

## **REDEVELOPING TO ACHIEVE, REDEVELOPING TO AVOID : A CASE STUDY in the ŞENTEPE SQUATTER NEIGHBOURHOOD of ANKARA**

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Transformation of informal housing settlements into legal housing by urban redevelopment has become one of the major tasks of Turkish urban policy in the last decades. However, in some cases, urban redevelopment could not be facilitated at all, despite prepared plans. Moreover in most of the transformed settlements, added difficulties brought out by urban transformation itself such as lower levels of physical quality, gentrification or dislocation could not be avoided. The study has got use of an empirical research with a case study in Şentepe Neighbourhood of Ankara hypothesizing that there would be available fiscal and non-fiscal policy options for local and central authorities and planning institutions relying on their political and regulative power and resources to overcome most of these bottlenecks. The findings of the empirical study revealed that first and foremost, the problem of disinvestment and very low levels of transformation in the area have been solved dramatically by a new 'project' prepared by the local authority in 2005, after almost twenty years passed since the first redevelopment plans were prepared. Moreover, the results indicate that the Şentepe Transformation Project could also be managed to avoid the common and well-known unintended or undesirable social outcomes of redevelopment like dislocation of residents or lack of social integration of initial and new residents.

**Keywords:** Urban transformation, urban renewal, urban redevelopment, informal housing

### **Context, Rationale and Models of Redevelopment Practices in Turkey:**

The squatters in Turkey mainly emerged since 1950s and have been perceived as a problem by policy makers and urban dwellers since then. While the responses to this problem have been as diversified as ignoring, banning, granting amnesties or upgrading in the first years, redevelopment have been the major urban policy after 1980s. Despite various efforts, today's Turkish cities still have a considerable amount of untransformed squatter settlements. Moreover, the transformed settlements also still lack what was intended to be achieved by redevelopment; having physical, social and economic problems. This study aims to understand and discuss the underlying

mechanisms of bottlenecks in urban redevelopment processes and availability of certain options to overcome these blockages.

Until now, two major models of urban redevelopment has been implemented to transform the squatter settlements into regular and legal housing environs in Turkey; 'transformation through improvement and development plans' and 'transformation through urban transformation projects' (Dündar, 2001). The first one, dates back to 1984, the enactment of a law numbered 2981 and known as Improvement and Redevelopment Law<sup>1</sup>. The law enclosed those structures built before 1985 and made it possible to make redevelopment plans for the squatter settlements, suggesting a plot-by-plot demolish and reconstruction of housing dwellings by the private sector to create a new subdivision each allowing construction of four-storey apartment buildings reformulating the land ownership structure. Provision of secure tenure and public services to the settlement according to an improvement plan was expected to increase the demand for the settlement where the developers would find it profitable to convert squatter housing paying for land through an exchange of a number of flats to be produced. These plans enabled the squatter dwellings, which are at favourable locations to be converted into apartment buildings in building-selling mechanisms together with an upgrade also in terms of infrastructure such as road network and facilities. However, this mechanism could not work in places, where ownership problems created a bottleneck for redevelopment or in places which do not have locational advantages where construction investment may not be profitable for the house-builders due to low rents.

The second model, "transformation projects" emerged as an alternative model for those areas, which couldn't be transformed by improvement and redevelopment plans at the end of 1980s. Dikmen Valley Transformation Project in 1989, Portakal Çiçeği Valley Project in 1992 and Geçak Project in 1995 were the pioneers of this model. While the 'improvement plan' model have used private resources, which generate extra values to be shared by squatter owners, and speculative house builders; the model of transformation through "transformation projects" uses private resources generated through the project itself, where the extra value generated is shared by more diversified groups of stakeholders, such as local government, project company, squatter owners, landowners and city inhabitants (Türker-Devecigil, 2005). Like improvement plan model, transformation projects too, used extra development rights as the driving factor. Large- construction firms not only introduced more advanced construction technologies, but also manage to cope with ownership problems and bureaucratic difficulties since they have political influence and financial power. On the other hand these firms tried to answer the demands of middle and high-income groups, composed of luxury dwellings of multi-storey apartments.

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<sup>1</sup> the original name of the legislation is; "Procedures to be applied to Buildings not Conforming to Reconstruction and Squatter Housing Legislation and Modification of an Article of Law No.6785".

Currently urban transformation model is used very prevalently in cities in the form of a number of sub-models of 'transformation projects' differing in terms of organisational schemes, funding and participation levels. Very recently, a central government authority; Housing Development Administration (HDA) has taken over the responsibilities of Ministry of Public Works and of city and greater city municipalities defined by related municipality laws. By 2000s the central government has been directly involved in urban transformation and production of housing through large-scale projects undertaken by HDA. New draft legislations are also being prepared directly related with urban transformation tasks.

By the 1980s, in Turkey informal settlements covered almost almost half of the urban land, some of which were in central locations surrounded by the expanding city. Therefore, the most significant task of redevelopment activities in Turkey are related to these informal settlements which lack sufficient standards, but at the same time being sources of potential location rent. Due to the volume of informal housing stock which is intended to be transformed and lack of conformable financial and technical instruments as well as integral know-how due to the relatively new agenda of urban transformation, the interventions in Turkey to the informal housing stock have not yet to achieve a comprehensive approach such as in urban regeneration practices employed by 1990s in the European cities integrating social, economic and environmental aspects. For instance, in the rationale of the law 2981, the aim of the law is defined as; "providing housing for people who migrated to cities which have become attraction nodes due to economic and social reasons and to legalize the informal housing stock as long as they fulfill certain conditions of urban development legislations and plans". As can be seen from this phrase, the law did not aim or consider any economic, social and environmental aspects of redevelopment; but approaches the problem limited to an ownership and construction requirements level. Nevertheless, the common approach of governments and society has been to expect that the physical transformation would solve the socio- cultural and economic problems as well.

### **Implications of Redevelopment or Lessons learned; what to achieve, what to avoid:**

Almost thirty years of urban redevelopment experience have legalised and transformed a considerable amount of housing stock. However, the implications of urban redevelopment reveals that these interventions have also downsides. A set of four problems of urban transformation in Turkey can be cited;

1. Many informal settlements remain untransformed since they are unattractive for developers and thus disinvested or underinvested although they are envisioned to be transformed by development plans.

Location and locational factors have determining affects in urban redevelopment. Şenyapılı (1996) distinguishes three channels in the process of transformation according to the Improvement and Redevelopment Law since 1984. First, the most advantageously located areas mostly close to city centres have been transformed into large scale, high-rise prestigious residential neighbourhoods by large development firms. Secondly, although not located in or close to city centres, but still advantageously located, like near access roads, near prestigious residential neighbourhoods or urban recreation areas transformations take place into small-scale, four- to five-storey family houses within “build-and-sell” model by small-scale developers. And lastly, in *squatter* areas that are not so advantageously located, the owners attempted to transform their *squatters* into small-scale family apartment houses with their own savings or preferred to wait for the land rent to increase to the levels that would attract small-scale build-and-sellers (Şenyapılı, 1996: 16,19). The last category, are those which mostly remain disinvested or underinvested areas. These areas, which are usually the most inaccessible, having low rent levels, excluded and depredated parts of the cities, remain untransformed and problematic areas. The redistributed income could not reach most of the squatter owners since the regularized development would also follow the locational preferences of the population (Türel, 1985).

In order to facilitate urban redevelopment under any circumstances, some social, economical and physical goals and consequences were not taken into consideration which further created three more problems in the transformed areas.

2. In most transformed neighbourhoods, the built environment still lacks sufficient physical quality and standards.
3. In most transformed neighbourhoods, unintended changes might be observed in social composition; such as gentrification.
4. The socio-economic implications of transformation give rise to ethical debates and social discontent within various sections/ classes of the society.

The second problem of low physical quality and standards in the new built environment produced is associated with the lower standards in Improvement Plans compared to Development Plans. Improvement and Redevelopment Law 2981 gives the flexibility to improvement plans not to fulfil all the service standards of development plans regulated by the Development Law Numbered 3194. In order to obtain additional shares from the increasing rent, potential social infrastructure such as green areas and socio-cultural services occupy minimum shares in the land use, which cause increases in construction and population density and low quality living environs. Considering that the transformation of these newly created and legalized neighbourhoods would be more difficult than transforming the squatter settlements, this would create future challenges for our cities and for the planning profession.

The third group of problems are associated with the social dimensions of urban transformation practices. Various research on redevelopment practices especially those which are carried out by 'transformation projects' model, have shown us that,

they might result in changes in the entire social composition of the transformed neighbourhoods (Dündar, 2001, 2005; Uzun, 2002, 2006; Görk, 2002; Türker-Devecigil, 2003; Kuyucu and Ünsal, 2010). Rather than producing affordable housing for the disadvantaged groups most of these projects targeted middle and upper-middle classes and advertised as 'Prestigious Projects' including those undertaken by central government. These projects are criticised for mainly aiming at demographic as well as physical upgrading rather than to improve the living conditions of the existing inhabitants of the area, thus the process results in property transfer and displacement and damages the social fabric of the settlement since neighbourhood relations and mutual support mechanisms are lost. (Akpınar, 2008; Kuyucu and Ünsal (2010). Mostly some vulnerable groups such as those living in poverty and tenants may suffer from the lack of complementary policies for relocation or dislocation.

The fourth and last group of concerns is ethical problems and take primarily two different forms, although which might seem to be contradictory to each other;

- the argument which claims that housing right of the poor are being grasped by evictions and relocations.
- the argument which claims informal and illegal ways of behaviour are rewarded by rent transfers from those who cannot own a house, instead of punishment for invading land.

The first one emphasises immoral implications of seeking rental income for some sections of the society (i.e. developers, middle class) at the expense of the housing rights of vulnerable or underrepresented groups (i.e. poor, ethnic minorities, less educated). While the transformation projects are introduced as tools for increasing the quality of life of the residents, the process may end up by decreasing the quality of life of reaching to a point of being disposed for some residents.

The latter ethical debate on the other hand, is related with the construction privileges given to squatter owners and emphasises that the squatter residents who become better off by transformation especially by redevelopment plans are able to enjoy high selling price and rental incomes for their properties. In various cases, the squatter residents may end up with owning more than one dwelling after transformation; which creates them an extra rental income as well as creating a convenient housing to live. In her study, Taşan (1996) shows the impossibility of 'homeownership' for a family in rented accommodation in the formal housing stock compared to squatter residents in the same period. This brings out a discontent in the sections of the society other than the advantageous squatter housing residents, criticizing that illegal behaviour is rewarded, but legal behaviour is not.

A number of factors make it crucial to develop better practices in urban redevelopment. First, the pressure of rising land prices makes it irrational to keep those kind of settlements at low levels of capital investment, secondly the pressure of global economy leads that slum and squatter areas could not be a feature of competitive cities and thirdly, the idea to transform these once-poorly-built

structures into more qualified settlements compatible with the new capacity of the society make urban transformation of squatter neighbourhoods the first activity on the agenda of Turkey's urban policy and practice. Therefore, currently, lots of urban transformation projects are being implemented employing various organisational, financial and participation models. The case study will examine one of those projects in terms of whether or not the project could facilitate urban redevelopment while avoiding unintended outcomes such as the problems outlined.

### **Case study; Şentepe Squatter Neighbourhood**

The case study Şentepe is a squatter neighbourhood approximately 12 km away from the city centre located within the District of Yenimahalle in the northern parts of the city of Ankara. The first comers who were mostly from villages of the nearby cities of Ankara coming to find employment and new opportunities, moved to the neighbourhood in the second half of 1950s building squatter housing for themselves. While the neighbourhood was neglected to a large extent during the first decades, in 1984, a 1/5000 scale Master Plan named "Master Plan for Şentepe Squatter Zone" was prepared and consequent improvement and redevelopment plans of 11 phases have been put into practice according to the Law numbered 2981 between 1984-1989. However, only 10-15% of the building stock has been transformed according to these plans and the rest remained as squatter housing according to the established figures of the Municipality of Yenimahalle. Then in 2004, by considering the reasons of the inefficacy of the former improvement plans and also considering the recent changes in the spatial and economic structures and the property market in both local and national levels, the municipality proposed a new project. The municipality announced the project as "Şentepe Urban Transformation and Rehabilitation Project" and put into practice by 2005 to be completed in six phases.

The first strategy of the municipality was to announce the plan as a 'Transformation Project' which for the house-builders has a connotation with higher profits relative to 'transformation by redevelopment plans' model. The municipality has also made some institutional changes in order to ease the procedures for house-builders. The municipality not only increased the amount of social and technical infrastructure in Şentepe Transformation Project compared to the previous plans, but also announced that the project will involve some flagship investments which will be all financed and carried out by the municipality such as a large urban park which might create a positive externality effect for house-builders investing in the area by upgrading the image of the neighbourhood. Since the too small plot sizes were an obstacle for redevelopment in the previous plans; ŞTP rearranged the road network and building block pattern so as to provide larger plots enabling larger size of dwelling units to be produced. Increased development rights enabling more than four storey construction which was not possible in redevelopment plans further increased the profitability of the area and enabled the house-builders and squatter housing owners to agree on contracts more easily since the owners could be offered more units. The plan brought up an incentive for constructions to be carried out on the building block level, by

giving additional development rights in case all owners could agree with the same house-builder on a single project. This has created a more willingness among owners for reaching consensus. Moreover, although not adopting a fully participative model, the municipality carried out meetings with residents to inform as well as to ask opinions or easing or mediating issues of households with house-builders.

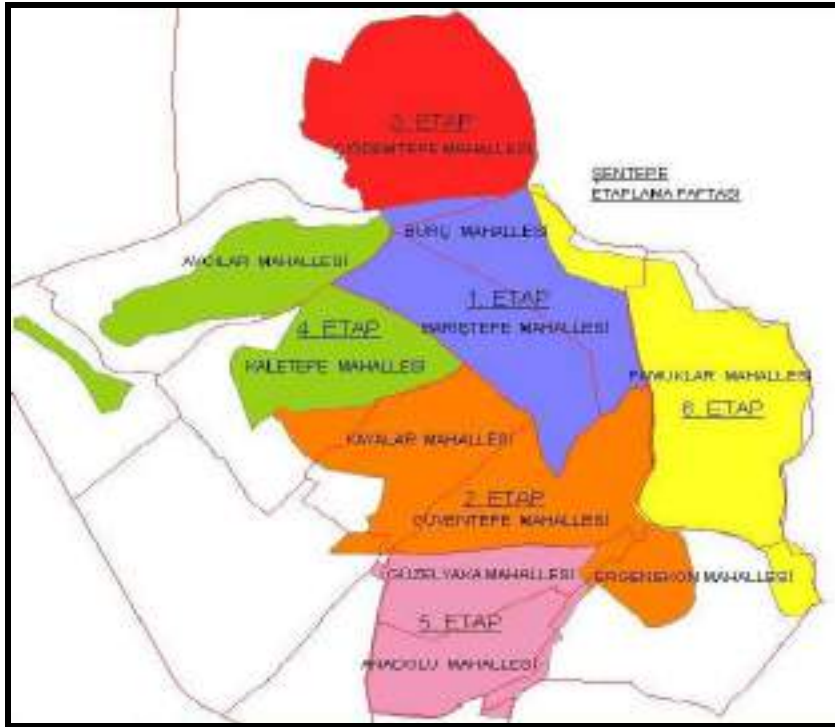
Şentepe Transformation Project is chosen as a case for a number of reasons, mainly;

- In the history of Şentepe, the municipality has attempted to transform neighbourhood by two different models of transformation (by redevelopment plans in 1980s and by transformation projects in 2000s) which enable to discuss both of these models.
- While the first of these attempts was not successful to trigger transformation, the second attempt has been more effective, and studying the reasons of this could be useful to develop tools for other underinvested areas of unauthorized housing
- urban transformation according to the project has started by 2005 and still ongoing, thus it is possible to study different household categories altogether; the squatter households whose dwellings are about to be transformed, households who do not like to transform as well as households in the transformed stock and later- purchasers in the area.



**Figure 1. Location of Case Study Şentepe in Ankara**

The project area consists of 11 quarters of Şentepe Neighbourhood (Figure 24) and has approximately 425 ha of land with a planned population of 160.000 (current population is 87.000 according to SIS, 2000). According to the plan, 14.000 squatter dwellings are supposed to be demolished and 35.000 new dwellings are supposed to be constructed. Although it is called as a transformation project, it is in fact a development plan in terms of its legal basis and relies on the same principals as transformation by improvement and redevelopment plan model. In Şentepe, transformation has been started and currently in practice. Therefore currently both squatters and transformed apartment blocks coexist even on the same street or on the same building blocks.



**Figure 2. Boundaries and Stages of Şentepe Transformation Project**

### **Methodology of Case Study:**

The main pivots of the case study rely on household surveys in Şentepe. The surveys were carried out between 25<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> December 2007. The number of households which housing questionnaires have been applied is 160. Based on a sample plan (Table 14), the questionnaire surveys have been undertaken both in unauthorized stock and transformed authorized apartment blocks. Moreover, as seen from the table, households living in apartments fall into two categories, first, the households who obtained their dwellings through transformation (who were formerly squatter owners in the site) which will be referred as 'initial homeowners of flats' in the rest of the analysis; and secondly, the households who have purchased their dwellings in the site after transformation, which will be referred as 'later-purchasers'. Both tenant and owner-occupier households in squatter as well as apartment stock have been

interviewed. By 2007, in Şentepe there were approximately 25 apartment buildings and 800 flats, that households have moved. A total of 80 questionnaires were undertaken in the apartment stock corresponding to a 1/100 sample size. Considering the total population of Şentepe (pop= 87.093, Household size= 4.1, number of Households= 21.242) 160 questionnaires in total represent 7/1000 sample size). Additionally, semi-structured interviews with house-builders and non-structured interviews with municipality officials, mukhtars, real estate agents and housing estate managers were also been carried out.

Table 1. Sample Plan of the Questionnaire Survey in Şentepe

<b>Household Categories</b>	<b>Freq.</b>	<b>%</b>
Home-owners in squatter housing	30	18,8
Tenants in squatter housing	10	6,3
Home owners in flats constructed before 2005 gaining the flat from being a right-holder	40	25,0
Home owners in flats constructed before 2005 by purchasing the flat after transformation	10	6,3
Tenants in flats constructed before 2005	10	6,3
Home owners in flats constructed after 2005 gaining the flat from being a right-holder	40	25,0
Home owners in flats constructed after 2005 by purchasing the flat after transformation	10	6,3
Tenants in flats constructed after 2005	10	6,3
<b>Total</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>100,0</b>

### **Results of Empirical Study; What has been achieved, what has been avoided**

The results of the empirical study will be demonstrated according to the set of four problems outlined previously. Therefore, it would be possible to evaluate whether or not the Şentepe Transformation Project (ŞTP) was able to overcome these problems.

Problem 1: Many informal settlements remain untransformed since they are unattractive for developers and thus disinvested or underinvested although they are envisioned to be transformed by development plans.

Since 2005 when the new project was put into practice, the area seems to be transformed in a high pace which is even recognizable with a first glance. Therefore the implementation of the project seems to solve at least one of the four problems explained. Thus, studying this case would give us clues for other areas and other projects suffering from the disinvestment problem. A total of 403 building licenses (construction permits) (8659 dwellings) have been given between 2006- 2010 according to the figures of Municipality of Yenimahalle.

In the survey different questions were asked to different household categories. For instance, households living in squatter housing were asked whether or not they want their dwellings to be transformed into legal apartment blocks or not. Households living in squatter housing in Şentepe; 86.67% of the squatter owner Households have declared that they would prefer their dwellings would have been transformed into authorized flats.

The squatter owner households were asked why they did not transform their dwellings yet. According to the results of the survey, among the first three reasons households for not transforming the dwellings according to the improvement plans or the transformation projects, first comes “we couldn’t afford costs” by 58,7%, then “we couldn’t agree with the developer in appropriate conditions” by 13% and “the developers were not interested since our land was small” by 10.9% (the interviewees could chose more than one option in that question).

Table 2. Reasons for Not Transforming Their Squatters by ŞTP (squatter housing owners survey)

<b>Reasons for Not Transforming (squatter housing owners survey)</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Pct of Responses</b>	<b>Pct of Cases</b>
<b>Would not afford the costs</b>	27	58,7	90,0
<b>Would be in financial lost if their squatter housing were demolished</b>	3	6,5	10,0
<b>Multiple families in one plot would not get enough number of dwellings after transf.</b>	1	2,2	3,3
<b>we couldn’t agree with the developer in appropriate conditions</b>	6	13,0	20,0
<b>the developers were not interested since our land was small</b>	5	10,9	16,7
<b>Disputes with other right holders in the same plot</b>	1	2,2	3,3
<b>Would prefer to live in a detached house within gardens</b>	2	4,3	6,7
<b>The municipality expropriated to make green area</b>	1	2,2	3,3
<b>Total responses</b>	46	100,0	153,3
130 missing cases; 30 valid cases			

The initial homeowners of flats (which were previously squatter homeowners and gained a flat after transformation by ŞTP) were asked for why did they prefer to transform their squatters. The most common reason of initial homeowners of flats for preferring to transform their squatter dwellings is ‘higher building quality of flats’ (78,8%). Then comes ‘more regular housing environs’ (51,3%) and then ‘opportunity to gain more than one dwelling’(28,8).

Table 3. Reasons for Transforming Their Squatter Housing (Initial Flat homeowners survey)

<b>Why did you prefer to live in an auth. flat by transforming your dwelling (More than one answer is possible) (Initial Flat homeowners Survey)</b>	<b>Freq.</b>	<b>%</b>
<b>For higher building quality of flats</b>	63	78,8
<b>For a more regular housing environs</b>	41	51,3
<b>For the chance to own more than one dwelling</b>	23	28,8
<b>Neighbours in the same/ adjacent plot convinced me to do so</b>	13	16,3
<b>Afraid of loosing their dwellings with an obligatory demolition in the future</b>	10	12,5
<b>Total</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>100,0</b>

Average Number of Responses:  $150 / 80 = 1.9$

Initial homeowners who gained their dwellings by ŞTP were asked why they did not transform their dwellings (according to the improvement plans) before this project. Again in the first place “we couldn’t afford costs” by 25,3%, “we would be in financial lost” by 22,7% and 21,3% “we couldn’t agree with the developer in appropriate conditions” were mentioned (Table 58). Among all responses of squatter owners, for reasons for not getting their dwellings transformed; the share of disputes with other right-holders in neighbouring plots is only 2,2 % which is one of the least common answer. However, among initial flat owners, among the reasons for not transforming according to improvement plans before Şentepe Transformation Project, disputes with other right-holders constitutes 9,3%. The fall in disputes might be read as Şentepe Transformation is more accredited and trusted by the Şentepe population or some of the planning decisions such as more development rights or larger dwelling sizes in the project decreased the possibility of objections to and thus disagreements in transformation.

Table 4. Reasons for Not Transforming Their Squatter Housing Before ŞTP

<b>Reasons for Not Transforming Their dwelling before (initial homeowners survey)</b>	<b>Code</b>	<b>Count</b>	<b>Pct of Responses</b>	<b>Pct of Cases</b>
<b>Would not afford the costs</b>	1	19	25,3	32,2
<b>Would be in financial lost if their dwellings were demolished</b>	2	17	22,7	28,8
<b>we couldn’t agree with the developer in appropriate conditions</b>	3	16	21,3	27,1
<b>Developers were not interested</b>	4	3	4,0	5,1
<b>Disputes with other right holders in the same plot</b>	5	7	9,3	11,9
<b>The plot was not suitable to make an apartment building</b>	6	1	1,3	1,7
<b>Did not know we had such a right/opportunity</b>	7	5	6,7	8,5
<b>Would prefer to live in a detached house within gardens</b>	8	7	9,3	11,9

<b>Total responses</b>		75	100,0	127,1
<b>Şentepe, 101 missing cases; 59 valid cases</b>				

The need for making an additional payment to the developers might discourage squatter owners from transformation. On the other hand, 92.5% of ex- squatter dwellers in Şentepe indicated that they did not need to pay any additional money to the developer (Table 65). The amount of additional payment varies between 5000 to 200000TL (Average= 49000TL). The time span for demolishing and construction would bring additional monetary and emotional costs for a household. Demolishing of squatter housing and rebuilding of apartment buildings lasted for 9 to 36 months (mean=19.16) and 98,75% did not take any rental assistance. 61.3% of Households in squatter housing lived in rental housing during demolishing and rebuilding of their dwellings, 30% of them lived in a relative's house without paying rent.



**Figure 3: Untransformed squatter housing in Şentepe**



**Figure 4: A Street composed of transformed buildings in Şentepe**



**Figure 5. Large scale construction facilities of transformation in Şentepe (Çiğdemtepe Quarter)**

Problem 2: In most transformed neighbourhoods, the built environment still lacks sufficient physical quality and standards.

Compared to the figures of improvement plans, ŞTP increases the quantity of green and socio-cultural facilities according to the intended amounts of infrastructure to be realized by the municipality according to the plan. According to the household survey, after transformation in Şentepe, the most appreciated factors in housing and neighbourhood condition appear to be the 'inner arrangement of the dwelling' (91,3%) 'Size of the dwelling' (90% answered as it gets better), and the regularization of buildings (73,8%). The answer as getting worse off only appears in neighbour relations with a ratio of 41.3%. (Table 80).

Currently, a number of factors decreases the physical quality of the neighbourhood related with redevelopment efforts. One of them is the coexistence of transformed and untransformed dwelling which creates noise and pollution and the neighbourhood still looks like a squatter settlement or a construction site even if the residents of transformed units are living within a new upgraded dwelling. Another problem in Şentepe is that parks, sports areas and recreational facilities are not completed either by the municipalities or the house-builders (some of the small parks within the gated housing estates are supposed to be provided by the house-builders). That's why it is possible to see children in the transformed stock to be playing on streets just like the squatter neighbourhoods. Absence of some services also decreases the aesthetic quality of housing environs. Although most of the rehabilitation and widening of roads have been completed increasing the quality, the neighbourhood's main connection is only by the roads at its southern part, which causes traffic congestion problem, the transportation system of the neighbourhood is not compatible with the new load of proposed 160.000 population. Moreover 17,6% of households do not pay any monthly fees for management and maintenance of their building blocks. therefore in these buildings, maintenance of the buildings depend on solely voluntary efforts and sensibilities and in the long run this might lead to a decrease in the physical quality of housing environs as well.

Problem 3: In most transformed neighbourhoods, unintended changes might be observed in social composition; such as dislocation and gentrification.

The results of the survey exhibit differences to a certain extent between existing population and new comers in terms of education and income. Table 5 represents the education level (last school graduated) of the household heads (HhH) according to the type of housing and housing tenure status categories in Şentepe. As seen from Table 5, in Şentepe, only 3.25 per cent of the household heads are graduates of a university and all of the university graduates live in apartments. Highest average year of education is 9,2 years in later-purchasers.

Table 5. Level of Education of Household Heads According to Household Categories in Şentepe

Level of Education of HhHs of Şentepe	Squatter homeowner		Squatter tenant		Initial flat owner		Later purchaser flat		Flat tenant		Total	
	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%	freq.	%
No school and no literacy	1	3,57									1	0,65
No school but literate					1	1,32					1	0,65
Primary School	8	28,57	3	30,00	23	30,26	4	20,00	6	30,00	44	28,57
Secondary School	13	46,43	4	40,00	25	32,89	8	40,00	7	35,00	57	37,01
High school	6	21,43	3	30,00	26	34,21	5	25,00	6	30,00	46	29,87
University					1	1,32	3	15,00	1	5,00	5	3,25
<b>Total</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>76</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>100</b>	<b>154</b>	<b>100</b>

Table 6. Average Year of Education of Household Heads according to Household Categories in Şentepe

Hh Categories	Average year of education		
	Mean	N	Std. Deviation
squatter homeowner	7,5	28	2,603417
squatter tenant	8	10	2,44949
Initial flat owner	8,105263	76	2,715776
later purchaser flat owner	9,2	20	3,237933
apt tenant	8,35	20	2,852054
<b>Total</b>	<b>8,162338</b>	<b>154</b>	<b>2,775878</b>

In terms of differences in income between the initial population and the newcomers, there is a 10% increase in favour of the latter. The minimum figure of monthly total income in Şentepe is of squatter housing tenants category (Table 7). In terms of education and income the new comers and initial households are not very sharply differentiated in Şentepe although new comers represent a relatively higher profile.

Table 7. Average Monthly Total Household Income in Şentepe

Hh Categories	Monthly Total Hh Income in Şentepe		
	Mean	N	Std. Dev.
<b>Squatter housing homeowner</b>	868,33	30,00	442,66
<b>Squatter housing tenant</b>	720,00	10,00	193,22
<b>Initial homeowner of a flat</b>	1112,03	79,00	738,29
<b>Later purchaser of a flat</b>	1222,50	20,00	464,10
<b>Tenant of flat</b>	862,50	20,00	480,37
<b>Total</b>	1023,90	159,00	619,23

Households who have purchased their flats after the transformation were asked why they choose to live there. In Şentepe, 35.3% of the responses are for its affordable purchasing prices, and then comes closeness to relatives and friends by 29.4%; 23.5% have answered as they were living in the same neighbourhood before and they got used to living there. Since the availability of relatives and friends is the second most chosen answer in Şentepe, it is possible to conclude that new comers are not only from a similar socio-economic group, but also they are bounded with family and friendship ties to the initial owners.

In Şentepe, 50% of these ‘later-purchasers’ have stated that the dwelling they lived before coming to their current dwelling was an authorized apartment flat, the rest 50% is some form of squatter or other unauthorized housing types. These figures also indicate a similarity between the new and initial population in Şentepe. These later purchasers are observed to live in Şentepe by 55% before coming to their current dwellings; and 45% lived in other districts or neighbourhoods of Ankara. None of them were living in another city or in rural areas.

Another category of newcomers is the tenants of apartment stock. In Şentepe, 50% of the tenant Households indicated that the reason to choose to live there was the appropriate rents; 45% of them indicated closeness to relatives and friends as another reason, and 45% of the Households stated that they were used to live there before. In Şentepe, 80% of the tenant Households were again tenants in their previous habitation. 85% of tenants were living in Şentepe before moving to current dwelling, and 15% were living in other neighbourhoods/ districts of Ankara. None of them were living in other cities or rural areas. The previous dwellings of flat tenants of

Şentepe live were 25% authorized apartment flats, and the rest 75% were squatters or other unauthorised housing.

Another dimension of social problems is the problems between newcomers and initial owners due to different socio-cultural status, habits and practices. This problem has been highlighted by both types of residents in the area on casual visits to the neighbourhood. The complaints of newcomers are usually depicted through the habits and lifestyles of initial owners described as uncoordinated to the urban life. One of them is explained as shoes and slippers placed and stored just at the corridor before the entrance doors of the dwellings which are common areas of the apartment blocks. This is mentioned as a common practice among initial homeowners. This habit creates an unpleasant smell and unaesthetic image in the building. Another complaint is about hanged out laundry in balconies which again creates a bad image of the streets. On the other hand, it is observed that these initial owners put effort on cleaning of the stairs of their apartment blocks or watering the plants in the garden voluntarily.

Problem 4. The socio-economic implications of transformation give rise to ethical debates and social discontent within various sections/ classes of the society.

The fourth problem category is the most difficult category to be tested since ethical debates can be more subjective and are not easy to be tested. However, since they are grounded mostly by the social problems themselves; it can be argued that creating less social problems means creating less ethical problems. For instance initial observations during the survey exhibited hardly any sign of gentrification since original residents and newcomers do not present a sharply differentiated profile. This means less social and economical adaptation problems for the original residents while enjoying an improvement in their quality of urban life. Therefore, the original residents do not face with involuntary moves to other parts of the city, which might create social, psychological and economical costs for them.

On the other hand, the survey results indicated that many households gained more than one apartments (of all the initial flat owners; 59,49% gained one dwelling and 40.51% of the Households have gained more than 1 dwelling as compensation of their squatter lands) in the transformation process. These additional dwellings provide an additional rental gain for the households. ). Among the Households who gained more than 1 dwelling 39% of them give these dwellings for rental, 31.7% have sold these dwellings, 19,5% of these additional flats are given to the ownership of their married children for residing, 9,8% are given to friends and relatives without rent. Since these households started their housing career with an illegal occupation and end up with a relatively good position compared to those who manage to get a homeownership through legal channels, Şentepe Transformation Project can be criticized in terms of this ethical dimension. In other words, transformation does not only serve to meet housing needs of households, but instead provided lucrative gains for some of them.

## **Conclusion and Evaluation:**

Urban redevelopment by improvement and redevelopment plan model introduced in mid-1980s aimed at simultaneous upgrading of all squatter settlements in the country, rather than of particular project areas. As the model proposed a single template of transformation; (i.e. 4 storey apartment-blocks, with no urban design schemes and with no consideration of the unique locational characteristics of particular squatter housing areas varying in different cultural, social and environmental contexts), only some of the squatter housing areas were managed to be redeveloped. The low investment attractiveness in locationally disadvantaged areas and ownership problems (multiple owners, multiple inheritors, hesitant owners) blocked the ways for redevelopment in many areas. On the other hand redevelopment through 'transformation projects' model managed to overcome some of these blockages and enabled redevelopment albeit for the expense of social goals creating consequences of dislocated residents directly or indirectly forced to live elsewhere or bring two groups differing in lifestyles, income and preferences together who would not prefer to live together. Şentepe Urban Transformation Project, attempted to gather the strengths of both models, trying to develop a model in between two models.

The following strategies of the municipality increased the attractiveness of investment of the neighbourhood for house-builders and attractiveness for transforming their dwellings for squatter housing owners;

- announcing the plan as a 'Transformation Project'
- institutional changes in order to ease the procedures for house-builders
- flagship investments which will be all financed and carried out by the municipality such as a large urban park which might create a positive externality effect
  - increased the amount of social and technical infrastructure
  - rearranged the road network and building block pattern so as to provide larger plots enabling larger size of dwelling units
  - increased development rights enabling more than four storey construction
  - additional development rights in case all owners could agree with the same house-builder on a single project.
  - meetings with residents to inform as well as to ask opinions or easing or mediating issues of households with house-builders

Moreover, it was observed that the project could avoid most of the unintended outcomes of redevelopment to a large extent. Since the project relies on plot by plot renewal by private sector although it is called a 'transformation project', there is a gradual transformation where all the squatter housing are not demolished once at a time. Thus the households can adapt themselves to the process more easily and they would be relatively more flexible in their decisions on when to transform and move from their dwellings. Thus, there are no involuntary evictions or time limits for transformation. the project resulted in less 'radically changed' housing environs than

those transformed by other transformation projects. So, Şentepe Transformation Project might be evaluated as successful in terms of overcoming the ethical problem of creating dislocated or getting worse-off households. On the other hand, the project could not provide enough satisfaction on households, such as transportation network and delays in the completion of parks and recreational areas. The most referred disinterest in redeveloping their dwellings among squatter housing owners stresses financial issues. Policy Implications of this result designate for the need of further analysis of availability of special groups in terms of financial need and assistance and need for developing appropriate policies for these groups. Developers disinterest in very small and difficult to manage plots also appears as a problem to be solved by institutions such as planning and other regulations to be developed by authorities.

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