of the Vezirsuyu Aqueduct, also known as Yeşildere Aqueduct, has survived to the present day. It has a pointed arch arrangement and is approximately 160 meters long. The two-storey aqueduct with 4 arches below and 9 arches above was made with large bricks, and the lower floor was covered with block stones. There are clear informations about the construction of this structure. Vezirsuyu Aqueduct was built in 1674 by Köprülü Fazıl Ahmet Pasha for the city, which experienced serious water shortages in the 17th century, and this line allowed the water to reach the newly built structures such as Vezirhan, repairing 10 old fountains and making 73 new fountains.

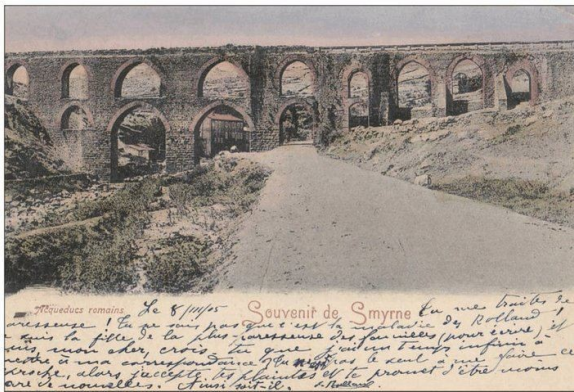


Figure 11. Previous status of Vezirsuyu Aqueduct (URL 6).

Figure 12. Current status of Vezirsuyu Aqueduct.

Although many aqueducts were built in the city along with waterways at the time, Kızılçullu Aqueducts and Vezirsuyu Aqueduct are two water structure that can survive to the present day. Two water structures, one in Buca and the other in Yeşildere, provide historical and spatial integrity within the city. Accordingly, the development

and construction activities required by urbanization, road extensions, floor elevations, should be prevented from losing the natural beauties and historical values (Keleş, 2014:115). However, most of the buildings in Kadifekale, which contain traces of old İzmir, have not survived to the present day, and those who survived have not received sufficient attention and care and they became ruins. In Yeşildere, it is seen that the gecekondu settlements and roads that spread around the industrial areas damage the historical aqueducts and the green texture of the region.

### **2.3.2. Yeşildere as an Industrial Area (1950's-2000)**

Constantly changing, developing cities have been affected by political and economic changes throughout history and have entered a new stage with the Industrial Revolution. During the completion of urbanization, 4 important stages were defined. These are respectively, people living at a certain point, the emergence of the city, the formation of an industrial city, the emergence of the metropolitan city beyond the industrial city (Tekeli, 2011:29). In pre-industrial cities, guilds were in the forefront in agriculture and trade, and there were master-apprentice relationships. After the 12th century, production and trade were separated, urban and inter-city trade developed and the employer-worker relationships emerged. After the 18th century, the industrial revolution was realized, the first industrial cities began to emerge and institutionalization and standardization tendencies increased. Both domestically and internationally, cities have become centers of trade and competition.

With the increase in the use of machinery in agriculture, the industrialization and the creation of new business areas in the city, urbanization processes have been activated, and İzmir has become one of the important cities in both industrial and foreign/domestic trade with its port. State factories such as Zeytinburnu Iron Factory and Beykoz Leather Factory, which were established in the 1800s with the initiatives for industrialization, provided their raw material needs such as sanding, leather and cotton from İzmir (Kaya, 2010:52). In this century, there was a great development from food, alcohol, tobacco, textile and wood industry products to machinery, vehicles, chemistry, paints, rubber and plastic industries (Kıray, 1972:84). With the industrial revolution, new phenomena and power balances have emerged in the cities and businesses, particularly the industrial city and the working class. Accordingly, together

with the developments in industry and other business areas in İzmir, the second largest industrial city of the Ottoman Empire after İstanbul, a great deal of employment was arisen.

Local institutions such as Tütüncüler Bank and Bağcılar Bank developed between 1930 and 1950 in order to provide investment and operation to new business areas in the industry. Between 1955 and 1965, it was observed that these banks financed more industrial areas (Kıray, 1972:86). After the 1950s, with the developing industrial and urbanization in İzmir, having good employment capacity and physical and social service opportunities compared to other provinces of the country have been attractive reasons for the people who would migrate from rural areas. However, sufficient housing areas could not be provided to accommodate the people who would come to the city through migration. For this reason, the people who migrated to İzmir started to work in industrial areas as workers and these working class and their families started to experience a new urbanization and becoming urbanized in their gecekondu.

Yeşildere has become an industrial area where leather factories in İzmir are used for leather production and processing. As in many industrializing regions, Yeşildere has been transformed into a fast growing gecekondu settlement area that people migrate to İzmir have built their gecekondu due to the business opportunities brought by the industrial areas and the closeness to the city center. In 1984, the leather industry organizations in Yeşildere established the İzmir Leather Industrialists Building Cooperative and in 1988 the cooperative gained the status of İzmir Organized Leather Industrial Zone.

Yeşildere leather factories' pouring their wastes into Meles Creek has started to disturb the gecekondu dwellers and made the unhealthy living area even worse in the region. In addition, the pouring of the Meles Creek from the Meles Delta into the Bay was one of the reasons of increasing the pollution in it. For these reasons, the leather factories in Yeşildere were moved to Menemen during the time of Erdal İzgi, Konak Mayor. Erdal İzgi stated that there were around 300 buildings in Yeşildere that need to be eliminated both physically and aesthetically and that the majority of Yeşildere should be transformed into a different one such as recreation area (Hürriyet, 2001). As it can be seen today, some of the factories have been demolished and traces cannot be found, and the remaining part is idle or used for different commercial purposes.



Figure 13. Old industrial facilities in Yeşildere.

Figure 14. Idle industrial areas in Yeşildere.

One of the reasons for the odor problem in the Bay, which is one of the biggest problems of İzmir, was the waste of industrial buildings around the Meles Creek. The leather factories in Yeşildere were destroyed due to reasons such as the fact that they stayed in the city center over time, caused the people living in the gecekondu to experience odor and insect problems, and the impact on the water pouring into the Bay. In this context, Meles Delta was organized by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality within the scope of “Meles Delta Improvement and Regulation Project” due to the accumulation of sewage and sludge and the spread of stench to the environment. Within the scope of the project that started on 4 August 2000, the tanneries in Yeşildere, which polluted the Meles Creek and the Bay, were removed. The project was completed in 2001 and the Meles Delta was transformed into a recreation area of 300 thousand square meters (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017).



Figure 15. Meles Delta today (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017).

Figure 16. Meles Delta arranged as a recreation area (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017).

İzmir Chamber of Commerce’s recommendations in the İzmir Strategic Plan prepared in 1992 include the transfer of leather industrialists from Yeşildere to



Menemen OIZ (Organized Industrial Zone) and the replanting of the evacuated areas (İzmir Chamber of Commerce, Urban Planning, Planning and Construction Directorate, 2013). Together with this proposal, a new region was established in the area of Menemen district's Maltepe village in 162 hectares area with the decision of İzmir Governorship for the "suitability of its sectoral activity" for the leather factories in Yeşildere and the new region was completed in 1993 (İZBAŞ İzmir Free Zone, 2018). The proposal made in the İzmir Strategic Plan was partially implemented, the factories were moved to Menemen, but no green area studies were carried out in the evacuated areas of Yeşildere. On the other hand, İzmir Leather Industrialists Cooperative, which was established in Yeşildere in 1984, emerged as a new formation in 1997 under the name of İzmir Menemen Leather Free Zone and in 2011 it was renamed İZBAŞ İzmir Free Zone in order to open to different sectors other than leather. At the end of 2018, a total of 173 companies were active in İzmir Free Zone, consisting of 145 domestic, 16 foreign, 12 domestic and foreign partnerships and 3498 people was employed (İZBAŞ İzmir Free Zone, 2018). Although leather manufacturing and trading is at the top of the list, energy, chemical production and trade, food, electrical-electronics, automotive, plastic products, marble and natural stone, elevators and equipments are other sectors that have invested in İzmir Free Zone (İZBAŞ İzmir Free Zone, 2018).



Figure 17. Locations of Yeşildere and Maltepe.

Eyüp Sevimli, the president of İZBAŞ İzmir Free Zone, stated that the factories moved to Menemen because they stayed in the city center, and then the city moved here with Villakent and the land between them was determined as a residential area in the zoning plan. Sevimli predicted that some problems would arise in Menemen coming together with the industrial area and the residential area (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2014). In order to have a long-term solution for the transportation of the factories from Yeşildere to Menemen, it is necessary to neutralize the waste not to pose a threat to human and environmental health, and not to bring the industrial and the residential areas side by side in the zoning plans.



Figure 18. Location of the destroyed factories and gecekondu in Yeşildere.



Figure 19. İZBAŞ İzmir Free Zone (URL 7).

After the 2000s, with the neoliberal economy policy, the polarization of capital-labor and income groups increased as the large scale industrial enterprises started to take the place of small scale enterprises. At the same time, industrial areas started to be

moved from the city centers due to physical and aesthetic reasons. The reasons why the leather industry in Yeşildere moved to Menemen are in parallel with these changes. In the history of societies, different sectors undergo unequal transformations, some proceeds forward whereas others stay behind, and change in people's daily life is slower than this transformation (Lefebvre, 2010:54). Therefore, people living in the gecekondu in Yeşildere either moved to Menemen in order not to lose their jobs, started working in different work-places in the city or became unemployed. The transformation started with the relocation of the factories and the people living in the gecekondu had to produce their own solutions in order to survive. The next step of the local government is to bring the area to the city in a different way with the urban transformation works, and maybe, it is planned to complete the transformation by presenting it to new users.

### **2.3.3. Yeşildere as a Gecekondu Settlement (1950-Today)**

The gecekondu is not just a housing problem, it is a complex situation that involves the country's economic, political and social attitudes and decisions. Looking at this settlement type from a perspective of the need for housing only leads us to underestimation and this settlement type has become a culture and a way of life. On one hand, families living in the gecekondu continue their lives and habits in the countryside, while trying to integrate with the city, on the other hand, they show the characteristics of *transition phase* between village families and urban families and create *gecekondu culture* (Keleş, 2014:415).

Yeşildere has become a gecekondu settlement area with the migrations that İzmir has received since the 1950s. In the city, which does not have sufficient and affordable housing stock, the migrants first started to build single-storey gecekondu on treasury lands in order to meet their housing needs, and in the course of time these gecekondu became two or three-storey apartments. As a result of this process, large gecekondu settlement areas such as Yeşildere, Ballıkuyu and Gürçeşme around the old city center Kadifekale, have emerged in the city.



Figure 20. Gecekondu settlement in Yeşildere.

Figure 21. Houses in Yeşildere.

As Ocak stated, in gecekondu neighborhoods, environment and the streets are mostly filthy due to the reasons such as insufficient infrastructure networks or no infrastructure at all, improper asphalt or sometimes no asphalt. Since the houses are built with low-priced, non-good construction and alternative materials from another constructions, the roofs of the houses leak, cold air blows from the walls, they are humid and with heating problems. No matter how much cleaning is carried out in houses and streets and alternative solutions are tried to be found, it is very difficult to talk about “scientific and sanitary” living spaces due to the environment. Therefore, illnesses or disabilities also occur in these environments, and together with poverty and unemployment require a struggle for survival in more difficult conditions (Ocak, 2007:147-156). Despite these disadvantages, for people living in Yeşildere it is suitable for their economic power to shape their houses according to their needs. For the poor urban people who do not leave their homes or neighborhoods, “in-between spaces” such as the front of the house, the garden and the balcony, where they communicate with their neighbors and their surroundings, gain a special importance (Ocak, 2007:166). These in-between spaces provide the opportunity to observe and spend time in their surroundings and socialize with their families and neighbors. The people who have lived and are living in Yeşildere were asked whether their houses were sufficient for them and their relations with the usage areas such as garden and balcony, and the following answers were obtained:

*“Our house is a little small, so why is it small, because my brother got married, we left the downstairs to him. The middle floor. Our old-timers also made the upper floor small for me in case of marriage. Now it is not enough. Because, when you come, you will see that there are already 2 rooms. Not even a room.*

*We have a living room and my room. There is also a kitchen. There is also a terrace. First of all, we moved to that floor because of the fact that the terrace was the illegal thing. We got it when we got urban transformation. If not, we would have made the terrace as a room. Now it is small, frankly not enough.” (Interviewee 1)*

*“They bought the land and built a house in which they thought it was a gecekondü, then built additional rooms. Then, when the marriage event, that is, their son’s marriage took place, they thought that he was at our top floor in terms of saving money, at least more importantly he would not pay rent. ... Of course, 1 room, 1 living room, 1 bathroom. Was it enough? Never. But there was nothing else to do. That was our capability...” (Interviewee 2)*

*“We had fruit trees in that area in the sense of a garden, but we were sharing as much as enough to ourselves and our neighbors. In their garden, people were cooking tandoor bread, there were chickens, usually there was tandoor. There was mulberry as a fruit, we had fruit, we had many trees. Everyone was sharing, children were coming and eating mulberries, nobody was saying a thing.” (Interviewee 3)*

*“(While living in Yeşildere) Honestly for a family of 5 members, a 2-room house is insufficient. So it has to have at least 3 rooms, especially if one of the children is a girl. ... (After getting married) The house we live in now has two rooms, a living room and 95 square meters. We have our own room, our common area is the living room, our girls have a room. ... Well, for now, it meets our needs, but we have different forward-looking thoughts. We want to sell this place and buy a different house. Again in this district.” (Interviewee 4)*

*“(For Terrace) In summer we are spending our time there. We sleep and eat our food there. We are not living here in summer. When the time comes we move, O.K. ... It is very cool, look how comfortable to sleep. He is not sleeping (for his son).” (Interviewee 6)*

In Yeşildere, as well as gardens and streets are sharing space, stuffed mussel in gardens has been an important source of livelihood for many families there. The reason why stuffed mussel producers chose to live in Yeşildere and the effect of stuffed mussel production on the neighborhood were stated as follows by the interviewees:

*“... and there are 2-3 houses in the garden area, more or less 2 floors, 3 floors. This time, 2-3 families can live together. They find the garden more comfortable and more freely in terms of stuffed mussel thing. Therefore, the mussel job became more common as they replaced the ones who sold their houses. ...*

*Women work at home rather than men in mussel job. The men who brought the mussel from the outside, but all the work done until the mussel came out after bringing it to the women.” (Interviewee 2)*

*“And mussel, we didn’t make stuffed mussels but our neighbors did. Because most of them were from Mardin, so they had such a culture, culture of making stuffed mussel. In other words, there are factors that affect others carelessly besides themselves, let’s say the smell when making mussels, smell in that temperature, İzmir’s temperature is well-known.” (Interviewee 3)*

Besides the lack of infrastructure, environmental pollution and other problems, there are two big problems facing Yeşildere, which is located between steep slopes. These are two natural disasters as landslides and floods. In 2014, the Mayor of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality Aziz Kocaoğlu stated that, they have taken expropriation decisions for the houses in Yeşildere, which are threatened by flood in heavy rains, that they will give house from Uzundere TOKİ or pay the same value for their houses (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2014). Due to landslide danger, 153 houses in the region were destroyed and some of the families started to live in Uzundere TOKİ and others started to live in other districts of the city.



Figure 22. Destroyed houses in the neighborhood.



Figure 23. Traces of destroyed houses.

When the current transportation lines of Yeşildere are examined, it is seen that both the highway and İZBAN suburban line pass through the area. However, while vehicles are passing from Yeşildere Street can reach the area from certain points, it is seen that the İZBAN line passing through in the middle of the region does not have any station in this area, and the inhabitants of Yeşildere cannot use this line. Yeşildere Street

is connected to Homeros Boulevard and Konak Tunnel, which relieves traffic at certain points of the city. The construction of this tunnel has reduced traffic in both Yeşildere and Eşrefpaşa and made it easier to get to the city center from districts such as Buca and Gaziemir. Yeşildere Street, which has the characteristic of a threshold passing through Yeşildere, has a fast traffic flow and overpasses are set at regular intervals for pedestrians to cross. Similarly, the line passes through Yeşildere, which was used as a suburban line until 2010, started to be used as İZBAN line since 2010, and divides the area into two. With this feature, İZBAN line is also a threshold. People living in the same neighborhood had to go through underpasses or overpasses to provide transportation between the two areas divided by the İZBAN line. Shortly, some of the transportation lines in the city pass through the region, but they cannot fully serve the inhabitants and become the thresholds dividing the area.



Figure 24. Yeşildere view on the left side passing İZBAN towards Alsancak Station.

Figure 25. Yeşildere view on the right side passing İZBAN towards Alsancak Station.

Transportation difficulties of people who lived and is living in Yeşildere were expressed as follows:

*“... the location where we were living was a place approximately had equal distance to both Kaynak Neighborhood and Yeşildere. So, to go to Kaynak District, we had to go uphill to get on the bus. We had to go downhill to use the public transport to the bus or minibus in Yeşildere. So it was a problem. ... Especially when we think of it as winter, evening time, it is really hard when we think that we have something to carry of a certain weight.” (Interviewee 2)*

*“... my father drops me off Basmane Station. Believe me, school time in the morning I cannot get on the bus because it is very crowded and there are 466, 39, 838 and 34 numbered buses. They don't take people in the morning. ... For example, there is no stop in our 'pit' neighborhood. There is no bus stop. ...*

*They are thinking about pit neighborhood, they wanted a metro stop. I don't know if they will do it or not, after urban transformation, but the distance between Kemer and Şirinyer is too far. It is the place with the greatest distance of 4 km.” (Interviewee 1)*

The interviewee's definition about his neighborhood as “pit neighborhood” referring to TV series “The Pit” shows that he is aware of popular media and TV series and overlaps his neighborhood with the neighborhood where the crime and illegal actions are carried out but the relationship between the family and the neighborhood was strong.

People both who are living in at the moment and moved from Yeşildere stated that neighborhood and human relations are generally very sincere in the neighborhood, but they have serious problems regarding access to public services, inadequate and unhealthy living spaces, transportation and security. The interviewees expressed the good aspects and problems of the region as follows:

*“Also, there is nothing in the neighborhood. What can I say? There is no park where the children go, nowhere to eat. You want something to eat, they don't make delivery because it's a dangerous place. How many times have I experienced it. ... There are a lot of people with criminal records. That's why they don't bring food here.” (Interviewee 1)*

*“... nothing is done. For example, we have been there for 24 years, only road and the bridge have been built, so technical things are being done, there is nothing for young people. Nothing changed, no matter what you say. Always same. If a person who came 24 years ago comes 24 years later, he will see the same things remain the same.” (Interviewee 1)*

*“... when we say neighborly relationship, of course when we get sick, on holidays or when a guest arrives, as a neighbor, to call and ask the other neighbor as well as to be together. In our weddings, of course, in our funerals and visitations, the neighborhood relationship was super. So we would definitely share it with each other, both our happiness and our sadness.” (Interviewee 2)*

*“ ... there was the urban sprawl anyway, many hills around everywhere. I mean we all suffered from these hills either going up or down. Extremely steep and difficult.” (Interviewee 3)*

*“Usually the people there are homeowners. So, they have a home and a built-in order because they built the house themselves. That's why neighbors and friendships are deeply well-established. In other words, you know everyone very*



*well, his good and bad, because they are not constantly displaced, because there are no tenants. Either friendship or neighborly relations were deeper there.” (Interviewee 4)*

Atatürk Mask, the biggest of Turkey and the number ten biggest mask project of the world with the height of 42 meters, is located at Buca county’s Çaldıran district and the southeast of Yeşildere Street. 4.2 million Turkish Liras were spent during the construction of the Mask which was started in 2006 and completed in 2009. In 2010, the “National Struggle and 9 September Museum” was opened in the Mask, containing documents and weapons of the War of Independence, and photographs of the liberation process of İzmir. As in the Anıtkabir Museum, the precedents of the War of Independence were created here, and they were animated with sound and light effects (Sözcü, 2015). The museum, which was realized with large investments, was closed due to leakage of rainwater, moisture and insufficient attention to the museum after a while, while Mask was worn by rain and sun, and was contaminated by predators and natural events. For this reason, in August 2019 the Municipality of Buca worked with professional mountaineering team to carry out maintenance work on the surface of the Mask (Buca Municipality, 2019).

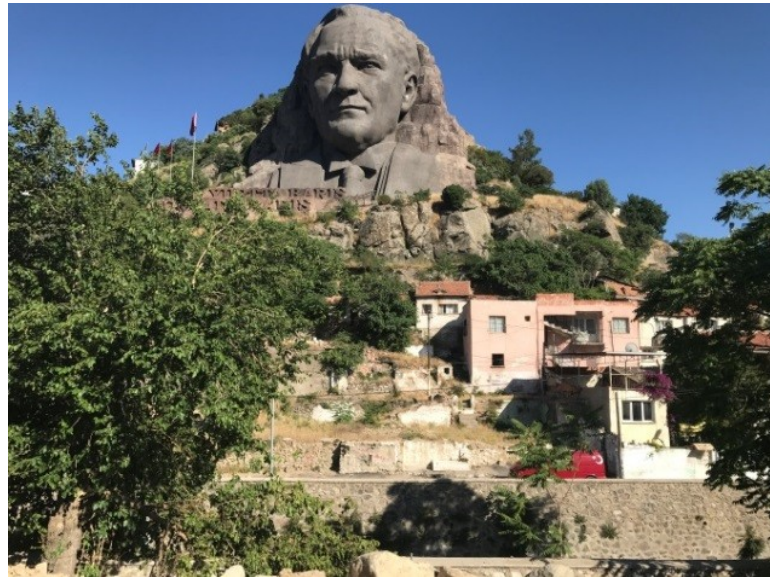


Figure 26. View of Atatürk Mask from Yeşildere Street.

Following this maintenance work for Atatürk Mask, İzmir Metropolitan Municipality initiated a landscaping project called “Yeşildere Facade Painting Project” which includes simple maintenance, repair and painting of certain colors for

gecekondus that disrupt the surrounding environment. In this project, which was brought up by Tunç Soyer, the Mayor of İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, it was planned to paint the buildings identified in the pilot area in Lale Neighborhood with the combination of white and vivid colors, and to color the neighborhood with pots and colorful flowers. In addition to these studies, it was aimed to create a new settlement area by the realization of social and public art projects (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2019). However, as learned in the interviews, a few houses were painted within the scope of the project, but this painting work was stopped for a while due to the earthquake disaster in the country.

Examples of coloring works carried out to regulate the existing built environment are also found in the world and other cities of Turkey. In 2017, 23rd Hearing Impaired Olympiad which is an international event was hosted by Samsun, and Samsun Metropolitan Municipality painted the facades of houses in some neighborhoods in the blue, yellow, black, green and red colors on the Olympic rings representing 5 continents in order to change the silhouette of the city. In Gamcheon Cultural Village of South Korea, people who migrated after the Korean War have houses built on the foothills of the mountain to the coast. These houses are colorfully painted with the partnership of local government, city planners, artists and inhabitants in order to revive tourism, and the labyrinth-shaped streets are enriched with murals and sculptures. With this project, the region has become a tourist attraction that people are coming from all over the world.



Figure 27. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality's Yeşildere Facade Painting Project (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2019).



Figure 28. Facade painting work carried out in Samsun (URL 8).



Figure 29. Gamcheon Culture Village (International Association of Educating Cities).

Figure 30. Art works at Gamcheon Culture Village (International Association of Educating Cities).

Until the 1980s, the region, which consists of individuals with different cultural, social and political structures who migrated from different cities and settled in İzmir, turned into a representational area that dominated the region with a similar social structure and political view, in which people coming by a forced migration wave settled after the 1980s (Kılıç and Göksu, 2018:210). In recent years, the number of foreign asylum seekers among Yeşildere residents has increased. The inhabitants living in Yeşildere are trying to integrate into the city economically, spatially and socially while at the same time getting used to living with a society that is newcomer from different cultures. This creates an environment where individuals from different cultures live together and urbanization becomes increasingly difficult. Inhabitants who live in Yeşildere express their thoughts about foreign asylum seekers who settled in their neighborhood as follows:

*“I mean neighbors are changing. When we first arrived, we were in Yeşildere, for example there were people coming from Simav district of Kütahya, we are*

*also from Simav, Kütahya. Now, this is more cosmopolitan than where I lived before. There are Easterners, Romans, Syrians who have just started coming. Both cultures are different and getting along is a bit difficult.” (Interviewee 1)*

*“... there are many Syrians near my house. They are in very poor situation. They are not living as people say, they are begging and sending their children to elite places, to Bostanlı, to Buca, etc. They are begging there. They have 7 children, for example Syrians next to me. They have difficulty in paying the rent. ... There is no mutual visits but we greet each other when we see outside. Neither do they harm us, nor do we harm them. But I try to help when they have a need, at the end we are all human.” (Interviewee 1)*

*“... since the familiar people are leaving the neighborhood, I don't know, strange, paper collector, Syrians, people like that are always coming here. Because you know why? The neighborhood is not the neighborhood anymore. Houses are not the houses anymore ... In that house, the local, the old houseowner, the ones who live here, their child has gotten married, and some of them have gone with their children. Because people who are a little bit illiterate are coming here. It gets worse as you see.” (Interviewee 7)*

The change in urban policies and functions also requires specialization and spatial changes. Due to its proximity to the city center and the presence of leather factories in the region, Yeşildere has existed with its industrial and gecekondular areas and had “gecekondular identity”. Yet, the region has been transformed with the transportation of the factories and has become only the gecekondular area. Due to reasons such as the unsuitable appearance of the region that does not adapt to the general scenery of the city, the poor physical and living conditions in the gecekondular, and landslide danger, the local government undertakes demolitions and changes within the scope of “Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Project”. In the following chapter, detailed information is given about the process and activities carried out in the region within the scope of this project. However, the interviewees expressed their views on living in the apartment as follows:

*“People do not know each other in the apartments. ... I don't want to live, like I said, apartment life. Like Urla, Güzelbahçe, I would like to live in a place near such a sea side. It could be a place close to the sea, for example, but in a villa style. ... In a clean place and environment. For example, the place where I live is full of criminal men. ” (Interviewee 1)*

*“The boy came, that little son’s boy taking a drum. From the son of my sister-in-law’s daughter. Boom boom boom... Let’s play it in the flat. If you dare. Does anyone allow you to play it in the apartment flat? ... If we were in the apartment, someone would always complain from us.” (Interviewee 6)*

#### **2.3.4. Yeşildere’s Current Situation (After 2000)**

Globalization affects many situations as well as cities. Many ecological problems and the decrease in the value given to the city, history and culture are caused by the effects of globalization (Keleş, 2014:46). *Terrain vague* was first conceptualized by the historian and architect Ignasi de Sola-Morales in his article “Terrain Vague” in *Anyplace* in 1995. This concept, which Sola-Morales put forward, has been handled in many different fields such as architecture, literature, design, urban design, cultural studies and photography, and movie sector (Pineiros, 2016). *Terrain vague* has become a concept that defines the current situation of abandoned industrial areas, transitional areas such as railways, empty and unproductive abandoned lands. As Sola-Morales stated that, “these spaces as internal to the city yet external to its everyday use” (Sola-Morales, 2014:26). In short, these are areas that are out of use or fragmented in time, have lost their properties, cannot meet the needs, and have some ecological problems.

Apart from the *terrain vague* concept, different nomenclatures such as wasteland, brownfields, in-between spaces, dead zones, lost space, derelict land, urban wilds, vacant land, urban wildscapes, no-man’s land were used to define similar areas in the literature (Barron, 2014:3). While the word “*terrain*” has a meaning in the land suitable for construction, the word “*vague*” has the meaning of mobility, constant change and variability. The various meanings within the concept can lead to the association of spaces with different features to the *terrain vague*, and therefore there is no clear and precise definition of the concept. *Terrain vague* concept has been redefined and expanded with the association of different types of spaces with the *terrain vague* within the book “*Terrain Vague - Interstices at the Edge of the Pale*”, edited by Manuela Mariani and Patrick Barron (Mariani and Barron, 2014).

While the *terrain vague* concept creates a perception of defining a negative place, there are opportunities and advantages that are waiting to be discovered by users and designers within the space itself. For this reason, a different attitude and perspective

should be developed to reveal the potential of the field in terms of attitudes, approaches and applications towards abandoned and nonfunctional areas due to reasons such as post-industrial capitalism and globalization. In this context, the place of urban design and architecture is very fundamental. Areas that are located within the city and which have been left out of use, forgotten, and which contain the traces of the old function, are being transformed from the definition of idle and dangerous areas, and they become part of the daily lives of those living in the city by temporary or permanent uses, can be realized under the leadership of planners and designers. Olympic Sculpture Park, located in Seattle, Washington, is a project aimed at ensuring the continuity of the urban fabric through the refunctioning of an abandoned industrial area. The park offers a new urban activity area to the city with its zigzags between the highway and the railway and creates a visual interaction between the existing transportation lines.

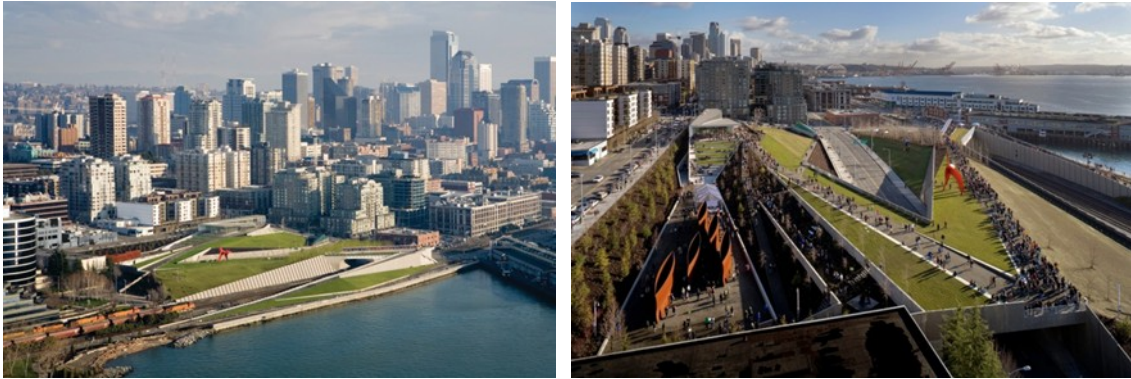


Figure 31. Olympic Sculpture Park, Seattle, Washington (Peabody, 2012:7).

Figure 32. Olympic Sculpture Park Project (Peabody, 2012:7).

In Yeşildere, since different experiences, situations and abandonments are observed in different time periods in the historical process, the field can be examined within the concept of “terrain vague”. In this part of the study, the research concentrates on the concept of abandoned industrial areas and ruined gecekondus as a result of rapid urbanization, focusing on the transformation and development processes in the city from a different point of view and the situation of abandoned areas.

Gecekondus and abandoned industrial areas are located between green lands that cover a large region on both sides of the road as it passes through Yeşildere Street, which connects the airport with the city center. In this context, Yeşildere can be defined as the transition area between İzmir’s post-industrial society and modern urban development. The first impression of Yeşildere on people is often associated with

distorted urbanization, idle industrial areas and danger. In addition to that, Sola-Morales conceptualized terrain vague from the photographs of abandoned and marginal areas and the effects of these photographs (Pineiros, 2016:18). The closure of the leather factories, which started to operate in the 1960s and provided employment to Yeşildere, and the transfer of these factories to Menemen in the early 2000s by Konak Municipality, caused these industrial areas to remain idle. Some of these factories were demolished, some were used for different commercial purposes, while others were left abandoned. These abandoned large buildings has become neglected and become dangerous areas in time for those living both in the region and the city. When the industrial areas were active, the facilities that provide employment to the employees in the region at that time gave an industrial identity to the region, yet nowadays it has been acknowledged as unsafe identity with its abandoned appearance.



Figure 33. Gecekondu and idle facilities in Yeşildere.

Figure 34. Abandoned industrial areas.

One of the characteristic features of the terrain vague concept is its complex relationship with nature. Yeşildere was a recreation area where the Meles Creek passes through and the aqueducts carry water to the city. This area is also seen in the old pictures that caravans set up tents and pass through the region. However, when we look at these structures today, the access to Kızılçullu Aqueducts is very challenging, because it is surrounded by a limited access and has no use, yet it is only used by suicidal individuals. On the other hand, it is observed that a part of Vezirsuyu Aqueduct has been destroyed and that the gecekondu on one side of the street are built next to the aqueduct and damaged the integrity of the structure. In this context, Yeşildere has a state of in-betweenness because it contains different historical structures and features but cannot fully protect them.



Figure 35. Current status of Kızılçullu Aqueducts.

Figure 36. Current status of Vezirsuyu Aqueduct.

In addition to that, it is seen that gecekondu were built without the setback distance on where the creek has been reclaimed and stream bed has ended and risen, and there has been not a single sign of its old recreation area state. Throwing garbage into the creek by the inhabitants of the region, the presence of various insects intensively around the creek, living environment with unhealthy condition and without infrastructure is caused to turn into an hazardous living environment in Yeşildere. During the meeting with the residents of the gecekondu, it was stated that, the sacrificial animal market and slaughter area, which was established in Küçükada Neighborhood for about 1 month each year, makes their environment worse which is already unhealthy, were located in the empty area between Yeşildere Street and the gecekondu settlement. Despite they made a petition, there was no solution yet and every year the situation kept on likewise. It does not seem possible to talk about a well-being and sanitary living space for reasons such as the pollution of the river and the environment. The interviewees expressed their opinions on this issue as follows:

*“So there is no such thing as public service. Just the inrush of water, call 10 times, bring the service hardly in 10 times. Then call 3-5 times and get the rubble out of here. Then call to get your asphalt to make.” (Interviewee 7)*

(About sacrificial animal sales area) *“... our neighborhood is always affected the most. There’s a creek between us. ... They leave flies here. The fly, the smell, the dirt. ... There are tents, the man takes off his clothes on a summer day, bathing there. Across the houses. The back of the tent is our neighborhood. Bathing there. ... Also, the community is poor. Most of the people do not have air conditioning in their home. In the summer day, windows are open because of the heat. What’s going on, dirt, smell, fly, all.” (Interviewee 7)*





Figure 37. Pollution of the river near the gecekondu.



Figure 38. Children's unhealthy playground.



Figure 39. The appearance of sacrificial animal sales area from the houses.

On the other hand, the abandoned and emptied old leather factories and other industrial facilities are either used as temporary commercial areas until they are demolished or became idle. However, the buildings are all neglected, large empty spaces between the rubble and some of them are used as crime scenes as dangerous and undesirable areas for the inhabitants of the region. For other individuals living in the city, entering into the region is dangerous, unless it is compulsory to do so.



Figure 40. Idle industrial areas and Creek.



Figure 41. Idle industrial areas.

In this context, Yeşildere shows an *in-between area* characteristics within the city. It is a space located in between a recreational area with a creek passes through it and a residential place as a result of urbanization; also between the historical buildings and post-industrial constructed gecekondu. When we look at the area today, Yeşildere has neither lost its green texture nor has it been a healthy and regular settlement. In the urbanization process, it has survived to the present day as an area where traces of different passages remain.

In addition, some contrasts and borders are remarkable in the region. On one hand, there are gecekondu with an active and intense living space, on the other hand there are abandoned large industrial areas. Among the settlements and industrial areas, the boundaries such as inside/outside, public/private distinctions draw attention. However, *public space* is the place where public area and private area, and inside and outside intertwined each other instead of some contrasts. When we look at Yeşildere within the framework of the terrain vague concept and observe this distinction, it is possible to reveal the advantage of the region by gaining the public space into the field. According to Stavrides, the “common space” is the alternative forms, struggles, social organizations and the areas of experience developed by the inhabitants of the city (Stavrides, 2015:11). It is possible to give a new identity to Yeşildere by creating functions for idle industrial buildings and making “common spaces” that can provide alternative and social experiences for the city dwellers, while preserving the historical structures and potential of the area.

On one hand, due to the danger of landslides, demolition work was carried out on the slopes by the municipality, while on the other hand new road arrangements were made in the city with the roundabout and tunnel works at the end of Yeşildere Street, which connects the airport and the city center. However, there has not been any solution to abandoned buildings or unhealthy living spaces during these arrangements. The “waste spaces” between the İZBAN line, which is a border that divides the region in two, and the settlements were converted into green areas by the municipality and several seating benches were placed and some children’s playgrounds were created. However, these areas are so small, amorphous and insufficient that the more planned green areas and parks are needed in the region. Changing the city in line with the changing urban dynamics and needs is inevitable. For this, short and long-term planning

and infrastructure works are required. Making all these in-between or threshold buildings and settlements reachable, safe, manageable and usable by the inhabitants with the help of physical and social infrastructure works and gaining a new spatial properties are the transformative potentials for that kind of areas. In order to provide these transformations efficiently, different disciplines such as architecture, engineering and landscape architecture should work together on infrastructure works. Because, for long-term effective development, infrastructure works should be done for all areas such as utilities, public works, community facilities and telecommunications.



Figure 42. Insufficient park area.



Figure 43. Insufficient and unhealthy sport and game areas.

Studies on the terrain vague concept have shown that the abandoned, empty spaces and structures that have been left out of use for a variety of reasons have a negative effect, but they always have their own potential for transformation and reuse and these potentials need to be revealed. Abandoned buildings and vacant areas in Yeşildere are suitable for meeting the necessary needs and social interactions, sharing with community participation and carrying out optional activities. A new urban design model should be created to restore existing urban spaces and out of use areas to the city with low costs, new functions and activities. In short, when we look at Yeşildere within the framework of the terrain vague concept and realize its historical, social and spatial layers and potentials, it is possible to integrate it into urban life with smaller interventions rather than rebuilding a new residential area. Yeşildere, which incorporates different cultures and which is multilayered, has the potential to transform into a multicultural and multiactivity area by preserving and transforming the existing.

### 2.3.4.1. Natural Disasters and Demolitions

Since ancient times, earthquakes, landslides, floods, droughts, rock falls and avalanches are major natural disasters because of Turkey's tectonic formation, topography, geological and meteorological structure and cause to loss of life and property (Ergünay, 2006:1-2). The definition of disaster is “the result of natural, technological and human origin events that cause physical, economic, social and environmental losses on people and human settlements and affect communities by stopping or interrupting normal life and human activities” (Ergünay, 2006:1). In this context, both natural events and human interventions cause disasters.

Natural disasters that affect İzmir, built on alluviums and hillsides surrounding the inner bay, are generally earthquakes, floods and landslides (Gümüş, 2013:559). The earthquake is a natural phenomenon due to the structure and the movement of the ground and, the coastal areas of the gulf, filling areas and alluvial plains are disaster-risk areas. Flood is a type of disaster caused by poor drainage of surface waters and limited water carrying capacity of creeks. Landslides are local landslips and occur due to the destruction of forest areas on the steep slopes, poor construction and loose land structure.



Figure 44. Turkey Earthquake Hazard Map (URL 9).

As it can be seen from Figure 44, a large part of Turkey's territory is faced with the risk of earthquake and İzmir is one of the cities with a high disaster risk. Due to the ground structure and fault lines passing through İzmir, both legal and illegal settlements carry great risks against earthquakes and other natural disasters. As the experts say, in order to prevent the earthquake which is a natural phenomenon to turn into a disaster, the things that should be done before the earthquake should be focused on instead of what should be done afterwards (Oflozer, 2005:25-26). Taking into consideration the physical properties of grounds and their behavior at the time of an earthquake, the planning of the settlement areas is called *micro zoning* (Akçığı and Pınar, 2005:28). In this context, local authorities and experts should prepare *potential disaster maps* and operate them on 1/1000 and 1/5000 scale development plans and implement disaster prevention practices (Oflozer, 2005:25). Residential areas where gecekondu and illegal settlements are widespread and risky due to the lack of infrastructure, unsecurely constructed buildings with non-standard materials and ground structure of the settlement area, while the majority of legal construction areas are risky in terms of natural disasters due to the characteristics of the land selected for construction (Gümüş, 2013:557).

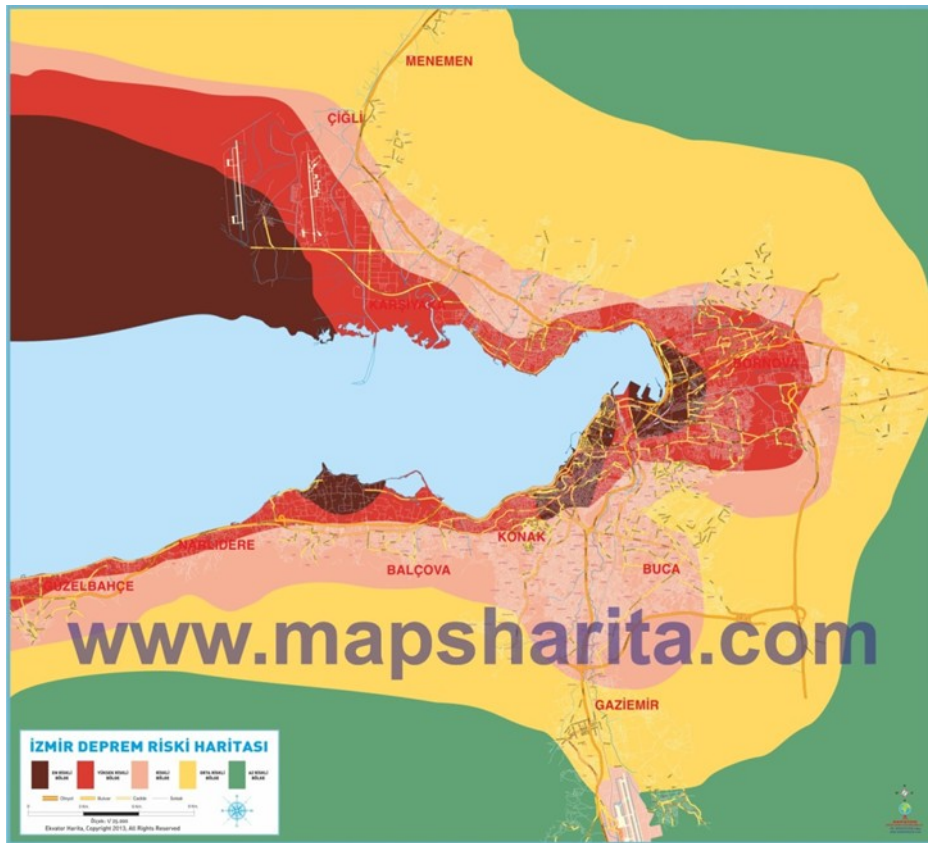


Figure 45. İzmir Earthquake Risk Map (URL 10).

With the growth and development of cities, expansion of housing and built environment in the city, both the natural environment is unconsciously damaged and the rain absorption capacity of the lands decreases. Lack of adequate rain water drainage systems by local governments in cities also causes flooding. In short, it is also possible to consider floods as natural disasters of human origin. The flood in 1995, which led to the loss of life and property in İzmir, was the result of the sudden and severe rains coming soon after the continuous rainfall (Ergünay, 2006:7). After this disaster, some infrastructural works were started for the improvement of the stream beds, embankments were built on the slopes to slow down the flow, the stream beds were enlarged and the edge sets were raised and built with walls (Gümüş, 2013:560).

Kızılcıllu Aqueducts and Vezirsuyu Aqueduct on the Meles Creek are important structures that have transported water to different points of the city for centuries. Meles Creek, which forms the alluvial bases of the plains around İzmir Bay and reaches the Bay from this alluvial base, collects the waters of the Buca and Gazimur districts (Gümüş, 2013: 557). These streams, which provide water to be transported in the city, started to be used for the discharge of rain water in time and this increased the amount of water that streams should carry. Due to the high amount of groundwater in Yeşildere and the inability to drain rainwater, it is inevitable to prevent flooding of gecekondus when it rains. The floods combined with the loose ground structure of the region paved the way for another disaster type of landslide.

Landslides, which are effective in İzmir and Turkey, are another natural disasters while rooted from natural factors such as climate, rains, geological structure, topography and vegetation, it also caused by human-made factors such as rapid population growth in urban areas due to migration, unhealthy and illegal construction on the slopes of cities, lack of land use decisions and plans by local governments.

Yeşildere is a gecekondus settlement built on sloping land with clayey neogene on both sides of Meles Creek. The ground structure of Yeşildere consists of the volcanic agglomerate at the top and the neogene sedimentary units at the bottom (Gülay, 2005:12), is combined with human-oriented interventions and has become landslide area. According to Gülay, the topographic structure with a slope of about 20% in the landslide field, the loose structure of the upper agglomerate, the slippery structure of the lower sedimentary units, and the easy transfer of surface and groundwater on the clay

surface are the natural factors causing the landslide in Yeşildere. The unconscious and uncontrolled construction works in the area, the vibrations created by the vehicles on Yeşildere Street and the absence of any measures preventing erosion are artificial factors (Gülay, 2005:12). This situation made the local government take an action and natural rainwater ditches have been opened by the General Directorate of İZSU in order to prevent the landslide and a drainage system has been established to transport the water to the Meles Creek. New wall works were also carried out to prevent landslides on Yeşildere Street.

Unplanned urbanization and industrialization, reduced forest areas, forest fires, settlements established on steep slopes, insufficient drainage systems for rainwater in the city increase the risks of earthquakes, floods and landslides. The migrations that İzmir received after the 1950s and the gecekondü settlements in different parts of the city, especially on the steep slopes, weaken İzmir in the face of natural disasters, while the establishment of some legal settlements on filling grounds also endangers these areas. In this context, a situation has been created in İzmir which is dangerous against natural disasters both in legal and illegal settlements. In order to prevent disasters from causing great damages, micro zoning and a comprehensive zoning plan should be prepared for the whole İzmir in line with the works of experts from different disciplines and implemented by the local government in the city.

The current urban transformation works are generally continuing by demolishing the old buildings and replacing them with new ones. However, taking into account the geological structure, preparing potential disaster maps and processing them into 1/1000 and 1/5000 scale development plans and determining the settlement areas according to micro zoning will prevent the natural events turning into disasters, destruction of cultural assets and loss of lives and property. In order to achieve a healthy urbanization and to produce long-term solutions, these are the works that need to be done and the key point here is the decisions and practices of local governments.

Due to the danger of landslides, contracts were signed with the rightful owners of gecekondus in the area between Kadifekale and Yeşildere Street by İzmir Metropolitan Municipality and the demolition of the houses started in 2007. Demolition of the houses in the region was completed in 2011 and afforestation activities started and even the “Tree Planting Festival” was organized. Thanks to this measure taken by

the local government, the landslide that occurred on February 24, 2012 did not cause any loss of life and property. With this project, a total of 1881 gecekondus were demolished and the southern and southwest silhouettes of Kadifekale, one of the most important historical values of İzmir, were exposed and approximately 500.000 square meters green area was provided to the city (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2018). Although a landscape project was planned for the region, it has not been implemented yet.



Figure 46. Landslide risk zone and demolished gecekondus (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017).



Figure 47. Landscape project planned but not implemented by the Metropolitan Municipality (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017).





Figure 48. View of afforestation area.

Figure 49. Indestructible gecekondu and industrial facility.

## 2.4. Conclusion

Social relations, culture of the society, economic structure and urban policies are reflected in the urban space. In this chapter, the economic and political factors that give İzmir its identity and development, the process of urbanization and gecekondu, and the changes in the society and places in these processes are included.

For centuries, İzmir has been a city that affects and is affected by international, domestic and urban dynamics, establishing relations and providing distribution and connection between them. Directing the economic, social and spatial developments in İzmir from the 16th century to the 21st century, İzmir Port started losing its influence in line with the decline of state investments and neoliberal economy policy towards the end of the 20th century, and new studies were started economically and spatially in the city. These studies have been carried out with the partnership of public and private sector in line with the interests of the capital owners, making it difficult for the poor living in the city to struggle in it, and as a result, the problem of individuals not urbanizing in the urbanized environment has emerged. Providing its livelihood and urbanization with foreign trade for many centuries, the city started breaking from its dynamic internal structure with the effect of globalization after 2000s.

As Kıray stated, until the 20th century, a complex city where government buildings and banks were in a continuity in urban space, and that every differentiated and organized function such as wholesale, administrative and financial functions, hotels

and entertainment places emerged as a specific sub-settlements was seen. But when we look at İzmir today, we see the uneven and irregular distribution of gecekondus, apartments, skyscrapers, different socio-cultural features and income groups located side by side in the city center.

Separating the country's rural and urban production, social and physical environment, with certain boundaries causes inter-regional imbalance. However, it is necessary to see these two as a whole and to evaluate them as resources that feed each other, and to ensure that they benefit from equal health, education, security and infrastructure services. When agricultural and non-agricultural production are in balance and there are monitoring mechanisms compatible with these production forms, there will be no unnecessary accumulation or deficiencies in the urban and the rural (Tekeli, 2011:24).

All changes in societies and in the world cause the rearrangement of spatial patterns and distributions. In the globalizing world, the relationship of the human with the place changes in parallel with spatial changes and transformations. According to Lefebvre, as for Marx, the growth and development of society could go forward together, but in some circumstances the two could not be advanced together, sometimes undeveloped growth and sometimes no growth development occurred (Lefebvre, 2013:158). Also, as Tekeli has stated within the framework of Marxist theory, "the reserve employment army" is a definition made for individuals living in the city with irregular gains from informal or marginal jobs within the capitalist society (Tekeli, 2008). The individuals who migrated to İzmir and Yeşildere from rural and settled in the gecekondus were not only fully able to meet their expectations as a result of migration, but also they became individuals of the reserve employment army and could not fully ensure their spatial and economic integration with the city. In short, during the transition from agriculture to industrial society, internal migration emerged as a adaptation tool/mechanism. But spatial and economic balance between rural and urban areas, and an equal development and transformation between individuals in the society could not be achieved. This situation has created distinctly developed and undeveloped regions in İzmir with the economic development. As the plazas rise on one hand with social and spatial wealth, on the other hand, regional inequalities have emerged in the city with socially and spatially excluded gecekondus areas, which have serious

environmental problems, lacked infrastructure and services. In order to realize the urbanization fully, economic and spatial polarizations among the citizens should be eliminated.

In addition to shelter and economic problems, socio-cultural problems affect individuals in urban life. The urban individual, who continues his/her life by producing his/her labor, earning money and continuing the struggle of life, may have problems integrating into the city socio-culturally and sometimes cannot be “urbanized”. This situation arises from the inability to integrate with the city both spatially and culturally. Individuals who do not feel themselves belonging to the city and experience urban alienation create a separate cultural formation from the city with their self-established trust networks such as townsman and community relations.

Yeşildere has a feature of being in-between space because it has distinctions between formal and informal, old and new, business and housing, traditional and modern, public and private areas. These dualities are not disadvantages, but rather advantages and potentials to be evaluated. The area has both a historical transition in itself and a cultural and economic transition through the city center. Therefore, Yeşildere itself is a rich area that contains hybrid identities. The important thing here is to develop new tactics and spatial arrangements that will contribute to the city, which are suitable for the variable and flexible character of the area. However, these arrangements should not be limited to physical space; infrastructure work should be done, healthy and sustainable living spaces should be created, education level and quality should be increased. As a result of these, a residential area in which quality and efficient time can be spent, safer, having a high level of welfare, and adding aesthetically beautiful view to the city will be revealed.

## CHAPTER 3

### URBAN TRANSFORMATION PRACTICES

#### 3.1. Neoliberal Urbanization and Urban Transformation

According to Lefebvre, the city invites to itself everything that belongs to nature and labor, that has emerged elsewhere, brings together different things and centralizes all of them. Also, in the processes of the city, the density changes constantly, another center, another place, another periphery is required, and this movement produced by the city generates the city (Lefebvre, 2013:113-114). In the process of creating a new order in the urban space, the power and decision of the local government and those who are economically superior in the city are effective in guiding the city and the citizens. Previously, agriculture, industry, trade and other services were located in the city center and immediate surroundings of the city center, and as the density of the city increased and demanded by the upper income groups of the city center, industry and agriculture were continued their production outside the city center. In this context, while the city center is being renewed spatially and functionally, the low and middle income groups have to continue their work and daily life at the periphery of the city. In this chapter, in line with neoliberal policies that have impact on urban transformations practices and urban transformation projects in Turkey that carried out on land and in the city in recent years and, the works carried out in İzmir were examined.

##### 3.1.1. Land Speculation and Neoliberal Urbanization

Although it varies from country to another, the order of land ownership of a country depends on its historical traditions, political regime, economic and social structure (Tekeli, 2009:36). Regardless of the income status of the people living in the country in order to ensure adequate and healthy physical conditions and a holistic development in the city by the state and local governments to take various measures and arrangements for the territory of the city are required.

It is examined within the scope of the concept of “rent” to try to gain from the goods which are not the product of human labor. As Tekeli quoted that, according to Ricardo, rent derives from the difference of the specific characteristics of the land such as productivity, proximity to the center of consumption. This theory proposed by Ricardo is called “differential rent” (Tekeli, 2009:19). In addition to the concept of differential rent, which Ricardo described, Marx defined the types of rent generated by private property on land and the difference arising from investment in human labor on land (Tekeli, 2009:20). During the transformation of agricultural land to urban land, it passes through various stages. Zoning movements have been started on the agricultural land where residential, commercial or industrial settlements begin in its immediate surroundings and have been opened to settlement. When the local government starts infrastructure works in the region and construction on the parceled lands, the region changes from agricultural land to the urban one. In short, land becomes an urban land when it reaches infrastructure and public services (Keleş, 2014:142). After a while, with the increase in population density, zoning changes are also made in line with the needs. During this transformation, the value of the land increases and people with vacant land who hold the land for a while to gain higher value and then sell and speculate on the land. The buying and selling of the land makes the rights on the land available for buying and selling (Tekeli, 2009:18). Therefore, parceling system and land speculation prevent new spatial organizations and in some cases the protection of historical neighborhoods, historical monuments and natural assets (Tekeli, 2009:29). In this direction, individuals who speculate on land cause damages and losses in the city for the sake of unearned income. One of the experts’ suggestions to prevent land speculation and make public benefit plans is to nationalize the urban land. In addition, if a country’s tax system does not allow for serious taxation of vacant land, it becomes difficult to avoid land profiteering (Keleş, 2014:145).

Land profiteering, related to land speculation, prevents cities from developing on a regular basis, and the city does not change according to a prepared plan but in line with the direction of land profiteers (Keleş, 2014:147). The countries where the cities and roads are planned in the best way, housing, education, health, open and green areas are put into service are the countries where the public administrations have land or have strict control over the land (Keleş, 2014:143).

Gentrification is the act of expanding the city center with land speculation and displacement methods (Üçoğlu, 2015:44). In the theory of rent gap, Neil Smith defined gentrification as “the transformation of the working class or other neighborhoods in the city center for housing, recreation and other uses for the upper-middle classes” (Smith, 1987:462). The rent gap is the situation in which the difference between the current use value and the potential value is calculated by some actors in the city and the actors take action for profit. In this context, while the gecekondu settlement areas in the city pass under the control of local governments and real estate investors due to the rent gap, the gecekondu people are displaced and the neighborhood is gentrified. In short, through gentrification, urban poor is displaced while urban space is constantly being reproduced with neoliberal urbanization.

Economic and social activities organized in and around the city constitute urban land’s value (Tekeli, 2009:23) and the population concentrated in a region provides physical, social infrastructure and investments to be brought to that region and increases the value of urban land. However, in unplanned settlement areas such as gecekondu neighborhoods, the state provides the infrastructure for that region and does it without a plan among existing structures, which requires high investment. The efficiency of these investments in unplanned settlements is low and has a negative impact on development of city due to both economic and socio-cultural consequences. Until the 2000s, the gecekondu settlements in İzmir, which were close to the city center and were regarded as neglected and worthless lands, began to gain value as the demand for the city center increased and began to expand. In this sense, although inter-city and intra-city migration continues in relation to neoliberal economy policy, it is seen that TOKİ sites are increasing, rather than gecekondu.

After the war period affecting the whole world, Keynesian policies united with Fordist mode of production and created a new standard of living. According to Üçoğlu, Henry Ford, who wanted to combine his Fordist production structure with Keynesian policies, wanted the workers working in his factory to live in suburban houses in the city’s peripheries and he maintained that the wages should be kept high by arguing that the workers should be happy. By means of these settlement type, Ford began to sell cars his workers who produced them, so that the use of vehicles became widespread and the settlements on the periphery became urban practice (Üçoğlu, 2015:37). The

environment created by Fordist production and Keynesian policies led to the emergence of “neoliberalism” as a reinterpretation of neoclassical economics. In this sense, as neoliberalism changes the meaning of the concept of capital and integrates the competitive factor into the market, it has become a way of creating class distinction and establishing superiority in society and urban space.

Neoliberalism has emerged in the 1970s as an extension of neoclassical economics that transformed the labor-based approach of classical economics into utilitarianism (Üçoğlu, 2015:35). According to Harvey, neoliberal state policy sees it as beneficial for businesses and companies to operate within the scope of free market and trade, while making basic institutional arrangements to guarantee individuals’ freedom of action and expression. In line with this policy, it is argued that ever-increasing productivity will increase the standard of living for all, productivity and fertility, and reduce consumer costs and tax burdens (Harvey, 2015:72-3). Nevertheless, the issue of who will gain surplus value from the free market is related to the economic and political power. The economically and politically powerful pushes the weak out of the struggle. The material conditions of modern production aim to penetrate everyday life and instill a newer and higher awareness of organizations there (Lefebvre, 2010:156). The market has become supportive of consumption, not to meet the needs of individuals, but to demonstrate strength and increase competition. The consumption habits and segregation pioneered by neoclassical economics have also shown their effects in the common and social environment (Üçoğlu, 2015:36).

Along with capital policy, neoliberalism shapes the individual by normalizing the environment in which the individual lives and imposing features on the individual to be meek, productive and competitive (Spencer, 2018:52). Laborer’s acceptance the work, doing this with his/her own will, working better and harder, increasing the desire for productivity for himself/herself is much better for system and capital owners (Lefebvre, 2010:53). In parallel with this notion, another feature of neoliberalization is the provision of flexible specialization and flexible accumulation through the control and exploitation of labor. With this method, the value of labor and laborer is ignored and power relations are established in society. In recent years, in some countries, these policies of the neoliberal state have undergone changes and neoliberal theory based on

individuality and free market has been replaced by “neo-conservatism” based on moral values.

Neoliberal policies shape cities in accordance with rent and the economic and cultural realities of the upper classes, although the levels and forms of practice vary in each country (Erman, 2016:41). The state had to create projects providing rent such as “mega projects” or “brand cities” and local governments had to realize their own budgets as a result of state’s being away from a social one and diminishing its budget as well as privatization and subcontracter system are becoming widespread and municipality companies are being founded (Erman, 2016:23-26). Accordingly, as Erman states, cities are transformed by public-private partnership and this transformation is explained by the concept of “neoliberal urbanization” (Peck, Theodore and Brenner, 2009 as cited from Erman, 2016:24). Within the scope of the concept of “advanced marginality”, this situation, which leads to the increase in the difference between the income groups and the spatial differentiation, is the result of unequal development of capitalist economies, shrinking welfare states, and social-spatial exiles and exclusions in post-Fordist cities (Wacquant, 2011:12).

It is assumed that urban land rent will occur as the distance away from the city center and business areas (Tekeli, 2009:22). On the contrary, gecekondu settlements spread in close proximity to the city center and industrial areas and have remained within the demanded and valuable areas of the city. Therefore, urban transformation works have been initiated in line with these developments and various reasons in the gecekondu settlements that belong to the boundaries of valuable urban lands since the 2000s. “Today, cities appear as new places of intervention for the private sector, which is paved the way by the state and especially by local governments” (Erman, 2016:23).

### **3.1.2. Infrastructure Works and Urban Transformation**

Infrastructure, as defined by Tekeli, is the physical structures realized by public institutions through state and local governments, which provide the necessary services to facilitate the lives of a country’s people, to improve their health and ensure the functioning of their economy (Tekeli, 2009:109). Physical works such as roads, water, sewerage and electricity that constitute the urban infrastructure are applied within the



scope of *technical infrastructure*. In addition to the technical infrastructure, the works carried out to meet other needs such as health, education and culture are called *social infrastructure* (Tekeli, 2009:110-11). The technical and social infrastructure, which goes through processes such as project design, financing, implementation, maintenance and operation, serves the citizens as a whole.

As Roberts describes, *urban transformation* is the redevelopment and revitalization of a lost economic activity, the functioning of an inoperative social function, the provision of social integration in areas of social exclusion, and the restoration of this balance in areas where environmental quality or balance is lost (Roberts as cited from Şişman and Kibaroğlu, 2009). Cities in our country and the world need various applications in terms of their aims, application methods and results for renewal, transformation, resettlement and improvement due to reasons such as economic parameters, population displacement and agglomeration, social inadequacies, wrong settlements and natural disasters (Şişman and Kibaroğlu, 2009). These applications aim at spatial change as well as social and cultural development.

Urban transformation practices in the world first emerged as the demolition and reconstruction of some regions (urban renewal) as a result of urban growth movements in Europe in the 19th century (Şişman and Kibaroğlu, 2009). After Second World War, urban works in Europe between 1950 and 1970 focused on providing housing for the growing population. After the 1970s, by turning to a different transformation model in Europe and America, the industrial areas in the city center were transformed into buildings with different functions and opened for new uses such as offices and residences. In the 1980s, urban transformations carried out with the partnership of local government and private sector started to increase in parallel with neoliberal urban policies. On the other hand, different approaches and practices are carried out within the scope of the spatial, economic and socio-cultural situation of each country. In this sense, there are nine different types of applications as renewal, rehabilitation, conservation, revitalization, redevelopment, improvement, clearance, infill development and refurbishment in the world (Şişman and Kibaroğlu, 2009).

In the development process of the countries, large investments are needed to become urbanized, industrialized and create the infrastructure. However, after Second World War, Turkey, as one of the developing countries, tried to make these investments

and developments real by creating spatial differentiation, sectoral selectivity and allowing the demands that effort of public and entrepreneur (Tekeli, 2009:113). Examples of these are systems such as legalization of gecekondu with amnesties, reduced agricultural activities and concentration in industry, trade and service sector and build-operate-transfer.

The population, which is adapting to the technological and economic developments in the society, is changing places inside the city and country. In this direction, when the population is piled up in one place, technical and social infrastructure is developed and urban infrastructure and urban planning are carried out in parallel. Infrastructure requirements vary depending on the technological and economic situation of the time, the size and development of the city, and the socio-cultural situation of the people. Infrastructure services, which are generally provided by public institutions and have the characteristics of public consumption goods, are provided in some cases by the private sector and in some cases by public and private sector partnership.

After industrialization, almost in each city of Turkey, gecekondu settlements has emerged as the economically poor's living area and devoid of technical and social infrastructure due to population movements. These areas are physically unhealthy environments, as well as low education levels and high crime rates. It was thought by local governments that the problem underlying the environmental and security problems in the city was generally caused by these settlements and was reflected to other citizens in this way. According to Wacquant, in some developed countries, the way to remove the poor from the regions that are need to be impoverished or restructured, to clear the city center from the poor settlements and to organize the city center according to the upper-middle class is to reduce municipal services methodically and to reduce public expenditures (Wacquant, 2011:101). Within the scope of "planned contraction" (Wacquant, 2011: 105), after the year 2000 in Turkey, urban transformation projects were implemented due to the fact that the gecekondu settlements became collapsed areas, the urban population continued to increase and the people with high income wanted to return to the city. Demolition of gecekondu, the creation of new housing areas and new functions, improvement, protection, revitalization, reconstruction, change and improve both the structures and the region economically and socially are expected

from urban transformation practices (Keleş, 2014:400). With these projects carried out in our country, the poor part of the city either settles with the industrial facilities sent to the city's peripheries or in the mass housing provided to them through debt.

Infrastructure projects and their ways of financing have become the means used by countries to drive urban development (Tekeli, 2009:118). In this sense, as of the 2000s, individuals living in *gecekondu*s started to live in mass housing with better technical infrastructure. These housing areas have been expanded with social infrastructure such as schools, health centers, bazaars, markets, prayer areas, sports areas and play parks in order to create a new type of “neoliberal subject” (Erman, 2016:310) in accordance with neoliberal ideals. Meanwhile, the urban transformation areas are being offered to the high income group with new infrastructure works, housing, commercial space, social and cultural services. In this direction, displacements in the city are organized according to class and economic relations.

All the measures taken by the state to meet the housing needs of the citizen and to determine and implement the priorities are called “housing policy” (Keleş, 2014: 343). Since the 1980s, TOKİ (Housing Development Administration) has been one of the leading institutions in the country's housing policies. Founded in 1984 with the Collective Housing Law and Collective Housing Fund as the “Collective Housing and Public Partnership Administration” and, the institution was renamed as “Collective Housing Administration” with the separation of the Collective Housing Fund. Housing Development Administration was attached to the Ministry of Public Works and Settlement in 2001, to the Prime Ministry in 2004 and to the Ministry of Environment and Urbanization in 2018. Between the years 1984-2003, while the main function was to support housing production by housing credit, not housing production, since 2003, the institution concentrated on mass housing production by cooperating with country's prominent companies. During these processes, TOKİ was restructured and neoliberalized and the power to manage the urban land increased. Together with the legal arrangements made within the framework of urban regeneration, while municipalities take a regulatory role through land take over and transfer, TOKİ is building mass housing for the low and middle-income citizens on the periphery of the city.

Since the beginning of the 2000s, regulations have been made in the law that include urban transformation. In order to reduce the risk against natural disasters and find solutions to the gecekondu problem, urban transformation practices have started, especially following the Marmara and Düzce earthquakes (Genç, 2014:19). Within the scope of urban transformation works, it is aimed to provide physical transformation, but improvements on economic, social and cultural transformation of individuals have not been done sufficiently. As stated by Genç, with the Law No. 5216 on Metropolitan Municipalities enacted in 2004, metropolitan municipalities were authorized for urban transformation, while the Law No. 5104 on Ankara North Entrance Urban Transformation Project was enacted for the first time. In the Municipality Law No. 5393, which entered into force in 2005, the municipalities were given the assignments related to urban transformation for the first time, and the metropolitan municipalities were given the authority to make, approve and implement urban transformation projects. Again, in 2005, the Law No. 5366 about Renewal Preservation of Frayed Historical and Cultural Real Estate Properties and Sustentation by Using was enacted. By this Law, it was decided to create new usage areas such as housing and trade and to take precautions against natural disasters by rebuilt and restore in accordance with the area's growth, the region which were registered as protected area and the frayed cultural and natural assests whose features were about to be lost. The Law No. 6306 on Transformation of Disaster Risk Areas, which became legal on May 16, 2012, aimed primarily to transform areas under disaster risk. How and by whom the risky structures will be identified, transfer and registration procedures, evacuation and demolition procedures and related periods have been determined (Genç, 2014:20-25).

According to the principles of TOKİ, the main objectives in urban transformation are to increase the quality of life in urban projects, to balance increasing economic imbalances and global pressures, to eliminate social inequality and housing shortages along with creating neighborhoods that give priority to values (TOKİ, <http://www.toki.gov.tr/kentsel-yenileme>). The duties of the Housing Development Administration defined/determined by Law No. 2985 are as follows (TOKİ, <http://www.toki.gov.tr/kurulus-ve-tarihce>):

- To develop projects directly or through its affiliates in Turkey and abroad; to make or have it made, housing, infrastructure and social equipment applications.

- To establish or participate in companies related to the housing sector.
- To support industry or employees in housing construction.
- To build, promote and support housing and social facilities together with their infrastructures, if deemed necessary in natural disaster areas.
- To carry out or have the projects and applications requested by the Ministries and the approval of the Minister.
- To make or have it made applications with profit-oriented projects in order to provide funds to the administration.
- To issue government-guaranteed or non-guaranteed domestic and foreign bonds and all kinds of securities.
- To provide individual and public housing loans, to loan projects for the development of rural 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.
- To decide to take loans from abroad on the opinion of the Undersecretariat of Treasury to be used in expenditures related to the field of duty.
- To take measures to ensure the participation of banks for the financing of housing, to provide loans to banks for this purpose when necessary, to determine the procedures for the implementation of this provision.
- To ensure that all kinds of research, projects and contracting operations are carried out by contract.
- To perform the duties assigned by law and other legislation.

As it can be seen, TOKİ has been made to have wide authority and application areas in terms of decision mechanism and economic guidance power. With the transfer of certain decision mechanisms and intervention areas of the state to TOKİ, the state has only assumed a regulatory role. Together with these regulations, the gecekondu in the city center are changing hands, and the cities are being taken into the profit-oriented transformation by being taken away from the urban poor and given to the private sector (Erman, 2016:71).

According to Lefebvre, the *isotopic space* is the places of the same in the close order, the *heterotopic space* is the other place, which is both excluded and intertwined, and the *neutral space* is the trivial places, which have a value such as intersections and

crossings but insignificant (Lefebvre, 2013:122). Gecekondu neighborhoods can be described as heterotopic space where different gecekondu formed by people with different cultures who migrate from different places in line with their needs and opportunities. Conversely, mass housing can be interpreted as an isotopic space, usually located outside the city, on the edge of a neutral ring road, with a large number of high-rise apartment buildings of the same type. Although the low income group is separated from the city center in this way, the centralist power of the city connects the urban poor to itself economically and politically. In our society, the contradictions are no longer between rural and urban. The new contradiction lies between the center of power and other forms of centrality, the center of wealth, the periphery, integration and segregation (Lefebvre, 2013:159). Different isotopic and heterotopic spaces emerge with the displacement of the concentration of the population in different time periods and these spaces collide with each other and create different centers.

There are criticisms of urban regeneration practices due to intervened places and urban migration. Of course, it would be beneficial for the society to improve the physical space in which poor urban people live or to send them to another residence with better physical conditions. However, only physical transformation can be achieved and economic and social transformation cannot be realized in the lives of the urban poor, conducting works with a focus on real estate, and where and how to transfer the value difference generated by transformation cause criticisms. In addition, the low-income group struggling with a new kind of poverty, having troubles to find a place of employment, paying the debt to state for housing, and having difficulty paying bills and dues. According to the neoliberal state policy, the individuals are held responsible and accountable for their own actions and welfare, and in this case, the failure of the individual is exhausted only by the personal failures of the individual, not attributed to the system (Harvey, 2015:73). It is related to neoliberal policy and economy that people whose gecekondu have been destroyed and pay debt to the state after moving to mass housing. Neoliberal theory says that theoretically, “the risks belong to the lender”, whereas in practice it is “the risks belong to the borrower” (Harvey, 2015:82). According to Marx and Engels, it is the “small-town ideology” of trying to make a homeowner by charging everyone, and the solution is that the land is no longer a matter of profit but a socialization (Keleş, 2014:266).

### **3.2. Urban Transformation Practices in İzmir**

It is not possible to talk about a single application or a specific solution for urban transformation implementations to create a more functional and comfortable urban area. Urban transformation studies vary from country to country, from city to city and even within the city itself according to climate, culture, users' lifestyle, expectations and needs. In other words, the content of urban transformation and project implementation methods vary according to the characteristics and needs of the area where the project will be implemented (Karadağ and Mirioğlu, 2014:43). In order to be a long-term solution of urban transformation studies, the state and local government should take these factors into consideration and make a project specific to the users' expectations and needs other than the standard practices. In order to achieve this, profit and loss analysis should be done carefully and the project should be carried out through their participation, not through sanctions.

Similar to gecekondu settlements, about a third of the city's population lived in slum areas (favelas), which were built on steep slopes, in and around Rio de Janeiro (Aydın and Çamur, 2016:62). In this slum area, the transformation was inevitable due to reasons such as insufficient technical and social infrastructure services in the region, inability to prevent environmental pollution, low education rates, high unemployment and crime rates. That's why, in the Rio de Janeiro Slum (Favela) Revitalization Project, it was aimed to meet basic needs such as infrastructure, sewage, water and electricity distribution, and to reduce environmental pollution by collecting garbage; then, to provide social infrastructure services such as public squares, sports and entertainment centers and child care centers (Şişman and Kibaroglu, 2009). In this context, the revitalization project, which continues with a total of 600 million dollars, is implemented in cooperation with the public and local people. While the technical and social infrastructures of favelas are being developed, favelas attract the attention of tourists with their complex and colorful texture.



Figure 50. Favelas built on steep slopes (URL 11).

Figure 51. Colorful favelas (URL 11).

Urban transformation projects implemented in Turkey are carried out for various reasons such as transformation of regions exposed to natural disaster risk, transformation of urban centers, transformation of business/industrial areas which have lost their economic viability, protection of historical and natural areas and rehabilitation of gecekondu areas (Karadağ and Mirioğlu, 2014:44). The reasons for the urban transformation works implemented in İzmir are generally stated as clearing of the expose-to natural disaster area, demolishing the unhealthy settlement areas and reorganizing them, and realizing on-site transformation. In İzmir, as in other cities, urban transformation works have become a method used to reshape the urban space. While the urban poor are removed from the city center, the city center is transformed into a place for globalization, consumption and profit-oriented projects.

People living in different residential areas, including gecekondu, apartments and mass housing, were asked about the urban problems of İzmir and the following answers were received:

*“When we think about İzmir’s shortcomings, problems, I say that, some deficiencies caused by immigration in time. This is first of all, as I just mentioned, the parking problem, then the infrastructure problem. Because the geographical location of İzmir is not on a flat ground. As such, the climate of İzmir is mostly rainy in winters. This brings up the insufficiency of infrastructures for us. In this sense I say it is inadequate. Another, of course, I think is the inadequacy of our highways. That is why, when it comes to the migration intake, or when people’s indulgence in luxury is at the same time, the inadequacy of the highways stands out. ... For some districts, maybe shopping malls are not enough. Or entertainment places are not enough.” (Interviewee 2)*



*“The urban problems of İzmir, their roads are very bad at first. The municipality does not provide any kind of service in this regard. Infrastructure is problematic, when it rains, you know İzmir, generally a mountainous area, streets are slopes. The points where those slopes end are filled with water. In other words, urbanization in İzmir is very bad, unorganized. In some places, the buildings are very high, and in beautiful places/grounds, that is very low, too. While it should be the opposite. İzmir is a complete problem itself. Don't believe when they say it is beautiful.” (Interviewee 4)*

İzmir Metropolitan Municipality maintains its works on Urban Transformation and Development Project in the frame of 73rd Article that was altered by Law No. 5998 of Municipality Law No. 5393. İzmir Metropolitan Municipality is carrying out its urban works with the discourse that “Transformation is not just destruction. Transformation is life safety, history, urban breath, we transform together” (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017). Together with this discourse, for a more livable İzmir, in line with the principles of holistic perspective, interdisciplinary harmonious work, participatory decision process, transparency, sustainability and reconciliation to provide on-site transformation, to protect existing cultural riches, to support social transformation, to contribute to social peace, it is stated that urban transformation has been realized with the aim of carrying cultural heritage to the future and strengthening social and technical infrastructure (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017).

As stated by the metropolitan municipality, urban transformation project negotiations are carried out on a consensus basis and contracts are signed on the type and size of housing offered to the beneficiaries and the calculated new construction rights. While urban transformation studies are being conducted for the areas exposed to disaster in Kadifekale, Yeşildere and Gürçeşme, on-site transformation studies are carried out in Bayraklı, Uzundere, Ege Neighborhood, Ballıkuyu, Aktepe-Emrez, Örnekköy and Güzeltepe regions (Karadağ and Mirioğlu, 2014:49). İzmir Metropolitan Municipality 42 hectares in Kadifekale and Yeşildere, 60 hectares in Bayraklı, 32 hectares in Uzundere, 7 hectares in Ege Neighborhood, 48 hectares in Ballıkuyu, 122 hectares in Aktepe-Emrez, 18 hectares in Örnekköy, 21 hectares in Güzeltepe, and as a total of 350 hectares land in the field of transformation is carried out in İzmir (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017). After reconciliation with the inhabitants of these regions, different plans such as on-site transformation, implementation of new projects

or expropriation and urban forests are made. While the implementations for Kadifekale and Yeşildere are completed under the name of “urban renewal project”, the works for other regions are carried out under the name of “urban transformation and development project”. This is an indication that the content and implementation methods of the projects are different.



Figure 52. Urban transformation development and renovation projects completed and ongoing in İzmir (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2018).

Adoption of the principle of participation in urban transformation projects has an important place. Otherwise, the projects are transformed into processes such as displacement and gentrification of the area (Karadağ and Mirioğlu, 2014:44). In the modern state, the citizen has been separated from private and productive people, externalized to himself/herself and the society, and has become unresponsive, as Lefebvre stated (Lefebvre, 2010:94). In the early 1990s, approximately 1 million people were forced to migrate from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia in the context of security, terrorism, development projects and natural disasters, and İzmir became one of

the 10 provinces receiving the most migration (Hacettepe University Institute of Population Studies, 2006:5-17). A part of the population of Dere neighborhood in Buca district came to İzmir from the East by forced migration, and they are living in gecekondus under difficult and in poor physical conditions. With the demolition decision taken by the local government about the neighborhood, they have established the People's Initiative of Kuruçeşme-Dere Neighborhood by opposing the demands and moves to take part in the planning process in response to the neoliberal urban transformation policies (Eğilmez, 2010:631-32). As a result of the struggle of this Initiative, the decision to demolish the neighborhood was canceled. Initiative aims to transfer its experiences to other neighborhoods in the struggle against neoliberal urban policies and to establish a general platform that can turn into an anti-system movement on urban transformation in İzmir (Eğilmez, 2010:636-37). The work and struggle of this Initiative is an important example in terms of providing the opportunity to deliver their demands to the local government and to be effective in the spatial transformation of the city in case of urbanization and especially of the urban poor.

### **3.2.1. Urban Transformation Practices in Yeşildere**

The urban transformation works in Yeşildere were conducted in partnership with Kadifekale Urban Renewal Project due to its close proximity and similar problems. Although Kadifekale is the historical center of the city, it is the first and largest gecekondus settlement area of the city. This area is a settlement in which the landslide is active since 1923, 800 houses out of 5000 were uninhabitable because of the landslide in 1977 and landslide risk continued after that year (TMMOB Chamber of Geological Engineers, 2012). “Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Project” was the first urban transformation project to be implemented and completed in İzmir since the fact that Kadifekale and Yeşildere was established on steep slopes bearing the risk of landslides and that the structures were built illegally and unhealthy.

Within the scope of urban transformation works, there are two options for individuals whose gecekondus are destroyed. The first is to take the money at the fair value of the destroyed gecekondus and, if necessary, add up the money and move to another gecekondus, apartment or neighborhood. The second option, after calculating the fair value of the gecekondus, is to start living in the mass housing by debting from the

government for the remaining amount if necessary. Apart from the urban transformation, another reason why individuals living in gecekondu move to flats is that people who improve their education and/or economic situation want to live in a different neighborhood and in a better spatial environment. Families with changing income levels sometimes change housing or neighborhood and sometimes change both housing type and neighborhood.

Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Project includes 42 hectares and 9 neighborhoods as Kadifekale, Altay, İmariye, Aziziye, I. Kadriye, Hasan Özdemir, 19 Mayıs, Vezirağa and Kosova, and involves approximately 20.000 people. The Liaison Office, which deals with the project, was activated in 2006 and promotional trips were conducted to Uzundere TOKİ in 2006-2007. The first draw for Uzundere TOKİ was made in 2008 and the demolition of the houses that were evacuated due to landslide hazards was started in 2007 with contracts signed with the beneficiaries. While 1100 of the 1700 beneficiaries living in demolished houses prefer living in Uzundere TOKİ mass housing, the other 600 beneficiaries demanded expropriation prices and moved to different neighborhoods and districts of the city (Kılıç and Göksu, 2018:212). In Uzundere TOKİ, a 15-year repayment plan was prepared for those who would like to live there and the houses started to be delivered in 2010. In order to prevent landslides, afforestation works started in Yeşildere and Kadifekale in 2011 and trees such as redbud, peanut pine, blue cypress were planted and a “Tree Planting Festival” was organized. In 2013, the demolition of all houses was completed, and majority of the region was cleared of gecekondu and transformed into green areas.

In the interviews, it was seen that inhabitants’ reasons of moving from Yeşildere were wish for living in houses with better conditions and leaving after they got married. The interviewees who left Yeşildere expressed their feelings and comparisons with their new living spaces and changing needs and increasing consumption in time as follows:

*“Our reason of moving from Yeşildere is that we wanted to build up our own house, I mean life. In other words, as a nuclear family, we moved in buying a house from another place. This happened on the side of Buca in Evka-1. We moved that way. ... While we were living in the house in Yeşildere, we tried to make a little savings as we did not have to pay any rent. With our own effort. Then we bought ourselves a flat from Evka by using that accumulation and borrowing some. In this way, we moved. ... So I didn't even have the chance to see the house while we were buying our house in Evka. Only my husband went*

*and saw, after that he paid. After the house was bought, we explained the situation to his family. We moved that way. But I cannot describe my happiness there. ... Most importantly, the thought that I could have a living space that I can call "mine" made me happy. I was also getting my freedom." (Interviewee 2)*

*"... somehow differentiated, so our quality of life has changed. This, of course, affects our budget, so there was both a plus and a minus. ... We were washing dishes by hand, using single dish detergent. But now I also use it in the machine dishwashing detergent. I also use it for hand when I wash it in my hand. So luxury increases, this time costs increase." (Interviewee 2)*

*"The area with the garden there was very good. There is a garden of our own, there is none in here. There is an area for 20 apartments for everyone, which is very, very little if you divide it to per person. Of course, the children are much better growing up with the trees. What was the good thing about the apartment? A more organized structure, namely the number of rooms, your environment, security or transportation." (Interviewee 3)*

*"This place (Yıkıkkemer) is more organized, easy to access. There are a lot of shopping opportunities. Grocery-style places are more popular in Yeşildere. There are no big supermarkets, shopping malls or something. This region is more comfortable, the area we just moved." (Interviewee 4)*

*"... it is the matter of offer-demand. At that time, people, for example, would make a seat in their house something we called sofa, they would mount it on the street from the tree branch, throw a cushion on it and sit. Now, every house has an armchair set, a separate unit for TV, let me tell you, fancy curtains, personal wardrobes, clothing affectation. It used to be enough when you have 3-4 clothes, but now you get a few of each model from each brand. Of course, this affects the budget a little." (Interviewee 4)*

These people stated that the relationship they have established with the city along with the changing settlements as follows:

*"So before (while in Yeşildere), the places we used to go outside of the city are mostly markets, that is for shopping purposes. Shopping based on clothing and food. Frankly, I didn't know the environment much in the years we lived there. ... In here (Buca), stroll areas are very different. Many more options. Nevertheless, although shopping is predominant, how I say a little bit, of course, the things brought by time have differentiated. ... We would meet our needs of shopping, our clothing from Kemeraltı. But now rather than Kemeraltı, but as I said, life conditions have changed and options have increased. There is more*

*demand for places that we call shopping centers in order to go to a place and get them all out of the same place.” (Interviewee 2)*

*“At the time I was there, most of the workers were working in the city center. Generally, people would go to there for work, or when they had a job at the courthouse, it was in Konak back then. They would go there. They would also go to Kemeralti to shop, there were no shopping malls like today. We would get everything from Kemeralti. ... We have a private vehicle now. We usually go to the city center with it, but we do not need to go to the city center anymore.” (Interviewee 4)*

In Kadifekale, while aiming to clear the area from gecekondu, on the other hand, bringing the historical and archaeological values that it possesses to the city tourism has brought to the support and execution of the project. Finding the structures such as historical antique theater and stadium under the gecekondu by archaeological studies and combining these cultural values with the Historical Agora are the other gains expected from the project (Karadağ and Mirioğlu, 2014:51). In this direction, the creation of a new rent space that will constitute a tourism axis is part of the reflection of neoliberal policies on urban space (Kılıç and Göksu, 2018:216).



Figure 53. Antique Roman Theater project that the Metropolitan Municipality wants to reveal for the tourism axis (İzmir Metropolitan Municipality, 2017).

During the period of Hakan Tartan, ex Mayor of Konak Municipality, within the scope of “Yeşildere Urban Transformation and Development Project”, discourses such as transforming unhealthy construction to İzmir to urban transformation works, establishing modern living spaces and making Yeşildere İzmir’s new attraction center took place (İzmirfx T.C. İzmir City Governorship Official City Guide). In the project

that Hakan Tartan wanted to implement, the pond, picnic areas, water games, canoeing in the water channels, reclaiming the creek and rebuilding the creek walls, tea gardens, buffets, aquapark, wall waterfalls and observation terraces, fish restaurants, museums and 6000 houses that would not disturb the general structure were planned to be built in accordance with the urban transformation works (İzmirfx T.C. İzmir City Governorship Official City Guide). However, this project was not implemented during or after Hakan Tartan. Apart from the afforestation work on the area of destroyed gecekondu, there is no progress on the other settlement areas yet.

All those interviewed, thoughts and expectations about the urban transformation implementations in İzmir and Turkey were asked and the following answers were received:

*“They are not doing it for the general interest in urban transformation. They do it so that certain people make money. There is ill-will. There is rent. As I said, A... Construction, we met that mukhtar, they had 20 of houses from that neighborhood. Why are you buying them? Because there’s a plan in there. ... I would like it. For example, I would like Yeşildere to be like Porsuk Creek in Eskişehir.” (Interviewee 1)*

*“So when I say urban transformation, I think of it as the complete elimination of the shortcomings I experienced in the past. What can this be, that is, from the house I live in, to the park where my child plays or to the school where he/she is educated. Or to the means of transportation. So I would like to see everything as a whole, adapted to that urban transformation, as a fully structured whole. ... I think that just one thing remains new or renewed doesn’t mean much.” (Interviewee 2)*

*“Now they have created something called urban transformation, and then its name has changed. It has turned to on-site urban transformation. Actually, this is more, how can I tell you, the building has been demolished and replaced again. Apart from that, the expansion of living space, I do not know, it can not be considered such things as increasing public services in Turkey. And so is in İzmir. ... They even demolish the 2-storey building and build 10-storey buildings. So, road is the same, school is the same, shopping opportunities are the same. I mean, you are trying to fit 8, 10 families, 20 families in an area where two families were living. This makes things more difficult. So we need green space, we need more beautiful schools, like that.” (Interviewee 4)*

*“Am I gonna get exiled from here to Uzundere, I belong here. ... I, too, want to live for the rest of my life in a beautiful neighborhood. Now there are these*

*investors, real estate agents. Where did they get its smell, they bought 50, 60 houses in the whole neighborhood.” (Interviewee 7)*

In the meeting held in Uzundere TOKİ, Interviewee 8 said that, *“They made us signed something for landslide. Then when we came here, they made an urban transformation”*. He was stated that their expectations were never met, they were never got their help, the citizen did everything with their own means.

The renewal project is a positive development considering the landslide risk, illegal construction and unhealthy living conditions. However, the project, which is stated to be completed, is still too inadequate. In order to create a sustainable urban model, it is necessary to realize an urban arrangement that includes economic, environmental and social dimensions in line with the common decisions of local government, private sector, urban residents and users affected by urban transformation (Saccomani, 2013). On-site transformation of other gecekondus that are still present in the vicinity of the destroyed gecekondus or the placement of the planned housing units by the participatory method will contribute to a more integrated and sustainable urbanization.

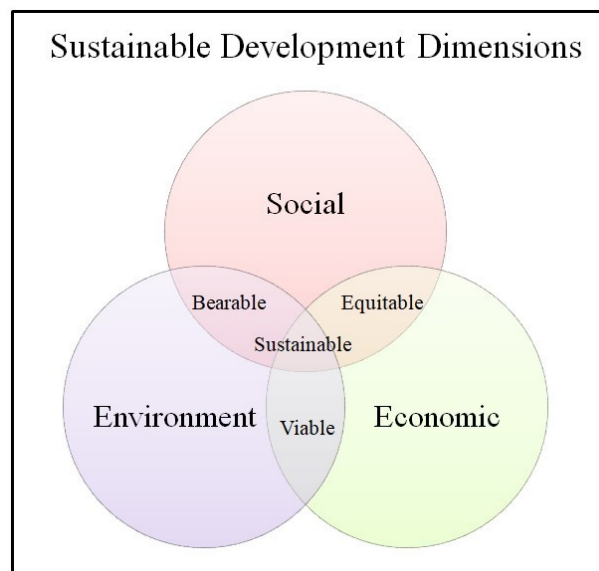


Figure 54. Development dimensions for sustainable city organized from Saccomani’s scheme (Saccomani, 2013).



### 3.2.2. Uzundere TOKİ

Uzundere TOKİ residences within the boundaries of Cennetçeşme Neighborhood of Karabağlar district were constructed as high-rise buildings of 3080 units and 4 different types of houses on an area of 469.425 square meters (Kılıç and Göksu, 2018:206). Built on a very sloping land between Limontepe and Uzundere turnouts of the Aydın-Çeşme highway, the Uzundere mass housing settlement is 9 kilometers away from the city center (Kılıç and Göksu, 2018:211). The project was contracted by TOKİ and İzmir Metropolitan Municipality transferred some of the residences purchased from TOKİ to the families who agreed to move to Uzundere through the Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Project. With this planning, houses were assigned to 1100 families who were living in Kadifekale and Yeşildere. Yet, no solution could be found for the tenants whose houses were destroyed in the transformation area (Kılıç and Göksu, 2018:206, 212). The other houses at TOKİ were put up for sale through auctions to other urban residents. People from Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Project were placed in 75 and 95 square meters apartments, while other urban residents not related to the urban transformation project were placed in 120 square meters larger apartments (Kılıç and Göksu, 2018:214).



Figure 55. Distribution of residences in Uzundere TOKİ by square meters and other social areas.

If urban transformation is carried out by displacement rather than on-site transformation, it is very important to determine the new area according to the transportation and needs of the users. It is a contradiction that Uzundere mass housing area is separated from 540 hectares of land, which is determined to be a risky area for landslide in Karabağlar district, by only the highway (Karadağ and Mirioğlu, 2014:51). In this sense, it is necessary for a long-term solution to be in a position where location selection does not pose a danger to disasters, users can meet their needs and access to workplaces and the city.

Families who migrated from other cities to İzmir and settled in the gecekondu were obligated to migrate within the city with urban transformation works. This situation has damaged both the cultural and social life and economic relations of the poor urban people. It has got difficult to go to the business places where they could go on foot or to the city center where they could go to meet their needs and spend time. Due to the means of transportation and its cost, their relations with the city center have changed. In parallel, according to the information obtained from the Interviewee 8 in Uzundere TOKİ, people living on the site state that they live in healthier and more comfortable houses than they used to live, access to some public services is easier, but access to the city center is difficult and the cost of living increases. While the distance of Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Area to the city center is 1.5 kilometers, Uzundere TOKİ is 9 kilometers away from it. As for Interviewee 8 stated, buses go to Üçkuyular from the site in every 10-15 minutes (verified from the site of Eshot, which provides the bus transportation of İzmir). However, while living in Kadifekale, he could go to the center on foot without getting on the car, and stated that this site is a “suburb” and that they cannot go as easily as in Kadifekale without a vehicle. This distance not only made transportation difficult, but also increased the cost of transportation for urban poors.

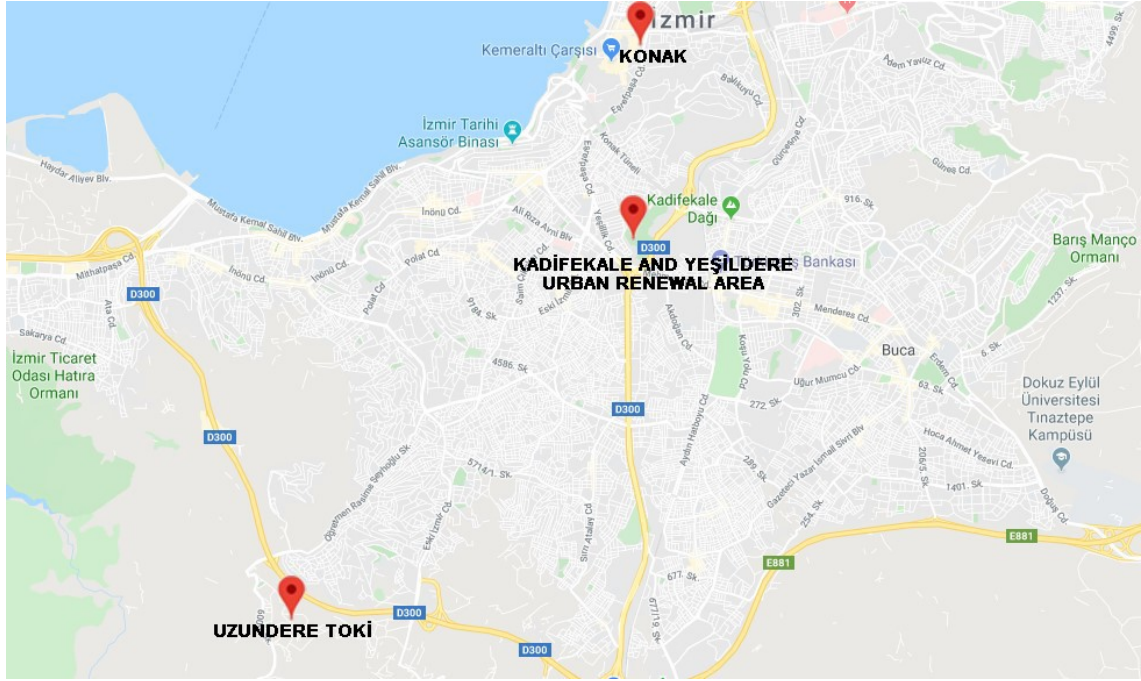


Figure 56. City center, Kadifekale and Yeşildere Urban Renewal Area and Uzundere TOKİ's location.

It is important to understand what mass housing deprives the urban poor while providing better living conditions and to what extent urban poverty persists. Along with the change in the spatial sphere of the urban individuals who are displaced within the city, changes in their social relationships, everyday life practices and consumption patterns also occur. Although the urban poor are somewhat adapted to the new living conditions, they shape their new living spaces in line with their own opportunities and habits. There is only one market in the shopping center on the site with a population of 10.000 people and it creates a problem for the residents who do not have a car. While the majority of the shops in the shopping center built within the scope of the mass housing project is empty, the presence of peddlers selling vegetables, fruits and other products on the street attracts attention. It was stated that before the closed bazaar area was put into service, the bazaar was established on the street and it was decided to build a closed bazaar area due to several accidents. For this reason, the closed bazaar area has been serving the people of the site since 2019. In addition, for the residents who do not have a car and have a shortage of livelihoods, peddlers selling on the site serve as an alternative method.



Figure 57. Empty spaces in Uzundere TOKİ Shopping Center.

Figure 58. Empty game areas in Uzundere TOKİ Shopping Center.



Figure 59. Peddlers selling on the streets of Uzundere TOKİ.

The interviewee 8 longed for his former neighborhood, “If it were in old Kadifekale, we would have sat on the street until the morning”. As he stated that people migrating from different cities all were living together in the same neighborhood, but everything changed after 1990. For Uzundere TOKİ, “The air of this place is not felt anywhere in İzmir” by saying that the people of the site sits in the gardens until 2 a.m. in the summer and drink tea. Based on this discourse, it can be said that some habits continue due to the fact that people want to communicate with each other even if their living spaces change.

It is very important that the physical, social and cultural environment of the area responds to the needs and habits of the users in urban transformation projects carried out due to the dynamic and active relationship between the built environment and

people. There are some spatial, economic and social contradictions and differences between the gecekondus and the housing units built to prevent gecekondus. This situation causes some people not to want to move to mass housing and the others do not adapt spatially, economically and socially to the environment they live after moving. As it was stated in Karadağ ve Mirioğlu's works, gecekondu inhabitants living in Uzundere TOKİ criticised that, the families some of whom placed to Uzundere TOKİ from Kadifekale were not pre-informed about the urban transformation project, victimized because of the long-term debt, the housing types damaged their neighbor relationships and contradicted their tradition, custom and moral values, and materials used in the houses were poor quality and plumbing was bad (Karadağ and Mirioğlu, 2014:52).

During the interviews, what kind of problems and satisfactions are caused from moving to Uzundere TOKİ due to landslide and urban transformation were asked. Residents of the site stated that they are satisfied with the healthier living area, the access of the children to the schools with better physical characteristics, the sports areas and the green areas offered on the site. However, as the Interviewee 8 stated, while living in Kadifekale, they had a house in one way or another, now the municipality has made them borrowed money, and their cost of living has increased compared to their houses destroyed due to landslide. The Interviewee 8, who has been living in Uzundere TOKİ for 10 years, stated that he has paid 500 Turkish Liras monthly debt to the municipality for 10 years, and that this amount has always been deducted from interest, he has not yet been able to pay the capital sum. So, he should continue to pay the debt to get his title deeds. They say that the living costs have increased compared to the past due to the common expenses such as the 120 Turkish Liras fee, 8.000-9.000 Turkish Liras water bills per month for 56 flats, and an average of 40.000-50.000 Turkish Liras for the maintenance of elevators annually, and it becomes more and more difficult to live and cope with household debt.

Although some healthier physical conditions in Uzundere TOKİ have been offered to the families living in the gecekondus, it is seen that the project has shortages due to transportation difficulties and economic and social relations. The site's residential area and apartments are not designed to support the social needs and belongings of inhabitants. The most important way to overcome this problem and to prevent it in the projects to be realized in the future is to ensure that the users are informed in advance, to participate in the projecting process, and to create living spaces

in line with their common needs and expectations. As an alternative to local government and private sector being the only decision and implementation mechanism, new approaches such as “integrated urban transformation” and “participatory urban transformation” (Taşçı, 2017:97) have been developed according to the demands and habits of users of all ages. In the transformation projects carried out with these methods, spatial transformation brings about social and economic transformations.

### **3.3. Conclusion**

According to Lefebvre, the city builds, reveals and presents the essence of social relations. It is the environment where mutual existences, contradictions and differences come together (Lefebvre, 2013:113). Natural assets, results of industry, techniques and wealth, lifestyles and culture, situations, changes and interruptions in daily life are the sum of the city’s contents (Lefebvre, 2013:114). As a result of urbanization and industrialization processes, the city is expanding from its center to its periphery, and lands ones were agricultural had turned into urban lands. The difference and contradiction between rural and the city disappears and the city is expanding day by day.

According to Tekeli, the urban land includes three elements as urban territory, a right to zoning or use on this land, and the infrastructure on which the activities to be located on the urban land must be seen (Tekeli, 2009:120). Likewise, the types of use on the urban land, such as housing and industry, determine what infrastructure is required for this use (Tekeli, 2009:120-21). Technical and social infrastructure as a whole are important services for urban residents to live in the city. Infrastructure studies with different qualities are carried out in terms of both physical environment and social facilities in the gecekondu and planned developing areas of the city. Since the infrastructure in the gecekondu settlements developed after the superstructure, there are many technical and economic problems and strategies are developed in the “shortage of infrastructure”, while the infrastructure is created in the regular parts of the city, the infrastructure is created and the growth in the “abundance of infrastructure” is realized (Tekeli, 2009:127). People who construct their gecekondu on a land that belongs to someone else, provide infrastructure to there, and who claim their rights with the house they live in, also practice land profiteering. In this sense, expropriation of urban lands

and infrastructure, balancing mutual and unrequited infrastructure and establishing a system to provide financing is an option to improve infrastructure works and prevent land speculation.

The biggest feature of neoliberalism is the desire to reveal the beneficial and consumption-oriented individual of neoclassical economics, and it does so by changing the meaning of the concept of capital (Üçoğlu, 2015:38). The new order created by neoliberalism shows itself spatially and socially in the urban area. In the 2000s, infrastructure works in the city started following a different trend in line with the neoliberal economy. The need for industrial areas and workers in the city has decreased with “deindustrialization” and as the role of industry and workers have remained in the background, and the “global city” phenomenon has come to the fore (Erman, 2016:26). For this reason, the necessity of demolishing the gecekondu, where the workers live, for various reasons and transforming the region into a new settlement has started taking an important place in the country’s agenda. At this point, asymmetric power relations (Harvey, 2015: 76) step in and the economically and politically strong displaces the weak in the city. As Erman stated, as the new middle class settle in the city, the ex-working class is forced to move away from the city. This process is called as “gentrification”, which means bourgeoisisation and exclusivity (Erman, 2016:26).

In our country, urban transformation works are carried out in line with the reasons such as taking precautions against natural disasters, developing physical space, protection and survival of natural, historical and cultural values and the decisions of certain public institutions. There is always a distance between the creation and implementation of projects, the ideologies specific to the intervening groups and classes, which are the ideology of the creators of the projects, manifest themselves in this process (Lefebvre, 2013:130). Demands and participation of individuals living in the city are not taken into account. Unlike today’s implementations in Turkey, urban transformation applications that provide spatial, social and cultural changes, should be done in line with the needs and expectations of users and the city in cooperation with experts, civic organisations, public and private sectors. In urban transformation works in Turkey, the transformation has been reduced to the transformation of physical space by only focusing the estate, social, economic, environmental dimensions of the transformation has been neglected (Şişman and Kibaroglu, 2009). However, a holistic

treatment of all these factors will provide long-term transformations for society. Considering only the economic dimensions and transforming the regions with high rent, sending the poor urban residents living in the gecekondu in the city center to the walls of the city increases injustice between the regions and creates new inequalities (Genç, 2014:26). Urban poor people have been taken away from the business relationship they have established with the city and the social and cultural environment with their neighborhoods, and experience a new kind of poverty only in living spaces in physically better conditions.

Urban transformation projects in Turkey are the product of neoliberal policies; it is not social integration or creating projects with modern urban individuals, and these projects lack social economic basis and social or cultural content (Erman, 2016:309). Urban transformation in our country should be implemented not with demolition, cleaning projects and construction, but with programs aimed at integrating them with the common needs and characteristics of local residents (Şişman and Kibaroğlu, 2009). In this regard, it is important to act in cooperation of public institutions, private sector and non-governmental organizations and to ensure public participation. In addition, spatial arrangements of which people can maintain their economic, social values, and common public spaces should be created in order to maintain their connections with the city and sense of social belonging.



## CHAPTER 4

### CONCLUSION

Since the 1950s, the causes of poverty and housing shortages experienced in urban Turkey, and the poor living conditions had changes in the context of different political and economic attitudes and decisions. However, there is no permanent solution to these problems. Cities have been differentiated according to their origin and income groups in spatial organizations and business sector. In the 1950s, the state made small interventions such as the preparation of development plans in the urban problems caused by industrialization, urbanization and internal migration. As Eđilmez states, the relationship between “migration, poverty and housing crisis”, which emerged in the 1950s, has been transformed within the framework of different implementations such as “urban planning and natural disasters” in the direction of capital accumulation processes and policies since the 1980s (Eđilmez, 2010:615). In this process, the state became increasingly passive, as the formal and informal sectors had a direct impact on urban decisions and development. At the same time, with the change of direction in the country’s economy after 1980, people who migrated after 1980 had more difficulty in adapting to the city economically, culturally and spatially. In this context, after 1980, the process of globalization, neoliberal policies and economic crises have led to deterioration of income distribution, increasing poverty and socio-cultural differences among the varying social segments in the country (Manavkat, 18). In the course of globalization and neoliberal approach, local governments have left their management and service provision to the dominance of the market, and the central and local governments’ economic and social positions have been limited (Özel, 2015:156).

Like all cities, İzmir has had a complex and dynamic structure throughout history. Due to this dynamic structure, it is a city where communities from different civilizations and cultures left traces and witnessed different urban problems in different time frames. The fact that İzmir is an important port city, and it is effective in terms of economic activities such as industry, trade and service sector, has led to the formation

of the identity of the city and reaching a certain population density by migration with the acceleration of urbanization. In the city, where there is not enough housing stock for this population density, the emergence of increasingly unplanned and illegal gecekondus has been inevitable. Migration has significantly affected both the physical and social fabric of the city. Over time, the urban areas began losing the features of being healthy, livable and sustainable as a result of the emergence of gecekondus in Turkey since the 1950s, the rapid growth of population density in and the enlargement of gecekondu settlements.

The gecekondu, where the market needs and the state is unable to provide the necessary conditions, has a clear class content definition since the beginning: the gecekondu is the housing of newcomer to the city, trying to hold on to it, and both the dependent and forgotten sections of the state and the market (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2001:112). In this direction, the state ensured the delivery of infrastructure services to these illegal settlements with gecekondu amnesties issued since the 1960s, and aimed to use the voting potential of the urban poor in its own interests by converting the gecekondus into deeded goods. There are those who suggest that gecekondus are immigrants' settlement in the city through unfair earnings, as well as those who suggest that there is an inevitable and unavoidable situation in the process of urbanization due to the inability of the state to provide adequate housing stocks. This two-side perspective about gecekondus is also crucial to determine the future of them.

In İzmir, as well as in Turkey, on-site transformation or displacement works are executed under the name of urban transformation in order to create new urban spaces after 2000s in the areas and districts both planned or unplanned where became the settlement area after Republic era. The majority of these works are carried out with the partnership of the local government and the private sector in the gecekondu settlements and collapsed areas in the center of İzmir. In line with urban transformation practices, mass housing has become areas where the people living in the gecekondus are controlled, healed, organized and individualized by spatial arrangements. However, the mass housing, which is produced as a solution for unsanitary and poorly served houses, brings different spatial, social and economic problems for the urban poor. In the urban transformation works that have been implemented in 10 regions in İzmir for different reasons and legal justifications, transformations are realized without considering the

economic, social and cultural characteristics, daily life practices and expectations of the people living in the neighborhoods. Although physical conditions are improved during the reorganization of urban space according to the demands of middle and high income groups, it is observed that class and income inequalities continue. Urban transformation, which offers some benefits to the city and some actors on a macro scale, affects the lives of poor urbans on a micro scale. In this context, it should be questioned again what mass housing applications can solve and which problems they cause.

Starting from the 1980s, “strategic spatial planning” (Gedikli, 2007:237) practices, which aim to equip the urban area with competitive conditions and have a more flexible approach, have become an important method in reorganizing the urban areas. As the new capitalist economy develops, it affects cities and urban space, poverty increases, its dimensions deepen and it is experienced in different places. With the deindustrialization of the city center, while trying to make the city attractive for the tourism and service sector, the absence of new employment areas or opportunities for the working class caused deepening of poverty. In the post-industrial modernization period, while educated and high-skilled, high-wage jobs have increased, on the other hand, temporary and low-wage jobs for uneducated workers have increased as a result of many jobs becoming inadequate and the need has ended (Wacquant, 2011:290). This situation causes the settlements in the city to be reorganized to separate the high and the low income group. As a result of the closure and relocation of industrial facilities, an important part of the working class has been turned into surplus, it has become an “absolute surplus population” that cannot find a stable job again, and the individualization and impoverishment of the wage labor force is inevitable (Wacquant, 2011:292-293). In this sense, during the periods when the industry was significantly active, the urban poor continued their lives in *gecekondus*, where the working class in the city center lived, and was left to its own in mass housing areas as the industry moved away from the city center and the city center was being transformed. With this process, urban poverty is spreading to the whole city and different settlement areas. Although the dimensions and basic characteristics of poverty vary according to the place of residence, it continues in one dimension in any case. In this context, different dynamics of urban poverty come to the forefront in *gecekondus*, apartments and mass housings.

While urban poor are placed in the lowest ranks in the system economically, they are individualized with spatial arrangements and solidarity networks are weakened. Likewise, the “exclusion” and “marginalization” of the working class and the poor are also associated with the changing system. Before industrial capitalism, there can be no exclusion in the working class, which has an important place in production, and with the capitalist system, the decrease in their effects in production process and the neglect of their assets cause them to be excluded and marginalized by other groups. At the same time, while the streets and houses in gecekondu settlements are arranged to make the neighborhood phenomenon and to enable common culture and actions, the spatial arrangement offered by the apartment building in the mass housing is aimed at individualization and reducing common activities. The relationship of people with the neighborhood and their relations with areas such as garden and terrace have been ignored, which has increased alienation and reduced sharing. The increase in living expenses required by living in a mass housing also sets off the decrease in the sharing of individuals. The new and limiting spatial arrangement designed for the poor has features that increase individual consumption and make it necessary to attract private life, but the employment or economic system to meet these expenses has not yet been offered to individuals. This explains the transformation and struggle that has taken place in the living spaces and lifestyles of poor citizens, starting from politics and economy.

In this study, it has been tried to demonstrate the representation of the citizens with their own narratives and how the changes at the macro scale affect the living space of the city on a micro scale. It helps to verbalise the problems of inhabitants who are having disadvantages in terms of raising their own voice or cry. In this sense, the studies, especially in İzmir, conducted by discussing Yeşildere, a gecekondu settlement, and Uzundere TOKİ, a mass housing settlement, were supported by in-depth interviews. The relationship between the lifestyle of the urban poor and their living spaces in different types of settlements, and their relationship with the urban space and their access to urban services are examined. In relation to the local government and the neoliberal urban policy practices of the private sector, the inhabitants who were ignored during the transformation process of the cities were asked questions in line with their living spaces, needs and expectations, and a perspective was tried to be developed for them. While it was planned to have interviews with a larger group at the beginning of the study, it was seen that when the interviews were held, people were afraid to meet

due to some political fears, economic and social difficulties, and some residents did not want to speak, thinking that the municipality may sent me to the region. Some of them did not even accept the recording of the interviews, and when I was taking photographs during the research, the reasons why I took them and where I would use them were questioned by the inhabitants. When I went for each meeting, I was noticed by the locals that I was not someone living in the neighborhood, and often photographs were taken with the care of protecting the privacy of the people under the eyes of the inhabitants. At this point, the mukhtar helped me to reach the interviewees. With the introduction of the mukhtar, a relationship of trust was established with the interviewees and shares were made. The study was limited with the interviews made with 8 people due to both these reasons and the intervention of the pandemic process due to the Corona virus. As a result of the trips, observations and interviews made with the inhabitants in Yeşildere, which I have seen while passing through the city in the past, has been observed that the struggle for life with many financial and moral difficulties continues but has many potentials in it.

In line with the information obtained from the interviewees, it was observed that the families who migrated to İzmir and built their own houses had difficulties in terms of access to spatial and public services while holding on to that settlement with solidarity relations. So, if we compare those living in gecekondus with living in mass housing, gecekondu dwellers are homeowners and expand their houses as they improve their economic situation, socialize with their fellow citizens and neighbors on balconies, gardens and streets but have difficulties in accessing technical and social infrastructure services, and suffering from economic and security problems. On the other hand, those who live in mass housing start living in a house having better and healthier technical and social infrastructure, but they pay debt to become a homeowner, their cost of living increases, they move away from the city center and their neighborhood and fellow citizen relations are weakened.

Families who live in gecekondus and improve their economic status can change their living spaces and lifestyles with their own will, as well as the second and third generation gecekondu inhabitants who are married can establish their lives in new areas. Moving people living in gecekondus to the apartment on their own will not only improve their income, but also change their social life and habits. Moving to mass

housing means that families who are displaced due to natural disasters or urban transformation, trying to become a homeowner by paying debt and enduring certain troubles. In the process where urbanization, migration, gecekondu, poverty, urban transformation and mass housing affect each other chained reaction, individuals face a number of difficulties and constantly struggle to sustain their daily lives. The solidarity relations of individuals are seems to be weakened and their social relationships also change due to the new settlement in the mass housing. As it can be understood from the statements of people who live in Yeşildere, moved to different districts and settled in Uzundere TOKİ, although the physical space changes and some situations that people make cultural habits continue, the changing time brings with some new habits. Accordingly, regardless of the income group, the physical space should be organized so as to enable both continuing the habits and bringing new habits by time.

When I asked what the expectations of urban transformation were in the interviews, it was answered that there was not a good and sufficient method to apply urban transformation by displacing or implementing urban transformation on a building basis. The expectations of the interviewees are a transformation that includes the improvement of the physical living space, as well as the improvement of health, education, transportation and social services, and the urban transformation that is being implemented does not meet the expectations of them. In addition, the fact that they could not own a house from the mass housing developments in return for their demolished houses, having to pay debt, does not meet the expectations of individuals and pushes their livelihoods.

Some inferences was tried to be obtained from the interviews, although it included a small group. Families who settled in Yeşildere migrated to İzmir due to familial and regional problems or hopes for finding a job. With the marriage of one member of the family, either an additional floor was given to them, or the person who got married migrated to another district of the city. However, the families who improved their economic situation sold their houses and moved to other districts. Some families who moved from Yeşildere stated that, neighborhood relations in Yeşildere were very close and their proximity to the city center was an advantage, while the inadequacy of the housing, the unhealthy and unsafe environment, and the difficulty of transportation to the city center were the disadvantages of living in Yeşildere. 7 of the 8

households have become homeowners by building on their own or by paying a certain amount of debt. On the other hand, Interviewee 8 pays the municipality in addition to the house destroyed in Yeşildere in order to have a house in mass housing district. This is an indication that people are experiencing certain economic difficulties in order to be a homeowner. Although there are people who retired or worked in certain periods in households, on average, 1 out of 3 people work actively. Although it varies with the amount of money earned, this rate is an indication that the amount coming into the house is not sufficient for a family to live and that the citizens cannot be provided with sufficient employment. In addition, as the interviewees pointed out, the streets are shared with neighbors, gardens where various plants and fruits are grown, and the balconies and terraces above the houses are places where they spend time and give importance.

As it is seen in the study, moving urban poor from gecekondus to apartments or to mass housing only changes the appearance and size of poverty. According to the information obtained during the interviews held in Yeşildere and Uzundere TOKİ, those who live in Yeşildere want on-site transformation due to their familiarity with the region they live in and closeness to the city center, and those who live in Uzundere TOKİ express their dissatisfaction with the increase in life and transportation costs. While the legalization of gecekondus emerging in line with the needs with amnesties is not a solution, it is not sufficient to address only the transformation of the physical space without considering the needs of the users in the urban transformation and development processes. While the governments act in line with its own strategies and the private sectors' own interests, the needs and well-being of the city and the citizens should not be ignored. Throughout the industrialization and urbanization process, the gecekondu inhabitants that survive under the unscientific and unsanitary conditions are sent to the city's peripheries in the frame of urban transformation works with some amount of debt. Meanwhile, transforming the city center to new urban space by emptying it for high income group demonstrates that unequal development is still continuing. Instead of moving the urban poor into the periphery to make room for the middle and high income group in urban space, a culture-centered transformation based on income, regional and social equality will provide the desired development. In order to have a healthy and sustainable transformation process of cities and spaces, it is necessary to inform the citizens about the process and content, and ensure their

participation, as well as to evaluate and develop the economic, social and environmental dimensions by a transparent administration. Both cities and citizens will benefit spatially, socially, and economically, and the transformations to be realized through the common interaction and decision of the state, private sector and citizens will provide the most efficient urban development.

Finally, I would like to thank the interviewees and their families who shared their lives through the interviews, opened their houses, offered food and tea, and shared the victuals from their hometown. This small group, who has endured a number of troubles and tried to be a homeowner, shared important views and information about the urbanization and urban transformation of İzmir based on Yeşildere. In this sense, this study aiming to understand the changing and transforming poverty spaces in the line of urban policies should be considered in wider scales both in İzmir and Turkey. In order to transform poverty spaces in line with needs and expectations, and to benefit all the citizens from the city and urban services equally, micro scale studies should continue on larger scales without breaking the connection with the micro scale. Also, we see that the struggle in spaces of poverty is deeper and more challenging these days when the whole world is struggling with Corona virus. These settlements, which do not have scientifically constructed environment, the optimum living standards and healthy habitat in their current form, have difficulties in providing hygiene against the pandemic, and trying to reach adequate and affordable masks and disinfectants are other situations that poor citizens should struggle with. In addition to this situation, it is seen that the financial problems increase exponentially as a result of the interruption of their jobs or daily works. Therefore, in İzmir, Turkey and all over the world, the researches and practices should be done to ensure healthier, better physical conditions and more equal circumstances to the poor areas and regions. Cities will ensure long-term and productive transformation, not with amnesties and zoning rules, but with practices that take into account the principle of equality and public benefit and listen to the voice of the citizens.



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