

EVALUATING SUCCESS CRITERIA OF URBAN REGENERATION IN  
TERMS OF GENTRIFICATION AND SUSTAINABILITY: CASES OF  
ÇUKURAMBAR AND KIZILIRMAK NEIGHBORHOODS

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TERMS OF GENTRIFICATION AND SUSTAINABILITY: CASES OF  
ÇUKURAMBAR AND KIZILIRMAK NEIGHBORHOODS**

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## **ABSTRACT**

### **EVALUATING SUCCESS CRITERIA OF URBAN REGENERATION IN TERMS OF GENTRIFICATION AND SUSTAINABILITY: CASES OF ÇUKURAMBAR AND KIZILIRMAK NEIGHBORHOODS**

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Urban spaces and districts have continuously needed changes, regeneration and development. In order to respond this need, urban regeneration projects are implemented in urban areas. Some of these projects can be referred as successful and some others as unsuccessful. In this thesis, a generalization was made considering urban regeneration examples from the world, and criteria of gentrification of sustainability were selected for the case study area of the research.

The cases of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods are not compatible with the general perception that old residents in urban regeneration always lose. Particularly, regeneration in the neighborhoods is a process in which people win economically. In addition, these neighborhoods, which do not have considerable problems in terms of gentrification, have sustainability difficulties after urban regeneration. These difficulties were discussed in the research in terms of the indicators of transportation, identity of place and housing. In the process of the research, in-depth interviews carried out with the residents in the area and personal observations and experiences as one of the residents in Çukurambar Neighborhood were benefitted. As a result of

these observations, experiences and in-depth interviews, the success and failure of urban regeneration were objectively evaluated.

**Keywords:** Urban regeneration, gentrification, sustainability, Çukurambar and Kızılkırmak.

## ÖZ

### **KENTSEL YENİLEMENİN BAŞARI KRİTERLERİNİ SOYLULAŞTIRMA VE SÜRDÜRÜLEBİLİRLİK AÇISINDAN DEĞERLENDİRMEK: ÇUKURAMBAR VE KIZILIRMAK MAHALLELERİ ÖRNEĞİ**

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Kent mekanları ve bölgeler sürekli bir değişim dönüşüm ve gelişim ihtiyacı içindedirler. Bu ihtiyaca cevap verebilmek için kent mekanlarında kentsel yenileme projeleri uygulanır. Uygulanan bu projelerden bazıları başarılı olurken bazıları başarısızlık ile sonuçlanır. Başarı ve başarısızlık belirlenen kriterlere göre değerlendirilir. Bu tezde kentsel yenileme uygulanan dünya örnekleri üzerinden bir genelleme yapılarak kriterlerden soylulaştırma ve sürdürülebilirlik kavramları araştırma alanı için seçilmiştir.

Tez araştırma alanı olarak seçilen Çukurambar ve Kızılırmak Mahalleleri soylulaştırma konusundaki genel yargı olan, önceden alanda yaşayanların kaybettiği duruma uymamaktadır. Özellikle mahallelerdeki dönüşüm ekonomik açıdan insanların kazandığı bir süreç olmuştur. Bununla beraber, soylulaştırma konusunda çok da sorunlu olmayan bu alanda kentsel yenileme sonrasında sürdürülebilirlik zorlukları yaşanmaktadır. Bu zorluklar araştırmada; ulaşım, mekanın kimliği ve konut olarak belirlenen göstergeler üzerinden tartışılacaktır. Araştırma yapılırken,

alandayayan insanlarla yapılan derinlemesine grmelerden ve ukurambar Mahallesi sakini olarak kiisel gzlemlerden ve deneyimlerden yararlanılmıtır. Bu gzlem, deneyimler ve yapılan derinlemesine grmeler sonucunda, mahallelerdeki kentsel yenilemenin baarı ve baarısızlıđı tarafsız olarak deđerlendirilmitir.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kentsel yenileme, soylulatırma, srdrlebilirlik, ukurambar ve Kızılırmak.

To my mother, father and sisters...  
and my beloved...

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## **LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS**

**MTA:** Mineral Research and Exploration

**TÜBİTAK:** The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey

**AFAD:** Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency

**AK PARTY:** Justice and Development Party

**TOKİ:** Housing Development Administration of Turkey

**DOP:** Development Readjustment Share

**KOP:** Public Partnership Interest

**METU:** Middle East Technical University

# CHAPTER 1

## INTRODUCTION

**The thesis begins with the author's fictionalization of her true-life experiences in her own neighborhood...**

Çukurambar Neighborhood, my place of residence, my home, my street... In 2004, we moved from Beştepe to Çukurambar to be closer to the city center and the universities, and because it was known as a decent neighborhood. We were able to buy our apartment as a middle-income family for 175 000 TL in 2004 without forcing our budget too much. I liked our apartment so much; it had five rooms, one large hall, three large balconies and a kitchen in which our dining table could easily fit. Across the road from our home was a large stretch of land designated as a green area in the Improvement Plan<sup>1</sup> that stretched from northern side of Çetin Emeç Boulevard and crossed the boundary between the Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. We learned later that the area was left green due to the presence of the high-tension line that passed through it, although the plan showed many sports and recreation facilities, as well as municipal service areas.

One of my most vivid memories from the early years of living in the neighborhood, was related to the dilemma of the 100-meter walk between the bus station and my home that I would have to make late in the evening when returning from evening classes supporting my high school education. I had little choice of route due to the ongoing construction in the area, leaving me only three options: the first took me in front of Arjantin Primary School, where I would be exposed to the flames coming

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<sup>1</sup> Improvement Plan (*İslah İmar Planı* in Turkish) is a Development Plan showing construction conditions of irregular and poorly constructed structures or settlements such as *gecekondu* areas by considering their existing condition to make them regular and rehabilitated (Ayten, 2012).

from the fires made by the children of the neighborhood's original residents; the second was a more roundabout route that would bring me to my home by a route that often involved being chased by wild dogs; on the final route, I risked arriving home caked in mud after passing through the construction sites around my apartment block. Given that I am not a brave person by nature, I most often opted for the third option. Coming to 2014, my fears continue, although with a changing dimension to my journey from home to my university, METU. Today, I no longer walk, having been promoted from pedestrian to car driver; however, the question I face every day is which route I should take to the university. Should I go via the Eskişehir Highway? NO. I cannot run the risk of running into traffic on Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road, and more importantly, the commuters on this road drive extremely fast. I think the best route for me is the one passing through the Yüzüncüyıl District. I have to face the fact that the bottom of my car is likely to scrape the ground several times along this route, and that the other users of the route and I are often confused as to whom has the right of way. Generally, we resolve this problem by sounding our horns and getting angry. Since scratching a few parked cars on either side of the road, the task has become easier; and these days I can usually glide my car easily towards the university, passing by the Yüzüncüyıl market.

Another feature of the Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods that is lodged firmly in my mind is its elite residents, and the fact that several politicians have chosen to live there. I have even heard some of our neighbors bragging among themselves about their homes being so close to the *Parliamentarian Site*. How grand to be able to purchase such an apartment for my family in such a prestigious neighborhood.

The neighbors living in our apartment block are very nice people. There are four apartments on each floor, and two of the apartments on our floor are occupied by landowners. When the *gecekondu*<sup>2</sup> areas in which they lived were regenerated, each was given 1.5 apartments and a definite share from the commercial use of our newly

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<sup>2</sup> Gecekondu is a structure constructed illegally by an individual on an occupied public or private land (Uzun, Çete, & Palancıoğlu, 2010). Within this research, the term *gecekondu* is preferred instead of similar uses in the literature such as slum or squatter houses.

built apartment block. They revived their children by selling half of their share of the residential right and their commercial shares, opting to live in their remaining one residential right. They seem to be content with their living conditions, as they had never imagined being able to reside in such a luxury when living in their old neighborhoods. Generally, the landowners preferred to sell their shares after urban regeneration, using the money that would buy only one or two apartments in this neighborhood to buy several residential units in different parts of Ankara. By 2014, only 20 percent of these landowners had opted to remain in the Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods after regeneration, having chosen to give up some of the advantages of their former homes, such as their own gardens. The only thing that they complain about today is the lack of community spirit in the neighborhood, and they often scold my mother for not visiting their home more frequently. Although they doubt my mother's excuse of a lack of time due to her long working hours, they have got used to the situation over time. In addition, the maintenance costs of our apartment block have not been too high, and our apartment life has continued without too many problems between the landowners and newcomers, in that the people that arrived after regeneration are generally compatible.

When we moved to the area, there were three grocery stores, one supermarket and a small fruit and vegetable market in the neighborhood. In the years that followed, the number of supermarkets increased to six or seven, and of the original businesses, only the grocery store remains, saved by the fact that it is below a *gecekondu* that has yet to be regenerated. The fruit and vegetable market was missing from the latest Improvement Plan, and has gradually faded out of use. In the meantime, activities on Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road have begun to give clues to the influx of new commercial activities, and the opening of each new café or restaurant made us happy, as a step along the road to the revitalization of our neighborhood. Looking back now, I wonder whether our neighborhood has been excessively revitalized. The Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods are now an inseparable part of each other, and sometimes the urban areas in the Kızılırmak Neighborhood are referred to as being in Çukurambar, as the area as a whole is known more popularly by that name.

Although the Kızılırmak Neighborhood has a residential profile, it has also become a popular destination for doctors' clinics, lawyers' offices and the offices of a wide range of private companies, who have started to share office buildings there. Even today, the question arises of how people have reached to such kind of an actively used business centers has still been a mystery. When driving through the streets of Kızılırmak to make the site survey for my research, I realized that I would be better off continuing my analysis not by car, but on foot. The question that I have come to ask myself in recent days is how the hundreds of cars in the neighborhood can find even room to drive, let alone park, when I, as the driver of just one single car, cannot find room to move.

Coming back to my memories of 2004 until today, and looking at the changes that have occurred in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, I feel it necessary to mention the friends I made in the small garden of the site referred to as the *Parliamentarian Site*. Most of the friends I made living here were the children of those who had moved to the neighborhood after the sale of the Parliamentary State Housing (*Milletvekili Lojmanları*). Osman Pepe, a former government minister, owned the company that developed the *Parliamentarian Site*, and encouraged his friends in Parliament to move there. At the beginning of the 2000s, after the appropriate conditions were met, several politicians started to move to the neighborhood, and as most were from the more conservative branches of government, the area started gain a reputation as a conservative neighborhood. Even though a neighborhood may take on a new identity, and may elude from its original identity in time, it may continue to be known with in terms of its original identity. As the Çukurambar and Kızılırmak neighborhoods have long been recognized as having a conservative profile, it is still referred to in this regard even today, despite the heterogeneous social profile of its residents. Anyway... Most of the friends I made in the *Parliamentarian Site* have now moved from the neighborhood for various reasons; however, conservative identity in the area has become permanent despite the move of new comers from different social profiles into the area to the apartments in which former residents living or to newly constructed apartments The new residents can be categorized under two headings, as “conservative” and “modern”, but as far

as I can see there is not profound difference between the two groups. Although some problems still arise related to the diversity of lifestyles, both groups continue to live with each other with due respect, enjoying the privileges associated with their shared high socio-economic level. Besides, it is important to mention here that the “conservative” residents bear almost no resemblance to the traditional “ascetic<sup>3</sup>” character associated with the religious lifestyle. In short, the new settlement has emerged as a home for the new middle class who are keen on conspicuous consumption as a fundamental part of the consumer lifestyle. Furthermore, the area has brought together the “moderns” with the “conservatives”, who have come to reside side-by-side in these two neighborhoods over time.

These newcomers to the area, as the new conservative and modern middle class, continue to consume, eat and drink; but what happened to the old residents of the neighborhood from before the regeneration? They left their homes, but did they go voluntarily, or were they pushed? What did this irreversible left gain or lose? From speaking to the landowners who stayed, and those who witnessed the regeneration of the neighborhood, it can be understood that those who left as a result of the regeneration did so joyfully, fully satisfied with their gains. They would certainly miss aspects of their old neighborhoods, such as their friends and the fruit in their gardens, however their only thoughts can be with their increased level of income and buying meat to eat alongside the dry bread that had been all they could afford in the past. Accordingly, in order to understand the level of happiness of the former *gecekond* inhabitants in terms of social values, first, their economic concerns should be removed from the equation.

A further problem to be addressed has been whether future problems in urban regeneration have existed or not. Will the neighborhood traffic problems that I have already experienced since moving to the area become worse in the future? What kind of changes in the neighborhoods will occur in the event of the area losing its conservative identity? If the conspicuous consumption, which is reflected also in the

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<sup>3</sup> Ascetic is used to refer the traditional life style of conservative people having the characters of being away from showing off and owing modest behavioral relations.

real estate values in the area, continues, could problems of affordability arise in the future?

It can thus be understood that all stakeholders in the area, including both the outgoing former residents of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak and the incoming residents that participated in the regeneration process, all made financial gains. These stakeholders include the landowner who owns the land that is about to be regenerated, the contractor who drives the regeneration process, the speculative buyers of apartments right after regeneration who profit from the increasing real estate values and rising urban rents, the real estate agencies that helped in the development of the new apartment blocks, and last but not least, the Metropolitan Municipality. The benefit for the Metropolitan Municipality is based on the fact that some of the land uses indicated on the Improvement Plan as municipal service areas, and sports and recreational areas have since been rezoned for construction. In these areas, the Metropolitan Municipality has led the construction of high-rise buildings in cooperation with the private sector, bringing additional financial resources into the municipality coffers. The “*Hayat Sebla Residences*”, comprising five residential blocks on an area of land previously designated as a Municipal service area on the Improvement Plan; the “*Gökteşehir Residences*”, being two blocks on an area designated as a sporting facility; and “*Nova Tower*”, which has been granted greater development rights when compared to other regenerated residential apartment blocks in the neighborhood, are all clear examples of this.

There are other problems to be faced, aside from the increased development rights granted to high-rise residential buildings and their construction on lands designated as public spaces. The middle-income residents bought their apartments when they were less expensive, right after launch of the urban regeneration project, and they now find themselves in possession of properties worth in the region of 1 million Turkish Liras. This has resulted in an imbalance in the residential profile within the same apartment blocks. In the event of an increase in the monthly maintenance charge levied against each apartment, while the newcomers may be financially able to afford it, the earlier purchasers may not, leaving the former with an uncertain future regarding their continued residence in the area.

After summarizing my experiences in the Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods from a personal perspective, when taking in the area through the eyes of a planner, there are some elements that can be considered as specific to these neighborhoods. The urban regeneration project that was launched in these two neighborhoods at the beginning of 2000s saw the sudden abandonment of the local identity of a *gecekondu* settlement, and the embracing of a new identity of a fashionable space in Ankara. This area, as the residential space of many members of the government, has become place where only people with enough money can live. Its center is convivial, and it hosts the best areas for eating and drinking. This old *gecekondu* area close to city center has developed spontaneously into the hyped center of Ankara in period of only 10–15 years. The thing that makes the urban regeneration of this area specific is the influx of conservative people into these neighborhoods, who have made their own contribution to the local identity. Later, this new identity has gradually transformed into a mix of the modern and conservative, the initial identity lingers in people's memories.

Gentrification, as a side-product of urban regeneration, has hit these neighborhoods hard, with the low-income people leaving the area to be replaced by a middle–high income profile of resident. However, the difference between the urban regeneration processes in these neighborhoods and in other areas of Turkey is the lack of dissatisfaction among the displaced population. There were no compulsory displacements, as those that left on the whole did so voluntarily. The former *gecekondu* residents living in this area were very satisfied with their gains from the regeneration process, and for many, their only regret was that they had failed to take advantage of the situation by appropriating more land prior to the launch of the process.

Although the initial motivation behind the urban regeneration of these neighborhoods was to make this the area more livable through the removal of the *gecekondus*, control of the process was lost, and the neighborhoods ended up facing a density that exceeded their maximum capacity. In addition to the excessive development rights granted in the area, a number of plan changes were made that saw areas designated as public spaces were re-zoned for construction with the new designation of high-rise

buildings. Accordingly, life in these neighborhoods has become intolerable as a result of the high density and owned an unsustainable structure for future. With the surplus of residential apartment blocks, the existing shopping mall and the non-stop construction of high-rise blocks designated as office-residences, the existing structure of the neighborhood that cannot even be sustained today is on the verge of sliding into a very complicated state.

Consequently, the urban regeneration implemented in the neighborhood, while seeming to be successful at first sight (in its rehabilitation of the area from *gecekondus*, the construction of spacious residential units, constitution of a center and the overcoming of security problems in the area), faces some serious difficulties in terms of sustainability for the future. First of all, there is a distinct shortfall in public transport infrastructure to cope with the density of residential units, business centers and commercial uses; secondly, the middle-class residents that settled in the area immediately after regeneration can no longer compete with the high-income newcomers, and faced being forced from their apartments due to the demands put on them financially; thirdly, the conservative families that have chosen to live in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak and have turned these neighborhoods into a hype center, although in the future they may choose to decant from these neighborhoods to another area in Ankara, carrying with them their heterogeneity with modern people.

In the light of all these discussions, the aim of the thesis is to measure whether or not the urban regeneration in the Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods can be considered a success with respect to some criteria. The first criterion is determined as gentrification, which will be discussed with particular emphasis on the fact that the gentrification of Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak is different to that seen in other parts of Turkey. Following this, the issue of sustainability will be addressed, focusing on the sustained difficulties of these two neighborhoods for the future, which will be examined through an analysis of three indicators: transport, housing and identity of place.

## 1.1. Aim

The aim of this research is evaluating the success of urban regeneration in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods depending on some certain criteria which are gentrification and sustainability. To achieve this aim, main question and sub-questions of the thesis are determined as:

**Main question:** *-Is urban regeneration implementation in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods successful?*

**Sub Questions:** *-How gentrification process has been experienced in the area?*

*-What are the positive and negative effects of gentrification in the area?*

*-Has gentrification potential in the area existed, and has gentrification been already experienced in the area?*

*-Does gentrification always create losers in urban regeneration processes?*

*-Why gentrification create losers or winners depending on differentiated urban areas?*

*-Are there any sustainability difficulties in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods after urban regeneration, and what are the fields in which sustainability difficulties exist?*

In order to respond the main question, success criteria of urban regeneration are firstly be determined through the lessons learned analysis of 20 urban regeneration cases from different parts of the world. As a result of these analysis, aims, positive gains and problems are revealed for urban regeneration, and two main criteria which are gentrification and sustainability are inferred for the formation of research. Later on, initially, the indicators of gentrification are determined and evaluated for the case study area; then, sustainability indicators are specified by means of problematic issues in the area.

In order to find out the response of sub-questions within the research, in-depth interviews and observations are carried out as also a participant in these neighborhoods. Particularly, sub-questions about sustainability criterion are investigated by making a land use study in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods under favor of participant observation method.

## **1.2. Justification**

In Turkey urban regeneration is considered as the process annihilating previously acquired social values, displacing residents from their living environment and forcing them to live in mostly other peripheral parts of the city, namely experiencing gentrification. On the other hand, this research contributes the discussions on urban regeneration as the fact that it can be considered as a process in which almost all the actors such as landowners, developers<sup>4</sup> and municipalities win economically making the implementation desirable for the area. Within this research, the thing that makes Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods different from some other practices in Turkey is almost all the actors have satisfied from urban regeneration practice, meaning that actors within the process seems to be winners, and gentrification was completely experienced voluntarily by old *gecekondu* residents.

In the literature, although most of the authors in Turkey have focused on negative effects of gentrification, created during the process of urban regeneration, this research emphasizes both positive and negative effects of gentrification in the areas experiencing urban regeneration. Gentrification process has been intensively criticized since it has been analyzed from a single point of view which has been concentrated on the fact that gentrification process only generates losers for particularly old residents in the area as landowners. On the other hand, in the case study area of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, the actors or shareholders have almost completely won economically contrary to being losers at the end of the process. One of the aims of this research is to demonstrate that gentrification does

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<sup>4</sup> Within this research, developer is used corresponding to a general term containing the building companies or small scale contractors as managers and financier of urban regeneration processes.

not always create losers in any urban regeneration area; on the contrary, winners might also exist in this process through gentrification.

In addition, this research is also significant since it relates urban regeneration concept with sustainability within the context of difficulties to sustain some aspects after urban regeneration implementation. It is revealed that some sustainability difficulties might also exist in urban regeneration area. In other words, sustainability difficulties have continuously been increasing on some certain issues in Çukurambar and Kızılrnak Neighborhoods which have not own problems in terms of gentrification by means of economic revival of shareholders. One of the aims of the research is proving the possibility of experiencing sustainability difficulties in future in an area which seems to be successful in terms of economic aspect. Consequently, the main contribution of this thesis to the literature is a research examining how to evaluate the success or failure of urban regeneration practices within the context of gentrification and sustainability.

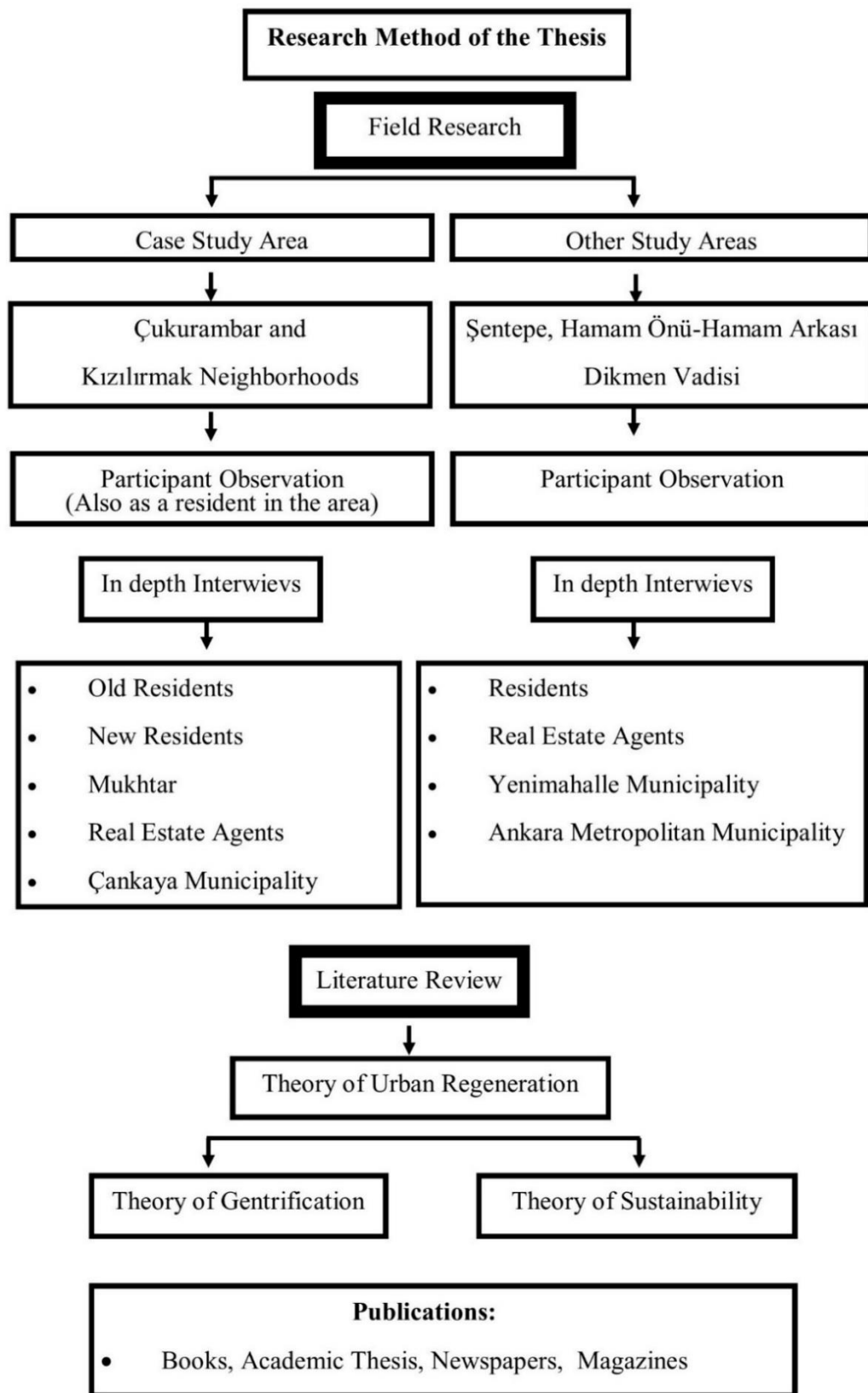
### **1.3. Context**

In this research, success criteria of urban regeneration in Çukurambar and Kızılrnak Neighborhoods are evaluated within the context of gentrification and sustainability. This context is formed as a result of various stages. Firstly, the opinions of different authors for the success and failure of urban regeneration are included. Later on, lessons learned analysis is made through the cases selected from different parts of the world which are England (four districts), U.S.A. (three districts), France, Egypt and Netherland (two districts), Italy, Germany, Spain, Australia, Japan, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon (one district). Main successes and failures are inferred at the end of the analysis, and aims, positive gains and problems of these urban regeneration cases are determined. In the end, some key points are acquired about success and failure factors of urban regeneration. Gentrification comes at the top of the list of these key points, and transport, infrastructure, housing, identity of place, attractiveness, participation, social well-being and conservation follows. Several of these key points are selected considering Çukurambar and Kızılrnak Neighborhoods which are gentrification, transport, identity of place and housing. In other words, the research is

carried out within the context of gentrification and sustainability -divided into the indicators as transport, identity of place and housing-.

#### **1.4. Method of Analysis**

At the beginning of the research, firstly, field survey; later on, literature review was carried out since the aim was organizing literature review depending on making existing situation assessment to determine the topics as inputs to the research. Therefore, field survey was started on February 2014. Firstly, Şentepe Neighborhood was visited, and then Hamamönü-Hamam Arkası and Dikmen Vadisi were analyzed. The main focus of all these surveys was making in-depth interviews with those people. The reason to analyze these three cases from Ankara before the analysis of urban regeneration in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods was to compare these practices from different parts of Ankara with the main case study area. Later on, detailed analysis and interviews were carried out for the main case study area as shown in Figure 1, namely research method of the thesis. It is significant to mention that the most crucial advantage in this research has been my position of being both the researcher and a resident in Çukurambar Neighborhood.



**Figure 1. Research Method of the Thesis**

## Field Research

I applied four main data collection for field research methods which were in-depth interviews, participant observation, collecting written documents and collecting visual documents:

- **In-depth interviews** were firstly applied in Şentepe District. The area was visited, and Şentepe Urban Regeneration Project was discussed with the people living in the area and real estate agencies. Later on, in order to obtain more detailed information, Yenimahalle Municipality was visited, and in-depth interviews were made with the related unit responsible from urban regeneration for Şentepe. Then, Hamamönü and Hamam Arkası Restoration Project was analyzed onsite by making interviews with the residents still living in the area. Afterwards, old residents in 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> stage of Dikmen Vadisi were interviewed to obtain their opinions about the process of urban regeneration project, and the opinions of policy makers in Metropolitan Municipality -as another actor in urban regeneration process approaching the process from a different aspect- for this process was acquired.

After the completion of field survey for urban regeneration projects in different parts of Ankara, in-depth interviews were started to be carried out in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. First interviewees were the Mukhtars<sup>5</sup> of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. After getting information about the general process in the area, following interviewees were old residents and owners of real estate agencies who were still old residents enabling making comparative analysis between old and new urban environment. Later on, interviews were made with the current residents in the area, who were also old gecekondü rightholders, and new comers after regeneration. In addition, related units in Ankara Metropolitan Municipality,

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<sup>5</sup> Mukhtar shall be committed to determine common requirements of the inhabitants with the participation of the volunteers, to improve the living standards of the parish, and to carry on relations with the municipality and other public institutions and corporations, as well as to declare opinion on the matters which concerns the parish, to cooperate with the other institutions and to perform the other duties conferred upon by the laws (5393 Municipal Law, 2005)

responsible from Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods Master Plan<sup>6</sup>, and Çankaya District Municipality, responsible from Implementation Plan of these neighborhoods, were also interviewed. As a result of in depth interviews, which were applied to residents, Mukhtars and policy makers for Master and Implementation Plans in Şentepe, Hamamönü and Hamam Arkası, Dikmen Vadisi and Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, obtained outcomes were used as direct quotations or with some interpretational additions in the study.

- **Participant observation** is another method of gathering information for research areas. For this research, my most prominent advantage was being also a resident in research area. Since 2004 -the move date of my family to Çukurambar Neighborhood-, I have had the opportunity to make observations in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. In addition, after determination of my case study area for this research in the mid of 2013, I have evaluated and observed the area as a resident and also a planner in the context of urban regeneration criteria of gentrification and sustainability. I have made my observations and evaluations objectively apart from the biases constituted by living in case study area of the research.

In addition, depending on my personal observations and researches, land use maps of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods were separately prepared by myself in terms of residential uses, business and commercial center, health, education, religious centers, open and green areas and transportation systems to support the emphasis on density increase in the area under the heading of “Sustainability Difficulties for Future in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods”.

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<sup>6</sup> Master Plan is a whole plan with a detailed explanatory report which is drawn on the base maps with cadastral drawings worked if available in compliance with regional or environmental plans, and prepared to form a basis for the preparation of the implementation plan and display such matters as general forms of use of land pieces, main zone types, future population densities of the zones, building densities as necessary, development direction and magnitude and principles of various settlement areas, transport systems and solutions to transport problems (3194 Law on Land Development Planning and Control, 1985).

- **Collecting written documents** is another research method that I used for the field research. I scanned all the available documents about Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. Particularly, in identity of place part, forums on web sites focusing on identity of these neighborhoods were effectively benefited and used as inputs for the research.
- **Collecting visual document** is another part of data collection process. In this stage, searching internet and taking photos in Şentepe, Hamamönü ve Hamam Arkası, Dikmen Vadisi and main case study area of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods constituted the main part of gathering data. In addition some conceptual schemes were produced to make analysis more easily and comprehensible.

## **Literature Review**

After field research, the issues that are needed to be studied for the research was determined; later on, literature review was started. Initially, researches were carried out focusing on the main topic of urban regeneration. Later on, the theory of two determined criteria -gentrification and sustainability- to evaluate the success of urban regeneration were scrutinized. While doing these studies, books, academic articles, thesis and news from newspapers are benefited.

## **1.5. Content**

**Chapter 1** is the introduction part. In this chapter, my life experiences from 2004 to current year of 2014 is summarized initially. Then, the aim of the research, justification part for why there is a need for such a study stating the difference of this research from the other ones, and the methodology used for field survey and literature review are mentioned. In the end, a content is included summarizing the chapters of the thesis.

**Chapter 2** constitutes the theory of the research. Firstly, the definition, and then the reasons, goals and objectives of urban regeneration are described. Later on, emergence of urban regeneration and its intervention types are analyzed. Then,

success and failure factors of urban regeneration are described to constitute a base for the following part which is the analysis of selected urban regeneration practices from different parts of the world. Afterwards, a lessons learned analysis, inferred from previous world cases of urban regeneration, is mentioned. At the end of this section, urban regeneration in Turkey is investigated through three cases from Ankara which were Şentepe, Hamamönü and Hamam Arkası and Dikmen Vadisi 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Stages.

After mentioning the theory of urban regeneration, gentrification concept is described as the first success criterion of urban regeneration. Initially, the process of gentrification and its positive and negative effects are mentioned; then, the indicators of gentrification are analyzed through the literature review. At the last part of this chapter, another criterion is examined, which is sustainability, by mentioning its general definitions including the relationship of sustainable communities with urban regeneration. Finally, the selected indicators of sustainability for the research, which are transport, identity of place and housing, are briefly described considering questionable issues in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods.

**In Chapter 3,** Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods are analyzed in detail considering the conditions before and after urban regeneration. In the first section, the topography and location of the area are mentioned. Secondly, emergence process of *gecekondus*, their infrastructure condition and social profiles of inhabitants are analyzed. Later on, urban regeneration process of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods are evaluated under the topics of planning history, implementation process of urban regeneration, the reasons of rapid urban regeneration in the area and current situation of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods.

**In Chapter 4,** Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods are analyzed within the context of gentrification and sustainability. In the first part of this chapter, gentrification process of these neighborhoods is mentioned including its indicators and the process in the area. Later on, positive and negative effects of gentrification on these two neighborhoods and evaluation of gentrification processes in the framework of winners and losers in the area are examined. In this study, win/lose

classification is made among the actors of urban regeneration process. Finally, four urban regeneration areas from İstanbul, which have already experienced gentrification, are discussed in comparison with Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods.

At the second part of the chapter, sustainability difficulties of these two neighborhoods for future are evaluated under three main topics as indicators. The first one is transportation which is analyzed in parallel with the emphasis on increase in building density causing traffic congestion. Increasing density in the area is described through a detailed land use studies on residential areas, business and commercial centers, health, education, religious, and public institutions, open and green areas. Later on, transport system in these neighborhoods is scrutinized, and sustainability difficulties for future are evaluated.

Another indicator determined for sustainability difficulty for future in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods is identity of place. In that section, the identity of these neighborhoods and the prospective problems in case of the loss of identity are discussed.

Another indicator, which has been thought to create sustainability difficulties in the area for future, is housing. The issue is examined in terms of affordability difficulties which mean income differences between the residents who bought apartment right after urban regeneration and the ones bought after increasing real estate values in recent years. As a result, some problems exist generated from income differences in the same apartment block or neighborhood i.e. the new comers right after urban regeneration are started to unable to afford some costs. In addition, income difference in the area is continuously increasing due to the construction of luxury higher priced residence towers in recent years. Consequently, housing issue is discussed under the topic of sustainability difficulties in the neighborhoods

**Chapter 5** is the conclusion part. In the first section of this chapter, the research is summarized, then main findings are mentioned. Finally, the study is ended by a discussion, and ideas are also offered for further studies in this field.

## **CHAPTER 2**

### **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK OF THE THESIS**

In this chapter, urban regeneration concept is analyzed considering the conditions in the world. In doing so, success and failure factors of urban regeneration are scrutinized with particular attention to two main indicators, namely gentrification and sustainability. After explaining these two indicators, the necessary base for the discussion of the cases of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods will have been constituted.

#### **2.1 Urban Regeneration**

Cities have continuously needed changes, renewal and transformation. Besides, such a need may change depending on time and space, and can also be named with different phrases as “urban regeneration”, “urban renewal”, urban redevelopment“, urban refurbishment”, “urban revitalization”, “urban renaissance” or from a more preservationist perception sometimes as “urban rehabilitation”, “urban preservation”, and “urban conservation”. In this thesis, “urban regeneration” is used as the term that is the most commonly used and providing the best correspondence to the change occurred in case study area from Turkey. In this section, initially, urban regeneration is defined including the contributions of different authors. Then, the reasons, goals and objectives of urban regeneration are analyzed. In the following parts, the emergence of urban regeneration in the world together with its history and intervention types is presented. Later on, this section includes the reasons for the success and failure of urban regeneration, and 20 urban regeneration examples from different parts of the world are examined to determine specific success and failure criteria which are used as inputs for the following section. Finally, urban

regeneration is scrutinized considering its historical development in Turkey together with different examples from Ankara.

### **2.1.1. Definitions of Urban Regeneration**

Urban regeneration is a part of the process of urban change which contains some certain aspects difficult to be maintained for the future. In order to sustain these aspects, urban regeneration enables urban uses and activities to be revitalized for obtaining livable urban spaces for present time, and also for future. Thus, it is significant to realize that insufficiency of existing livability in urban areas is differentiated depending on different contents and contexts of urban change, and considering distinctive characteristics of cities and regions. In other words, any de facto rule for the areas of urban regeneration cannot be taken as commonly accepted. For instance, the cultural and historical values of an urban regeneration area might be quite remarkable, and the settlements and buildings in this area are needed to be sustained through conservation implementations; on the contrary, demolishing unhealthy and irregular *gecekondu* settlements and constructing livable residential units with its environment seem to be considered as a more sustainable aim for the future. Additionally, urban regeneration not only aims the rehabilitation of physical environment, but also it is expected to produce solutions to social and economic problems, which emerged in the process of regeneration practice. Therefore, how urban regeneration can be called as successful is the rehabilitation of physical urban fabric considering the social, economic and cultural circumstances of the people who are previously living there, and making the old residents stayed in the same area that they previously live in. Additionally, one of the the main questions, crucial to evaluate the success of urban regeneration, seems to be an urban regeneration practice, which is called as if it was successful at initial times after regeneration, sustain its success in future or not? In other words, the shareholders and the policy making authority managing the implementation of urban regeneration should take into account this question considering the process to be not only sustainable for today, but also for the future which should be planned in a detailed and sensitive manner. After mentioning the primary components of urban regeneration, it seems significant to state Turok's (2004), scientific understanding of this concept. Urban

regeneration is defined as a comprehensive vision and practice trying to produce permanent solutions for the economic, physical, social and environmental conditions of a district that experiences changes in order to figure out solutions to urban problems. In this manner, urban regeneration has three different characteristics. Firstly, urban regeneration aims to change the nature of a place, and to incorporate local people and other actors for the future of that place. Secondly, urban regeneration includes various objectives and activities that are a part of fundamental responsibilities of both central and local governments depending on particular problems and potentials of the district. Thirdly, the special institutional condition of stakeholders of the project and the importance of coordination type of those stakeholders are differentiated depending on the objective of regeneration programme.

According to Roberts (2000), the concept of urban regeneration is described as the effort, which has a comprehensive and integrated vision and action, for a continuous enhancement of physical, economic, environmental and social conditions of an area. Additionally, other objectives of urban regeneration are mentioned as:

- redevelopment and revitalization of an economic activity that has already disappeared,
- enabling social integration in the places that social exclusion exist,
- reorganization of environmental quality and ecologic balance in the places that these issues have already disappeared

According to Keleş, urban regeneration is defined as the change of the entire city or some parts of it and its getting into a different structure. This concept is analyzed among city planners apart from the addition of new settlements to a city. Urban regeneration is a change that occurs at the inner structures of a city constructed upon its previously existing past and the relationship with other settlement units (Keleş, 2004). In other words, urban regeneration can be approached as re-planning and implementation in order to regenerate existing cities and centers and to reorganize them depending on the necessities of that time (Hasol, 1999). Additionally, Görgülü

(2005), emphasized that urban regeneration should not be grounded or identified with urban renewal concept, which only aims to transform physical space. In this context, in the area in which urban regeneration projects are implemented, social, cultural and economic factors cannot be ignored. The issue of urban regeneration should be evaluated within the context of local, political and economic programmes of each country, because it has a multi-variable process that cannot be analyzed with similar methods and models even in different cities of the same country. Urban regeneration should be one of the most crucial tools of contemporary planning process. In addition to these definitions, Özden (2008) summarizes urban regeneration as an activity of transformation, improvement, revitalization and sometimes reproduction of an urban fabric which becomes old, deteriorated, unhealthy, illegally constructed or is waited due to its much more potential land value than existing superstructure and has a widespread deprivation within the framework of a strategic approach in which its infrastructure is constituted and fed by social and economic programmes compatible with contemporary socioeconomic and physical conditions.

### **2.1.2. Reasons, Goals and Objectives of Urban Regeneration**

In this section, before examining the goals and objectives of urban regeneration, the reasons of the need for this concept and implementations are explained. The reasons of experiencing urban regeneration are emphasized through two significant concepts: urban change and urban deprivation. These concepts are elaborated through the opinions of different authors, and it is observed that the necessity of urban regeneration was emerged as a response to the conditions constituted by economic, physical and social degradation in urban areas.

Urban change can be mentioned as the reason constituting the setting necessary for urban regeneration. Main dimensions of urban change are classified into four different aspects (Roberts, 2000). Firstly, “*economic transition and employment change*” refers to changes in economic activities and correspondingly employment situation.

For instance, when de-industrialization occurs in an area in which its economy is heavily supported by industry, an increase in unemployment rate that triggers out migration might result in urban decline. After a while; under these conditions, it seems inevitable to experience an urban regeneration process.

Secondly, “*social and community issues*” imply that if social problems and changes exist in an area, it is about to be exposed to urban regeneration. These social and community problems can be summarized as; insufficient social infrastructure (health, education, green areas etc.), social exclusion, social alienation, lack of participation etc. In order to tackle with all these problems, enabling the protection of values including social issues such as; social cohesion, human interaction, social mixing, social equity, social justice, participation in an urban regeneration process. Another dimension for urban change is “*physical obsolescence and new land and property requirements*”. Urban fabrics sometimes experience physical decline or deterioration in its building or environmental structures. This physical decline can be originated from degradation of real estates or insufficiency of urban social facilities. In such conditions, urban regeneration practices are expected to make physical deterioration removed from urban fabric and to create new areas for increasing population. Finally, “*environmental quality and sustainable development*” is another aspect of urban change. Environmental quality can be corrupted in the areas that urban deterioration exists, and the area is considered as no longer sustainable for future generations. Thus, urban regeneration practices for these declined urban areas should take into account environmental quality and the principles of sustainability which will be mentioned in following chapter in detail.

According to Tekeli (2011), one of the reasons of urban change is the continuous increase in urban population, and also the decrease in population might also create remarkable urban development dynamics. The second reason is economic development of a city and its way of integration to the world. The change in urban economy might create regeneration effect in any part of a city, and each crisis in cities and necessity of restructuring means the emergence of new demands for change and urban regeneration. Urban development increases wealth, changes consumption behaviors, increases private car ownership and amount of constructed

roads and develops required infrastructure to respond multi-dimensional demands for change.

According to Stewart et al. (1974), the reason for urban regeneration is related with the concept of urban deprivation. The content of this concept is analyzed under five main headings as mentioned below;

- Depreivation/deterioration in urban fabric: Depreivation comes into existence in slum. The factors that constitute these areas are old residential fabric insufficiency of comfort conditions, maintenance of existing situation through repairs, miserableness of general appearance, crowded families and high percentage of tenancy, street pollution, functionless schools and social houses.
- Economic depreivation: This one refers to low income people who are serviced and supported by local government (rent allowances, provision of social services etc.) and central authority (tax discounts, family allowances, provision of social security services)
- Deprived families who have difficulties in adoption of social standards: Ignorance of children by their families, low social class, migrants, illiteracy mainly result in such kind of social depreivation.
- Insufficiency of service units and social facilities: Depreivation of these necessities refers to low standard service conditions of open spaces, social facilities and other facility and services supported by private sectors

After mentioning the reasons for urban regeneration, aims and objectives are also needed to examine which are critically evaluated considering the opinions of different authors.

According to Roberts (2000), the main aims of urban regeneration are mentioned as;

- Establishment of a direct relationship between physical conditions and social problems of urban areas
- Dealing with housing problems and making urban areas livable

- Realizing the significance of integration of social improvement and economic progress
- Sustaining urban growth in a controlled and planned manner
- Restructuring urban policies with respect to changing conditions

According to the explanations of Roberts (2000), focusing on the aims of urban regeneration, firstly, he mentions the relationship between physical condition and social problems. Here, it is defended that the changes in social fabric also affect the physical environment accordingly; thus, first and foremost, social problems should significantly be intended to solve within the process of urban regeneration; and creating livable housing units considering the environment comes as the secondary aim. Particularly, *gecekond* settlements are the places which deprive from any urban social infrastructure i.e. transportation, physical infrastructure and existence of open public spaces and recreational areas in which the residential units are not convenient to live in. As a result, one of the principle objectives is the fact that residential areas together with the surroundings should be kept livable as a result of the process of urban regeneration. Thirdly, the relationship of social improvement with economic conditions is emphasised. Inexistence of economic vitality integrated with or low income communities cause barriers to social progress as well. Therefore, if urban regeneration area is targeted to be developed in terms of its social structure together with its physical development, the tools to contribute economic vitality in the area should also be provided, and the policies focusing on the increase in income level of these people should be applied. Another aim of urban regeneration was described as enabling planned and controlled urban growth to achieve sustainable urban development. In other words, in regeneration process of urban areas intending to have a sustainable urban development, urban sprawl, which is the excessive development of a city towards the periphery of urban area, should also be avoided. Finally, cities are continuously changing and the dynamic composition of cities enables regeneration processes experienced. Thus, existing urban policies sometimes remain insufficient or meaningless under changing conditions, and urban policies should be rethought with respect to the contemporary conditions particularly together with a sensitive perception and practice of urban regeneration.

Additionally, Bailey (2004) explains the objectives of urban regeneration considering different perspectives. One of which is grounded on the physical rehabilitation of neighborhoods. Regarding this opinion, if the residences in a deprived urban area can no longer provide livable urban spaces, a necessity appears for the removal and reconstruction of physically better ones that makes urban regeneration successful. Regarding second opinion, the success of urban regeneration focusses on the enhancement of life conditions of people aiming onsite regeneration. In other words, the existence of gentrification as a result of the process of urban regeneration makes urban regeneration unsuccessful. Another opinion focusses on the success criteria for the development of an area in the long term after regeneration. The success factor of this opinion is determined with respect to the condition of not being able to continue living in the same area for old residents after regeneration whether old residents can afford to live in newly regenerated area or not.

In the evaluation of these three opinions, only physical dimension of urban regeneration is regarded and social dimension, which concerns what old residents do after regeneration whether they continue to live in the area or not, whether an involuntary or voluntary displacement was happened in the area in case of gentrification- is not taken into account. Another critique for this opinion is disregarding conservation principles. An urban regeneration project, which does not consider the cultural and historical heritage in the area, cannot be thought as successful, because historical assets are the significant contributor of the identity of place for the neighborhood. Another critique can be introduced as the explanation of Hague for the objectives of urban regeneration. According to Hague (2005), renewal in residential areas can never be considered as a narrow-scoped housing problem. Enabling the communication and interaction between the deprived people living in regeneration area and the people as new comers to the renewed area after regeneration, and the diversity of different ethnic groups -i.e. the women and men and living in the area can be preconditioned as the objectives of urban regeneration. On the contrary, the second opinion pays attention to everyday life of individuals and community, and focusses on enhancement of quality of life of local people. According to this opinion, which defends onsite urban regeneration, the process

should be implemented incrementally -considering a participatory process by determining comprehensive strategies on each stages of the process- in order to eliminate any prospective gentrification processes. The criticism here is the fact that applying such changes and embracing an incremental regeneration process contain the difficulty of making fundamental changes on slummed structure of the area. The third opinion focusses on the sustainability of urban regeneration. What it is referred here as sustainability is the issue of whether the old residents continue to live in the area after regeneration or not. This evaluation is made over the economic affordability of the people living in the area. Actually, all these three approaches, putting forth the success factors for urban regeneration, include both right aspects and missing point.

The first one ignores social problems, and the second and the third ones disregard the condition of physical environment. What really matters for a successful urban regeneration is a spatial rehabilitation or renewal considering both physical regeneration and social problems in the area and integrating these two matters within the regeneration process.

In addition, Keleş (2011) mentioned the aims of urban regeneration as firstly slum clearance, secondly renewal of city center to prevent the differences between central districts and suburban areas in terms of economic vitality, and thirdly, increasing financial resources of local governments of central districts. In addition, he emphasizes that the implementation of slum clearance should also be supported by different types of interventions i.e. rehabilitation, conservation, redevelopment.

Consequently, the different aspects, aimed in urban regeneration practices, primarily focus on the issues of physical, social and economic development in the area, and integration between those aspects is emphasized.

### **2.1.3. Emergence of Urban Regeneration and Intervention Types**

Urban regeneration concept firstly appeared in European and North American cities. Despite some similarities among those cities in terms of the emergence or experiences of urban regeneration, they differentiate from each other in many respects by means of different internal dynamics and specific characteristics.

Therefore, different intervention types and area-specific urban policies are needed for various problematic urban areas. Despite the existence of such a variety for urban problems, some experiences in different cities also imitate successful implementations of urban regeneration. As a result, those practices incompatible with internal dynamics of regeneration area are about to be failed. The main aim in this part is mentioning some of the practices in America and Europe within a historical range and criticizing the factors of urban regeneration to be successful or not.

Industrial revolution together with migration from rural to urban areas affected both European and Northern American cities; for instance, unhealthy and irregular housing settlements emerged as a result of migration. Thus, unhealthy environment and reconstructing existing cities resulted in deterioration of social structures of communities. In addition to environmental concerns, social and economic problems were also started to emerge.

Consequently, from the mid of the 1800s to the 1940s, different intervention types were developed against physical and social deterioration in urban spaces and communities. The first urban regeneration projects were targeted to increase the public spaces in the city. In the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> Century, Park Movement was aimed to bring nature to the city, and in the end, large-scale green areas were designed for various urban settlements; then, urban regeneration projects, including opening wide boulevards and roads in urban areas, followed the Park Movement. Regeneration projects in this period enabled both the enhancement of environment and vehicle traffic. Additionally, City Beautiful Movement was developed providing wide boulevards, roads and streets and regeneration of urban centers (Akkar, 2006).

Another circumstance, made urban regeneration came into agenda once again and affected particularly to Europe, is the Second World War. After the war, a considerable part of European cities was ruined, and historical monuments were transformed into pile of debris. Damaged residential areas, hospitals and transport facilities also threatened the survival of urban centers. In this period, reconstruction of cities became the most difficult task for tenants, landowners, architectures, workers, urban planners and urban policy makers and regional and local politicians

that they had never met (Özden, 2008). Thus, in the second half of 1940s, particularly in European cities, reconstruction of damaged cities due to the war was realized. Besides, serious economic developments happened both in Europe and in America since the 1950s. These changes originated from two tendencies: the first one was the increase in unemployment among workers and decreasing industrial activities; and the second one was the leave of middle class urban residents from their living areas (Andersen, 2005).

In parallel with the urban dynamics in the 1950s, middle class leaved the urban center together with the development of satellite settlements, and the vacant residential units in city center were resided by low income people. Consequently, this process caused the emergence of urban decline areas (Kayasü & Uzun, 2009). Later on, new programs and implementations were initiated to remove those decline areas and to contribute a new vision and appearance to urban centers together with the removal of low-income residents living in those central areas. These implementations, named as slum clearance, contain mainly the construction of high-rise buildings on these slum areas by using industrialized construction techniques. In addition, land uses in urban centers lost their traditional identity, and they were re-functioned as commercial uses and business centers.

By the 1960s, demolish-and-construct policies as post war emergency applications were left behind/abandoned since these policies did not consider conservation principles and only aims to enhancement of physical urban environment. During this period, beside the physical environmental concerns, social and welfare improvements were also taken into account; however, the city continued its urban sprawl towards periphery and “Revitalization” efforts in city centers were maintained.

In the 1970s, an incremental change was observed in urban regeneration policies and practices. Revival of residential areas was regarded sensitively; and, participation of local people gained significance in renewal and conservation of urban areas. Accordingly, the first initiation of participation in “Urban Renewal” practices is dated to these years. Later on, the support of governments for the rehabilitation of

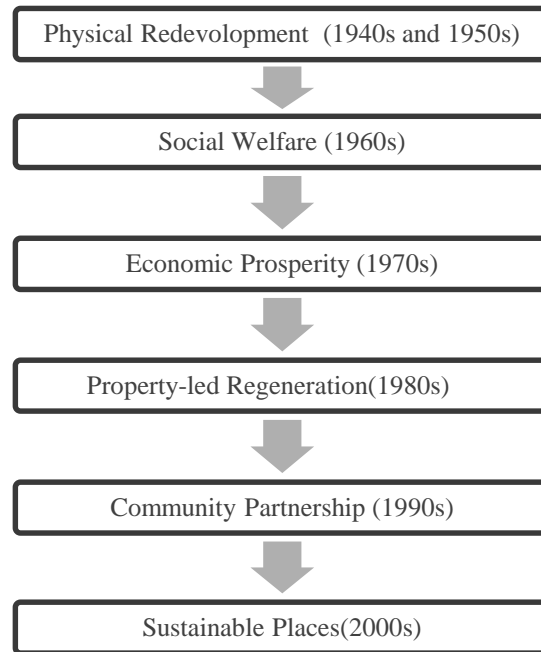
housing areas was affected negatively from the economic depression at the end of the 1970s (Özden, 2008).

Within the period of the 1980s, fundamental changes were experienced for urban regeneration. The most prominent characteristic of urban regeneration in these years was the common use of “Urban Redevelopment” as a policy. The focus of urban regeneration projects was enabling economic revitalization in emptied, inert and decline areas. For that purpose, some pioneer projects, regarding mainly the profit of investor instead of general public interest, were prepared as catalyzers of urban regeneration. Another important characteristic of these projects is creating new urban images for declined areas in order to attract new investors and tourists to the area (Akkar, 2006). Besides, in 1980s, postwar social housing estates were unexpectedly regarded as new urban regeneration areas. The rise of problems, caused by technical deficiencies and social disquiet, showed that urban regeneration was also needed in these areas. In other words, urban regeneration was considered as a practice for not only the removal and renewal of old and distressed housing areas; but also, dealing with social and physical urban decline problems (Andersen, 2005).

In the 1990s and 2000s, the concept of urban regeneration emerged in agenda means that economic and social concerns were regarded as well as spatial dimension. The main objective of these practices was to solve social and economic problems existing in urban areas (Kayasü & Uzun, 2009). Additionally the concept of sustainability in cities and regions appeared. Many fundamental urban policy issues like developing compact cities or urban regeneration policies for the efficient use of economic, social and environmental resources, revitalization of city centers, restricting urban development and sprawl, developing multi-functional urban areas together with sustainable urban transport techniques and conservation of natural and historical assets were started to be discussed in urban planning agenda (Jeffrey & Pounder, 2000). In this period, conservation of natural and historical heritage in European cities was applied for four different areas of revitalization of centers experiencing urban decline, enhancement of historical centers, revitalization of industrial and commercial areas with their historical values, and conservation of small and medium sized cities (Drewe, 2000).

According to Colantonio & Dixon (2011) evolution of urban regeneration policy is summarized as below (Table 1):

**Table 1. Evolution of Urban Regeneration Policy**



Source: (Colantonio & Dixon, 2011)

In conclusion, urban regeneration has experienced various stages over the years since 1940s depending on the interventions made on urban space for the need of each period. From 1940s to 1960s, physical redevelopment and social welfare policies became prominent in the agenda due to the enhancement of destructive effects of 2<sup>nd</sup> World War and responding the sheltering need of people for their well-being. In 1970s, social welfare concerns were replaced with the policies on economic prosperity. In 1980s, a turning point was experienced in urban regeneration supporting private sector initiatives, and projects were developed to achieve economic revitalization to deal with the problems of social and physical decline. 1990s the emphasis was mainly on partnership based structures between local residents, businesses, public and private sectors. In 2000s, creating sustainable communities have become prominent meaning that environmental, social and economic concerns have been handled all together in urban regeneration processes.

In other words, economic growth, social inclusion, minimizing environmental impacts were approached in relation with each other.

Additionally, evolution of urban regeneration and intervention methods by years was summarized in Table 2 by Roberts (2000). According to him, the phases of urban regeneration is summarized in below table (Table 2). Urban regeneration concepts named differently within each period because of the deficiencies in the methods of previous period or variation of necessities of current period.

**Table 2. The Evolution of Urban Regeneration**

<b>Period Policy Type</b>	<b>The 1950s Reconstruction</b>	<b>The 1960s Revitalization</b>	<b>The 1970s Renewal</b>	<b>The 1980s Redevelopment</b>	<b>The 1990s Regeneration</b>
<b>Major Strategy and Orientation</b>	Reconstruction and extension of older areas of towns and cities often based on a 'master plan'; suburban growth.	Constitution of 1950s theme; suburban and peripheral growth; some early attempts at rehabilitation.	Focus on in site renewal and neighborhood schemes; still development at periphery.	Many major schemes of development and redevelopment; flagship project; out of town projects.	Move towards a more comprehensive from of policy and practice; more emphasis on integrated treatments.
<b>Key Actors and Stakeholders</b>	National and local government; private sector developers and contractors.	Move towards a greater balance between public and private sectors.	Growing role of private sector and decentralization in local government	Emphasis on private sector and special agencies; growth of partnerships.	Partnership the dominant approach.
<b>Spatial Level of Activity</b>	Emphasis on local and site levels.	Regional level of activity emerged.	Regional and local levels initially; later more local emphasis.	In early 1980s focus on site; later emphasis on local level.	Reintroduction of strategic perspective; growth of regional activity.

**Table 2 (continued)**

<b>Economic Focus</b>	Public sector investment with some private sector involvement.	Continuing from the 1950s with growing influence of private investment.	Resource constraints in public sector and growth of private investment.	Private sector dominant with selective public funds.	Greater balance between public, private and voluntary funding.
<b>Social Content</b>	Improvement of housing and living standards.	Social and welfare improvement.	Community based action and greater empowerment	Community self-help with very selective state support.	Emphasis on the role of community.
<b>Physical Emphasis</b>	Replacement of inner areas and peripheral development.	Some constitution from 1950s with parallel rehabilitation of existing areas.	More extensive renewal of older urban areas.	Major schemes of replacement and new development; 'flagship schemes'	More modest than 1980s; heritage and retention.
<b>Environmental Approach</b>	Landscaping and some greening.	Selective improvements.	Environmental improvement with some innovation.	Growth of concern for wider approach to environment.	Introduction of broader idea of environmental sustainability.

Source: (Roberts, 2000)

As a summary of urban regeneration methods regarding above Table 2, the first one of "Urban Clearance" can be defined as a complete removal of physical urban fabric and realization of a renewed urban settlement in urban decline areas. In England, since the 1950s, this method has been adopted, and today, it is used as an ultimate remedy in the areas that rehabilitation is impossible. According to Diacon (1991), the necessary conditions for taking the decision of urban clearance are mentioned as below:

- Existence of buildings in the area that are inconvenient for human life
- Poor settlement layout in the area, existence of dangerous and detrimental houses for human health by reason of narrow and badly designed streets

- Existence of other dangerous or detrimental buildings in the area due to same reasons
- The most efficient way to deal with bad conditions is demolishing all the residential units and other buildings and clearance of the area.
- Providing a new secure and appropriate settlement area for the people who are about to move to another area
- Existence of sufficient resource to carry out "clearance" program

Another method was “Reconstruction” in 1950s. According to Özkan (1998), reconstruction of original and previously existing urban fabric, in which deteriorations existed due to disasters, is targeted with this intervention type depending on archeologically, literary, and archival knowledge coming from the past. Planners mention that the guidance of past experiences of cities to new constructions enables the creation of rhyme and convenience with old structure. In the 1960s, “Revitalization” concept became prominent. Özden (2008) explains the meaning of this concept as revival, vitalize, resurrection or strengthening. According to Keleş (2011), revitalize emerges as a need in the condition that structures lose their original functions, and despite the robustness of structures, their values decrease for various reasons. “Urban Renewal” is a concept of the policies in the 1970s. He mentions that renewal concept is defined as protecting through renovation of a part of an urban area or some parts of a structure convenient to the necessary technique. In addition, the concept of renewal was replaced with “Urban Renaissance” in 1981 due to evoking the action of demolishing and restructuring. In the 1980s, “Redevelopment” concept was started to be discussed as an intervention method. According to Keleş (1998), demolishing deteriorated and poor houses, which did not enable the enhancement of their economic and structural features, and developing urban areas, constituted with those houses, within a new urban design order. From 1990s up to recent years “Urban Regeneration” concept was adopted as the method of intervention, and expressed as the creation of a new urban fabric in annihilated, deteriorated and declined areas.

In addition to the intervention types mentioned above, some other ones also exist which are Improvement, Preservation, Conservation, Restoration, Refurbishment etc... Besides, there is a concept as an objective or an undesired result of urban regeneration, named “Gentrification”, which constitutes one of the core focuses of thesis research and is elaborated particularly in following chapters.

#### **2.1.4. Analysis of Success and Failure Factors of Urban Regeneration**

After referring shortly the history and explanations of intervention types of urban regeneration in America and Europe, it is significant to mention that each concept emerged as a result of a need or a problem related to urban space. Basically, each one aimed to present solution for the areas which was deteriorated in time or required to be renewed which can sometimes be achieved or failed due to unexpected circumstances. In this section, the aim is to analyze underlying reasons of success and failure factors of urban regeneration, and to investigate urban regeneration experiences from various selected countries which will be quite helpful for making concrete evaluations. In the first instance, the criticisms from various authors regarding success and failure of urban regeneration experiences in the world will be introduced. Later on, at the end of this analysis, some evaluations about the examples from the world will be concluded as lessons learned.

Turok (2004) emphasizes that urban regeneration policies generally focuses on dealing with some of the most challengeable social and economic problems within the community; thus, it would not be surprising for these policies not to be successful all the time. He depicts several reasons for the success of urban regeneration as follows;

- **Lack of clarity of purpose:** One of the most frequently made mistake in urban regeneration processes is on defining the objective. The scope of these objectives seems quite broad; yet policies specific to regeneration area cannot handle the problems of local people as a whole. Besides, unclear aims cause an increase in expectations of some shareholders and particularly of the society. In addition, too many objectives for the regeneration process might

result in the difficulties in setting the priorities and focusing on feasible targets.

- **Excessive control from the center:** Governments have often been too prescriptive about regeneration programs and not allowed local solutions to be emerged for local problems. The priorities of government are generally different from the problems of locality.
- **Poor co-ordination:** Another significant problem is the deficiency of vertical and horizontal coordination between the units of central and local governments. The route being followed by policy makers here was attempting short term initiatives in regeneration projects; on the other hand, small scale projects and marginal resources produce pretentionless results. Instead, including more local coordination and public participation, and the long-term perspectives, which are determined depending on the changes in basic services, increase the chance of success of urban regeneration implementations.
- **One-dimensional initiatives:** The connection between physical, social and economic regeneration was mostly under-recognized, and projects are considered one-dimensional. Policies in the past were needed to be multi-dimensional in case that problems have multi-level structure; however, these policies were only thought as property-led regeneration, limited social programs, business development or community regeneration.
- **Treating neighborhoods in isolation:** Neighborhoods have generally been considered independent from their broader urban context. The function in housing and labor market and its relationship with surrounding areas were not handled appropriately. Artificial boundaries were assumed to be put around the area, and aiming deprived urban areas quite obviously in regeneration projects results in marking these areas with their unpleasant fame.
- **A naive view of community potential:** In recent years, local people are located to the center of regeneration efforts together with delivering

responsibilities including notions like empowerment. This has reflected a communitarian view and belief in virtues of self-help and social capital. However, existing tension in societies, in which excessive demands coming from public sickens the policy making authorities, remained as a romantic thought in the face of these responsibilities. In other words, local people should not sit on driver's seat all the time within the process of such projects (Turok, 2004).

Additionally, Shaw and Robinson emphasizes that the cities that lost the vitality in their urban areas between 1970s to 2000s, experience a kind of policy amnesia particularly in the programs focusing on central areas as below (cited in Özdemir, 2010);

1. Renewal of decayed urban areas is just one of the dimension in regeneration processes.
2. There are also social, economic and environmental dimensions of urban regeneration, and these dimensions are in relation with each other; consequently, examining urban problems independent from each other by separating into their inherent parts of social or economic prevents the creation of a holistic approach.
3. In practice, the assertion of the fact that benefits in urban regeneration practices are distributed equally to the entire community cannot be occurred in practice.
4. Urban regeneration is a so significant issue that it should not be designated to the staff working in semi-autonomous institutions responsible from the implementations of urban regeneration. Those institutions, which are comprised of semi-autonomous bureaucrats designated by central government, are not sensitive enough in elaborating the objectives of education, social housing, creating new employment opportunities in locality and decreasing unemployment.

5. Getting into partnership is significant, and they should also be sustainable.
6. Resources can never be sufficient, and the distribution of these scarce resources inevitably creates winners and losers in the end. Either they are distributed with regard to the base of competition or need, losers exactly exists within this racing environment. Thus, competition criteria should be clear under these circumstances.
7. Determination of well-defined aims and reasonable objectives is significant in urban regeneration. Performance criteria focusing on quality of life of the community should be determined by questioning the desires and demands of local people.
8. A realistic and reasonable objective of achieving the image of the city should be sensitively cared for within the process of urban regeneration.
9. Implementation of a societal regeneration is much more difficult compared to spatial renewal. In the process of the enhancement of urban space, local people should be enabled to benefit from the consequences of this process. Thus, education and skill programs should be applied after the determination of education levels of local people.
10. Sustainability seems to be a key point in urban regeneration that should be approached under three main headings. Firstly, medium and long term urban regeneration strategies are needed, because complicated problems cannot be solved with short term programs. Secondly, continuity is essential. Continuity in planning necessitates strong partnerships containing local government and public sector, and the creation of the capability capacity of local people is needed. Thirdly, environmental sustainability should be achieved in regeneration of urban areas.

Above mentioned explanations reveal the reasons of failure of urban regeneration. In addition, Hague (2005) mentions the success factors of urban regeneration through the role of public sector as below:

- Sufficient amount of land, which has the potential to develop, should be provided in secure and accessible areas. However, planning underestimates the urbanization rate in general, and it tends to remain incapable for service delivery to legally thriving lands; as a result, illegal urban growth is actualized.
- Deprived people should be incorporated into legal housing market and be respected considering their assets, capacities, and various necessities.
- Main transportation routes should be determined and guaranteed for long term protection in order to achieve the follow of urban development from behind the urban infrastructure instead of an inverse relationship between urban development and infrastructure.
- Providing access to the requirements of health service; to achieve this, necessary regulations should be adopted.
- Protection of major environmental assets and public open spaces etc. with an active reinforcement system; however, legal regulations and reinforcement systems should lend to this process and should be not be unnecessarily restrictive, slow and challenging with bureaucratic limitations.
- Consideration informal sector and private sector.
- Creativeness within the policy making processes of urban regeneration and having the essential features of leadership.
- Enabling clear, transparent and ethical participatory processes.
- Providing effective and comprehensive services.
- Evaluation of equity and sustainability policies and practices for the area.

Initially, Hague the emphasizes the success criteria of urban regeneration, and then, unless the increase in the number of urban decline areas is controlled, cities will

come up against various problems in the following years effecting the entire world making it fragmented. He also states the dramatic condition of the process which can be thought as the reverse of sustainable human settlements.

In conclusion, many authors have identified the reasons for success and failure factors of urban regeneration. Some authors have considered failure case as a usual consequence, and they have offered suggestions for the circumstance. In addition, some of them have given harsh criticisms to the failure of urban regeneration, and they emphasized that insufficient policies of central government had caused the unsuccessful results. Some more optimistic authors have also focused on successful urban regeneration cases considering the reasons of this success. In this section, some authors' opinions, who have criticized the implementation processes of urban regeneration, will be mentioned. In the following section, urban regeneration practices, selected from different parts of the world, will be analyzed by making criticisms in terms of their successes and failures.

#### **2.1.4.1. Lessons Learned Analysis from Selected Urban Regeneration Practices of the World**

After mentioning the success and failure factors of urban regeneration, lessons learned are concluded in this part of the study. Various urban regeneration experiences were examined from different countries, and England comes at the top of the list together with its chosen and evaluated four districts. Besides, three districts from U.S.A, two districts from France, Egypt and Netherland, one district from Italy, Germany, Spain, Australia, Japan, Saudi Arabia and Lebanon were examined. These urban regeneration examples were investigated regarding year of start, project duration, project area, affected population, number of reconstructed buildings, number of demolished buildings, main problems and fundamental successes of the project. These examples from various parts of the world are different in terms of their contexts, method of implementation and intervention types (historic preservation, redevelopment, rehabilitation) as well as differentiated project areas and durations. Despite these specific differences, success and failure factors are inferred from this study since the aim is not to compare these examples, but to generalize the common successes and failures to constitute some conclusions for the

research. According to these evaluations, the aims, positive gains and problems of making urban regeneration projects are generalized and some conclusions are drawn from these generalizations (Table 3).

**Table 3 Selected Different Urban Regeneration Practices in the World Its Main Characteristics, Problems and Successes**

	Name of the Project	Year of Start	Duration (years)	Project Area (hectare)	Affected Population	Number of Reconstructed Buildings	Demolished Buildings	Main Problems	Fundamental Successes
1	Brisbane, Australia (urban renewal)	1991	20	-	224,000	80,000	-	-	A more accessible and attractive urban environment was provided, and projects to revitalize the city center were developed.
2	Elephant& Castle, England (urban regeneration)	1999	15	68.7 ha	-	6100	-	-	Quality of life and economic conditions were improved in the area that urban density was high. The district was transformed to a commercial center without displacing low income people living in the area. Participation of the community was also high.
3	Paddington, England, (urban regeneration)	1990	18	-	-	900	-	-	Paddington Project enabled economic revitalization as well as social redevelopment for the benefit of all parts of the society.
4	Newcastle Upon Tyne, England, Grangier Town Project (conservation oriented regeneration)	1997	6	36 ha	-	572 new construction 121 restored building 51 rehabilitation	-	Conservation approach was ignored.	The project contributed the general image of the area, and it attracted various cultural activities to the area.
5	Newcastle Upon Tyne England, Going for Growth Strategy (real estate oriented regeneration)	1999	20	-	-	20000 (projected)	6600 total demolition (1200 of them were demolished in 2009)	Gentrification in the area was considered as a significant problem. Antidemocratic commercial-residential development and replacement of low income with middle class people were criticized.	Diversification of low income groups was enabled by means of positive gentrification.
6	Hiroshima – Danbara, Japan (urban redevelopment)	1983	12	74 ha	20,000	739	-	-	A successful urban regeneration process was implemented in particularly low income areas together with public. Leisure time activity and refreshment areas were created in the area, and population also increased.
7	Pruitt-Igoe in St Louis, Missouri, USA (urban regeneration)	1950	5	23 ha	circa 2000	33	-	In 1965, one third of newly constructed residential units were remained empty, and the area was transformed to an unsafe and high crime rate district due to racism and great poverty. Economic decline of St. Louis, migration of whites to suburbs, rareness of working renters, and local opposition to state's housing projects were occurred.	The project was rewarded for its design.
8	Cabrini-Green, Chicago, USA (urban renewal)	1995	13	-	-	-	-	It was thought that government had caused displacement, racial segregation, homelessness and some social problems.	Crime rates decreased.
9	Bologna ,Italy (preservation of historical center)	1998	14	10 ha	180,000	New green areas, underground car park, some municipal units, cinema, university departments of visual arts and communication, social and cultural center, modern art gallery	Tobacco factory and its office buildings, some warehouses, municipal bakery oven	Night and day population was differentiated due to excessive visitors and tourists; therefore, same vitality did not exists at nights. Insufficiency of open public spaces was remarkable, and enough space could not be created to implement new ones. Well condition of buildings, the condition of open spaces, narrow streets and porticos were not compatible with the specific fabric of the city.	-
10	The Old Cairo Rehabilitation Project: Mugamma' al Dalyan, Egypt	1999	3	-	-	350 (renovation)	-	Handicrafts were moved to outer parts of the district as a result of urban sprawl.	A new center was established for handicrafts by using traditional materials. Al-Fustat was considered as the most famous place in which pottery making has existed.
11	Amsterdam Eastern Harbor Area, Netherlands	1995	10	-	-	8000	-	-	Port area in city center, which had lost its function, was revitalized, and its function was brought back.
12	Potsdam Square, Berlin, Germany (urban renewal)	1994	-	-	-	-	-	Sometimes, some designs were made which were inconsequentially created for renewal area.	Potsdamer Platz Project was a project that was compatible with its traditional urban fabric, well-disciplined and large scale urban renewal implementation.
13	Solidere (Beirut Historical Urban Center Development Project), Lebanon (urban regeneration)	1994-2004, 2005-2020	10	191 ha	-	300	-	-	The project did not necessitate monetary public investment by financing itself; therefore, it could be considered as a worldwide remarkable practice by means of its self-financing and necessitating the bringing back of lost identity within the process.
14	La Défense, Paris (urban renewal)	2007	9	564 ha	25,000 inhabitants 45,000 students	-	-	These projects, ignoring the living of people in or around the buildings, were condemned to remain just as monuments.	It was a progressive and visionary project in terms of its central functioning and architectural features.
15	Frank G. Mar Housing Project, Oakland, USA	1991	-	-	350	120	-	Strict budget restrictions for housing grants existed.	The project provided a model for the life of urban communities and synthesized traditional life styles with their social interaction and modern urban fabric.
16	Prince Salman Charity Housing Project, Riyadh, Saudi Arabia	1997	9	-	100,000	661	-	-	Housing and social facilities were provided to low income people. The buildings were the first ones which had been constructed compatible with the privacy concept in Saudi Arabia; in addition, residential units for disabled people were also provided.
17	Hai El Salaam, Egypt (development projects)	1975	-	13 ha	301,000	-	-	Low income people were displaced from their living environment through the method of persuasion. Affordable credit opportunities could not be provided to local residents due to some administrative and legal problems.	Significant regulations were made on land properties. Necessary infrastructure and public services were provided in the area. Planning process were applied as flexible enabling consideration of user preferences for the changes without loss of time and labor. Today, the area has been considered as a district presenting living environment to various socio-economic classes as a result of urban regeneration.
18	El Raval, Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain (urban regeneration)	1985	15	-	-	1700 buildings (400 of them for rehabilitation)	1677	The range between social groups was excessively increased in the area, and there was a concern for gentrification and loss of marginal identity.	Rehabilitations in economy and social fabric of El Raval were revealed, real estate values were increased, and the number of tourists was increased by means of the increase in cultural facilities.
19	Kop van Zuid, Rotterdam, Netherlands (urban regeneration)	1987	23	125 ha	7,200	6500	-	-	The project handled the city as a whole, and it reached its success by enabling public participation to the process.
20	Lyon, France (urban renewal)	2003	12	41 ha	-	660	-	-	The opinions of non-governmental organizations, volunteers and residents living in the district were considered from the very beginning to the end of the project enabling the participation of these stakeholders within the process.

Source: (Tremblay & Battaglia, 2012; Lee, 2004; Özdemir, 2010; Duarte, 2007; Evangelisti, 2010; Brisbane City Council, 2011; Rodi, 2008; The URHC (Urban Regeneration Project for Historic Cairo) Project Team, 2012; Lend Lease and Southwark Council, 2013; Keskin, Surat, & Yıldırım, 2003; Devrim, 2008; Matteucci, 2004; Cousins, 2008; Şişman & Kibaroglu, 2008; Akiba, 1990; Christopher , Falk, & King, 2008; Karadağ, 2008; Elgin, 2008; Fijalkow, 2010; Demirsoy, 2006; Barakat, 2004; Chamoun, 2003; Viranyi, 2010; Raco & Henderson, 2009; Ball & Maginn, 2012; Koyuncu, 2011)

**Table 4. Aims, Positive Gains and Problems Inferred From Twenty Urban Regeneration Cases from the World**

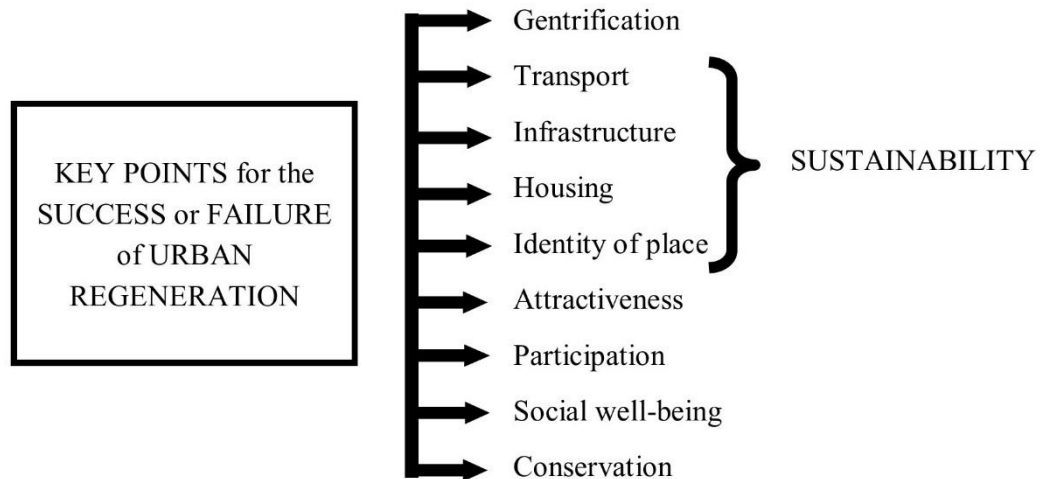
<b>Aims and Positive Gains</b>	<b>Problems</b>
Creating accessible urban spaces	Transportation and infrastructure problems
Attracting people by increasing accessibility	
Constitution of an environmentally sensitive district	Deficiency of open public spaces
Providing population increase in urban area	
Removal of security problems	Differentiation of night-and-day population
Rehabilitation of residential areas	
Creating sustainable residential units, environment and transportation	Design of some buildings inconvenient for the quality of life of residents
Providing public services and infrastructure systems	
Increasing quality of life	Failure to create proper living spaces due to excessive from oriented urban designs without considering the needs of communities
Revitalization of city center	
Attracting investment and bringing economic viability to the district	Inconsistency between created new urban fabric and the old one
Creating attractive urban spaces	
Creating leisure time activity places	Unpreferable condition of regenerated urban areas and these ones are transformed into the place that urban decline occurs
Increasing real estate values	
Re-functioning urban decline areas	Not considering the understanding of conservation in urban regeneration processes
Revitalization of declining industrial and port areas	
Investment for the revival of tourism	Gentrification
Creation of an identity together with a new urban area in the district	
Restoration of historical buildings and conservation areas	Losing the marginal identity
Regain of the identity of place which was previously lost	
Increasing the competitiveness and image of the district	Limitations on financial support
Providing equal opportunities for every segment of society	
Participation	Not providing the necessary financial support for the old residents living in urban regeneration area and deficiency of the attitude of local or central governments for that issue
Increasing social interaction	
Providing social mixing	Gap between different social classes
Creating living places for the poor people	
Providing job opportunities and educational skills for the local people	Racial segregation, homelessness and some other social problems.
Enabling positive gentrification and diversification of income groups	
Creating commercial identity without gentrification	

Regarding the aims, positive gains and problems inferred from practices from different parts of the world, some results for the success and failure factors of urban regeneration are concluded (Table 4). Initially, in order to implement a successful urban regeneration project, creating environmentally sensitive, livable, accessible and sustainable urban areas is significant. In addition, providing public services i.e. infrastructure and transportation also increases the chance of success of urban regeneration. Secondly, increasing competitiveness in the district seems as an essential element for success. This competitiveness can be achieved through the efforts for increasing the image of regeneration area, constituting attractive urban spaces, revitalizing city center, bringing activities for the attraction of tourism, and increasing leisure time activity areas. Besides, creation of a new identity or making the existing identity reactivated is also considered among the factors for competitiveness. Third success factor is the refunctioning the urban decline areas. For instance, revival of industrial and port areas, that have lost their function in time, is seen as a success of urban regeneration. In addition, regarding the social dimension of success criteria for urban regeneration, participation comes as a prominent issue, which consists of inclusion of local people in urban regeneration process and elucidating them about the process and results. Besides, partnerships in urban regeneration between public-private or private firm-investor-landowner increase the possibility of success. The second success factor focusing on social assets aims to eliminate various social problems. These problems can be dealt through enabling social mixing, creating living areas for low income people, employment and education opportunities for local people and providing equality of opportunity for all segments of society.

Failure factors of urban regeneration are interpreted as the one made for success factors. First of all, disregarding conservation priorities in urban regeneration practices in order to increase the image of the district comes as a failure factor. Sometimes, the conservation principles are violated and the area opened for construction, or constructed urban fabric is not compatible with the old one. The second failure factor is that the repetition of successful urban regeneration projects results in the creation of urban environments deprived from identity and authenticity.

Thirdly, urban regeneration areas may become vacant and place of crime in time due to disregarding social and economic structure. Finally, gentrification as a consequence of urban regeneration is needed to be approached in terms of success and failure criteria. Gentrification can be considered as failure in terms of loss of marginal identity. Besides, depending on another approach, gentrification brings a positive circumstance and is needed to be experienced in some areas, which is elaborated in one of the following chapters.

In conclusion, several key points are inferred considering and evaluating urban regeneration cases from different parts of the world by means of success and failure factors (Figure 2). The titles of transport, housing and identity of place are remarked as sustainability criteria for urban regeneration research in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods. The other key point, which is discussed in detail in one of the following chapters, is gentrification. Therefore, the research will be limited with two different measurement criteria for the success of urban regeneration as sustainability and gentrification, and evaluations will be made within the context of these two criteria.



**Figure 2. Key points for the success or failure of urban regeneration**

### **2.1.5. Urban Regeneration in Turkey**

In this section, first of all, urbanization process of Turkey will be summarized and the relationship between this process and urban regeneration will be established. Then, the factors for the necessity of urban regeneration in Turkey will be presented, and the historicity of urban regeneration process of Turkey will be mentioned. Later on, how urban regeneration processes were implemented through which methods will be expressed; and, it will be emphasized briefly that different methods of urban regeneration exist for various residential areas.

At the second part of this section, three different examples of urban regeneration will be analyzed and evaluated in order to provide a current understanding of urban regeneration in Turkey. As a result of these analyses, success and failure of examples from Turkey will be investigated with respect to the previously determined indicators of gentrification and sustainability.

The emergence and development of urban regeneration in Turkey were shaped considering some significant factors. The first one is migration from rural to urban as well as *gecekondu* emergence.

From the beginning of the 19th Century until the end of the Second World War, urbanization process of Turkey continued quite slowly (Tekeli, Kent, Kentli Hakları, Kentleşme ve Kentsel Dönüşüm, 2011). Mass migration from rural to urban in Turkey was started in the 1950s. In 1945, 4.7 Million people were living in urban areas, and for today, this number exceeds 40 Million people. In other words, Turkey has transformed from an agriculture oriented country in which 25% urban population living in urban areas to having 70% of population have become urbanized. On the other hand, this process of change was not experienced as problem-free. The society revealed undesigned processes by itself to the problems which are revealed within the process of urbanization, and sometimes formal solutions to these problems were found out (Işık & Pınarcıoğlu, 2011). One of the problems of urbanization processes is *gecekondu*, innovated for the sheltering need of society. Thus, urban regeneration experience of Turkey started in the 1950s together with *gecekondu* settlements.

After the Second World War, mechanization in agriculture due to Marshall Aid created thousands of rural poor in Turkey, and transformed these people to urban poor through making them migrated to urban areas. Therefore, the proposed urbanization model of state authority, which had difficulties in managing existing urban areas, was almost collapsed. Between 1950-1970, the population of metropolitan cities doubled, and an approximate percentage of 55% for İstanbul, 50% for Ankara and 45% for İzmir of housing stock was constituted from *gecekondu* in Turkey. *Gecekondu*s emerged as an innovation of migrant population in market conditions in which the government remained incapable (Şengül, 2013). *Gecekondu* settlements, structured organically with reference to topographic thresholds, and were created as clusters close to main roads. In time, vacant spaces between those settlements were also settled in time, and integrated settlements started to create new districts (Şenyapılı, 1996). The central government in Turkey tried to find out solutions to the problem of *gecekondu* by enacting laws since the end of the Second World War (Keleş, 2011).

After the 1980s, urban regeneration projects became prominent because of both wearing out of housing units, and enacted laws which initiated urban regeneration in *gecekondu* areas (Uzun N. , 2006). According to Tekeli (2006), developments after 1980s in Turkey cannot be comprehended considering new urban sprawl patterns as in previous era. On the one hand, the city sprawls towards new areas; on the other hand, significant changes are started to be occurred in the old fabric of cities. It can be mentioned that three different reasons are effective in determining what kind of regeneration was experienced in which area. These are:

1. Cities like İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir transformed from strong industrial cities to **city-regions** under new growth dynamics. This transformation caused significant functional changes particularly in city centers. Although many manufacturing and service lost their function, touristic and cultural functions became prominent.
2. The second important reason of regeneration is the change in **accessibility matrix** caused by the change in transport infrastructure and service delivery.

As a result of the overlap between first and second factors, “gentrification” concept emerges in some areas close to city centers.

3. The third reason is the danger of *gecekondu* or decayed structure stock for living. Particularly, after the earthquake disaster in İstanbul, the pressures for regeneration of such structures have increased. The overlap of first and second factors will determine whether these unhealthy housing settlements are regenerated through major municipality projects or built-and-sell method depending on Improvement Plans or leaving them as they are (Tekeli, 2006).

In addition, Özden (2008), identifies four main reasons for the emergence of urban regeneration in Turkey, which are **migration, unauthorized and unhealthy construction and *gecekondu*, problems of old urban parts, and natural disasters**. The reasons of migration and *gecekondu* cannot be handled as separate from each other which mentioned above. Another reason for the emergence of urban regeneration is the problems in urban centers and old urban parts. In Turkey, since city centers, which have been generally the core focus of historical assets, have not been assigned as residential uses and have experienced urban decline. Similarly, traditional bazaars or shopping areas, created for commerce and craft, have also changed their function in time, and fusty urban centers emerged by means of becoming widespread of storage facilities. Loss of identity, lack of conservation and becoming fusty for these old urban parts are the factors that necessitates urban regeneration in Turkey.

In addition, natural disasters have constituted another reason for urban regeneration in Turkey. To eliminate the questions for the destructive effects of disasters, “6306 numbered Law for Regeneration of Disaster Risky Areas” was enacted. This law aims to prevent irregular housing particularly in metropolitan cities of İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir, to make building stock regular and planned, and principally to avoid hazardous effects of disasters i.e. earthquake, flood. As a result, some definite parts of urban areas or buildings are determined as 'risky area or building', and regeneration process begins (Kiraz, 2014).

After mentioning the reasons of emergence of urban regeneration in Turkey, an analysis of historical process for Turkey will be enlightening. According to Ataöv and Osmay (2007), urban regeneration in metropolitan cities has differentiated with respect to three periods since 1950s. The first period is between 1950-1980 in which economic growth policies and industrialization became prominent. Economic growth and migration caused rapid growth of cities and constitution of *gecekondu* clusters. In the second period between 1980-2000, metropolitan cities were affected from outward liberal economy and globalization. Within this period, two main developments were experienced for metropolitan cities. On the one hand, licensed or unlicensed constructions were implemented in cities; on the other hand, settlement areas were spread towards out of city center. In the 2000s, collaboration between local governments and private sector has increased, and urban regeneration was firstly defined as a strategy in this period. In the table below, variables of urban regeneration and implementations are summarized from 1950s to 2000s (Table 5).

**Table 4. Variables of Urban Regeneration and Implementations for Turkey in Historical Evolution**

<b>VARIABLES OF URBAN REGENERATION AND IMPLEMENTATIONS</b>	<b>1950-1980</b>	<b>1980-2000</b>	<b>Post 2000s</b>
<b>STRUCTURAL/ CONTEXTUAL</b>	<p><i>Economic Policies:</i> Economic Growth</p> <p><i>Demographic Change:</i> Migration to urban areas and rapid urban population growth</p>	<p><i>Economic Policies:</i> internationalization in economy; Globalization and localization</p> <p><i>Demographic Change:</i> Urban population growth; decreasing fertility rate in metropolis cities</p>	<p><i>Economic Policies:</i> Privatization; EU relations</p> <p><i>Demographic Change:</i> Migration from east to west</p>

**Table 5 (continued)**

<p><b>SOCIO-ECONOMIC</b></p>	<p><i>Types of housing supply:</i> build-and-sell housing, limited number of housing cooperatives, mass housing</p> <p><i>Labor force-Housing relationship:</i> Industrial and non-industrial employment of low income labor force; gecekondu as a solution for housing need</p>	<p><i>Types of housing supply:</i> authorized and unauthorized construction</p> <p><i>Labor force-Housing relationship:</i> Constitution of employees working in small production units in city center from unskilled, low income and living in peripheral gecekondu and central neighborhoods; Decentralization of living areas of middle income people</p>	<p><i>Types of housing supply:</i> Municipal Mass Housing Cooperatives, private sector luxury housing sites, low quality apartment blocks, historical houses in city centers, disaster houses in earthquake risky areas with state loan</p> <p><i>Labor force-Housing relationship:</i> Constitution of housing units for high income people at the periphery; changing housing types and standards with respect to the change in employment of gecekondu areas</p>
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**Table 5 (continued)**

<p><b>ADMINISTRATION/ IMPLEMENTATION</b></p>	<p><i>Delegation of Authority:</i> State Planning Organization; Ministry of Development and Housing; New Municipal Movement</p> <p><i>Planning Implementations:</i> Central Planned Development Model; Comprehensive Planning Approach</p> <p><i>Policies and Legislative regulations:</i> Municipality, Gecekondu, Land Office, Zoning Law and Condominium Law</p>	<p><i>Delegation of Authority:</i> Delegation of planning authority to local district municipalities, Local Agenda 21</p> <p><i>Planning Implementations:</i> Decentralization in urban development; Master Plans; Top-down administration in local units</p> <p><i>Policies and Legislative regulations:</i> Metropolitan Municipal, Development, Protection of Cultural and Natural Assets, Environment, Bosphorus, National Parks Laws and Amnesty Laws</p>	<p><i>Delegation of Authority:</i> Increasing authority of Metropolitan Municipalities</p> <p><i>Planning Implementations:</i> Strategic Planning; initiation of participatory planning implementations</p> <p><i>Policies and Legislative regulations:</i> Metropolitan Municipality, Fiscal Administrations, Urban Regeneration and Law on the Protection of Cultural and Natural Assets</p>
<p><b>URBAN MACROFORM</b></p>	<p>“Monstrous City” (density in city centers; development of <i>gecekondu</i>)</p>	<p>Decentralized Metropolitan Urbanization (urban sprawl; legalization of unauthorized construction)</p>	<p>Regional Sprawl (differentiation of centers and establishment of new relationship networks)</p>

**Table 5 (continued)**

<b>URBAN REGENERATION IMPLEMENTATION</b>	1. Rehabilitation of <i>gecekondu</i> settlements; 2. Transformation of city centers to urban decline areas; 3. Reconstruction of <i>gecekondu</i> areas; 4. Urban renewal in these areas	1. Urban Renewal in the areas of low quality of life and risky; 2. Rehabilitation and Reclamation-Improvement Plans; 3. Conservation and gentrification of the areas that have historical assets.	1. <i>Urban Renewal</i> in urban areas; 2. <i>Rehabilitation</i> of building blocks; 3. <i>Redevelopment</i> of new housing sites and segregated communities; 4. <i>Gentrification</i> of historical housing sites
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Source: (Ataöv & Osmay, 2007)

After the summary of reasons for the necessity of urban regeneration and its differentiation in different periods of time in Turkey, the significant question here is how to implement urban regeneration in Turkey. According to Şenyapılı, the first solution about renewal of *gecekondu* settlements and regaining them for urban land stock is Improvement Plan. In implementation of urban regeneration through Improvement Plans, in which land clearance and providing infrastructure is done by related municipality and new construction is implemented through the agreement between right holder of *gecekondu* and contractor, three different formation can be identified as:

1. Large construction companies rapidly implement the regeneration of areas which produce the highest rent.
2. Small scale firms, most widely known as *yap-satçı*<sup>7</sup>, play the role of regeneration of main transportation axes or peripheral parts of prestigious residential areas in less profitable areas.

<sup>7</sup> *Yap-sat*, namely speculative housing, is a specific term most commonly used for the construction of residential buildings depending on managing construction including its costs and processes. In the end, *yap-satçı* owns a certain amount of newly constructed building to compensate the costs and to make profit.

3. In the profitless parts of urban areas at the periphery with having topographical thresholds, for *gecekondu* settlements located near industrial or garbage collection areas, there might be some difficulties in implementation of urban regeneration. These *gecekondu* areas, creating rent expectation through *Gecekondu Improvement Plan*, and other alternative solutions are ignored by *gecekondu* dwellers due to rent expectation from their property. These areas become old in time and transfer to an urban decline area (cited in Dündar, 2003).

As a result, it can be stated that the most needed and deprived urban areas cannot be completely regenerated through Improvement Plans. In addition, the areas, which could be regenerated through these plans, also encounter physical, social and economic problems.

For the areas in which Improvement Plans remain ineffective, Urban Regeneration Projects stand as another alternative method. According to Dündar (2003), in 1980s, urban regeneration projects were considered as the unique solution for *gecekondu* areas that could not be regenerated. However, urban regeneration also brought various problems, because regeneration was not considered with its own organizational and financial institutions, and implementation types of practices of developed countries at local and national scale were not discussed enough.

In addition to this, Türkün (2014) emphasizes that there are different types of regeneration practices with different methods, and the reasons of these differences are the location of the area, developments experienced around the area in time, and characteristics of existing housing stock. Regeneration sometimes leaved to the operation of free market conditions, which causes gentrification in the area because of the potential of gaining rent in a short period of time through the existence of some inducements. The second regeneration type emerges in an area which attracts the attention of free market actors with respect to its central location. In these areas, development rights are mostly increased, and it is expected to achieve urban regeneration within market conditions including bargains between property owner and contractor. The third type of regeneration is experienced in the areas that

regeneration process deadlocked in market conditions. These areas are aimed to implement urban regeneration through projects and plan decisions or declaring the area as regeneration area with the help of enacted laws by the government. However, the convenience and efficiency of these methods, developed for the conservation of historical areas, seems to be debatable.

#### **2.1.5.1. Examples of Urban Regeneration in Ankara**

After mentioning a theoretical framework for Turkey, it is significant to evaluate urban regeneration in Turkey on the basis of several examples. According to Uzun (2006), while the capital city of a new republic was established in Ankara, the city has become a new attraction point for other people in Turkey. In Ankara, *gecekondu* areas started to emerge at the peripheral parts with a rapid increase in population. After the 1980s, because of deteriorations of housing areas and enacted laws for the initiation of implementations, urban regeneration projects has become prominent.

For the evaluation of these urban regeneration projects, three different cases are selected from Ankara which are Şentepe in Yenimahalle, Hamamönü and Hamam Arkası in Altındağ, and Dikmen Vadisi in Çankaya Municipality urban regeneration projects. These experiences are analyzed and some results are concluded considering sustainability and gentrification concepts inferred from the investigation of urban regeneration examples from different parts of the world. Intervention types of these three examples from different parts of Ankara differ from each other. The implementation in Şentepe has been a redevelopment project of low income *gecekondu* settlements to the cluster of high-rise residential apartment blocks of middle income residents. The one in Hamamönü and Hamam Arkası has been a conservation-led regeneration project aiming revitalization of culture and tourism sectors. Lastly, Dikmen Vadisi project consists of regeneration of *gecekondu* settlements, in which low income people have been living, to prestigious residential area for high income residents. The reason to investigate these three different cases from Ankara is to demonstrate the existence of quite different regeneration implementations within the same city and to emphasize various problems in terms of sustainability and gentrification in different areas.

#### 2.1.5.1.1 Urban Regeneration in Şentepe: Deprived/Hubristic?

The analysis started with redevelopment project of Şentepe which was a low income *gecekondu* settlement and transformed into a residential area of low and middle income groups. Urban regeneration process of this district is summarized through compiling the interviews made in Yenimahalle Municipality. Şentepe let in immigration starting with the 1950s, and the immigrants occupied public land through constructing their *gecekondu* houses. The people living in *these* dwellings were forced to leave from their houses in time of military government in the 1980s; yet, residents refused to leave and they were insistent to stay in the area. As a result, governments of that time ignored the existence of *gecekondu* settlements together with the dwellers living in there. Later on, residents in *gecekondu* settlements deserved the right to get their deed by means of 2981 numbered Development Amnesty Legislation known as “Amnesty of Özal<sup>8</sup>”. Then, an Improvement Plan of Şentepe was made between 1986-1987, and in 2004, a new urban regeneration plan was prepared due to insufficiencies of previously made Improvement Plan (Figure 3).



**Figure 3. A view from Şentepe District in 2013**

Source: (Personal Archive, 2013)

Urban regeneration of this district has been managed by private sector except for Pamuklar Neighborhood which was tried to regenerate through the collaboration of

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<sup>8</sup> Turgut Özal was the Prime Minister of Turkey in 1980s. Development Amnesty Legislation enacted through the initiatives of Özal enabled *gecekondu* residents own legal title deeds since the law has been known as Amnesty of Özal.

municipality and TOKİ<sup>9</sup>. This district consists of low and lower-middle income residents, and these people came to area from the cities i.e. Kırşehir, Çamlıdere, Çorum, Niğde and other parts of Ankara under favor of “*hemşehrilik*”<sup>10</sup> relations. Several results are concluded from the interviews carried out by myself with residents in Şentepe within the content of the research. The first one is that 90% of old residents in Şentepe did not move another area after regeneration; they stayed in the area. The phrase, declared by an interviewee, “This place is their modern village; even if you give them a paradise on earth to live, they do not leave” clearly explains the reason of this stay. It is significant that whether deprived people exist after regeneration or not for Şentepe is a discussable issue. Another phrase, came out of interviews, brought an answer to this question: “There is no deprived people anymore but many upstarts with full of hubris around here”. The reason to present such a statement is that occupants of *gecekondu* settlements in Şentepe, who illegally settled on public land without payment, owned the land, which they occupied, after amnesty regulations, and they reached the position of being right holders from the newly built apartment blocks.

Şentepe district experienced an urban regeneration process leaded by free market actors. Regarding urban regeneration for *gecekondu* settlements in this district in terms of gentrification and sustainability, it is significant to state that gentrification was not experienced for the most parts of the district. On the contrary, since housing density of the area decided to increase excessively, new residents also started to live in the district and the population has increased too much, which highly related with the sustainability of the area for future. Infrastructure deficiency in regeneration area is the first determinant for sustainability after the implementation. Furthermore, various physical enhancements were experienced in the area in terms of comfortable housing units and environmental improvements, and new commercial functions enabling economic vitalization within the district. The commercial development also

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<sup>9</sup> TOKİ, extended as Housing Development Administration of Turkey, was particularly established for the supply of social housing. In recent decade, TOKİ has actively participated in the processes of various kinds of housing initiatives, in particularly urban regeneration processes as the developer actor.

<sup>10</sup> Hemşehrilik is a Turkish word meaning a close relationship between two citizens depending on birth of ancestors of two people in the same city or district.

enable local old residents given a new employment opportunity. Furthermore, regeneration project in Şentepe also contains the activities that enable social improvements. Consequently, to assess the success or failure of urban regeneration process in Şentepe, which has not completed yet, future circumstances should be observed and examined cautiously.

#### **2.1.5.1.2. A Restoration Project at the Center of Ankara: Hamamönü and Hamam Arkası**

Hamamönü and Hamam Arkası, in Altındağ municipality, is another area that subject to urban regeneration -as a restoration of an historical fabric- in Ankara. The main aim was revitalizing old historical fabric and making the district attractive for tourism as one of the oldest settlements in Ankara. Project was started in 2007, and since 1970, gentrification has been experienced in the area. Considering the information gathered from the interviews, carried out with residents in the area, the first residents in the area were the people who are local and elite people. Later on, together with the migration towards the area, low income people, namely urban poor, came to the area and *gecekondu* settlements were started to emerge. Cultural conflicts were also experienced between new comers and old residents; then, real local people left form the area and move to other places in Ankara for the desire to live in more comfortable environment and avoiding cultural conflict. Together with the restoration project, started in 2007, real estate value of these historical houses was also started to increase. Altındağ Municipality presented two choices for the existing people living in the area: whether the residents may restorate their houses depending on the project on their own, or they may sell their houses to municipality. The second choice seemed logical to residents considering the high prices offered for their properties. Therefore, gentrification occurred in the 1970s changed its dimension and relived in the 2000s. There are improvements in the area considering its old slummed condition as enhancements in physical pattern and aesthetic appearance of the area; yet, it should be considered that authenticity in restoration of houses and the use of appropriate materials necessitate another specialization to evaluate the success of the project. The economic circumstance of the area has also been revitalized with restoration; namely, many working places and leisure time

activity areas were opened. In addition, since the houses reflects the historical identity, many domestic or foreign tourists have been attracted to visit Hamamönü and Hamam Arkası (Figure 4). Furthermore, socio-cultural activities have increased in the area, and local people also own the opportunity to contribute their personal improvements.



**Figure 4. Old and Restored Structures in Hamam Arkası**

Source: (Personal Archive, 2013)

Consequently, interviews carried out in the area show that there are both satisfied and unsatisfied people from this project. The level of satisfaction differentiates depending on political views and economic concerns. Considering that property owners had the opinion of the same political approach of existing administrative authority, they have also been satisfied with the revenue acquired from the sale or restoration of owned house. On the contrary, conflicted political views and a desire to sell the property from a higher price than it is needed to be resulted in dissatisfaction from the project. In fact, the real deprived people in restoration project seem to be renters in the area. They were displaced from their living environment close to city center. Even if the government makes rent allowance to these people for their live in any other part of Ankara, they are indirectly obliged to move to other places in the end. In addition, different types of gentrification processes were experienced in the area in different times in Hamamönü and Hamam Arkası. These processes seem to be as if it pushes urban poor from this historical urban fabric; yet, property owners in the area were profitable and a voluntary displacement occurred. Considering sustainability perspective of such an urban regeneration implementation,

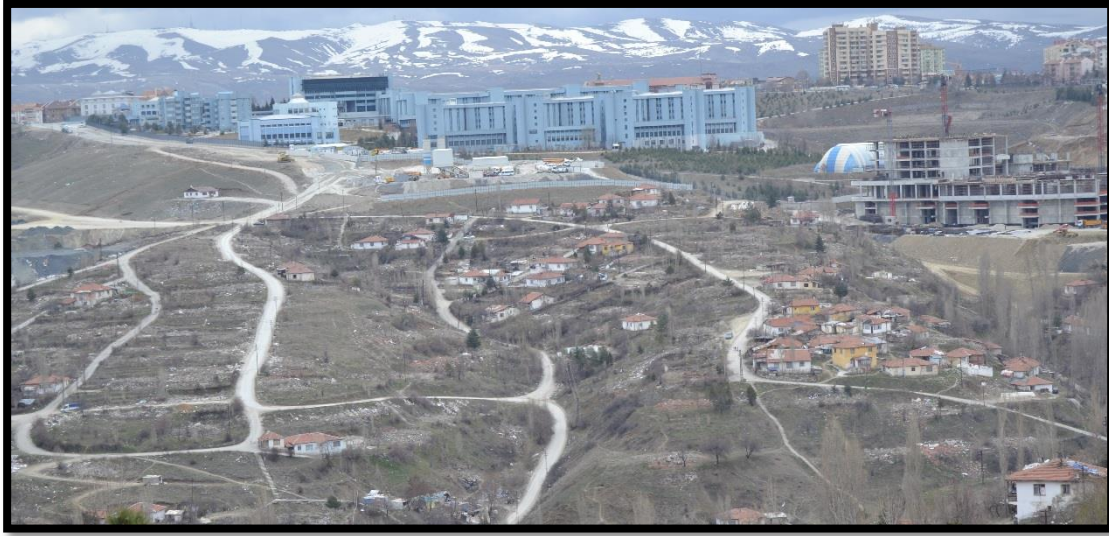
it is significant to mention that the area developed in most of the aspects, and it is also difficult to estimate the sustainability level of these developments and what kind of situations might emerge in the future.

#### **2.1.5.1.3. A Valley Resisting Urban Regeneration: Dikmen Vadisi 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Stages**

For the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> stages of Dikmen Vadisi, urban regeneration has started in 2006. *Gecekondu* settlements in the area were mainly constituted between 1980 and 1990, and after 2006, a decision was taken for the demolition of 2400 *gecekondu* houses to implement urban regeneration project. 1900 *gecekondus* were demolished through previously made agreements with right holders; yet, a fundamental problem still exists with 500 *gecekondu* right holders in the area under the responsibility of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. From 2006 to 2013, remaining residents have been resisting urban regeneration in order to hold their *gecekondus* despite their lack of physical and social infrastructure amenities. *Gecekondu* right holders, who previously made an agreement with Metropolitan Municipality, own their deed or title deed<sup>11</sup>. The people who resist and fail to agree with local government also consider themselves as right holder with invasion of the area in the past (Figure 5). The reason of such a disagreement is the offer of Metropolitan Municipality for the provision of a house from a very far away district in Ankara exceeding their economic affordability and dispossessing their locational advantage. Since any agreement could not be made with these people within this regeneration process, the area was declared as disaster risky depending on “6306 numbered Law for Regeneration of Disaster Risky Areas” to achieve urban regeneration.

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<sup>11</sup> Title deed, *Tapu Tahsis Belgesi* in Turkish, is a legal document as a proof of having a property. The main difference with ordinary property deed is that legal regulations determined by amnesty laws for *gecekondu* settlements enable residents to be rightholder in any regeneration process. *Gecekondu* residents having title deed are the people who occupy public land to construct their *gecekondu* without any legal ownership.



**Figure 5. A View from 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> Urban Regeneration Stage of Dikmen Vadisi**

Source: (Personal Archive, 2013)

In order to evaluate the condition in Dikmen Vadisi, two adverse groups in the process of urban regeneration was interviewed: old *gecekondu* residents in Dikmen Vadisi and related unit of Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara. Old residents in the valley have been resisting as a group of 500 *gecekondu* owners. They state that they have the right to live and they desire the Vadisi to keep its green structure. On the other hand, responsible authorities in Metropolitan Municipality defend that the municipality presents residents' right to live; yet, *gecekondu* residents in the valley resist to make an agreement. Municipality also states that other agreed 1900 *gecekondu* right holders have been aggrieved whilst they wait for their revenue from the implementation of urban regeneration.

Consequently, in these stages of Dikmen Vadisi with its central position and recreational assets, since an entire agreement could not be achieved, urban regeneration project have not been able to be implemented yet. The discussions of gentrification and sustainability, as made in Şentepe and Hamamönü-Hamam Arkası districts, is not meaningful for the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> stages of Dikmen Vadisi, because regeneration have not entirely completed yet. Therefore, it is inevitable to experience gentrification process in the area for the reason that some of the *gecekondu* right owners do not have deed and they cannot make any claim on regeneration area.

Another reason might be the problem of social adaptation for old residents who have legal right to settle in the area after regeneration. Considering sustainability issue for the 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> stages of Dikmen Vadisi in terms of urban regeneration, demolishing uninhabitable *gecekondu* settlements and construction of a better urban environment and houses will create physical and environmental enhancements in the area. However, enabling construction in Dikmen Vadisi, which is one of the most significant aerial corridor of Ankara, might create crucial problems of air pollution in future.

In conclusion, in this section, urban regeneration practices from different parts of Ankara with their different intervention types are investigated. In Şentepe district, urban regeneration has experienced by free market actors through increasing development rights for the new constructions. Since *gecekondu* owners have their deed, urban regeneration was implemented as a result of bargaining between contractors and right holders. When the success and failure conditions of urban regeneration in Şentepe are analyzed in terms of previously determined criteria of gentrification and sustainability, it is seen that gentrification processes have not been occurred in most part of the area. Although sustainability of urban regeneration in Şentepe is the subject that can hardly be evaluated in the following years, the increase in building density can easily be observed in the area that is under regeneration process through free market mechanism. Another urban regeneration example is a restoration project in Hamamönü and Hamam Arkası to preserve historical housing pattern of the district. This is an area that urban regeneration process deadlocked in free market conditions, and Altındağ Municipality leded the project. When the success of the project is evaluated in terms of gentrification and sustainability, gentrification seem to be experienced in the area; however, it cannot be stated as a problem due to mostly experienced voluntary displacement. In addition, considering the existing renewed structure of the area together with its commercial revitalization, it seems positive regarding sustainability. The final example is 4<sup>th</sup> and 5<sup>th</sup> stages of Dikmen Vadisi, declared as urban regeneration area by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality. Considering the practice in terms of gentrification and sustainability to determine the success, gentrification was

experienced in the area and still continues to be experienced. Resisting people have been complaining about this process. Sustainability issue cannot be discussed for these stages, because urban regeneration has not started yet.

In Figure 6, criteria determined for evaluating success and failure of urban regeneration, which are gentrification and sustainability, are applied to the districts of Şentepe, Hamamönü-Hamam Arkası and Dikmen Vadisi. In this analysis, gentrification is analyzed within the context of involuntary and voluntary displacement, and the context of sustainability concept is scrutinized as environmental & physical, social and economic dimensions.

SUCCESS AND FAILURE FACTORS OF URBAN REGENERATION: CASES FROM ANKARA				
Gentrification		Voluntary Displacement		Involuntary Displacement
		ŞENTEPE		-Tenants
		HAMAMÖNÜ HAMAM ARKASI		-Tenants -Residents who cannot afford to restore the dwelling on their own
		DİKMEN VALLEY		-Landowners without deed
Sustainability		Environmental		
		Physical	Social	Economic
		-Increased housing quality -Development in urban transport and infrastructure -Insufficiency in infrastructure due to excessive increase in residential density -Increase in green areas	-Continuity in belongingness and social interaction by means of on-site urban regeneration. -Displeasure of old local residents after regeneration due to excessive increase in density with high rise apartment blocks and social diversity -New amenities for social improvements of	-Revival in commercial activities -Increased real estate values -Enabling local old residents to employ in these commercial uses
		-Increased morphological housing quality -Insufficiency in infrastructure	-Revival in identity of place -Disturbance to the privacy of old local residents due to excessive touristic	-Revival in tourism -Revival in commercial activities -Increased real estate values
		-Increased housing quality -Regaining the valley as a green asset -Renewed and developed	-Problems of identity and belongingness -An entire change in socio-economic profile (from low to high income residents)	-Excessive increase in real estate values for newly built residential units
		ŞENTEPE		
		HAMAMÖNÜ HAMAM ARKASI		
		DİKMEN VALLEY (prospective)		

**Figure 6. Success and Failure Factors of Urban Regeneration for Selected Cases from Ankara**

## **2.2.Gentrification**

One of the aims of this research is to respond the question of whether urban regeneration in an area is successful or not considering some specific criteria. Gentrification is one of these criteria which will be explained in this section. In addition, some definite indicators will be determined as a result of urban regeneration process.

The emergence of the word of gentrification and its definition will be explained at first. Secondly, the stages of gentrification process, and thirdly positive and negative effects caused by gentrification in the area will be mentioned. Finally, the indicators of gentrification will be stated as the ultimate aim of this section.

Glass (1964) firstly used the concept of gentrification for the changes occurred in social structure and housing market in London as:

One by one, many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes -upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages -two rooms up and two down- have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. Larger Victorian houses, downgraded in an earlier or recent period -which were used as lodging houses or were otherwise in multiple occupation- have been upgraded once again. Once this process of “gentrification” starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed (Glass, 1964).

The term of gentrification, firstly used by Glass, was also adopted for the neighborhoods in a similar condition. Afterwards, the term was generalized and described as invasion of an area by higher income people than the existing residents, and developments in quality of life of the area by the move of these new comers. After these enhancements, old residents could not stay in the area for various reasons and displacement from their living space occurred. As a proof to these explanations, Clark (2005) describes gentrification as:

Gentrification is a process involving a change in the population of land users such that the new users are of a higher socio-economic

status than the previous users, together with an associated change in the built environment through a reinvestment in fixed capital.

In addition, the analysis shows that many concepts exist for gentrification depending on differentiated perspectives, and a single definition for gentrification does not exist. In some of the studies, examining the issue by means of property and economy, gentrification is defined as long-term lack of investment or the process of reinvestment; and in some others, as a synonym, it is defined as renovation and enhancement of economic activities or housing stock (Ergün, 2006). Similar to this explanation, Neil Smith established the relationship between his Rent Gap Theory and gentrification as “the difference between the actual capitalized ground rent under an existing use and the potential ground rent under an alternative use. Gentrification occurs when the gap is wide enough” (Ley, 1987). According to Smith (as cited in Uzun, 2006), while land prices decrease in inner city in consequence of suburbanization, economic value of housing stock also decreases. Re-functioning inner city together with the development of service sector caused the increase in demand for abandoned housing areas in city centers and re-increase in land and housing prices. Therefore, this made the investments on inner city profitable, and regeneration in these areas were started.

In the studies carried out by considering the socio-economic or human oriented effects of gentrification, this concept is defined as a reason of conflict between different social classes caused by new comers to the area and displacement of old residents (Ergün, 2006). Close to this explanation, Ley identifies four different types of gentrification as “demeographic change, housing market dynamics, urban amenities, and changes in the economic base” (Smith, 1987). According to Ley (as cited Uzun, 2006), who considered the social dimension of social and spatial renewal, defines the process as cultural choices and demographic characteristics of people who preferred to live in inner city. As a result of suburbanization processes, abandoned housing areas in inner city are preferred by professionals working in applied arts, media, education, social services and voluntary organizations under favor of cultural and historical values of these areas. In consequence of enhancements and rehabilitation of living environment by the people who

precondition at the initial stage of the process, the interest in the area is increased. At the second stage, other groups, particularly new middle class and investors, start to prefer these areas.

Both two approaches have their own right and deficient aspects. Smith only emphasizes the economic dimension considering gentrification process as supply oriented. On the other hand, Ley approaches the process as demand oriented by emphasizing social and spatial dimensions. A gentrification explanation as a combination of these two approaches is the most meaningful that responds the content of the concept since gentrification process can be explained with neither an only economic base nor only spatial and social dimensions.

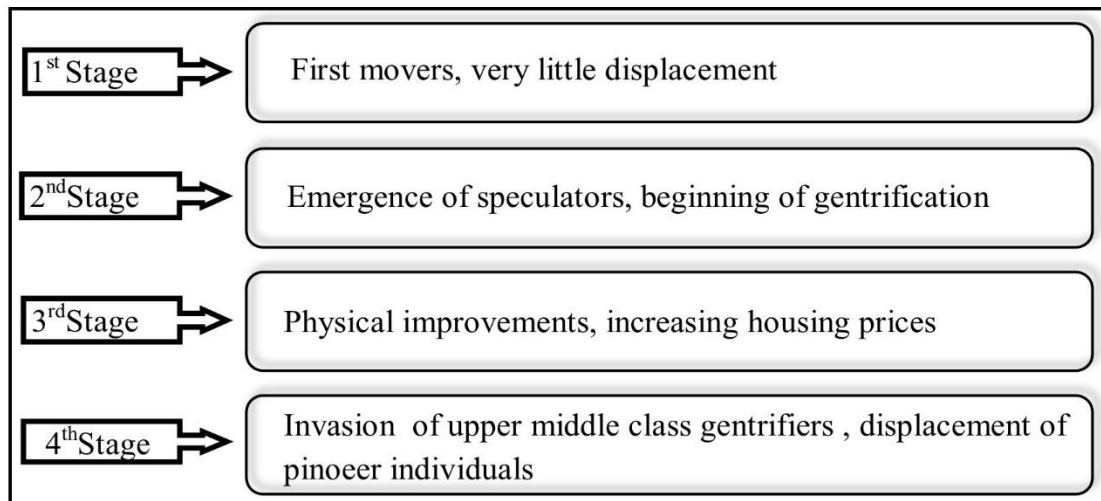
In addition, gentrification is not a process experienced without any reason; there should be various incentive factors. According to Gonzales, many kinds of factors are needed for the initiation of gentrification process which are firstly, a gentrification industry composed of construction companies, insurers and entrepreneurs eager to earn revenue; secondly, a neighborhood having an attractive location and a housing stock which is preferably neglected but having a considerable architectural value; thirdly, low income local residents who does not have any political or economic power to protect their district; and finally, young professionals without any children who have money to spend to move the area and look for location and movement in urban area (cited in Ergün, 2006).

### **2.2.1. Process of Gentrification**

After the coming together of all factors, gentrification process is experienced for the related urban area by following some definite stages that can be mentioned as:

Firstly, a pioneer group of people move to the urban regeneration area, buy and renovate their property for the aim of their own use. These properties are on vacant lands or are regenerated in an ordinary market turnover, therefore displacement is not experienced. At the second stage, small scale specualtors start to emerge in the area, and after the rehabilitation and renewal of the property, speculators resale or rent it by the help of real estate agency. Thirdly, the area becomes the focus of attention,

and new developers and individual investors increase their activities in the area to enhance physical improvements which become visible in this stage. As a result, housing prices started to increase in the area, and displacement of old residents continues. In this stage, other middle class individuals move to inner city, attract public resources and replace new middle class towards outward. At this stage, conflicts start to emerge between the pioneer individuals (old local residents) and the new gentry (new comers to the area). At the final stage, gentrification on many number of properties is experienced together with the arrival of middle class individuals. Besides, the area is revitalized through the emergence of commercial activities, retail or professional services; therefore, the increase in house and rent prices causes much more displacement of local dwellers. At this stage, since increasing demand of middle class becomes evident, some neighborhoods are added in the city to satisfy demand (Figure 7) (Pattison, 1977).



**Figure 7. Four Stages of Gentrification**

Source: (Based on the information in Pattison, 1977)

### **2.2.2. Positive and Negative Effects of Gentrification**

After at gentrification process in an area, positive and negative outcomes are obtained. A gentrifier and professor of law at Georgetown University Law Center, who mentions the positive sides of gentrification, Byrne (2003) states that;

This essay takes issue with this negative judgment about gentrification. That a number of individuals have lost affordable apartments that were home to them cannot be denied. Yet, increases in the number of affluent and well-educated residents is plainly good for cities, on balance, by increasing the number of residents who can pay taxes, purchase local goods and services, and support the city in state and federal political processes. My contention here goes somewhat further: gentrification is good on balance for the poor and ethnic minorities. The most negative effect of gentrification, the reduction in affordable housing, results primarily not from gentrification itself, but from the persistent failure of government to produce or secure affordable housing more generally. Moreover, cities that attract more affluent residents are more able to aggressively finance affordable housing. Thus, gentrification is entitled to "two cheers," if not three, given that it enhances the political and economic positions of all, but exacerbates the harms imposed on the poor by the failures of national affordable housing policies.

The phrase mentions that affordable houses are disappeared because of gentrification and this results in removal of poor people from the area. However, it is emphasized that the real reason for the displacement is not directly due to gentrification, it is about the deficiency of specific urban policies of government to supply affordable housing. In addition, it is mentioned that positive aspects of the area that experienced gentrification become prominent since the move of these high income new residents, who help to the creation of a balance in cities, contributes too much to the area.

Besides, according to Bryne (2003), gentrification process results in decrease in crime as well as an increase in economic opportunities, decrease in social isolation and educational enhancements of urban poor. Thus, new commercial activities are initiated and municipal services increased. For these uses, low skilled people are needed, and this is satisfied with the existing residents living in the area which means enabling job opportunity for old local residents. The increase in economic level also affects the decrease in crime rate in the area, opportunities for education increase and social isolation within the community decreases in the end.

Rowland and Bridge (2005), summarize the positive effects of gentrification as in Table 6 in which, it is emphasized that a stabilization is achieved in favor of new

comers in the area that gentrification occurs. Since new comers are middle and upper-middle class people, they rehabilitated or reconstructed the new property that they own. This reconstruction process was led by either intervention of administration or individual efforts. The value of these properties increased together with an image contributed by new comers to the area. In addition, it is assumed that gentrification is mostly experienced in inner city. It was thought that increasing the significance of inner cities should have caused a decrease in urban sprawl as well as a vacancy rate with the assumption that new comers primarily move to vacant places. Besides, cultural diversity and social mixing may happen in the area, which experienced gentrification, by the arrival of new comers. This can also be count as a positive effect of gentrification.

Negative effects are also seen in gentrification processes, and some authors focussed on this aspect one of which, Betancur (2002), states that;

There is an aspect of gentrification that mainstream definitions ignore. Descriptions of gentrification as a market process allocating land to its best and most profitable use, or a process of replacing a lower for a higher income group, do not address the highly destructive processes of class, race, ethnicity, and alienation involved in gentrification.

According to Betancur, gentrification is a concept which consists of the terms such as displacement, conflicts between different social classes, abandonment, difficulties of tenants who are included in ethnic minority groups, land speculation and abuse rather than related with creativity, social mixing, tolerance or emancipation. Therefore, an obvious hostility of gentrifiers and related organizations emerges in the process of urban regeneration. In addition, gentrification causes damages on borders of low income neighborhoods affecting their place worships, educational uses and service organizations negatively (Lees, Slater, & Wyly, 2008).

In addition, Rowland and Bridge (2005) summarizes the negative effects of gentrification as in Table 6. First of all, displacement seems as the most prominent negative effect of gentrification. Several reasons exist for experiencing of displacement. Firstly, renters are affected from increasing land or property prices.

The second reason is the problem of adaptation for old residents to increasing attraction and value of the area and emergence of luxury commercial functions; later on, adaptation problem between new comers and old residents stands as a psychological outcome of gentrification. Another negative effect is homelessness as a result of displacement; in addition, low income people living in urban regeneration area cannot afford the newly built residential units, which results in settling single type of social class -high income groups- in the area and loss of social diversity. Increasing housing prices and move of high income groups to the area change the use of commercial activities, meaning that local commercial uses replace its function with luxury commercial uses that low income people cannot afford. In addition, increased costs and changes in local services prevent low income people to live in urban regeneration area.

**Table 5. Summary of Neighborhood Impacts of Gentrification**

<b>Positive</b>	<b>Negative</b>
	Displacement through rent/price increases
	Secondary psychological costs of displacement
Stabilisation of declining areas	Community resentment and conflict
Increased property values	Loss of affordable housing
	Unsustainable speculative property price increases
Reduced vacancy rate	Homelessness
Increased local fiscal revenues	Greater take of local spending through lobbying/articulacy

**Table 6 (continued)**

Encouragement and increased viability of further development	Commercial/industrial displacement
	Increased cost and changes to local services
Reduction of suburban sprawl	Displacement and housing demand pressures on surrounding poor areas
Increased social mix	Loss of social diversity (from socially disparate to rich ghettos)
Rehabilitation of property both with and without state sponsorship	Under-occupancy and population loss to gentrified areas

Source: (Rowland & Bridge, 2005)

### **2.2.3. Indicators of Gentrification**

In general, the issue is approached by some scholars with two different aspects in determining indicators of gentrification. The first one is the indicators of districts that have the potential to experience gentrification, and the second one is the indicators determined for the areas that have already experienced gentrification. In this section, the indicators of gentrification are analyzed considering different authors' opinions, and the aim is putting together these indicators to conclude some generalizations.

A study carried out for Upper Manhattan revealed that gentrification consists of four potential indicators which are household income, education, rents and housing values (Institute of Children and Poverty, 2006).

- 1. Household income:** The revenue that a household gets is the first indicator of gentrification in the process of regeneration of a neighborhood, within this process, high income groups are attracted to move into the neighborhood due to new constructions created in the process of urban regeneration. Therefore,

gentrification can be explained as the removal of lower income people towards outer parts of the city for enabling the arrival of high income residents.

2. **Education:** Differentiation in education levels of residents in regeneration area is significant, since the preference of people moving into gentrifying areas is shaped considering the existence of high levels of education and their higher earning potential than existing dwellers.
3. **Rents:** Social and economic change are progressed in the area through the high education level and income characteristics of new comers meaning that increase in the gap between current and future property values results in the increase in urban rent.
4. **Housing Values:** Most low income families cannot afford to buy a house if housing values are high. As a result, those people displaced from the area and encounter the risk of becoming homelessness. Thus, housing values seems as a considerable indicator of gentrification.

Similarly Kennedy and Leonard (2001) mention that in order to determine whether gentrification process will occur or not, some indicators exist as future potential of gentrification. These are; increased number of renters, accessibility of job centers i.e. public transport services, stations, ferry routes or urban roads; high and increasing congestion in the area, existence of high architectural value for the structures in the area, and relatively low housing prices.

In addition to the indicators for the future potential of gentrification, some scholars have also examined the issue in terms of indicators determined for the areas that have already experienced gentrification. Kennedy and Leonard (2001) explain these indicators as; increasing level of home ownership instead of rental tenure, increase in downpayment ratio within the process of purchasing house, arrival of people who are interested in urban social amenities and cultural functions i.e. for artists, young professionals and minority groups, emergence of new amenities in the area i.e. music clubs or galleries for the benefit of high income people.

In addition, Roschen (2013) developed the indicators of gentrification through the displacement as a result of the process. The indicators of such a displacement process are mentioned as monthly housing costs, concentration of poverty, level of ethnic diversity, and changes in annual household. Fluctuations in monthly housing cost is a significant indicator for gentrification, because affordability for these costs changes simultaneously. Secondly, concentration of poverty in a community makes people displaced due to gentrification process. In addition, ethnic diversity in urban regeneration area is also stated as an indicator in particularly planning, sociology and anthropology field. Afterwards, Hodge (1981), explains the use of household income as an indicator of gentrification as: “[household income is a] likely indicator that gentrification has occurred and the secondary effects of displacement of low-income households is occurring”.

In conclusion, after determining the indicators of gentrification considering the opinions of different authors, these are summarized in Table 7. In further sections, these determined indicators will be used to test whether the potential of gentrification has existed in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods or not, and gentrification has been experienced or not.

**Table 6. Two Different Categories of Indicators for Gentrification**

<b>The Indicators for the Potential of Experiencing Gentrification</b>	<b>Indicators determined for the areas that have already experienced gentrification</b>
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• High architectural or land value</li> <li>• Closeness to city center</li> <li>• Implementation of urban regeneration in the surrounding</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Displacement</li> <li>• Increasing real estate values</li> <li>• Increasing taxes</li> </ul>

**Table 7 (continued)**

<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• High architectural or land value</li><li>• Closeness to city center</li><li>• Implementation of urban regeneration in the surrounding districts</li><li>• Low housing values</li><li>• High rate of renters</li><li>• Preference of famous and well-known people to move into the area</li><li>• Becoming the new fashion place with tis increasing reputation</li></ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Displacement</li><li>• Increasing ral estate values</li><li>• Increasing taxes</li><li>• Decreasing intensity of poverty</li><li>• Special urban land uses (private schools,luxury commercial places and leisure time activity areas)</li><li>• Arrival of people who are interested in urban social amenities and cultural functions</li><li>• Ethnic or cultural diversity</li><li>• Conflict between old residents and new comers</li><li>• Positive perception of the people living in other parts as hype place or fashion place for the area</li><li>• Preference of politicians and famous people to move into the area</li><li>• Increasing education level</li><li>• Increasing income levels</li><li>• Increasing real estate values</li><li>• Increasing housing costs (condominium fee, cleaning etc.)</li><li>• Increasing number of renters</li></ul>
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## **2.3. Sustainability**

The analysis, carried out in chapter two, mentions some specific lessons learned from examined urban regeneration practices in different parts of the world as aims, positive gains and problems in urban regeneration practices. In the end, some key points are stated for the success or failure of urban regeneration, which are gentrification, transport, infrastructure, housing, identity of place, attractiveness, participation, social well-being, and conservation. In other words, these key points are inferred from urban regeneration practices and affect the assessment of the implementations as to be successful or not. Within the framework of this research, firstly gentrification stands as one of the first criteria. Another criterion arises for how to sustain the assets which were created after urban regeneration. In this section, sustainability will also be handled within the context of urban regeneration by mentioning three indicators for the case study which are transport, identity of place and housing.

Urban regeneration implementations create both mostly reconstructed housing stock and renewed urban environment for new residents in the area, and provide an increased quality of life including new commercial services, educational facilities, new road and street network, easily accessible public transport services and new open public spaces. However, the main question here is whether all these developments would be sustained in future or not after urban regeneration which will be taken as another determinant within this research to evaluate the success of urban regeneration. In this framework, firstly sustainability concept and the relationship with urban regeneration and sustainable communities will be examined. Later on, three selected indicators of sustainability criteria will be explained as transport, identity of place and housing for the success of urban regeneration.

### **2.3.1. Sustainability Concept**

In 1972, United Nations (UN) Conference on the Human Environment in Stockholm, the concept of sustainability firstly appeared in global arena. 113 nations presented their intent about making the environment cleaner having the problems of water pollution, air pollution and chemical contamination (Newman & Kenworthy, 1999).

In addition, the World Conservation Strategy, emphasized that poverty, population pressure, social inequity and the terms of trade, were basic reasons of habitat destruction and environmental deterioration. Regarding this point of view, the definition of sustainable development was formed as the continuity of necessary ecological processes and life support systems (Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources - IUCN, 1980). The most commonly used definition of sustainability, stated in Brundtland Report, is: “Sustainable development is development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs”. In this report, development in those years was considered as creating danger for environmental destruction and consumption of resources, which could not be sustained anymore (United Nations , 1987).

Sustainability or the term of sustainable development was defined by different perspectives emphasizing different dimensions. Berke and Conroy (2000) defined sustainable development as: “a dynamic process in which communities anticipate and accommodate the needs of current and future generations in ways that reproduce and balance local, social, economic, and ecological systems, and link local actions to global concerns”. Bithas and Christofakis (2006) approached as “sustainable development suggests a framework for the development of economic systems that respect the limits set by the natural environment”. According to Kenworthy (2006), “making existing cities and new urban development more ecologically based and livable is an urgent priority in the global push for sustainability”. In addition, according to Nijkamp and Pepping (1998):

Sustainability in an urban setting describes the potential of a city to reach a new level of socioeconomic, demographic, environmental and technological performance which in the long run reinforces the foundations of the urban system itself. Thus urban sustainability ensures a long-term continuity of the urban system.

In summary, sustainability is a concept focusing on how to sustain existing assets for future generations. The content is generally grouped into three main pillars as environment, economy and social aspect. Besides, considering sustainability in urban communities and their living environment, the approach is needed to be elaborated in

more detail encompassing housing with its built environment, sustainability of urban transport, and identity of place for the people living in a community. Thus, the analysis of sustainable communities in relation with urban space will give inferences about what the indicators of sustainability for the areas of urban regeneration should be.

### **2.3.2. Sustainable Communities and Urban Regeneration**

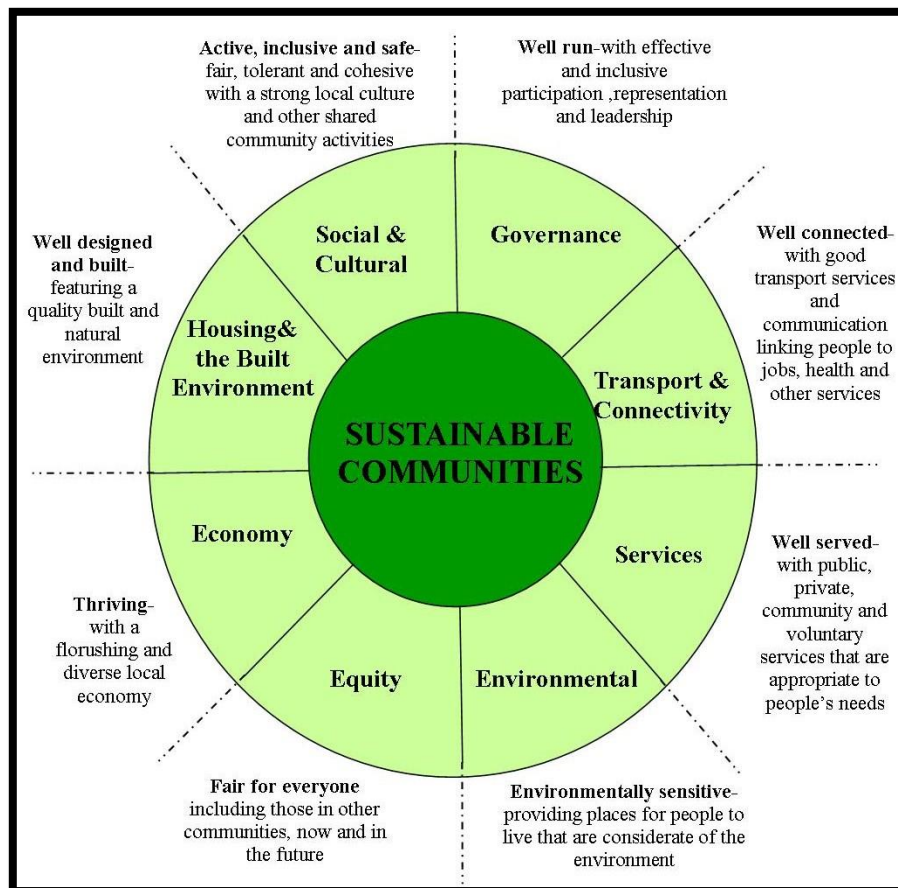
Urban regeneration is a process that makes comprehensive changes in the area affecting both the physical environment and the social fabric of the community. Thus, whether these changes make urban fabric livable also for the future generations or not is quite significant for the success of urban regeneration. Initially, how a sustainable community can be is described; then, its relationship with urban regeneration are established in this part.

According to Egan's definition (2004), the principles of creating sustainable communities point out several significant topics as:

- responding various needs of existing and future residents including their children and other people,
- creating a high level of quality of life,
- sensitive use of natural resources,
- improving the environment,
- existence of social cohesion and inclusion within the community,
- enhancement of economic welfare.

The commonly accepted concentric and interlocking types of sustainability concept were constituted from three distinct aspects of social, environmental and economy. In a more detailed manner, it was emphasized that in defining sustainable communities, the issue is approached by analyzing eight different elements in the Egan Report (2004), which created another conceptual scheme. It consists of eight

sub-headings to make communities sustainable which are governance, transport and connectivity, services, environmental, economy, housing and built environment, social and cultural. The main principles of these sub headings are mentioned at the outer part of the wheel in Figure 8.



**Figure 8. Egan Wheel as the Conceptualization of Sustainable Communities**

Source: (Egan, 2004)

The main indicators of sustainable communities have also been approached and scrutinized by different authors. Table 8 reveals that indicators of sustainable communities are the more detailed and elaborated than commonly accepted sustainability indicators of environment-economy-social pillars. A synthesis can be seen in below table combining different perspectives of different authors to enable the association between urban regeneration and selected indicators.

**Table 7. Indicators of Sustainable Communities Inferred from the Literature Review**

<b>SUSTAINABLE COMMUNITIES</b>	<b>Indicators</b>	<b>Explanations</b>
	Social interaction	active, inclusive, fair, tolerant, cohesive social fabric, social cohesion
	Participation in local institutions	Inclusive participation, representation and leadership
	Community security	levels of trust between communities, enabling a safe environment
	<u>Identity of place</u>	positive sense of identification with the community, and pride in the community
	<u>The natural built residential environment</u>	residential density, public spaces, environmental concerns
	Economy	increasing labor demand, dealing with unemployment, improvement in economy
	Local services	basic infrastructure for new settlement and other urban services
	<u>Transport and connectivity</u>	accessibility, traffic congestion, pollution
	Society and culture	multi-cultural communities, affordable housing
	Governance	effective and collective decision making
	Equity	fair for everyone within the community

Source: (Egan, 2004; Dempsey, Bramley, Sinead, & Brown, 2009; Kearns & Turok, 2004)

Creating sustainable communities should be one of the most significant outcomes in urban regeneration targeting not only the enhancement of existing physical environment by the construction of new residential units and other urban land uses; but also, sustaining good aspects of renewed urban space for future. The critical point in this research is that enhanced communities together with its physical environment created by urban regeneration should not be specific to only the initial years after regeneration. In other words, planning long term sustainability strategies are needed for the success of urban regeneration.

In the following section, the selected three indicators for the analysis of the success of urban regeneration, as underlined in Table 8, will be explained to constitute the base for the case study research for urban regeneration in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods.

### **2.3.3. Three Selected Indicators of Sustainability**

As mentioned in previous section, the characteristics of sustainable communities are elaborated with many indicators. On the other hand, creation of a sustainable social and physical urban fabric after urban regeneration is one of the most significant criteria. Within the framework of this research, indicators of sustainable communities for urban regeneration will be limited to transport, identity of place and housing. Before the evaluation of these indicators for Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, they will firstly be explained to define the boundaries of these indicators for the research.

#### **2.3.3.1. Transport**

Urban transport as a sustainability indicator can be analyzed depending on mainly the excessive increase in building density in urban regeneration area resulting in the increase in the number of motorized vehicles in traffic. The congestion, created by the increase in the attraction of the area, overloads the capacity of roads and streets which cannot be sustained for future.

According to Egan (2004), one of the principles of a sustainable community is transport and connectivity. Transport services and communication should be good

enough to establish the connection between daily urban services. Considering this principle to achieve sustainable communities, transport facilities enabling people to move within communities such as public transport walking and cycling, accessible car parking measures, and effective telecommunications seem to be essential.

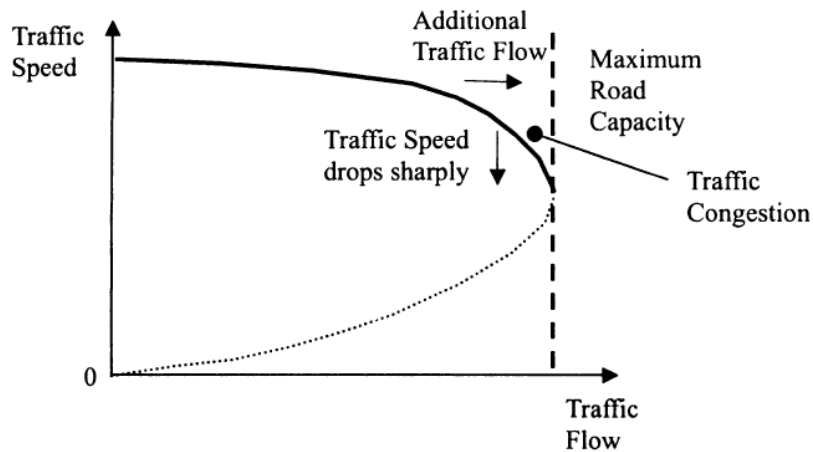
Within the context of urban regeneration, the main problem seems to be an increase in building density much more than previous condition and economic and cultural vitalization in the area. All these developments mean the increase in number of vehicles in traffic within the community which constitutes traffic congestion. The main characteristic of congestion in traffic is an incrementally increasing process unless some precautions would be taken, which means an unsustainable urban environment in terms of transport in regeneration area.

Increasing demands on roads causes slower driving speeds, excessive waste of time and vehicle queues meaning traffic congestion. The increase in demand on urban roads is an encouraging process by means of the interaction between cars. When the roads and streets reach their capacity limitations, vehicles have to stop in traffic for long periods of time in particularly rush hours, which means that traffic congestion becomes its peak due to extensive demands in the mornings to go to work and in the evenings to leave from the work (Selçuk, 2014).

Traffic congestion can be defined as insufficiency of road supply to respond the increasing demand. Road capacity reaches to its maximum by the encouraging one vehicle to another for benefiting the advantageous speed-traffic flow relationship; therefore, traffic congestion emerges, causing long time waiting for vehicles. (Link, Dodgson, Maibach, & Herry, 1999). In other words, considerably decreasing traffic speeds cause delays on traffic due to excessive load of a road by vehicles which are over the design capacity of previously planned transport network in number (Weisbrod, Vary, & Treyz, 2003).

As seen in Figure 9, traffic speed decreases by the additional traffic flow to the road. Besides, each road has its maximum carrying capacity. When the number of vehicles approaches to maximum capacity, traffic speed decreases incrementally and in the

end drops sharply. In the context of urban regeneration, additional traffic flow means increasing population in the area by means of increasing residential density or initiation of business and commercial activities by the increase in the attractiveness of the area after regeneration.



**Figure 9. Speed-flow Relationship and Traffic congestion**

Source: (European Conference of Ministers of Transport-ECMT, 1999; Hon, 2005)

Population increase has been continuously affecting the increase in traffic volumes on roads (Cox, 2000). Urban regeneration implementations, particularly the ones in Turkey, have focused on excessive increase in building density and residential population together with the additional daily people coming from other parts of the area. All these factors overload the existing transport capacity, and the travel from or to the area becomes problematic.

Traffic congestion creates many problems in most of the cities. Particularly, automobile oriented transport behavior has sometimes become a time wasting and non-productive activity, and also it is difficult to previously determine how much time to spend in road traffic, which causes remaining less time for daily more productive activities and becoming stressed and frustrated. In addition, motorized vehicles consume quite much non-renewable energy and pollute environment

particularly decreasing air quality (Dabbour & Tarabieh, 2013). Additionally, car parking problem and traffic congestion have also simultaneously increased due to the problems of insufficiency of car parking areas or their capacities. Unless car parking opportunities respond the demand, the vehicles, occupying one or two lanes at the roadsides for parking need, flowing traffic is affected negatively and become congested. In addition, drivers looking for a parking space while driving create “look around traffic” which makes an additional contribution to the excessive load of traffic. Besides that, the use of sidewalks as vehicles’ parking space makes the movement of pedestrians -particularly disabled people- difficult and affects pedestrian access negatively. Roadside parking in or out considerably increases the risk of traffic accidents and threatens traffic safety. Unplanned and irregular parking spaces and car parks also cause visual and noise pollution particularly in touristic areas (Yardımcı, Korkmaz, & Yılmaz, 2006).

Consequently, traffic congestion on a certain road or junction cannot be sustained in terms of urban transport as a criteria of sustainable communities. On the other hand, urban regeneration generates an increase in demand for roads or streets in the area due to population increase by means of new high residential density and different urban land uses attracting people to travel in. Therefore, unsustainability of traffic congestion in urban regeneration areas is needed to be examined over the case study of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods.

#### **2.3.3.2. Identity of Place**

In addition to physical/environmental dimensions of sustainability of the community, the indicator of identity of place corresponds to the social aspect. Urban regeneration processes cause radical changes on existing housing stock, urban transport connections and accessibility, and social amenities including commercial structure of a neighborhood; in the meantime, sense of place and identity within the community also change due to new comers to the area by means of their different socio-economic and socio-cultural structures. Therefore, sustaining the new identity of the area for future, emerged after regeneration process, stands also as a debatable issue.

Changing demands and desires together with increasing population affect and reflect communities differently. Each society experiences different developments depending on different economic and social circumstances in the process of their emergence and improvement, which creates characteristics of cities specific to each society. These characteristics, owned by each urban environment, mean the identity of place. Urban areas reflect not only their own identity, but also the identity of community (Aydin, 2014).

City is a physical, spatial and social environment which has been constituted from the continuous accumulation of physical, social and cultural layers of different historical periods. Urban identity composed of the factors that are specific to the city and make it differentiated from the other ones through contributing its value. In other words, urban identity is the meaning of the city (Birol, 2007). The concept of identity can be defined as the distinctive characteristics for living organisms and objects (Morley & Robins, 1997). The issue of identity of place has become more complicated together with the processes of globalization, modernity and post-modernity. These processes result in different criticisms, questioning and seeking which enable the change in the identity in urban areas. Public spaces in cities, shopping malls, cinemas, restaurants, cafés and many other places have the function of reflecting cultural structure and identity of place created by daily life relationships. These structures correspond to places for the people living on, social/political belongingness, different life experiences, identity and cultural pluralism, and new views and intellectual forms. Therefore, social configurations, cultural variety, multiple identities, different social conditions and life styles obtain their existence in urban areas (Aytaç, 2007). Urban spaces are one of the most considerable determinants of the identity of the community, namely place identity. For instance, the physical specific characteristics of a commercial activity place addressing to a particular group of people and the socio-economic structure of the people using this place determine the identity of the area. In other words, identity of place is a feeling for a place or living environment on which strong emotional dependence of the people exists. According to Proshansky et al. (1983), “clusters of positively and negatively valenced cognitions of physical settings...[that] help to

define who and of what value the person is both to himself and in terms of how he thinks others view him”, meaning that urban spaces seem to be as significant determinants on individuals’ value and position within the society which creates the identity of place in the area.

In urban living environment, a continuous and mutual relationship exists between place and identity; accordingly, new identities emerge and disappeared. Identity is got involved in a process which has continually been changed and renewed depending on the interacted individuals within the community including the change of identity in urban spaces. Areas owning different functions on urban space have social and cultural values, and attribute the tools which creates the life styles constituted from class, status and post-modernity to individuals. In this manner, urban places -particularly streets-, which individuals are socially in relation, are crucial for the creation and regeneration of the identity in urban life (Şahin, 2012).

Urban spaces have undertaken the feelings of belongingness, reliance and attachment in the recent times that were previously provided by home, private space and community. Individuals establish their relationship of identity and attachment with urban spaces, and they maintain their daily life by consuming cultural and art products or activities that are provided by urban places. Therefore, those urban places cause the visitors gained a certain behaving and method of operating through attributing them social experiences and identity configurations (Aytaç, 2007). The concept of identity of place started to arise by individuals’ perceiving, interpreting and defining their living environment. However, when such a holistic structure -the city- comes into question, socially established perception as well as individual efforts is necessitated to constitute a place identity in a city (Aydın, 2014).

The sustainability of place identity is also significant, because the constitution of identity depends on the continuity and it seems difficult to consider the concept of identity independent from the previous developments and changes. Therefore, it is hard to reveal or re-create a disappeared identity in an area considering a specific aim. On the other hand, the identity of place might re-define itself in parallel with social, cultural, physical and economic changes in urban spaces. In this manner, not

disappear but a reformation of identity of place might be referred. However, it is significant to ground this redefining or reformation on sustainability (Birol, 2007). In other words, urban identity is significant and needed to be preserved in terms of sustainability of cities and maintenance of living environment (Aydın, 2014).

Identity of place is also highly related with urban regeneration, which makes crucial changes on not only physical urban space but also social fabric in the area. In other words, urban regeneration has the effect of creating new identity of place in newly constructed urban areas. However, the main question for the research is whether the newly established identity of place after urban regeneration will be sustained in future or not. In other words, it should be questioned that new identity of place in urban regeneration area might have sustainability difficulties and possibility of urban decline for future.

#### **2.3.3.3. Housing**

One of the indicators of sustainable communities has revealed as housing, and within the framework of the research, income differences in an urban areas created by the increasing real estate values, namely urban rent, will be scrutinized. The main emphasis here is that in some parts of the cities in Turkey, real estate values excessively increase due to various factors such as the location, new transport infrastructure, investments on commerce and business activities; and continuously increasing rent causes income inequalities between beforehand buyers and recent buyers. Consequently, gentrification of middle class might be expected to occur.

According to Egan (2004), sustainable community indicator of housing was mentioned as *“housing and the built environment”*. The content of this issue includes two main principles specific to context of housing sustainability as:

- Sufficient range, diversity and affordability of housing within a balanced housing market
- High quality, mixed-use, durable, flexible and adaptable buildings

Considering the definition of Egan (2004), housing units in an urban area should provide affordable, good quality and adaptable living environments in a balanced housing market. However, in the case study of Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak, urban rent has been continuously increasing and real estate values has reached to outrageous prices in recent years even differentiated within neighborhood boundaries. As a result, affordability of residential units in the area has particularly addressed to high income people which has created income inequalities between old residents, namely beforehand purchaser right after urban regeneration, and recent movers due to excessive increase urban rent in the area.

Rent is the use value of urban land created by the increase in real estate prices. The reason of existence of rent is that urban land is a limited and deficient resource (Aktan, 1993). Rent increase or decrease, namely the change in real estate values in the context of research, is also dependent some certain factors in urban areas. According to Von Thunen's agricultural rent theory, revealed in 1810-1863, the constitution of land rent and its use is dependent on not the fertility of the land but the distance to market. In urban rent theories, the lands in urban areas gain value depending on the distance to city center (Evans, 1983). Besides, there are some factors that affect the value of real estate rent. Firstly, international finance market is directly effective in real estate market changes considering worldwide capital and its related investment policies. The credits and encouraging policies provided by the financial capital owners create sudden increase or decrease in real estate values. Secondly, national economic condition is also effective in changes. If the domestic market of a country suffers from cash deficiency due to economic crises, real estate prices firstly decrease and then it starts to increase after the getting over of crises. Thirdly, availability of appropriate real estate affects the possibility of responding the demand customers in the market. For instance, the apartments in an area, having the characteristics of big size, good heating, good facade and car parking opportunity, are desired quite much, the demand will increase to that kind of apartments. As a result, if the supply is not enough, the rent will increase due to the scarcity. Another effective factor is state policies and interventions on tax regulations and laws which encourage or discourage the pricing in real estate market. In addition, geographical

location including geological, topographical, slope condition, closeness to economic and social facilities, and accessibility to transport infrastructures are directly effective in the value of real estates. Afterwards, fashion places and locational demand seem to create tendencies depending on the development strategies of the area. Specific projects such as urban renewal and urban regeneration constitute attraction places and increase the demand to the area which increases the real estate prices. Finally, some characteristics specific to the real estate changes the demand as well as urban rent in the area. Existing physical condition together with its repairment costs, maintenance costs, its technological design and composition, and future development potential of the real estate affect the demand and the price increase or decrease (Isaac, 2002; Scott, 1999).

In Turkey, those factors on the increase or decrease of real estate values also have mostly been experienced. When the housing market is investigated between 1990 and 2006, hyper-inflation, economic crisis (crisis in 1994 and 2001) and earthquake disasters in August and November of 1999 caused a decline and recession in housing market in Turkey. By 2000, housing market started to tend to grow in Turkey. After the year of 2003, the decrease in inflation caused a decline in nominal and real interest rate which awoke the consumption in particularly housing sector through the increase in demand and supply of housing credits. In addition, the expectation for enacting the Law of Mortgage resulted in an excessive increase in the demand on housing which caused the increase in housing values (Badurlar, 2008).

Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods in Ankara demonstrate the case in which a continuous increase in urban rent has experienced after the beginning of urban regeneration in 1999. Particularly the locational advantage, including accessibility and closeness to city center, of the neighborhood as well as preference of parliamentarians of the area as their living environment have made the real estate values increased in time. In recent years, higher priced residential towers also constructed in the area which has made the neighborhoods owned one of the most prestigious place of having outrageous housing prices.

In the context of this research, the aim is to mention income inequalities between the residents due to the increase in real estate values. Continuously increasing urban rents in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods has created socio-economic differences which results in a new gentrification process of middle class in the area.



## CHAPTER 3

### ANALYZING ÇUKURAMBAR AND KIZILIRMAK NEIGHBORHOODS

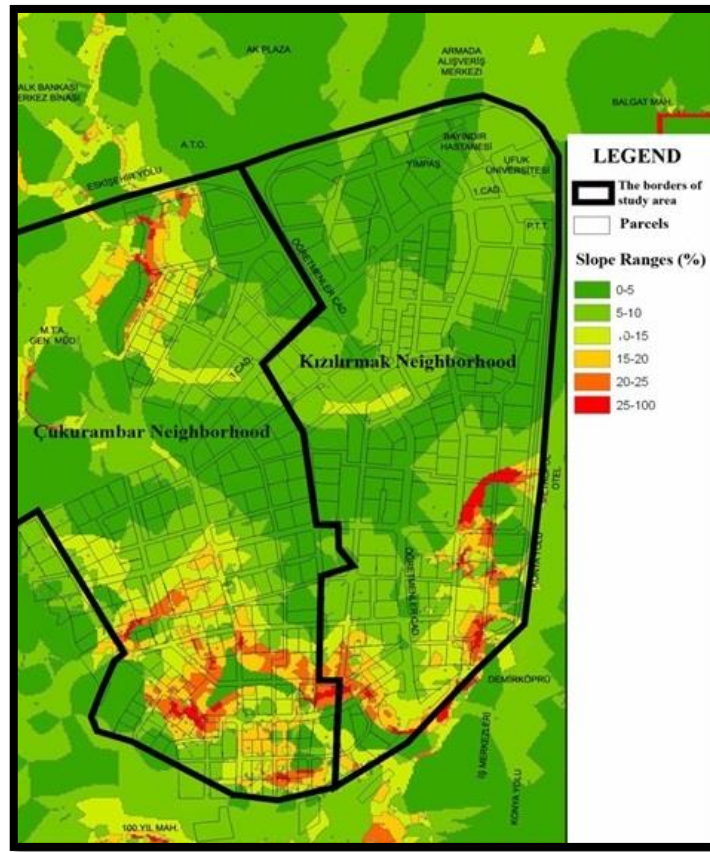
In this chapter, Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods will be scrutinized from various aspects to introduce the case study area of the research and constitute a base for the following chapters. At first, the topography of the area and location will be mentioned briefly. Secondly, the period when *gecekondu* settlements emerged will be stated together with introducing the infrastructure condition and social profile of the first inhabitants. Later on, urban regeneration process of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods will be examined including planning history, the experiences in the implementation period of urban regeneration and the reasons for the rapid regeneration. Finally, the current situation of these neighborhoods after urban regeneration will be indicated.

#### 3.1. The Topography and Location of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods

According to threshold analysis made for Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, slope generally changes between 0-10 percent. Therefore, it can be indicated that research area has been convenient for settling in terms of topography as seen in Figure 10. In addition, some areas exist with slope exceeding 15-20 percent within the boundaries of these neighborhoods (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 1991). As a result, the land of the area has low topographical character, which is expressed as the Turkish word of “çukur”<sup>12</sup>, included in the name of neighborhood.

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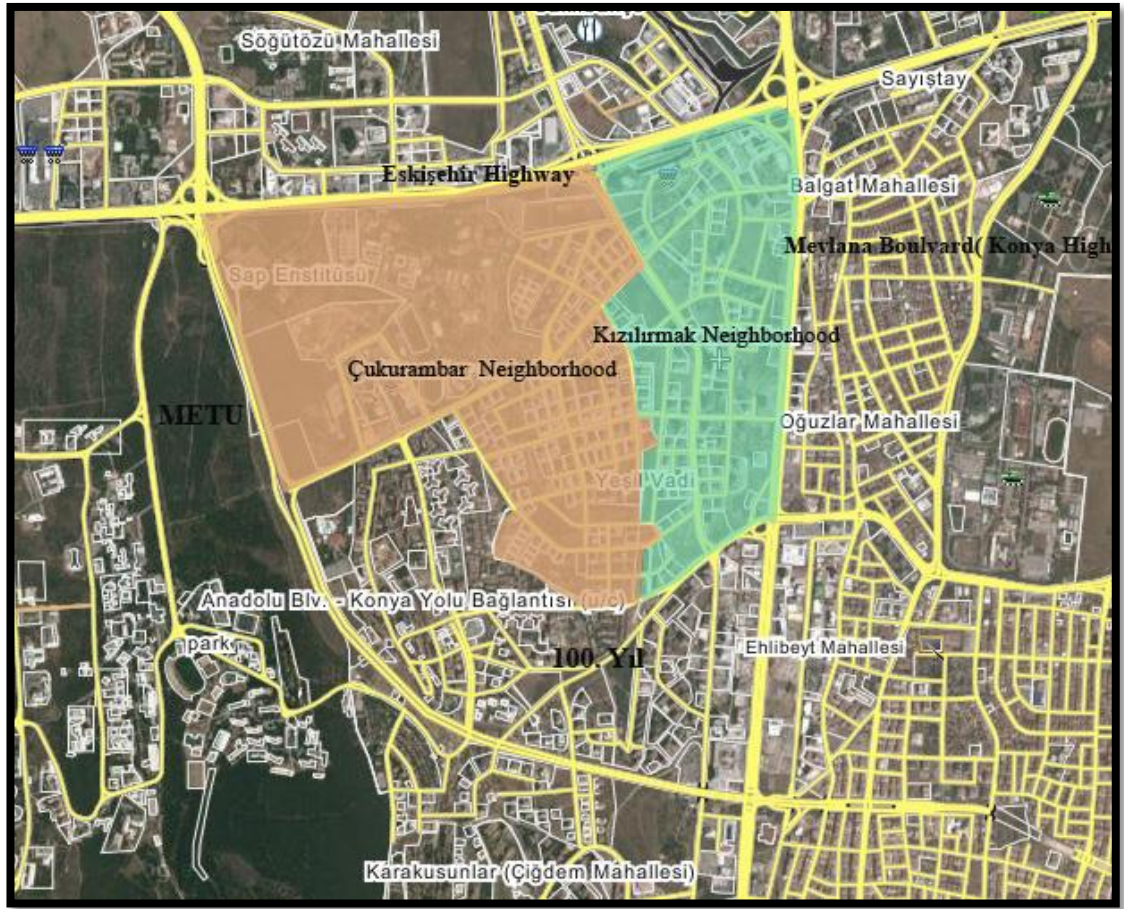
<sup>12</sup> Turkish word of “çukur” means “pit” in English.



**Figure 10. Topography of the Study Area**

Source: (Based on the study of Gülbay (2006), with the author's addition for neighborhood boundaries)

Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, in Çankaya District, have the boundaries, located on Southwest of the main city center of Ankara, enclosed by Eskişehir (İnönü Boulevard) and Konya Highways (Mevlana Boulevard) which are significant transport connections for Ankara, on the North and East part. The area adjacently exists with Yüzüncüyıl Neighborhood on South and Middle East Technical University on the West. In addition, approximately 7 km distance to Kızılay, involving Ufuk University and Çankaya University within the boundaries of neighborhoods and having proximity to Middle East Technical University and TOBB University increase the strategic importance of the area (Figure11).



**Figure 11. Location of Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighbourhood**

Source: (Personal Drawing on the map retrieved from [wikimapia.org](http://wikimapia.org))

### **3.2. Formation of *Gecekondu* in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods**

As inferred from the interviews made with old residents in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods, initial *gecekondu* settlements in the area started to emerge at the end of 1950s. Before the settling process, there was a wide range of cultivable agricultural land. The crops obtained from these lands were kept in warehouses, namely “*ambar*” in Turkish. Since these warehouses were located at pit, the district was called as Çukurambar.

Initially, although formation of first *gecekondu* settlements had started in Kızıllırmak Neighborhood, Çukurambar Neighborhood developed more rapidly and became more prominent in time compared to Kızıllırmak Neighborhood. Even today, the

name of Kızılırmak Neighborhood can sometimes be called as Çukurambar. However, in this study, the area will be called as Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods.

*Gecekondus* residents in the area, included initially in Balgat District, the villagers of Balgat were engaging in agriculture. Later on, the districts were divided into cadastral plots; therefore, these plots were sold in order to build *gecekondus*. If local government witnessed the construction period, *gecekondus* could have been obliged to demolish. However, if *gecekondus* was built and people started to live there, it could not have been demolished. For this reason, the residents who just started to construct their *gecekondus* in the area tried to create an impression that they had finished their *gecekondus* construction. One of the firstcomers (I1) explains that:

Before we did not mortar our home, we had to move in there; because, compulsorily, if you had not settled in the house, they would have demolished them. We hung sheet on the windows to create the impression that we were living in there.

As understood from the interviews, in order to settle in these *gecekondus* houses that were constructed without getting building license, various efforts were put; and the very first residents of the neighborhood started to settle in the area in those primitive conditions.

### **3.2.1. Infrastructure Condition**

According to the first inhabitants of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, when they started to settle in the area, infrastructure was quite inadequate for the people who were living there. There were not any electricity and water services; in addition, the district did not include any social amenities such as market place, green areas or educational units. In order to travel from the area to city center, residents used to walk to Balgat and then get on a vehicle. Moreover, roads in the neighborhood were too inadequate and muddy. One of the old inhabitants of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods (I1) mentions that, “I came to Çukurambar when I got married on October 5, 1964. There was wide range of agricultural areas in this district. There was no electricity and we used kerosene

lamp. We brought water from well in winter and summer”. Later on, electricity was provided in the area as a result of insistence of inhabitants, and then water was supplied to Çukurambar district in 1966.

There was the branch office of Directorate General for Highways in the place where Ufuk University Hospital exist now. An additional electricity line was installed from there in order to meet the demand of neighborhood. Delivery of electricity made the area became more popular and increased demand to live in. Therefore, the population of Çukurambar has continuously increased in time. In addition, according to Tan-Erşahin (2002), new infrastructures were established in the neighborhood which made the pavements and the roads reconstructed and rehabilitated. In addition, as a result of the attempts of residents, social facilitates like primary school and health center were built. The focus of this initiative included gathering money among inhabitants and purchasing the land required for the construction of school and health center. In 1967, each inhabitant in the neighborhood gave some money and 1100m<sup>2</sup> lands were bought in order to establish these facilities. Besides, in 1987, the efforts of Çukurambar *gecekondu* residents also made sewage system in the area piped. The infrastructure of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, which was tried to be transformed from an agricultural area to an urban neighborhood, was improved by residents who wanted to meet their needs.

### **3.2.2. Social Profiles of Inhabitants**

The first inhabitants of Çukurambar generally migrated from the peripheral parts of Ankara such as Bala, Yozgat, Çorum, Çankırı, Polatlı. The number of people migrated from Bala was relatively high. Other than this, more or less people came from each part of the country and adopted this neighborhood as their homeland. The professions of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak residents were differentiated like being civil servant or worker. It was stated that people coming from Bala had generally been working as scrap dealers.

In the interviews made with old Çukurambar residents, their neighborhood relationships and life styles before demolition of their *gecekondu* was mentioned. It was told that in time of *gecekondu*, each residential unit had a garden together with

trees including fruit growing; besides, sheep and goat breeding was made although there were just a few number of animals (Figure 12). An interviewee, (I1), expresses this situation as:

Our neighborhood of Çukurambar was very beautiful, it was greenery, and our neighborhood relations were very good. Each family has a garden with 300 m<sup>2</sup>, 500 m<sup>2</sup> 100 m<sup>2</sup>. Each family surrounded their gardens with wall enclosing its greenery structure. We cultivated our garden; our fruits were very nice. Afterwards, our comfort was corrupted. There was an asphalt construction site on the location where Hayat Sebla Residences exist now. The smoke of it came to us and it disturbed us very much. Our fruits started to dry. We all wife and children went there to stone for the aim of removing the asphalt construction site formed there, but we failed.



**Figure 12. An old view of Çukurambar**

Source: (Personal Archieve, 2013)

In addition to this, under favor of close neighborhood relationships and the spirit of collective work, Çukurambar was created out of nothing. As mentioned before, there were only infields in the area that Çukurambar exists now. Then, *gecekondu* structures started to be constructe one after another; however, at this time,

infrastructure and social facilities remained insufficient. Therefore, the residents all together collaborated to construct all these insufficiencies from the very beginning, and they recreated everything y means of their team spirit. They went to the mayor when needed (that time was single mayor period and there was not any district municipality). They transmitted their opinions for the deficiencies of their neighborhood to the Mayor. When needed, they made all the things they could make for their neighborhood by collective work so that they put their efforts to make Çukurambar a livable place. Recently, remaining residents in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods -previously, their neighborhood was not separated yet and it was just called as Çukurambar- have probably missed the spirit of collective work and a deep longing for previous rural life.

### **3.3. Regeneration Process in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods**

Urban regeneration in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods was started with the plans prepared by the municipality for the area. After approval of Implementation Plan, agreements have been arrived through the merging of parcels of landowners, and then contractors have started to manage the construction of high rise apartment blocks instead of old *gecekondu* settlements. Regeneration has been completed for a significant part of the area by the association of various factors.

#### **3.3.1. Planning History of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods**

Planning history of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhood was dated to 1970's. In these years, fragmentary planning studies that include 40% of the district were made. The milestone in planning of the area was the preparation of Ankara Metropolitan Plan by Ankara Metropolitan Municipality in 1982. According to this plan, Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods were determined as new urban development areas. In addition, the height of buildings and density were determined quite higher than the one in that time. Neighborhood density was planned as 200 people per hectare (Armatlı-Köroğlu & Yalçiner-Ercoşkun, 2006). Moreover, three main plans were prepared for Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods which are; “Çukurambar-Karakusunlar Revision Improvement Plan”, “Çukurambar-

Karakusunlar Revision Plan” (1/5000 scale) and “Çukurambar-Karakusunlar Implementation Plan” (1/1000 scale).

### **3.3.1.1.Çukurambar-Karakusunlar Improvement Plan**

The first 1/5000 scale Master Plan for the area was the plan that was prepared in 1983 after the legislation of Amnesty Law with numbered as 2805, and together with the approval of 1/5000 scale “Çukurambar-Karakusunlar Improvement Plan” through the decision taken on 19.06.1984 with the number of 435 by Zoning Board of Administration (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 1991). Considering the plan prepared within the process of rehabilitation, the buildings were 2-storey, minimum plot area was 2500m<sup>2</sup>, minimum distance between houses and road was 10 meters and minimum distance among houses was 5 meters (Armatlı-Köroğlu & Yalçın-Ercoşkun, 2006).

However, this plan was unable to catch recent developments of that time. Therefore, new Revision Plan named “Çukurambar-Karakusunlar Revision Plan” was prepared on 1/5.000 scale with the joint efforts of “Çankaya Municipality Directorate of Construction Affairs”, and this plan and its explanatory report were approved through the decision taken on 28.01.1991 numbered as 84 by Council of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 1991).

### **3.3.1.2.Çukurambar-Karakusunlar Revision Plan (1/5000)**

According to “Çukurambar-Karakusunlar Revision Plan”, population density was determined as 250-300 people per hectare. 80% of the area was allocated for dense residential area development in terms of 300 people per hectare (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 1991). In the plan, current and proposed land use decisions were determined and transportation system was resolved. New residential areas were suggested. The existing *gecekondu* settlements had single-storey units and these had been unable to be protected. In addition, this district had been inadequate in terms of social facilities; therefore, this deficiency was going to be tolerated by new reinforcement suggestions in the plan. Moreover, transportation network of the area had been customized considering past condition with the need at that time;

consequently, it remained insufficient for newly planned area. As a result, since this network was unable to harmonize new situation, roads were widened and reorganized serving the new necessities and demands.

### **3.3.1.3.Çukurambar-Karakusunlar Implementation Plan (1/1000)**

1/1000 scale Implementation Plan of this area was approved on 04.12.1992 by Metropolitan Municipality together with the confirmation of assembly decision dated 11.10.1991 and numbered as 254. However, since DOP<sup>13</sup> had been seen as high, the plan was revised and accepted at 03.12.1993 again, and at the end of the year of 1994, it was approved by Metropolitan Municipality. Storey heights and Floor Area Ratios of construction of 1/1000 scale plan was FAR: 2.00-1.80 for 10-storey buildings, FAR: 1.80 for 8-storey buildings, FAR:1.75 for 7-storey buildings, FAR:1.70-1.65 for 5-storey buildings. Accordingly, plot sizes were respectively determined as 2800-3000, 2800-2500, 2500-2000, 2000-1500 m<sup>2</sup>. While Implementation Plans were prepared, it was tried to be created a zoned area that had been developed together with the integration with existing urban pattern. In order to achieve that, it was decided that 35% of the area was left as Development Readjustment Share. In addition to this, 37.500 people were suggested for Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods for future and in “Çukurambar-Karakusunlar Revision Plan” 10% expropriation share was left for the area together with thinking that commercial activities and social centers owned quite much significance throughout the region (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 1991).

In plan decisions, protection of existing residential pattern were not minded, because the area consists of 82% 1-storey, 15% 2-storey, 3% 3-storey, 0.2% 4-storey, and 0.1% 5-storey building structures. Therefore, considering that 85% of the area contained 1 or 2-storey houses, the protection of the existing residential buildings to constitute a desired multi-storey dense housing pattern could not be expected. In other words, when urban regeneration in the area legalized by urban plans following a different kind of structuring such as construction of 10-8-7-5 storey buildings is

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<sup>13</sup> The term DOP, extended as Development Readjustment Share (*Düzenleme Ortaklık Payı* in Turkish), is a share of land taken from the private properties by municipality to establish public facilities such as green areas or leisure time activity places.

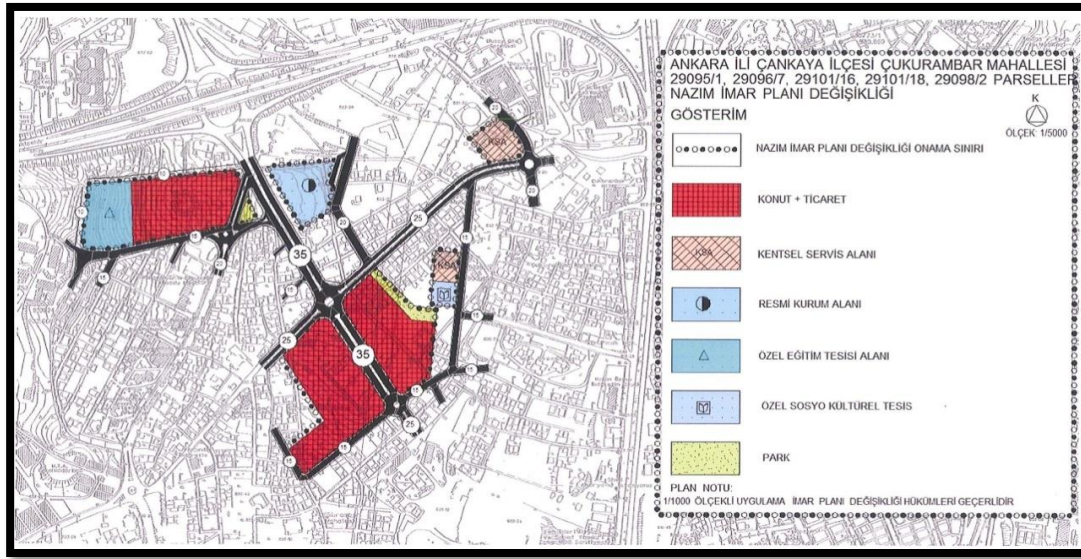
considered, existing buildings within the neighborhood could not be protected. Consequently, construction of multi-storey buildings was proposed in accordance with the general demand coming from land owners and also for the aim of transforming the whole planning area to a modern urban fabric (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 1991). In other words, in 1/1000 scale plans, floor area ratios and storey heights as well as DOP and KOP<sup>14</sup> were determined, and population projection was examined.

Three main plans, covering Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, constitute the planning base for the area, and they can partially be revised in time whenever any changes in plans occur. The revision in the first plan was made on Implementation Plan (1/1000). For instance, as seen on the plan demonstrated in Figure 13, changes were made on plots located in the northern part of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, and those changes are shown in the plan. Similarly, the revised areas in the Master Plan (1/5000) are shown in Figure 14.

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<sup>14</sup> The term KOP, extended as Public Partnership Interest (*Kamu Ortaklık Payı* in Turkish), is a share of land taken from the private properties for the establishment of public uses such as school, hospital, kindergarten or municipal service area.





**Figure 14. The Change in Master Plan of Çukurambar**

Source: (Çankaya Municipality)

### **3.3.2. Implementation Process of Regeneration in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods**

After the preparation of the plan for Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, the district began to be regenerated rapidly. Indeed, in 1996, urban development was initiated, and residents of *gecekondu* took their development deed then, and demolition of *gecekondu* started. In these areas, the construction of high rise buildings began together with preparation of “Implementation Plan” and the parcels of the area were redeveloped. In this process, 50% part of the rights of property owners were assigned for DOP and KOP. A land owner from Kızılırmak Neighborhood (I2) expressed this process as;

We took our development deeds in 1996. However, during the redevelopment process, 48% of my 421 m<sup>2</sup> land was taken away as DOP. In addition, an extra 48 m<sup>2</sup> space was also taken in order to supply school area as KOP. As a result, 200 m<sup>2</sup> area remained from a total of 421 m<sup>2</sup> land of mine.

Consequently, land owners in these neighborhoods reached an agreement with contractors and gave to the contractor their land for the new apartment block construction. Generally, the agreement between contractors and landowners were

based on half-and-half share. Regeneration process was not easy and took a long time for the neighborhood because one parcel could be shared with more than one person. Therefore, it was difficult to come together and reach an agreement. For instance, as seen in Figure 15, one building block numbered 27524 covers two parcels and these parcels are shown in m<sup>2</sup>. The first parcel belongs to 17 landowners. These landowners reached an agreement among themselves through the contractor. However, aggregation of landowners was quite difficult. Some of them did not consent their share; additionally, in the meantime some other people were died, and the area bequested to inheritors. Consequently, stakeholders increased more and more in number. Although this process took a long time, they eventually reached a compromise, and when the construction permission was taken, the construction of the building started.

PROVINCE:ANKARA					
DISTRICT:ÇANKAYA					
NEIGHBORHOOD:KARAKUSUNLAR 3. STAGE					
NUMBER OF BUILDING BLOCK:27524					
REGISTERED LAND OWNER			NEW CONSTRUCTION		
OLD PARCEL NUMBER	NAME SURNAME	FATHER NAME	PARCEL NUMBER	PARCEL AREA	SHARE OF LAND OWNER
3519	1	a	1	3156	272/3156
3519	2	b	1	3156	275/3156
3519	3	c	1	3156	.
0	.	.	1	3156	.
2529	.	.	1	3156	.
2529	.	.	1	3156	.
3519	.	.	1	3156	.
3519	.	.	1	3156	.
2526	.	.	1	3156	.
3519	.	.	1	3156	.
3519	.	.	1	3156	.
3519	.	.	1	3156	.
2527	.	.	1	3156	.
2330	.	.	1	3156	.
2509	15	.	1	3156	.
2510	16	.	1	3156	.
2528	17	.	1	3156	163/3156
REGISTERED LAND OWNER			NEW CONSTRUCTION		
PARCEL NUMBER	NAME SURNAME	FATHER NAME	PARCEL NUMBER	PARCEL AREA	SHARE OF LAND OWNER
2542	1	a	2	3079	85/3079
.	2	b	2	3079	665/3079
.	3	c	2	3079	.
.	.	.	2	3079	.
.	.	.	2	3079	.
.	.	.	2	3079	.
.	.	.	2	3079	.
.	.	.	2	3079	.
.	.	.	2	3079	.
.	.	.	2	3079	.
.	.	.	2	3079	.
.	.	.	2	3079	.
.	.	.	2	3079	.
.	.	.	2	3079	.
.	.	.	2	3079	.
.	15	.	2	3079	90/3079

**Figure 15. Distirubution Graph Based on Registration for Two Parcels in Çukurambar**

Source: (Owner of Mavi Emlak Real Estate, 2013)

The first residential apartment block, constructed in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, is Uğur Apartment Block. The construction was started in 1996 and completed in 1999, and the second building is Elit Apartment Block (Figure 16). In the process of construction, *gecekondu* owners were temporarily settled in other districts of Ankara as tenants. When the construction finished, they have had the opportunity to sell their apartment and buy more than one from other parts of the city or they still continue to live in their neighborhood without selling their property.

Recently, the number of old *gecekondu* residents settling in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak does not seem to exceed 20%. The reason for remaining in such a minority is that selling their existing apartment in newly constructed apartment block in the area has seemed quite profitable since they can purchase several apartments from other districts of Ankara.



### **3.3.3. The Reasons of Rapid Urban Regeneration in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhood, and the Factors that Make the Area Attractive**

The most important factors which create rapid urban regeneration in this area have been economic reasons. Both landowners and contractors have been satisfied economically from the process of regeneration in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. In addition, the attractiveness of the area has created a demand for also investments on residential units or commercial-business centers. Therefore, the construction cost of these residential buildings could easily be met in a short period of time.

Considering attracting factors in the area, the location comes at the top of the list. As mentioned before, it exists at the intersection of Konya and Eskişehir Highways, and the distance to the city center as well as to the parliament, to ministries and to business centers is quite low. Moreover, Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods have seemed preferable due to embodying two universities and close location to other two universities. Another attracting factor is that comfort and quality of constructed apartments are superior to most of the other ones in Ankara. Generally, residences are designed as 4+1 room formation and they mostly have wide balconies; so that, the people, realizing the comfort of living units in such a central place, have preferred Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods.

Apart from the factors that have caused the increase in the reputation of these neighborhoods, there are also apartment blocks, undertaken by the contractor Osman Pepe, contributing the reputation which are Açıya, Lale, Bahar and Feza Apartment Blocks known as “Parliamentarian Sites”. These buildings were desired to be constructed by the method of cooperative housing; however, cooperative could not be established for various reasons, and buildings were constructed through an incorporated company instead. The company was composed of the membership of 72 parliamentarians. Contracts were formed for the land with existing *gecekondu* residents depending on flat for land basis. Osman Pepe, who is one of the old parliamentarians and a contractor, constructed residences and encouraged some other parliamentarians to settle in the area; thus, an identity of being a bureaucratic

neighborhood was emerged which resulted in both the increase in attractiveness of the neighborhoods and in real estate rent in the area. The Mukhtar of Çukurambar Neighborhood, (I3), also expresses this process as:

At the beginning, the rise of significance of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods was not expected. In this district, the process was begun by the construction of several houses for the reason for being close to Bahçelievler and Emek. However, old and current parliamentarians preferred to settle in this neighborhood since apartments and their kitchens and balconies were large and comfortable; in addition to this, the Grand National Assembly of Turkey is close to here. Several parliamentarians one of whom was a constructor Osman Pepe were settled in the neighborhood and encouraged other parliamentarians to move to Çukurambar, which coincided with the announcement about the demolition of Oran parliamentary dwelling-houses (*lojman*). Therefore, the area was transformed to a bureaucratic neighborhood.

One of the factors that caused the increase in the fame and reputation of these neighborhoods is the existence of Halk Bank Site in the area which was constructed by the constitution of a housing cooperative with the members of Halk Bank employees. Initially, an empty land without any *gecekondu* was purchased to construct the site, and the site was constructed in 1980s. In addition, a remarkable characteristic of this site was the effort to benefit solar energy in buildings; however, the attempt was failed.

Consequently, it can be inferred that the location and standards as well as constructed buildings and the people living in the area are effective for an area to become attractive and to implement a rapid urban regeneration. The milestones, which are the significant buildings, are parliamentary sites for Çukurambar, and Halk Bank Site for Kızılırmak Neighborhood.

#### **3.3.4. The Current Situation of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhood**

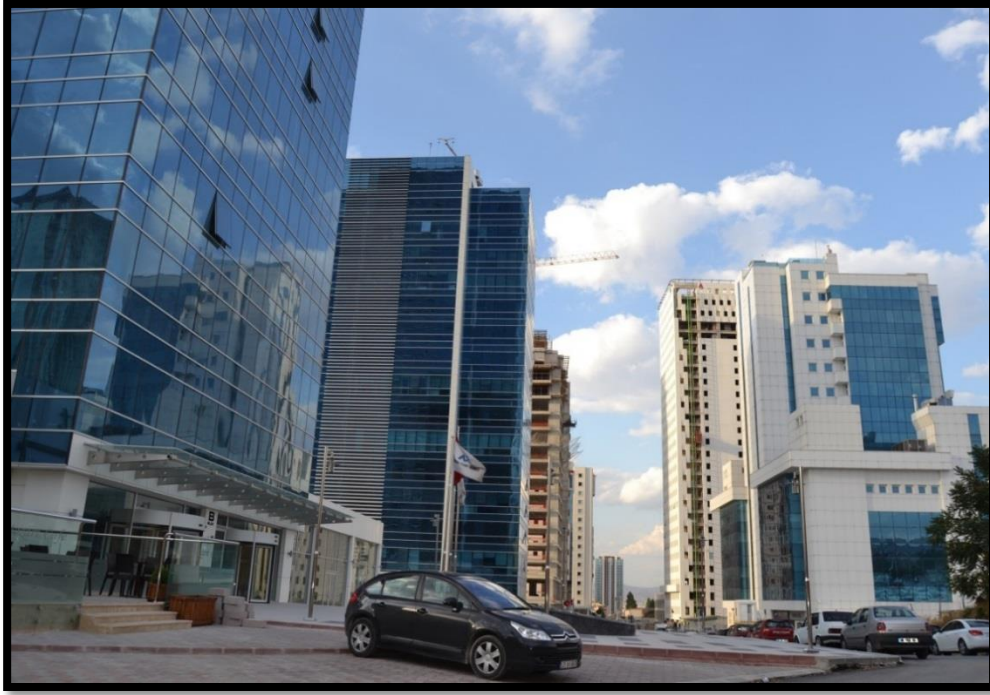
According to the information from the Mukhtar of Çukurambar Neighborhood, the population was 20.000-25000 for Çukurambar; but, 7.000-8.000 for Kızılırmak in 2013. There are 190 buildings that have been constructed up to the present in Çukurambar (Figure 17); nonetheless, Kızılırmak consists of predominantly business

centers, and there are 15 large scale business centers and approximately 50-60 buildings (Figure 18).



**Figure 17. A View from Çukurambar Neighborhood**

Source: (Personal Archieve, 2014)



**Figure 18. A View from Kızılırmak Neighborhood**

Source: (Personal Archive, 2014)

Although urban regeneration in the area seems to be completed, there still exist *gecekondu*s in the area since either *gecekondu* owners cannot come to an agreement with other landowners or they wait for the expectation of an extra profit through their land or they have a desire to construct high rise building on their own property. For example, one of the right holders wanted to open a branch of patisserie that personally owned by this right holder. However, since they could not come to an agreement at the end, these *gecekondu*s stand alone among the high rise luxury buildings in the area. Several *gecekondu*s, which belong to individual property owners, could not be transformed, and the state could not interfere due to personal property ownership in the area (Figure 19).



**Figure 19. *Gecekondu* Structures that Right Holders Could not Come to an Agreement**

Source: (Personal Archieve, 2014)

Because of central location of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods and inclusion of much business in itself, leisure time activities were also needed in the area, and many kinds of places were put into service to provide such a need. Those places were developed according to the newly developed trend in the neighborhood; thus, they started to serve in high standards. In fact, they have become not only the places of just local settlers of neighborhood, but also the place of frequently visited by especially young people coming from different parts of Ankara. Besides, there is an ongoing construction of a five star hotel and a hospital with high standards in Kızılırmak Neighborhood; in addition, construction of high-rise buildings that will be constituted as residential units for upper floors and commercial units for bottom floor have started in the place named formerly as “Çarşamba Bazaar” and in its eastern and northern parts. According to the information gathered from the Mukhtar of Çukurambar, this area belonged to Atatürk Forest Farm (AOÇ) in previous years, and then it was assigned to Gazi University. However, Gazi University demanded

another place which was close to their university campus instead of that place in the neighborhood, and they exchanged it with TOKİ. After tendering stage for this area, a firm named Türkerler purchased the land and started previously mentioned constructions. The reason to discuss the area that much is that the problems of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, in which their infrastructure has already been insufficient now, is thought to be increased more together with those constructions on the area. The problems in the area cannot be limited just to the infrastructure. Because of ongoing constructions, aerial corridors have almost totally been closed; therefore, it has been started to be seen increases on temperature of the district. This condition also creates variety in problems for the area.

In addition, on some areas, applied in the plan as public land or municipal service area, land use changes were made from public land to residential uses with a quite excessive Floor Area Ratio, meaning that those areas were enabled to construction. Particularly, residents in the area raised their objections against these planning policies; however, they could not be succeeded.

The first example of plan changes from publicly used land to residential uses is Gökteşehir Residences in Çukurambar Neighborhood. The parcel that these residences exist was pre-assigned as sports field mentioned as dashed circles in Figure 20. However, later on, together with a planning modification, that parcel subjected to zoning, and Gökteşehir Residences were constructed on the area that previously determined as sports field. In another example, a plan modification to obtain a residential parcel was done for enabling the construction of Hayat Sebla Residences. This area was assigned as municipal services area in Development Plan<sup>15</sup>; however, as a result of the plan change, Hayat Sebla Residences were constructed on this area (Figure 20). Particularly, right holders in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods thought that they encountered to injustice against these plan changes, and raised their various objections. According to them, the areas which

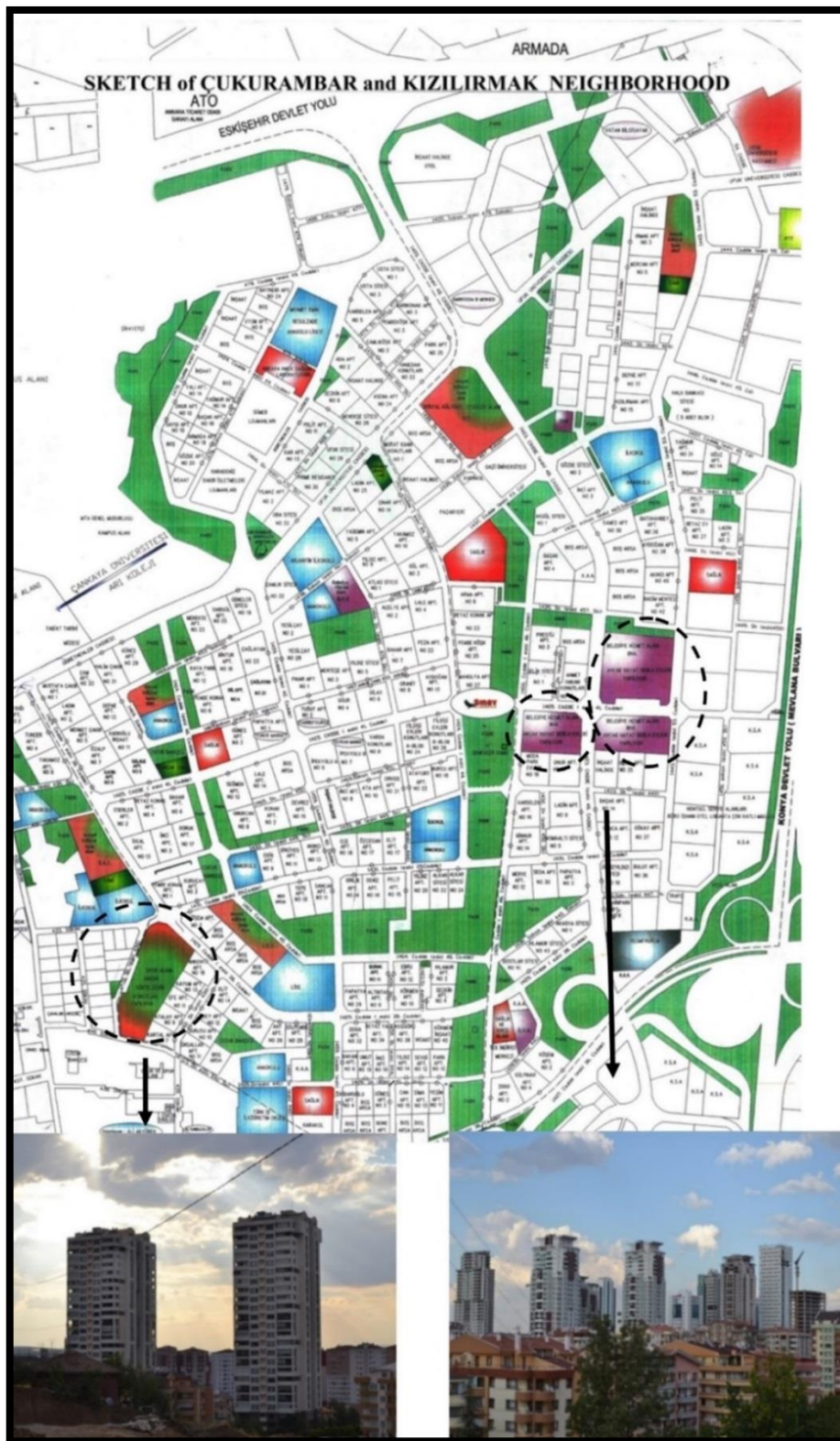
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<sup>15</sup> Development Plan (*Uygulama İmar Planı* in Turkish) is the plan which is drawn on approved base maps with cadastral drawings if available in accordance with the principles of the Master Plan, and contains in detail the building blocks of various zones, their density and order, roads and implementation phases to form the basis for land development implementation programmes and other information (3194 Law on Land Development Planning and Control, 1985).

were exacted from them, under the names of DOP and KOP to establish public services, enabled for zoning and plan changes for the rent gaining concerns. Those landowners considered such changes as injustice for them. However, considering legal aspects of this land use changing policies, any kind of illegality cannot be found since municipality took the decision through the agreements in municipal council; therefore, any positive result cannot be gained from the rejections. (I2) exemplifies this process through Hayat Sebla and Gökteşehir Residences:

The real owner of these Hayat Sebla and Gökteşehir Residences is not the Metropolitan Municipality, but us. They got our land from us under the name of expropriation by saying that we will use your areas to create green areas. In short, they grafted our money. After that, they constructed residences on these areas and provided rent to themselves through our lands.

As seen in the interview, old residents did not consent plan changes since they considered the construction of residential blocks on the land zoned for sport area or municipal service area as violation of old residents' rights.



**Figure 20. A View from Gökteşehir and Hayat Sebla Residences**

Source: (Personal Archive, 2014)

In conclusion, the general analysis of Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods has been made in this chapter. The main aim has been summarizing the condition starting from the location of the neighborhoods to urban regeneration implementation process. In this chapter, a base was constituted for the following chapter to analyze the criteria of gentrification and sustainability, which has been determined for the evaluation of the success of urban regeneration.



## **CHAPTER 4**

### **ANALYZING DETERMINED CRITERIA of GENTRIFICATION and SUSTAINABILITY for ÇUKURAMBAR and KIZILIRMAK NEIGHBORHOODS**

Two main criteria have revealed to evaluate the success of urban regeneration in consequence of the analysis made in previous sections. In this chapter, the main aim is to demonstrate the evaluation of these criteria for the case study of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. In the first part, gentrification in the area will be scrutinized including its indicators, process, actors with the analysis of winners and losers, positive and negative effects and four gentrification areas from İstanbul in comparison with Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. In the second part, another indicator, namely sustainability, will be elaborated within the context of transportation, identity of place and housing as the criteria for the evaluation of the success of urban regeneration in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods.

#### **4.1. Gentrification Process in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods**

In this part, two main issues will be examined for Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods considering predetermined indicators which are;

- whether the potential of gentrification has existed or not,
- gentrification has already experienced or not.

The evaluation will be made by means of personal observations in research area and interviews carried out with different actors of urban regeneration in Çukurambar and

Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. Secondly, gentrification process in the area will be explained considering neighborhood-specific processes. Thirdly, the negative and positive effects of gentrification on these neighborhoods will be evaluated. Later on, economically winner and loser actors in the process of gentrification will be evaluated considering interviews made in the area. Finally, why gentrification in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods has been differentiated from other ones, experienced in different parts of Turkey through selected four urban regeneration areas from İstanbul, will be analyzed.

#### **4.1.1. Indicators of Gentrification in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods**

In this section, before the evaluation of the indicators of gentrification, it will be emphasized that gentrification, experienced in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, has caused a process of displacement in regeneration processes of *gecekondu* areas.

Gentrification is a process that middle class people move into inner city, which low income people and working class living in, and rehabilitate the existing housing pattern that they own. Yet, such a definition might be insufficient for gentrification which consists of both renovation of buildings and the process of reconstruction. In Turkey, different aspects of gentrification have been experienced. In this respect, Ankara is a significant example in which inner city *gecekondu* regeneration implementations have occurred depending on public private sector collaboration in terms of financial issues of the projects. *Gecekondu* settlements emerge in an area due to mostly migration from peripheral parts of related area or other cities by purchasing the land or occupying public land illegally; afterwards, luxury high rise apartment blocks are constructed on these lands within the scope of urban regeneration. Later on, middle and upper middle class people move into the area and *gecekondu* residents are displaced or replaced from their existing living environment. Some parts of newly built apartments are assigned to local residents depending on previously made agreements, and others are remained for the sale to upper middle and upper class people. In the end, contractors or building companies balance the

cost that they invest for apartment blocks of *gecekondu* residents by increasing their profit through the sale of apartment blocks remained for middle or upper middle class people (İslam, 2005).

Urban regeneration in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods constitutes a considerable example for above mentioned explanation including a method of urban regeneration and gentrification processes in Turkey. In this respect, whether gentrification potential in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods has existed or not will be evaluated depending on predetermined indicators. Interviews, personal observations and internet research findings were benefited for the analysis of these indicators which are explained as sub-headings below.

- **High Architectural or Land Value**

The first indicator for the existence of gentrification potential in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak neighborhoods is high architectural and land value in the area. These neighborhoods completely consisted of *gecekondus* which seem to be not having any attractive architectural value. In other respects, excessively high land values have existed in the area over the years by means of its central location close to business centers and universities. The most appropriate example to prove the existence of high land value in the area seems to be that each *gecekondu* landowner has owned at least approximately 1.5 or 2 of high priced luxury apartments after regeneration depending on the size of the land. One of the landowners living in Çukurambar (I9), explains high land values in the area in the interview as:

I had 550 m<sup>2</sup> land in Çukurambar. After the deductions of DOP and KOP, my share decreased to 300m<sup>2</sup>. As a result of my agreement with contractor for this remaining land, I deserved two northern front apartments and one store share in the neighborhood. I sold my store share and bought apartment to my son. I have been living in one of the other apartments and my daughter in the other one.

If such a land would be sold in another district of Ankara rather than in Çukurambar, its revenue will be quite low. In these neighborhoods, it was sold with a very profitable agreement from the point of landowners who had the opportunity to sell their apartments and store shares with excessively high prices. In summary, high

architectural value seems as not a considerable factor in *gecekondu* areas that increases the attractiveness of the neighborhoods resulting in the formation of gentrification potential. Besides, the increase in land value seems to be apparently a significantly remarkable indicator for gentrification potential that can be exemplified in the neighborhoods.

- **Urban Regeneration Implementations in the Surrounding Districts**

The second indicator determined for the areas having gentrification potential is previously existed urban regeneration implementations around the related urban area. Regarding Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods in this respect, it is seen that at the northern part of the neighborhood Söğütözü and Beştepe Neighborhoods, at the western part METU (Middle East technical University), at the southern part Yüzüncüyıl District, and at the eastern part Balgat District exist, which are, namely, universities and old settlements without apparently having any *gecekondu* problem - except for simultaneous *gecekondu* regeneration in Beştepe-. The only areas facing this problem in this district seem to be the adjacent neighborhoods of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak in which urban regeneration have seemed apparently indispensable by means of their central location.

- **Low housing values**

The third indicator seems to be low housing values. Before urban regeneration in these neighborhoods, one or two-storey *gecekondus* have existed almost all parts of the neighborhoods which have seemed to be deprived essential infrastructure services; therefore, housing values in the neighborhoods have become low. Consequently, this indicator is a significant demonstration of gentrification potential in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods.

- **High rate of renters**

Another indicator, demonstrating the potential of gentrification in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, is high rate of renters. Generally, residents in the area owned and settled on their own land -in their *gecekondus*-. Therefore, tenancy rate

seemed to be not high in these neighborhoods. As a result, this indicator for gentrification potential seems to be not valid for these neighborhoods.

- **Preference of famous and well-known people to move into the area**

In addition, famous or well known who people prefer to live in the area is another indicator for gentrification potential in the area. The people, who are famous and well-known in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, are namely politicians. The preference of people having political identity was shaped considering introduction of Osman Pepe, who had leaded some of the constructions of apartment blocks in the neighborhoods, for newly constructed urban environment to his politician or parliamentarian friends. In an interview carried out with a resident living in one of these apartments, the move of well-known politicians into the neighborhoods is explained in the interview, carried out with (I10), as:

Four apartment blocks, undertaken by Osman Pepe as the contractor, were constructed through the establishment of an incorporated company which consisted of 72 members of ‘Virtue Party’ (Fazilet Partisi) parliamentarians. The construction was completed between 2001-2003. Abdullah Gül was one of the first people moving into this neighborhood. Later on, Abdüllatif Şener came to the area, and Bülent Arınç lived for a long time in the neighborhood. In addition, Fatma Şener lived for a while and moved to another district.

As seen in the interview, well-known politicians have preferred to live in these neighborhoods, and they have started to attract new people to move into the area, which shows the existence of gentrification potential in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods.

- **Becoming the new fashion place with the increasing reputation**

Another indicator for the occurrence potential of gentrification is the perception of the area as fashion place and its increasing reputation. This indicator has significantly been seen for Çukurambar and Kızılırmak neighborhoods, and in each stage of regeneration, new commercial activities, business centers and shopping areas are positioned in the neighborhoods as new land uses. Nowadays, these neighborhoods have started to refer as new fashion place of Ankara. For instance,

“Mado”, a restaurant having many branches around the World and in Turkey, opened its biggest branch in Kızılırmak Neighborhood which has attracted many people from around Ankara. In addition, there are also favorite and famous branches of others such as “Liva”, “Fırıncı Orhan”, “Sütiş”, “Teppanyaki”, “Big Chefs”, “Erzincan Mandıra”, “Pelit”, “Günaydın” in these neighborhoods. When a web research is done to find beautiful and luxury cafes or restaurants, the names of places in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods come at the top of the list. A person, İnce (2013), has shared his opinions in his blog named “the best refreshment places in Ankara” as:

Since I have generally been around Çukurambar, I have tried all the places in the neighborhood. “Fırıncı Orhan” is by far the best one among them. My mostly preferred place with its market and café bistro parts has made me happy almost all the time. Bakery products and the market involves high quality and original foods.

In addition, one of the comments for Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods in terms of its reputation of including the best refreshment areas, Mustafa (2014), emphasizes that “Çukurambar district, in which central offices of political parties exist and party parliamentarians live, the best elegant and decent places can be found”. Additionally, another comment for Teppanyaki restaurant in Çukurambar interpreted by Şendere (2011) praises the place, located on the refreshment hype corridor of Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road, as:

I have been in Ankara in previous week. In one day of my trip to the place that I have lived for five years, I was invited to a marvelous restaurant named ‘Teppanyaki Alaturka’ which has been the new address of flavor opened in Çukurambar.

Apart from the refreshment activities responding the needs of mostly upper middle or high income people in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak, one of the factors that makes these neighborhoods fashion place is “Next Level” shopping mall, which was started to operate in 2013. The remarkable characteristic of this shopping mall is the existence of trademarks that can only be afforded by high income people; therefore, investors of “Next Level” preferred Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods because of both the central location and the outstanding potential of this area as new

fashion place of Ankara. One of the comments raised for “Next Level” shopping mall in a website (2013) seems as a proof for that these neighborhoods have become fashion places of Ankara as mentioned below:

Go and see “Next Level” in Ankara which is one of the highest level standard shopping mall in Turkey even if you do not shop. This shopping mall, established for the people in Ankara having high income level, has also provided the opportunity of employment to many people.

In addition, preference of many business centers for their operation in these neighborhoods and excessively high rents in the area prove that Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak seems to be a fashion place for also private sector and business centers in Ankara which will be elaborated in detail in sustainability section.

In summary, Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods have become new fashion places of Ankara in which outstanding trademarks as cafés or restaurants and offices of private companies in business centers have preferred to operate. All these new activities in the area, initiated after urban regeneration by means of its potential of existence of high income people, have contributed not only to the reputation of these neighborhoods, but also to gentrification potential in the area.

Consequently, as seen in Table 9, six of seven indicators, determined for gentrification potential of these neighborhoods, are observed in the area. As a result, there has been a potential of gentrification in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods, and the process has inevitably been experienced.

**Table 8. Testing the Indicators for the Potential of Experiencing Gentrification for Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods**

<b>The Indicators for the Potential of Experiencing Gentrification</b>	<b>Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods</b>
High architectural or land value	✓
Closeness to city center	✓

**Table 9 (continued)**

Implementations of urban regeneration in the surrounding districts	✓
Low housing values	✓
High rate of renters	X
Preference of famous and well-known people to move into the area	✓
Becoming the new fashion place with the increasing reputation	✓

After the evaluation of indicators for the potential of gentrification in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods, it is significant to examine also the indicators of the areas that have already experienced gentrification for these two neighborhoods.

- **Displacement**

The first indicator to examine the area that has experienced gentrification is displacement. There are two different types of displacement in the areas of gentrification: voluntarily and involuntarily experienced. According to Dündar (2003), *gecekondu* residents mostly have difficulties in affording ordinary costs of apartment block which they owned after urban regeneration, and renters are obliged to come up against involuntary displacement. Other reasons of involuntary displacement are the adaptation problem between existing residents and new comers, and inconvenience of newly constructed residential units to the life style of *gecekondu* residents. On the contrary, voluntary displacement occurs for the expectation of acquiring share from urban rent. *Gecekondu* residents, whose existing properties are replaced with luxury high-rise apartment blocks, leave from the area voluntarily to benefit the financial return of the gap created with increasing real estate values after regeneration. The removal of existing *gecekondu* residents in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods is an example of voluntary displacement

since almost all the lands in the neighborhoods belonged to *gecekondu* residents demonstrated by their land deed. Therefore, leaving from the area by selling the land, excessively increased in value, to the contractor in the process of urban regeneration was considered as a golden opportunity, and most of land owners leaved from these neighborhoods voluntarily since selling the existing property and purchasing several apartment blocks from various peripheral districts in Ankara seemed more profitable. According to the interview carried out with a resident in Çukurambar (I9), who can be exemplified as the fact that voluntary displacement has been experienced in the area, it is mentioned that:

Each landowner left from the area by making profit without being unhappy. They bought several apartments from Etimesgut and Sincan with the money they gained from selling one apartment from this neighborhood. Therefore, they both provided their children the opportunity to own an apartment and got revenue by renting these apartments.

Consequently, displacement as an indicator of gentrification has been experienced in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak neighborhoods. In Turkey, urban regeneration implementations apparently generate many loses for especially landowners depending on the agreement with administration or contractor for various reasons. The remarkable point here is that gentrification seems to have occurred voluntarily in the area which can be explained by means of landowners' economic profit. The details of this circumstance will be elaborated in following sections.

- **Increasing Real Estate Values**

Increasing real estate values is the second indicator of gentrification which seems to be considered as the beginning and continuation of urban regeneration. The evaluation of this indicator can be made for the land -the parcel that *gecekondu* resident has, because the valuable property is the land in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak, not the real estate constructed on that land as *gecekondu*. Considerable differences existed, in terms of the revenue that landowners acquired, between the ones who sold their land at the initiation of urban regeneration and following years after regeneration in terms of continuously increasing real estate values in

Çukurambar and Kızılırmak. Consequently, this indicator is valid for these related neighborhoods in the analysis of gentrification

- **Increasing Taxes**

The third indicator is the increasing taxes which can be considered as the taxes that residents in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods pay. The taxes that new comers after regeneration have paid is considerably differentiated from the ones that old residents have paid living in *gecekondu* settlements, since new residents are high income people, accordingly their assets are also much more than *gecekondu* residents. In addition, since real estate values of new apartments in the neighborhoods have been excessively high, real estate taxes have also been too much. Therefore, the indicator of increasing taxes also proves that gentrification has seemed to be experienced in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods.

- **Decreasing Intensity of Poverty**

Another indicator as a demonstration of the occurrence of gentrification is the decreasing intensity of poverty which was also observed in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. Old *gecekondu* residents seem to be generally employees and civil servants as low income people. However, they gained high financial revenue after urban regeneration by means of the increase in land values in the neighborhoods. Their increasing revenues and decreasing intensity of poverty were arisen by benefiting rental income from the properties in the neighborhood and possession of several real estates from different parts of Ankara. Furthermore, the professions of new comers have been more influential in public and private sector as high income residents. Therefore, it can be easily observed that poverty in the neighborhoods has decreased by the increase in land values after urban regeneration, and new comers to neighborhoods have been middle and upper-middle class people. The interview, carried out with Çukurambar Neighborhood Mukhtar, (I3), demonstrates that the decrease in poverty by the increase in land values of *gecekondu* landowners as:

In this neighborhood, *gecekondu* landowners have almost had three apartments. The people owning four or five apartments also exist in minority. Today, if they want to sell these apartments, each one is priced as 500,000 TL, meaning 1,500,000 TL in total for a *gecekondu* landowner. Can you imagine that a *gecekondu* landowner, having monthly 800 TL retirement pension, would have had a property valuing 1,500,000 TL in a while.

In addition, Çukurambar Neighborhood Mukhtar (I3), mentions that:

There is a landowner in our apartment block who owned three apartments after urban regeneration. He sold one of them 12 years ago, in 2002, for a certain amount of money, and bought a five-storey apartment block from Sincan. He also gave his name to apartment block.

As seen in these interviews, poverty of *gecekondu* landowners in these neighborhoods, who got mostly minimum wage, decreased by the increase in land values. Besides, Çağlar (2013) explains how much the income level of new comers to Çukurambar and Kızılırmak neighborhoods is high in the research carried out in TEPAV (Economic Policy Research Foundation in Turkey) as:

At first, I regarded average rental price of 4+1 apartments from the web site of Hürriyet Emlak as 2500 TL. If you are looking for an apartment in these neighborhoods, you cannot succeed to find 2+1, apartments generally consists of four, five or six rooms. So, I regarded the price of apartments with four rooms for the living of one parent and three children. Then, in calculating TÜFE (Consumer Price Index), I regarded the assumption of Central Bank for how much of monthly revenue of a family is spent to housing which reveals as 15%. In other words, regarding monthly spending of a family as 15% of total income and the average rent as 2500 TL, average income of a family in these neighborhoods is monthly 17,000 TL, and annually 204,000 TL, meaning 113,000 \$. Therefore, annual income per person of five people consisted in a family corresponds to 23,000 \$.

The accuracy of such an estimation for annual income of residents in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods might seem to be debatable; however, it is certainly true that average income of new comers in the neighborhoods is excessively high. Consequently, the income of landowners has increased by means of increasing land values after regeneration, and new comers have already been high income people.

Consequently, decreasing intensity of poverty has been observed as an indicator of gentrification in this area.

- **Special urban land uses**

The fifth indicator is the increasing number of special urban land uses after regeneration as observed in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. The number of private schools has increased, and new luxury commercial and leisure time activity areas have been opened in the neighborhoods which have apparently become the first places that come to mind for café or restaurants addressing to high income groups as elaborated in detail in the section of “becoming the new fashion place with the increasing reputation”. In addition, the number of private schools, private educational etude centers and high priced private kindergartens has increased after regeneration to respond educational demand of increasing population. In addition, three private high school have been added to one existing high school, four private primary school to two existing primary school, and five private kindergartens have been opened in these neighborhoods after regeneration.

Consequently, different land uses in the neighborhoods such as new commercial activities and educational facilities emerged after urban regeneration, which seems to demonstrate an indicator for gentrification.

- **Cultural and ethnic diversity**

Existence of ethnic and cultural diversity after urban regeneration is another indicator for gentrification. Ethnic diversity issue has not apparently been the subject of these neighborhoods. Nevertheless, cultural diversity has been considered in terms of two aspects for the area. The first is in between old residents and new comers, and the second is in between conservative people and modern people who move into the neighborhood after urban regeneration. Between conservative new comers, who came to the area initial years of urban regeneration, and old residents, any considerable conflict has not been observed. On the other hand, together with the 4<sup>th</sup> stage of gentrification, which will be elaborated in following sections, not only conservatives, but also modern people have started to move into Çukurambar and

Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. Sometimes, conflicts have also seen in the area between these two groups, which is exemplified by a resident living in Gökteşehir Residences in Çukurambar (I11), as:

I am living in Gökteşehir Residences. In our block, one specific day was determined for women about the use of swimming pool upon the request of conservative dwellers. The women, who want to use the pool together with her husband, can also use within the days specific to men; but, in the days for men, conservative men come to the pool as a group. Therefore, it is impossible to go to the pool with your wife comfortably. Furthermore, there was a tennis court within the boundaries of the site. Again the conservative people wanted to transform it into football field; but, the modern people living in the site objected to such a transformation for the reason of where to play for their girls within the site. In our block, we have frequently experienced such conflicts between conservative and modern groups of people.

As seen in this example, the reason of social conflict and cultural diversity between the residents in the neighborhoods seems to be different world-views of conservative and modern people. In other words, traditional way of thinking and particular life style of conservatives and living of modern people focusing on more contemporary perspective might have come to disagreements for some specific circumstances. Therefore, it seems to be concluded that cultural diversity seems to have existed in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak as an indicator of gentrification. As a result of the diversity, some conflicts have emerged between modern and conservatives living in the area.

- **Preference of politicians and well-known people to move into the area**

Another indicator is the preference of well-known people to live in the area and the general positive perception of residents living in other parts of Ankara. As mentioned before, the people having political identity, such as parliamentarians have preferred to live in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. Considering the general regard of the people living other parts of Ankara, Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods are one of the most significant hype places in Ankara by means of particularly its commercial and business vitality.

- **Increasing income and education level**

Increasing income and education level is another indicator for gentrification. The income and education level of the people moved into these new luxury apartment blocks in these two neighborhoods after regeneration have been high. Therefore, as a result of increasing number of new comers to the area and the leave of most of the old residents from the area, income and education levels have inherently increased. Despite the deficient statistical data for income and education level in the neighborhoods, observations helped these findings to be inferred. There have been old gecekondu residents, particularly among women, who are not even literate. On the contrary, most of the new comers, both women and men, have graduated from higher education, and they have also given importance to the education of their children. Therefore, increasing education level as an indicator of gentrification has been experienced after regeneration in the area. On the other hand, the issue of increase in income level was analyzed in detail under the part of “Decreasing Intensity of Poverty”.

- **Increasing real estate values, price of rents and housing cost**

The real estate values in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods have incrementally increased, and they have reached to quite excessive levels. For example, an apartment in Çukurambar Neighborhood, which was sold with 175,000 TL in 2004, has increased its real estate value to 650,000 by 2014. In addition, in parallel with the increase in real estate values, price of rents have also increased. For instance, recently, it is difficult to find a 4+1 apartment under 2000 TL as daily rent. Besides, use costs of apartments have also increased after urban regeneration. Particularly, maintenance fees of apartment blocks reach to excessively high prices, because of existence of swimming pool or sauna in some of the luxury apartment blocks or sites and garden maintenance. Furthermore, most of the buildings in the neighborhoods were built approximately 15 years ago, meaning that rehabilitation of

physical condition is needed. Rehabilitation costs of buildings seems to be also high due to the necessity of compatibility of renewed buildings with the existing general image of these neighborhoods which has been created after urban regeneration. Consequently, increasing real estate values, price of rents and housing cost are the indicators for gentrification which have been observed in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods.

In conclusion, as seen in Table 10, all the total 16 indicators for the areas in which gentrification have occurred, except for two of them, have been observed in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods, meaning that gentrification has been experienced in these neighborhoods.

**Table 9. Testing the Indicators determined for the areas that have already experienced gentrification for Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods**

<b>Indicators determined for the areas that have already experienced gentrification</b>	<b>Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods</b>
Displacement	✓
Increasing real estate values	✓
Increasing taxes	✓
Decreasing intensity of poverty	✓
Special urban land uses (private schools, luxury commercial places and leisure time activity areas)	✓
Arrival of people who are interested in urban social amenities and cultural functions	✓
Cultural diversity	X
Ethnic diversity	✓
Conflict between old residents and new comers	X

**Table 10 (continued)**

Positive perception of the people living in other parts as hype place or fashion place for the area	✓
Preference of politicians and well-known people to move into the area	✓
Increasing education level	✓
Increasing income levels	✓
Increasing real estate values	✓
Increasing housing costs (condominium fee, cleaning etc.)	✓
Increasing price of rents	✓

Consequently, as a result of the evaluation of all these indicators for the selected case study of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, almost all indicators have been observed in the neighborhoods. Ultimately, the question of whether gentrification has occurred within the process of urban regeneration in these neighborhoods can be answered definitely as “yes”.

#### **4.1.2. Process of Gentrification in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods**

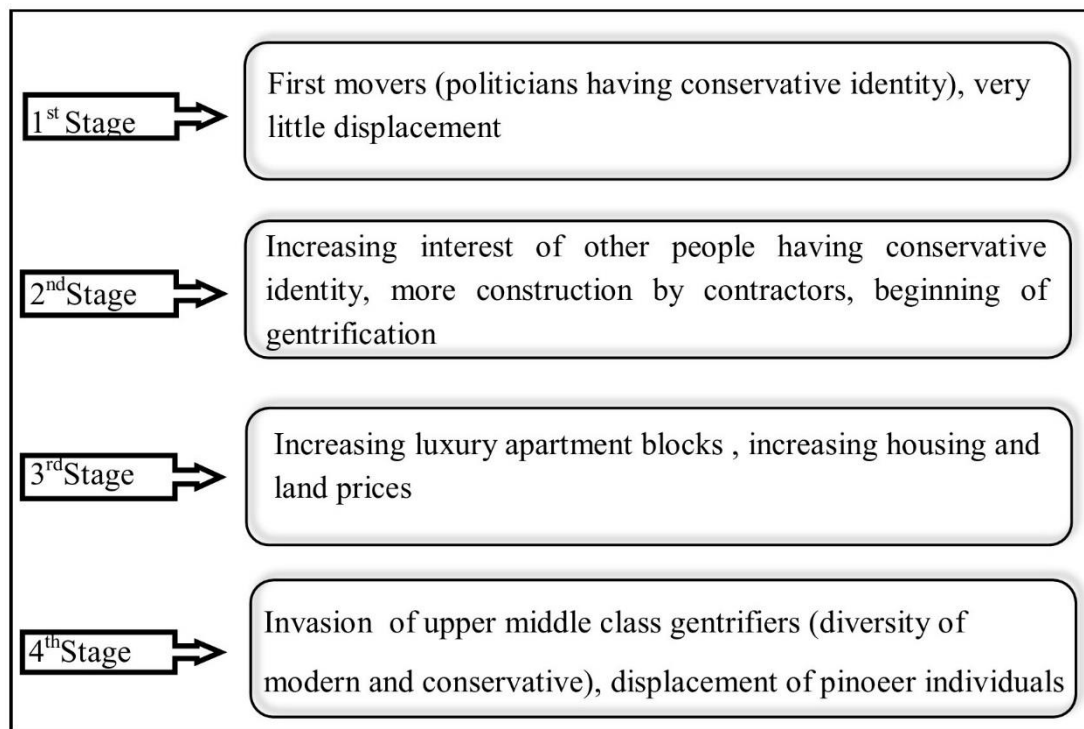
After determining indicators of gentrification in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, it is significant to state how the process of it has been experienced. In the first stage of gentrification, the people who came to the area for its attractive characteristics are called as first movers together with a very little displacement. The first stage of gentrification in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods was started to respond the need of housing for the people from political environment together with the attempt, supported by the news had come for the demolition, -due to a central position of the neighborhoods- of a contractor having a political identity for the construction of a site named “Parliamentarian Site”. One of the most significant characteristic of these politicians has been that they belonged to

conservative political parties. Any sort of high scale displacement has not been experienced in this stage.

The second stage of gentrification, valid for Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, is defined as drawing the attention of speculators for the area and the beginning of gentrification. Politicians' move into the area drew the attention of middle and upper middle class people and speculators, and more contractors started to initiate apartment construction in this area. In addition, because of conservative identity of first movers to the area, these neighborhoods have been started to call as "conservative neighborhood", which created the demand of the people, called themselves as conservative, by means of the thought of coexistence with each other. In response to this demand, contractors started to build more apartment blocks by compromising more landowners. Some of the landowners compromised with contractors were started to move to other districts in Ankara meaning that gentrification in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods started to emerge.

According to literature, physical improvements and increasing housing prices are observed at the third stage of gentrification. Similarly, in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, apartment blocks were started to be built as more luxury in response to increasing demand, and no matter how much the prices have increased, they have continued to be sold.

At the forth stage of gentrification, displacement of pioneer individuals and invasion of upper middle class gentrifiers emerge. At the initial years of urban regeneration in these neighborhoods, middle and upper-middle class conservative people move into the area. Later on, urban regeneration has continued and the people, who can be called as modern, also have come to the area. Thus, the people, who are both conservative and modern, have owned apartments from these neighborhoods close to city center and significant business centers of Ankara by paying excessive amount of prices. In the meantime, most of *gecekondu* residents could not stay in their living environment for the reasons which will be explained in further parts, and gentrification has significantly been experienced in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods (Figure 21).



**Figure 21. Gentrification Process in Çukurambar and Kızılrnak Neighborhood**

#### **4.1.3. Positive and Negative Effects of Gentrification in Çukurambar and Kızılrnak Neighborhoods**

It can be emphasized that gentrification was certainly experienced in Çukurambar and Kızılrnak Neighborhoods depending on determined indicators and experienced processes. Another significant question here is whether gentrification has created a positive or negative impact on the neighborhoods. For the answer of this question, the chapter in which the theory of gentrification explained will be benefited. Firstly, positive, and then negative effects of gentrification on Çukurambar and Kızılrnak Neighborhoods will be explained. The first positive effect of gentrification, created in these neighborhoods, is the increase in economic opportunities. Many commercial activities and business centers selected these neighborhoods for their activities which have made the economy of the neighborhoods revitalized. In the meantime, low skilled workers were needed for these new working areas, and old residents living in the neighborhoods beforehand responded this need. The second positive effect for the areas experiencing gentrification is the increase in municipal services. In

Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods, municipal services have increased after urban regeneration, particularly observed in transportation services. Another positive effect is the decrease in social isolation and crime rates. In Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods, such a situation has not been experienced, because the old residents living in these neighborhoods with new comers have not got any problem of social exclusion. In addition, crime rate has not also been high in the area. Besides, it is defended that educational opportunities increase by means of gentrification. However, the number of educational opportunities in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods increased for only new comer high income groups, since educational amenities, recently been opened after regeneration, have been private educational institutions. Besides, another positive effect that gentrification causes in is rehabilitation of properties and the increase in image. In Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods, *gecekondus* were demolished and luxury apartment blocks have been constructed instead, which has increased the image of the area. Decreasing urban sprawl and infill of vacant areas in inner cities is another positive effect of gentrification which cannot be evaluated for Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods. Another positive effect is cultural diversity and social mixing in the area. Cultural exchange has been experienced in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods between old residents and new comers, which has also created the opportunity for old residents to develop themselves.

After the evaluation of positive effects, negative effects of gentrification are also needed to be analyzed. Displacement is the primary negative effect of gentrification. Although displacement has been experienced in a voluntary manner for old residents in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods, unfavorable results have also been experienced. In other words, most of the old residents living in this area have left their living environment voluntarily, however they have still been missing their previous neighborhood relationships, vineyards and orchards, which can be considered as the psychological impact of gentrification. Besides, involuntary displacement also been experienced in between tenants. Another negative effect of gentrification can be defined as homelessness, but in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods this factor is not valid within the process of urban regeneration. On

the contrary, landowners had one single property with a *gecekondu* on it, and after the increase in rent in the area, they had the right to own more than one apartment block. Another negative effect that can be observed between old residents and new comers is community resentment and conflict between them. Such kind of a negative effect has not been experienced in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. In addition, loss of affordable housing constitutes another negative effect that has been experienced in these neighborhoods. Initially, incrementally increased housing prices in the area addressed to middle or upper-middle class people; however, recently only upper class high income people can afford the residential units in these neighborhoods. Gentrification has also affected negatively commercial and industrial displacement as mentioned in the literature. In Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, local services were closed and replaced their function with luxury commercial services; for instance, neighborhood grocery stores have been closed in time, and big supermarkets were opened instead. As a result of replacement between old local services and luxury commercial centers, the costs have increased in the new service structure of neighborhoods, and they have become only addressing to high income people. Another negative effect is the population loss in the areas mentioned in the literature. In Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, population has not decreased after regeneration; on the contrary, an excessive increase in neighborhood population has been experienced together with the increase in building density.

In conclusion, after evaluating Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods through the indicators of gentrification, it is significant to mention that gentrification has experienced in these two neighborhoods. The gentrification process has been experienced incrementally specific to these neighborhoods. Since the aim is evaluating the success factors of the results of urban regeneration and one of the criteria for the evaluation of this success is gentrification, it has seemed significant to evaluate positive and negative effects of gentrification in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. Consequently, it is concluded that both positive and negative effects of gentrification have been observed in the area. However, since displacement, occurred as a result of gentrification, has almost completely been

experienced voluntarily in the neighborhoods, it can be stated that gentrification has not destructively affected the people living in these two neighborhoods.

#### **4.1.4. Evaluation of Gentrification Processes in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods Regarding Winners and Losers**

In Turkey, gentrification process, taken place in the process of urban regeneration, has mostly seen as involuntary displacement and seen in the areas that socially and economically disadvantageous groups live, which has continuously been criticized by scholars. Particularly, gentrification in different district of İstanbul has been a significant demonstration for this statement. For instance, involuntary displacement in Ayazma-Tepeüstü, Tozkoparan and Başbüyük drew the reaction of many scholars from various diciplines. In addition, the victimization and losses of old residents living in these areas have subjected to different researches. On the other hand, the effects of gentrification have not just revealed as a destructive process generating losers. In other words, as a consequence of gentrification, which sometimes causes voluntary displacement, unsatisfied and displeased actors have not existed in some instances, and an urban regeneration is implemented as the way that all the actors win economically. In this section, firstly the actors in the process of urban regeneration in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods will be explained; and then, winner and loser actors will be discussed. The evaluation will be made through actors in an economically based manner.

Later on, the reason why the quantity of winners or losers changes in the process of gentrification different areas will be examined through selected four example from İstanbul to make comparison between those areas and Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods.

##### **4.1.4.1. Actors in Urban Regeneration Process of Çukurambar ve Kızılırmak Neighborhoods**

In the procedure of urban regeneration, different actors take part in the process at different stages. The process of urban regeneration is based on a multi-actor and multi-sector colloboration. In the analysis of regeneration in Çukurambar and

Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, related actors can be classified into six main headings. The first one has been, namely, old residents who were living in the area before urban regeneration as landowners or renters. The second actor group has consisted of developers who have managed the construction process as a whole from the very beginning to the end. In the regeneration of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, contractors and building companies have played the role of developers for new construction processes. Thirdly, new residents in the area have been another actor group including buyers and renters who moved to newly built residential units after regeneration by purchasing the house or paying rent for it. Later on, another critical actor has been Metropolitan Municipality as public sector shareholder within the process by cooperation with developers or building companies. In determining Metropolitan Municipality as winner or loser in the process of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, it is remarkable that it has significantly had the power to get DOP and KOP from private properties. Then, another actor group seems to be real estate agencies playing the role of being mediator for purchase and sell of residential units. Finally, land speculators has been another actor within the process who use their existing capital on private property before transformation and then sell it to make more profit in case that the area is about to be regenerated.

Initially, one of the actors in urban regeneration process of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods are old residents in earlier *gecekondu*s. Landowners are one side of old residents who had their own land. They bought the land from the villagers of Balgat as infield; later on, they constructed a *gecekondu* in an illegal manner to their own property. When regeneration of old *gecekondu*s started, old residents became shareholders in this process, since they gave their land to developers in return for more than one apartments from newly constructed apartment block. Besides, renters can also be called as old residents in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak, and they are a side of the winner-loser analysis of regeneration in the area. Renters were the people who settled in *gecekondu* by paying monthly to landowner, and they were also affected from the demolition of their rental *gecekondu*s in urban regeneration process.

In urban regeneration, developers have been responsible from being financial provider and manager of building construction on the land of demolished *gecekondu*s. Contractors and building companies constitute two different types of developers. Small scale developers operating individually in speculative housing (*yap-sat*) system in which the land is obtained by contractor for multi-storey apartment block in return for the share of housing units (50% generally), and the contractor gets the remaining housing units. This method of housing supply gives small investors the possibility of constructing high-rise apartment blocks with 10-20 units without necessitating too much initial investment and selling apartments during the construction process as well. Developers demand to take part in regeneration of *gecekondu* areas close to near access roads, near prestigious residential neighborhoods or urban recreational areas (Dündar, 2001). In Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, most of *gecekondu* regeneration projects have been implemented through contractors who negotiated the landowners and made agreement for demolishing *gecekondu* and for the construction of an apartment block on the newly produced parcel. In the analysis of actors, contractors will be categorized as winner, and also as loser in different cases.

Another developers in this process are building companies which attempt to the most advantageously located *gecekondu* areas to make profit through the construction of high-rise prestigious residential neighborhoods. In addition, building companies also have political influence and financial power to solve disagreements about properties in *gecekondu* areas and bureaucratic problems (Dündar, 2001). The construction of high rise and quite prestigious residential units, commercial centers, shopping malls or business centers have been undertaken by building companies in these neighborhoods. In addition, building companies have almost never been seen as loser economically within the process of urban regeneration.

New residents are another actor group classified as buyers and renters in regeneration processes. When new apartment blocks are built, contractors or building companies have to sell the apartments to make profit from the construction that they manage. New people who want to purchase those newly built residential units are named as buyers, and some other people who want to rent are called as renters. In urban

regeneration in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods, buyers have been winner or loser depending on different cases; however, people living in this area as renters have been determined as loser economically in any case.

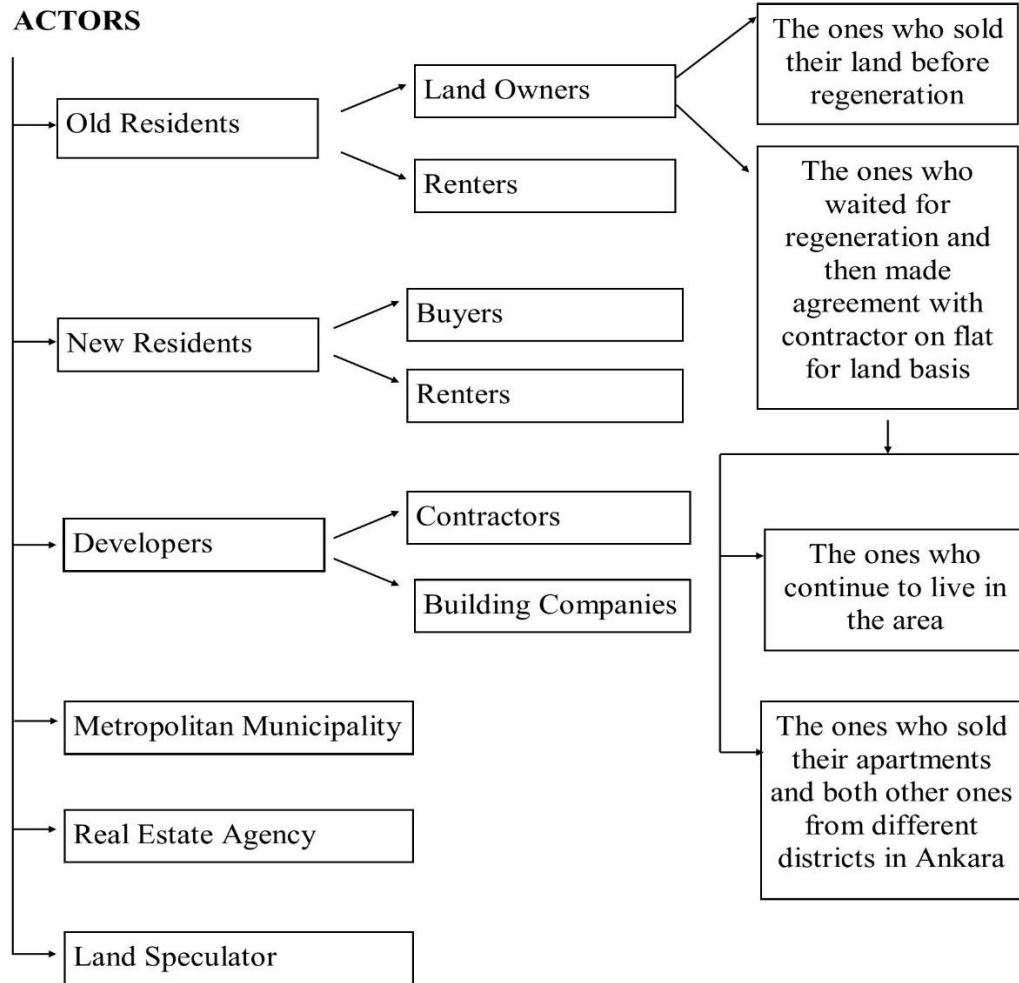
Another actor is Metropolitan Municipality in regeneration of these neighborhoods having the authority of plan making, plan changes, site selection, determination of new density and development rights of newly built apartment blocks, business centers or commercial centers. Metropolitan Municipality of Ankara has been winner economically in any circumstances by means of its plan making and changing authority. In these neighborhoods, Metropolitan Municipality has used its authority as making plan changes on previously assigned open public space or public service area on plans, then has made agreements with especially building companies for the construction of prestigious residential apartment blocks, or business centers. In the end, Metropolitan Municipality has got its previously determined share after construction which puts it to the winners' side in the process.

Real estate agencies stand as another actor group in regeneration processes serving as mediators in purchase and sale or rent the real estates by presenting real estates such as residential or commercial units, or lands to the customer. If they succeed to make customer buy or rent, they get a previously determined monetary share as brokers. In Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods, developers have constructed new apartment blocks and authorized real estate agencies to sell the residential units in return for a percentage share revealed from the activity of sale. Real estate agencies of these two neighborhoods have also locational advantage in terms of high financial returns from excessively valuable properties in the area emerged after regeneration.

Finally, land speculators are the actors to be referred as winner or loser in urban regeneration who use their capital to buy lands before regeneration by means of their visionary thinking. They get the land from a quite low price than it would become in future. When local government decides those lands to be regenerated, land speculators have the position of being landowner at the initiation of the process to make extra profit from their previous investments. In case of Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak urban regeneration process, it is impossible to define land speculators as

loser, since they put themselves to an economically advantageous position by purchasing *gecekond* lands and selling very profitably after regeneration for high-rise apartment blocks. Figure 22 shows a brief summary of actors including win/lose cases economically.

### Winners and Losers in Terms of Economic Aspect in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods



WIN / WIN CASE	WIN / LOSE CASE	LOSE / LOSE CASE
Land Owners/Contractors	Land Speculator/Land Owners	Contractors (bankruptcy)/Land Owners
Buyers/Contractors	Metropolitan Municipality/ Land Owners	Contractors/Land Owners (residential units that have not been regenerated yet)
Real Estate Agency/ Contractors	Buyers/New Residents (Renters)	
MetropolitanMunicipality/ Building Companies	Land Owners/Building Companies	

**Figure 22. Analysis of Actors Including their Win-Lose Cases in terms of Economic Aspect in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods**

#### **4.1.4.2. Evaluation of Winners and Losers Actors Depending on the Interviews Carried out in the Neighborhoods**

Winners & losers analysis in this research is evaluated considering the economic and contextual conditions of that time. This analysis seems not stable in terms of its inferences, and it differs according to time and various variables. Winners & losers analysis repositions itself and differs considering any  $t_0$  time in future. In other words, the actors, assigned as winner at any  $t_0$  time, might be evaluated as loser in future. Therefore, this analysis involves winner & loser determination of actors between the period of 2013 and 2014. To evaluate the actors of urban regeneration in this research as winner or loser, the interviews carried out with different people are benefited. The discussion is performed in terms of economic aspect due to the guidance of interviewees. In addition, actor group of renters, who were living in the area before urban regeneration, is leaved out of the coverage of research.

Considering above mentioned explanation; in this section, economically winner and loser actors, revealed after urban regeneration in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak neighborhoods, will be analyzed by classifying them into three main groups. In the first group, both two actors win simultaneously (W/W); in the second one, one side of the actors wins and other side loses (W/L); and in the third one, both two actors lose simultaneously (L/L).

##### **4.1.4.2.1. Win & Win Case**

Landowners in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak neighborhoods make agreement with the contractor depending on flat for land basis for urban regeneration, who are the primary actors for W/W case. Within the framework of this collaboration, contractor makes all the landowners on the related construction area came together to reach an agreement. This agreement is shaped depending on the sharing between landowner and contractor with the 50 percent of newly constructed apartment block for both sides. As observed in the interviews made for the research, in such an agreement between contractor and landowner, both sides win, namely, they make profit economically. For example (I4), who was living in Çukurambar Neighborhood in

*gecekondu* before regeneration and has continued to live in there also after regeneration, summarizes the economic dimension of urban regeneration as:

We migrated to Çukurambar Neighborhood in 1970 through our relatives, and then constructed firstly a single-storey *gecekondu*. Later on, we added one more storey to our *gecekondu* for our son to settle in. At the end of 1990s, when we heard the rumor that our *gecekondus* were about to be regenerate, we firstly resisted to give our *gecekondu*. But after that, we agreed with contractor depending on flat for land basis thinking that we could make profit from urban regeneration. We were ten right holders on the land that new apartment block would have been built, and then we dealt with the contractor depending on flat for land basis. After regeneration, contractor would have got half-share of new apartment block. The share that we got after regeneration was the share of 1.5 apartment and shop. We sold our shop and half share in order to allocate them to our children, and we have been living in our remaining one apartment share.

As seen in the example of (I4), both old *gecekondu* residents and contractor won economically after urban regeneration. The contractor sold his share at higher prices; so that, he could meet the construction cost and also make extra profit. In addition, the landowner (I4), had a luxury apartment block that have been living in, and revived their children economically by selling other share gained from urban regeneration.

Another condition that both landowner and contractor wins is the case that landowner waits for urban regeneration, then sells the shares of apartment or shop gained after regeneration, and buys apartments from other parts of the city. In this case, landowner makes an agreement with contractor depending on flat for land basis, and the contractor sells his shares to make profit. Besides, the landowner leaves Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods by selling the share that he earns after regeneration, and these landowners generally prefers to buy apartments from other districts such as Sincan and Etimesgut. In other words, their leave is completely about economic concerns, since they can afford approximately 4 or 5 apartments from other districts i.e. Sincan or Etimesgut substituted for approximately two apartments that they earn after urban regeneration in Çukurambar and

Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. Therefore, both he and his children get rid of paying monthly rental for their dwelling.

The relationship between the actors of contractor and buyer is another W/W case that both sides win. After contractors buy the land from landowners depending on flat for land basis and construct an apartment block on this land, they sell the share that they own after regeneration to buyers who want to live in the area. Buyers profit economically since they own an apartment block from a place which very close to city center before the increase in real estate prices in the area. In the meantime, when those buyers want to sell their apartments after several years, they have the opportunity to make mostly an almost 100 percent profit from their dwelling that they previously bought from the contractor. In addition, contractors also make profit economically since they want to sell their share to attempt other investments as soon as possible. The interview carried out with a resident, (I5), living in Çukurambar reveals that:

We bought our apartment block in this neighborhood in 2004 after its three year construction period. At that time, we paid 175,000 TL to the contractor; and today, if we want to sell this apartment block, its value is about 500,000 TL. I am quite satisfied from my investment and apartment block.

As mentioned in this example, contractor is categorized into the group of winner actors since he succeeded to find a buyer who brought a satisfactory profit at that time for his apartment block. In addition, buyers also win after urban regeneration process because of increasing value of their property over the years. As a result, both contractors and buyers win in this process.

Another relationship is in between the actors of contractor and real estate agencies in urban regeneration of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods that both two actors win economically. If contractor makes an agreement with real estate agency to sell apartment blocks gained after regeneration, this provides the opportunity to reach the larger masses of people to sell the apartments as soon as possible in the most profitable manner. In addition, real estate agencies also make more profit in mediation of purchase and sell of properties in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak

Neighborhoods than the profit made in the neighborhoods that real estate values are lower. Thus, the actors of contractors and real estate agencies are put in the group of W/W case.

Another pair of actors for W/W case constitutes with Metropolitan Municipality and building companies. As mentioned before, some blocks of Hayat Sebla Residences were constructed on the land which had been used as asphalt site and assigned as municipal service area in Development Plan. In addition, the land on which Gökteşehir Residences exist was determined as public space; however, Metropolitan Municipality became rightholder by making plan changes on this land to make it zoned for construction, and this actor made profit economically by selling apartments gained after regeneration. A considerable amount of share was also gained by construction firms of these residences, which made them earn large scale profits in return for managing all the construction process of this project.

#### **4.1.4.2.2. Win & Lose Case**

All the actors in urban regeneration of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods could not be classified into the group of winners; losers sometimes also existed in certain circumstances. Therefore, in this section, the cases, in which one of the actors is winner and the other one is loser, will be examined. The best example for the group of losers in this case are the landowners who sold their lands during regeneration. The landowners in this case could not wait for the completion of urban regeneration, and they sold their properties during urban regeneration instead of selling their apartment shares that they would have got after regeneration. The reason why these actors are included in the group of losers is that they earned less than the landowners who sold their shares after regeneration from considerably higher prices. In other words, although they did not lose anything economically, they failed to earn much more revenue as other landowners waited completion of urban regeneration. One of the old *gecekondu* residents (I1), identifies these group of landowners as:

In the process of urban regeneration in these neighborhoods, the reasonable and patient landowners won economically, but the landowners who sold their property as land before regeneration

could not earn too much. The people, waited for the construction of apartment blocks and sold afterwards, won much more money. For example, when my brother in-law sold his share as a land before regeneration, he could barely afford to buy only one apartment from Yüzüncüyıl district at that time, but, we was patient. Although we almost had the same share with my brother in-law, we earned one apartment and one shop after regeneration which corresponds to almost three apartments in Yüzüncüyıl District today.

In addition, the people -land specualtors-, who bought the lands of loser actors, are also called as winners in urban regeneration process. (I6), who is both an old resident of Kızılırmak Neighborhood and an entrepreneur, explaines two different types of land speculators in this area as:

Firstly, businessmen who have monetary power and secondly local people of Balgat who are inherited by their ancestors are two types of land speculators. These entrepreneurs started to collect the lands in the neighborhoods by making agreements with landowners when the rumors of urban regeneration was getting around. Since they did not also have economic concerns, they waited until those lands would have been increased in value. The common characteristic of these land speculators is that they were farsighted and did not have economic concerns.

As (I6) explained, land speculators can be called as winners and the people who could not wait for the completion of urban regeneration can be called as losers.

Another example for W/L case is the actors of landowners before regeneration and renters living in *gecekondus* of those landowners. In some cases, the *gecekondus* were rented and the owners started to live in other districts of Ankara. In time of urban regeneration for these neighborhoods, landowners made agreements with the contractor in exchange for new shares from the construction; besides, renters living in the area were obliged to leave. Therefore, such landowners are grouped in the category of winners economically, and renters are grouped as losers since they left their *gecekondus* close to city center and migrated to other *gecekondu* areas in other parts of Ankara.

The third actor group for W/L case consists of Metropolitan Municipaity and landowners. The reason why landowners consider themselves as loser is the share

hold by Metropolitan Municipality as DOP and KOP. In fact, these municipal shares are legal and necessary for the formation of public spaces in urban areas; however, the issue, which landowners complained about, is that Metropolitan Municipality made plan changes on some parts of Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods which had been assigned as open public space in previously made plans, and these areas were zoned for construction and new apartment blocks were established on these lands. One of the old residents in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods (I2), explains how he became loser against Metropolitan Municipality as:

I had 412 m<sup>2</sup> land in this neighborhood, 200 m<sup>2</sup> of my land was taken by Metropolitan Municipality as DOP and KOP. These deductions were also made from the lands of other people in an approximate ratio of 48% to reserve these lands for public use. I wish they remained as public spaces. However, plan changes were made in some areas to make them zoned for construction. Therefore, I think Metropolitan Municipality was unjust against us.

Depending on this perspective, if DOP and KOP shares would be taken less than 48%, landowners could mostly make much more profit. Contrary to landowners, considered as loser, Metropolitan Municipality, which has been the role of transforming public lands to residential and commercial uses through plan changes stands as winner within this process.

Contractors and building companies can be thought as alternatives to each other in urban regeneration considering the scale of construction. Therefore, the construction of particularly multi-storey high rise residences or business centers is undertaken by building companies rather than contractor. In Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods, Hayat Sebla Residences, Nova Tower, Gökteşehir Residences, the project named Sapphire Ankara instead of the construction known as steel cage (*çelik kafes*), constructions made on the area owned by Gazi University and then transferred to TOKİ are the examples that large building companies undertaken as a result of tender. As seen in these examples, the constructions with high costs and necessitating significant amount of capital has mostly been undertaken by building companies -called as winner in this process- to make profit. On the other hand, small

scale contractors -called as loser relatively- have not been able to compete with these building companies for such profitable projects.

In addition, another case for the condition of W/L actors in these neighborhoods consists of buyers of an apartment from these neighborhoods after regeneration and landowners standing on the position of being rightholder from newly constructed apartments. These landowners rented their apartment block and benefited from it as getting high monthly revenue, which makes them winner in the process of urban regeneration. On the other hand, residents living in these rental apartment blocks are positioned as loser due to high monthly rent costs mostly caused by closeness to city center and business centers or comfort of the residential units in the neighborhoods.

Another actor pair for W/L case is the landowners -namely winner in this process- of old *gecekondu* residents who create trouble in demolition of *gecekondu* even after getting the predetermined share from the regeneration; and building companies - namely loser in this process- offering money for the demolition of *gecekondu* even the landowners did not have any right (legal deed to own the property). Türkerler building company and landowners who had *gecekondu* in the land that the construction would have been implemented. Although these landowners have been able to get their right from another apartment block in the neighborhoods, they rejected the demolition of *gecekondu* and demanded more rights on the area. Since Türkerler, a well-known and reputable building company, did not want those *gecekondu* landowners to harm their reputation, the company accepted to pay the money that these landowners demanded. In this case, the landowner who owned *gecekondu* was winner economically, and building company was loser due to unjustly paid money.

#### **4.1.4.2.3. Lose &Lose Case**

In urban regeneration process of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak neighborhoods, there are some specific cases that both sides stand as loser. These L/L cases should not be generalized for the entire regeneration process of these two neighborhoods, but needed to be examined.

In Kızılırmak Neighborhood, landowners made an agreement to construct a new apartment block between each other. However, they could not find an appropriate contractor who could meet all the demands and desires of these landowners. In the end, a contractor declared that he would have met all of their demands; however, some troubles seemed to be emerged in the works of the contractor and he went bankrupt due to debts from other constructions. Therefore, this resulted in a long term construction process for the area. After years, the construction was finished, but it was observed that landowners did not want to give their rights. One of the landowners in this case (I7), explains this process as:

We bought our land from Kızılırmak Neighborhood in 1977. In 1980, we constructed our *gecekondu* on our land. We lived in this neighborhood for 24 years. Many contractors demanded our land in time of urban regeneration in these neighborhoods. Finally, we came to an agreement with a contractor and gave our lands as eight partners in 2004. Generally, agreements with contractors depend on 50% share of newly constructed apartment block in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. We also agreed with the contractor in that way. Then, in the construction process, we moved to other district as renter, and the contractor covered our rent expenses. We did not have any problem until that time. However, the construction was continuing quite slowly. The construction, which should have been finished depending on our agreement in 30 months, could not be finished somehow. Indeed, the contractor went bankrupt. Later on, the construction of our apartment block was finished, but the contractor did not want to give our shares. Then, we ended up in court. By 2014, we have not still got any part of our share from apartment block

As seen in this example, (I7) and other shareholders are losers in this process. The bankrupt contractor also could not make a considerable profit in urban regeneration that makes this actor loser.

Similarly, another example is the case that both landowner and contractor become loser. In this case, landowners want to sell their lands; however, the contractors, who have a previously obtained share on the land, cannot agree with each other. Therefore, the *gecekondus* of these landowners have never been regenerated. Landowners whose *gecekondus* could not be regenerated for 15 years and the contractors who failed to make an agreement with each other resulted in prevention

of the construction of new apartment block stand in the process as losers. For instance (I8), who still have *gecekondu* in the area mentions that:

We moved to Kızılırmak Neighborhood in 1973 from Çankırı. 167 m<sup>2</sup> of our land was remained after the giving the legal shares of DOP and KOP from total the 340 m<sup>2</sup> land. Our share would have been one apartment when our *gecekondu* was regenerated. However, the contractors could not make an agreement for our lands, because they also were rightholders o the land that new apartment block was about to be built. All the *gecekondu* landowners were regenerated in other parts of the neighborhood, but we still here.

As seen in this case, there are still landowners in the area who have been waiting for urban regeneration as namely losers in urban regeneration. Besides, the contractors have not been able to succeed in the initiation of construction in this case due to disagreements and to make profit, which makes them also loser in this process (Figure 23).



**Figure 23. A *gecekondu* Failed to Be Regenerate in Kızılırmak Neighborhood by 2014 due to Disagreements between Contractors**

Source: (Personel Archieve, 2014)

In conclusion, in the analysis of winner and loser actors economically for Çukurambar and Kızılrırmak Neighborhoods, it is observed that winners are quite more in number than the loser actors. The group of actors, namely losers, has not experienced financial loses; they have just earn less compared to other side of the pair. Consequently, urban regeneration in Çukuramabr and Kızılrırmak Neighborhoods seem to enable more or less financial benefits to most of the actors in the process.

#### **4.1.5. Four Areas in Which Gentrification Occured in İstanbul and their Comparison with Çukurambar and Kızılrırmak Neighborhoods**

In this section, the aim is to analyze the comparison between voluntary displacement in Çukurambar and Kızılrırmak Neighborhoods and involuntary displacement in Ayazma and Tepeüstü (Table 11), Tarlabası (Table 12), Tozkoparan (Table 13) and Başbüyük (Table 14), and to understand the reasons of differences between them. Before mentioning the comparison, brief introductory information will be stated for the regeneration areas in İstanbul. The first area, compared with Çukurambar and Kızılrırmak Neighborhoods, is Ayazma and Tepeüstü Neighborhoods in Küçükçekmece District within the context of urban regeneration processes. After the reaching an agreement and collaboration between TOKİ, İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Küçükçekmece Municipality, these neighborhoods declared as urban regeneration area in 2005. Homeowners in the area were placed to TOKİ apartments in Bezirganbahçe; yet, any solution could not be provided for renters. 40 percent of people who placed to Bezirganbahçe moved from the area due to adaptation problems (Türkün & Aslan, 2014).

**Table 10. Comparison between Ayazma-Tepeüstü and Çukurambar-Kızılrırmak in terms of Gentrification**

<b>Ayazma and Tepeüstü</b>	<b>Çukurambar and Kızılrırmak</b>
Involuntarily displacement	Voluntarily displacement

**Table 11 (continued)**

Implementation of urban regeneration through the declaration of the area as “urban regeneration area”	Implementation of urban regeneration through inner market mechanisms
Implementation of urban regeneration collaboration between TOKİ + Metropolitan Municipality + Local Government	Implementation of urban regeneration through the agreement between contractor and local dweller
An area that social exclusion is highly visible	Social exclusion is not experienced
Most of the constructions on public land	Constructions on private property lands
Local dwellers does not have any deed	Deeds are exist for local <i>gecekondu</i> dwellers
Relocation of local residents out of their existing living environment (to Bezirganbahçe)	Having the right to settle in newly built apartment block after the construction
Debiting existing residents in order to live in newly constructed residential units	Right to have apartment after construction without debiting due to high value of existing property of local residents

Source: (The information for Ayazma-Tepeüstü is compiled from (Türkün & Aslan, 2014))

The second area, compared with Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, is Tarlabası. This district was declared as urban regeneration area in 2006, and the ownership of properties in the area were replaced to existing property owners in 1990s and 2000s. Marginal groups and the people who were exposed to forced

migration were mostly living in the area. In addition, it is significant to mention that gentrification was experienced in the process of urban regeneration in Tarlabası (Türkün & Sarıoğlu, 2014).

**Table 11. Comparison between Tarlabası and Çukurambar-Kızılırmak in terms of Gentrification**

<b>Tarlabası</b>	<b>Çukurambar and Kızılırmak</b>
Emergence of settlements after 1990s	Emergence of settlements in 1960s
Migration to the area from Eastern Anatolia and Central Anatolia	Migration from Central Anatolia
Involuntarily displacement	Voluntarily displacement
Resistance of property owners against urban regeneration	Implementation of regeneration voluntarily
Any proof did not exist for the lands of local residents	Land owners had their deed
The authority to make <i>urgent expropriation</i> <sup>16</sup>	
Victimization particularly for renters	Victimization does not exist

Source: (The information for Tarlabası is compiled from (Türkün & Sarıoğlu, 2014))

<sup>16</sup> Urgent expropriation (*acele kamulaştırma* in Turkish) is regulated at the 27. Article of Expropriation Act and outstanding expropriation procedure is used in the presence of certain conditions (Arslanoğlu, 2013). Expropriation decision in this manner is taken by Council of Ministers.

Another gentrification area compared with Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods is Tozkoparan which was a planned social housing area in İstanbul. In 1960s, the area was assigned as *Gecekondu* Prevention Zone; in 1980s, housing cooperatives were established in the area; and in 2008, Tozkoparan was declared as urban regeneration area for the existence of indurable houses to earthquake. The protocol for urban regeneration implementations was signed between TOKİ, Güngören Belediyesi and İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality (Öktem Ünsal & Türkün, 2014).

**Table 12. Comparison between Tozkoparan and Çukurambar-Kızıllırmak in terms of Gentrification**

Tozkoparan	Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak
Declaration of the area as <i>gecekondu</i> prevention zone in 1960 for social housing construction	The sale of properties in the neighborhood by villagers of Balgat
Determining the area as earthquake risky and declaration as urban regeneration area	Urban regeneration through free market mechanisms
Low density in the area attracts urban regeneration for the desire to get extra rent	Low density in the area attracts urban regeneration
Any participatory process in urban regeneration for existing residents as right holders	<i>Gecekondu</i> residents actively participate in the process
Debating existing residents to make them have apartment in regeneration area	No debating exists

Source: (The information for Tozkoparan is compiled from (Öktem Ünsal & Türkün, 2014))

The final gentrification area for the analysis of comparison with Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods is Başbüyük Neighborhood. Implementations in this area was started with the protocol between TOKİ, İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality, and Maltepe Municipality for assigning the area as urban regeneration area. Particularly, it seems to be a gentrification project faced with the objections of old residents in the area without any deed or title deed (Şen & Türkmen, 2014).

**Table 13. Comparison between Başbüyük and Çukurambar-Kızıllırmak in terms of Gentrification**

Başbüyük	Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak
Private property + Municipality land + public land	Private property
Inefficiency of objections to urban regeneration since some part of the area belongs to municipality	No objection to urban regeneration
Debiting existing residents to make them have apartment in regeneration area	No debiting exists

Source: (The information for Başbüyük is compiled from (Şen & Türkmen, 2014))

Consequently, the fundamental difference between Çukurambar-Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods and other four districts is the way of experiencing gentrification. In Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods, urban regeneration has been implemented voluntarily, and scarcely any loser has not existed economically for several reasons. One of them is that whilst the land belonged to public or municipality in other examples; in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods, the land has been owned as private property. Therefore, the residents as shareholders in

the process have given their lands to the contractor in urban regeneration, and they have got excessively satisfactory revenues from their locationally advantageous lands as winners economically. On the other hand, private property lands have been very few in other four districts of urban regeneration; therefore, the right holders of those lands are given the opportunity to own an apartment by making them go into debt. However, financial situation of these right holders could not afford to get into debt; therefore, they have been obliged to leave from the area involuntarily. Furthermore, in these four districts, there are areas on which the authority of *urgent expropriation* existed due to declaration of the area as “urban regeneration area” or “risky area”. As a result, residents in these districts have not had the right to intervene in urban regeneration process. On the other hand, old residents in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods have been in close relation with contractors in every stage of urban regeneration. After mentioning the reasons that gentrification has occurred distinctively in different areas, it can be concluded that economic concerns generally affect the voluntariness of gentrification process. If old residents would be satisfied economically enough from regeneration, they will not beware to left their living environment. On the other hand, the ones, who could not satisfy economically and afford to buy apartment from another district, resist urban regeneration in order for not to be left from the area. Although the process should not be considered in terms of only economic concerns, the evaluation tends to be oriented towards the economic dimension since the area, in which gentrification occurred, has been constituted from economically disadvantageous groups and making economic profit after urban regeneration is the primary aim. Considering findings inferred from the interviews, almost all the actors of urban regeneration in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods has pleased and satisfied with the process; on the other hand, in the areas that has experienced economically disadvantageous process for old residents, urban regeneration seems to be unsatisfactory for the actors who are, namely, losers.

To sum up, the main aim in this chapter is examining gentrification process in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. Firstly, indicators of gentrification for these neighborhoods were determined in terms of the existence of gentrification

potential and the discussion of whether gentrification has occurred in the area or not. Secondly, four main stages of gentrification process in these neighborhoods were explained. Thirdly, positive and negative effects of gentrification on Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods were evaluated. Later on, gentrification process was examined considering winner and loser actors in the process through three different cases as win/win, lose/lose and win/lose. Finally, it was mentioned that gentrification process in these neighborhoods has created effects in the area different from other gentrification processes in Turkey, which was stated through four different gentrification cases selected from İstanbul. As a result of this chapter, it is concluded that gentrification has occurred in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods which has not create losers as in other examples in Turkey. On the contrary, almost all the actors in the process of urban regeneration have won economically.

#### **4.2. Sustainability Difficulties for Future in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods within the Context of Urban Regeneration**

One of the criteria, determined for evaluating the success of urban regeneration, is sustainability. Considering the findings inferred from previous sections, it is concluded that gentrification, as another success or failure criteria of urban regeneration, has not generated considerable number of losers in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods. In this section, it will be examined what the difficulties or problems in sustaining the condition, created after urban regeneration, are in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods. The discussion will be carried out upon some certain determined indicators since sustainability is a quite comprehensive concept to analyze. The indicators were specified considering fundamental problems that can be observed in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods.

The first indicator of sustainability in these neighborhoods is transportation. Insufficiency in transport infrastructure, emerged with the increase in density after urban regeneration, has generated difficulties for today and future in the area. The second one is housing sustainability. Continuously increasing housing prices and

maintenance costs have been considered as a sustainability problem for future in terms of income and affordability differences. The last indicator to evaluate sustainability in the area is the identity of place. Within the formation period of these neighborhoods after regeneration, a specific conservative identity has been created. The change in the identity of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak might be expected to create sustainability difficulties in time. After the analysis of these three indicators, some results will be concluded for the research.

#### **4.2.1. Transportation**

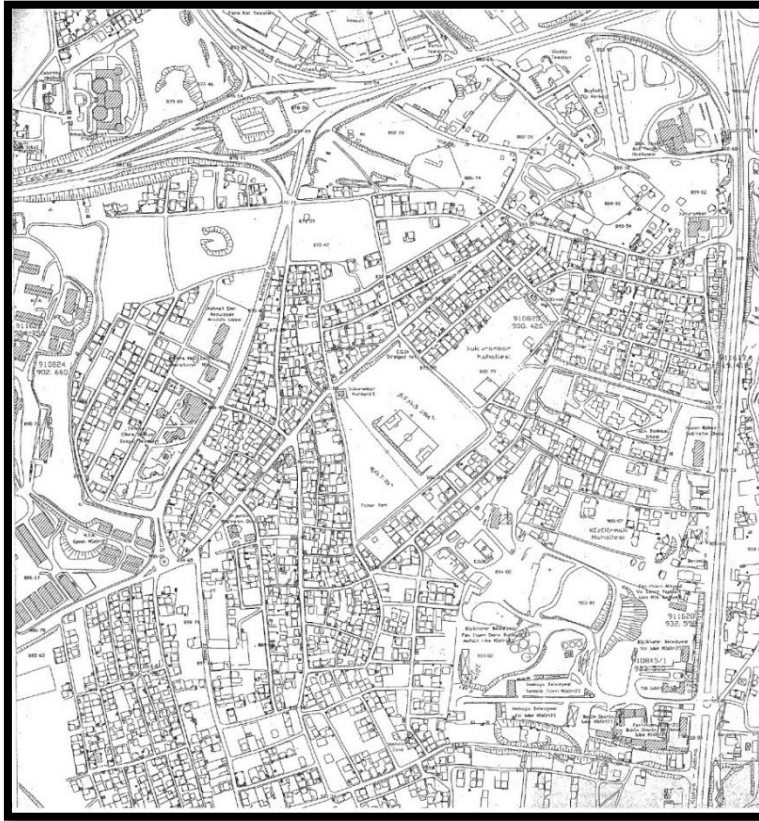
The first indicator for sustainability difficulties in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods is transportation. The fundamental reasons for this difficulty are uncontrollable increase in development density and insufficiency in existing transport infrastructure to respond the demand of increasing intensity of vehicle traffic. In addition, urban regeneration process have also been continuing today, and transport infrastructure of these neighborhoods, insufficient for even existing density, will inevitably create more extensive problems in future. In order to evaluate the increase in building density, residential areas in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods will be firstly analyzed. Secondly, the effects of business and commercial centers and then, open public spaces will be examined. Finally, the effects of health, education, religious facilities and public institutions will be revealed. All these analysis will be carried out through the help of the land use maps prepared for the area during the research. In the end, some inferences will be made for sustainability difficulties of urban transport.

##### **4.2.1.1. Residential Areas**

In this section, problems in urban transport in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, caused by the increasing housing density of high rise apartment blocks, will firstly be analyzed. Initially, land use distribution of housing areas in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods will be mentioned. Later on, population, density and storey heights will be examined; and finally, comparisons will be made

between intended urban layout in plan before urban regeneration and existing situation.

There were 1510 residential buildings in the area before regeneration. 94% of them were single storey and 3% of them good, 20% of them medium and 77% of them bad condition- (Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 1991). If the average household size was assumed to be 4.5, and 6795 people were living in the area. The housing density in the area was 160 people per hectare, and Floor area ratio was approximately 0.33 (Figure 24).



**Figure 24. The Base Map of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Gecekondu Neighborhood**

Source: (Tan-Erşahin, 2002)

The housing density, intended in 1984 Çukurambar-Karakusunlar Revision Development Plan, was 250-300 people per hectare, and floor area ratio was changing between 2.00 and 1.65.

Today, there are approximately 190 residential buildings in Çukurambar and 50 residential buildings in Kızılırmak Neighborhoods by the beginning of 2014 (Figure 26). 15 percent of these buildings are 5-6 storey and 80 percent of them are 9-10 storey. Exceptionally, 5 percent part consists of the buildings that have been built on the parcels which were subject to plan changes. These are Gökteşehir Residences in Çukurambar with 22-storey and two blocks, Hayat Sebla Houses in Kızılırmak with 27-storey and five blocks -one of them has still been under construction by the mid of 2014-. Another one is Nova Tower with 42-storey and one single block in Kızılırmak Neighborhood. In addition, a land, owned by Gazi University, transferred to TOKİ, and it was acquired by Türkerler Construction Company and planned to construct high rise buildings consisted of three blocks with the functions of residences and commercial activities. Furthermore, Next Level, with office and residence uses of three blocks under construction, is also consisted within the boundaries of Kızılırmak Neighborhood.

As a result, an approximate population of 25000 people for Çukurambar and 8000 people for Kızılırmak exist in the area by the beginning of 2014 considering all the constructed residential buildings. These populations involve only residents in the neighborhoods; the population, created by the customers and professionals of business centers, have not included in these numbers. Considering residential population, the housing density in the area has been inferred as 330 per people hectare. Before urban regeneration, the neighborhoods, consisted mainly of *gecekondu*s, had 160 people per hectare density. In the plan, density was increased to 250-300 people per hectare; however, despite the existence of under construction buildings, existing density has already exceeded the planned one and reached to 330 people per hectare (Figure 25).

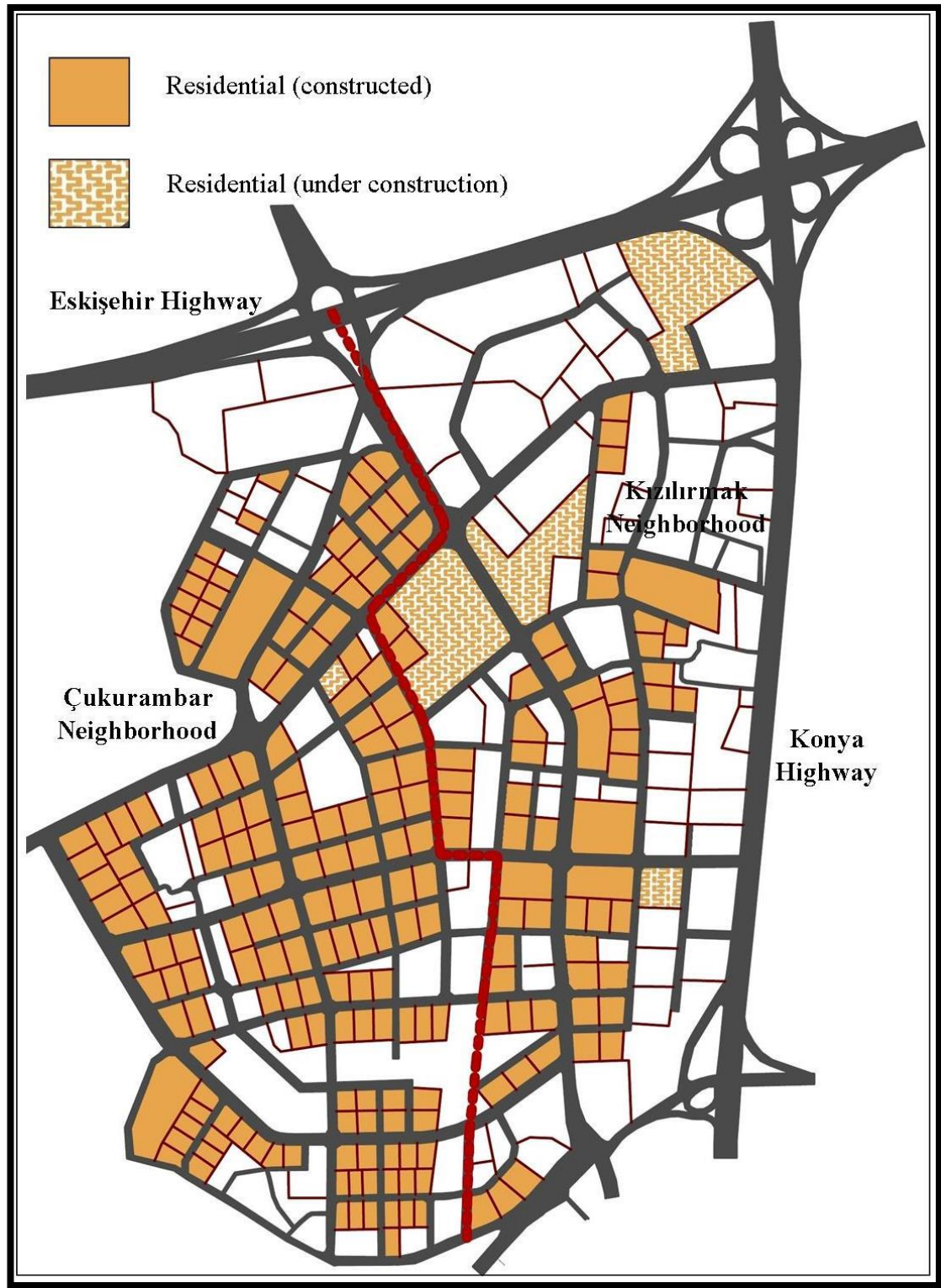
Consequently, residence construction projects, increasing storey heights and plan decisions, have made the housing density and population excessively increased. By the increase in population, the number of cars in traffic has also increased; therefore, existing transport infrastructure has become insufficient in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods due to increased density. Transport infrastructure, namely road and street network in the area, even insufficient for existing density, might

create further problems in future when all the constructions would be finished. Thus, sustainability difficulties in terms of urban transport caused by high density will be experienced.



**Figure 25. A view of High Rise Residential and Business Center Buildings in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods**

Source: (<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ankara/25111121.asp>)



**Figure 26. Residential Area of Çukurambar Kızılırmak Neighborhood**

Source: (Personal Drawing)

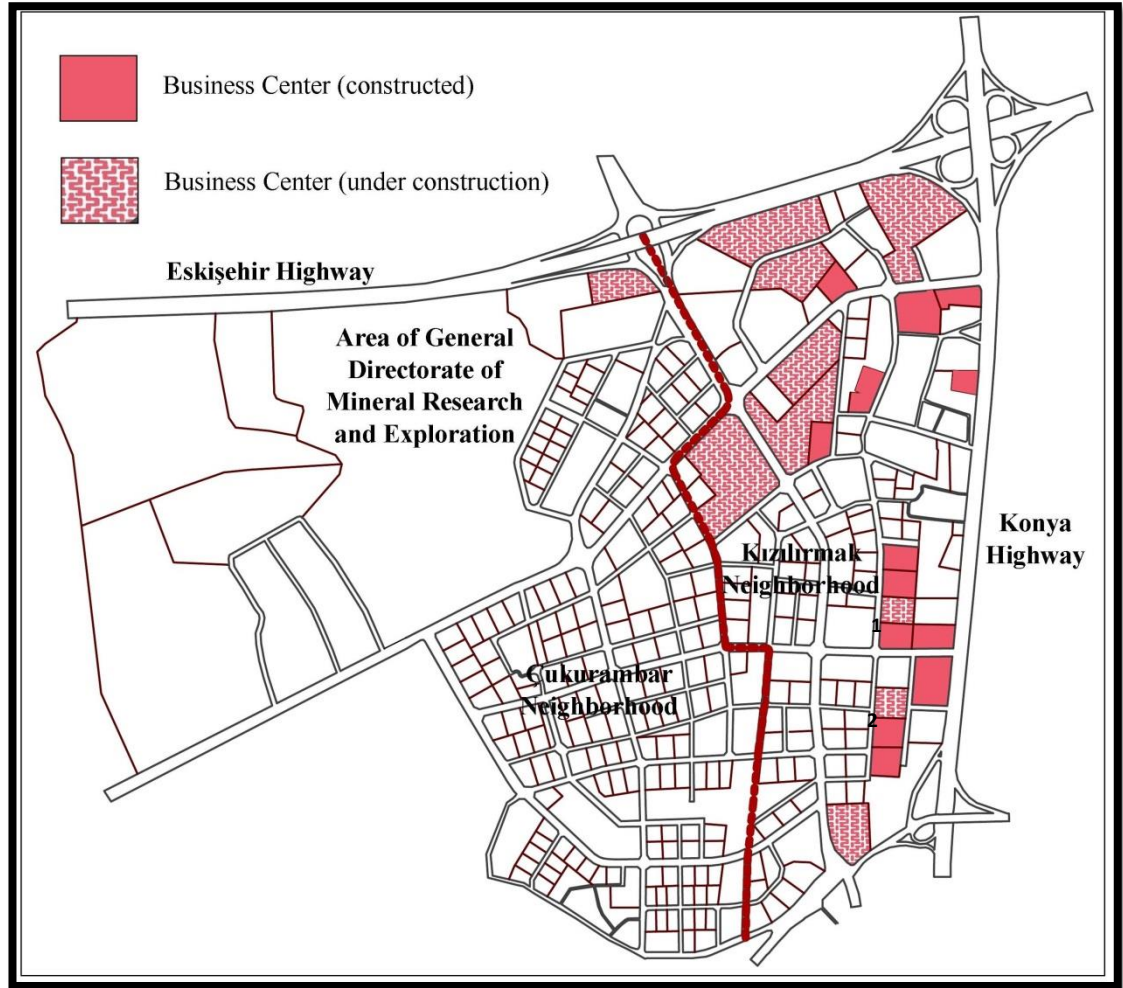
#### **4.2.1.2. Business and Commercial Centers**

Business centers and commercial activities in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak neighborhoods have caused the increase in building density which results also in problems on urban transport. In this part of the analysis, existing business centers and commercial activities will be analyzed in these neighborhoods. Firstly, business centers will be examined in terms of their number of buildings, storey heights and the daily population which has been contributed by these working areas. Later on, commercial activities in the neighborhoods will be analyzed and evaluated.

As seen in Figure 27, all the business centers, except for “Besa Tower” at the northern part of Çukurambar, were positioned in Kızıllırmak Neighborhood. There are 24 business centers having 15-storey or above in these two neighborhoods in total, 10 of which have still been under construction. For example, “Ulusoy Plaza” is a 15-storey business center containing stores at its ground floor. It includes approximately 52 offices, with 90% occupancy rate and approximately 450 personnels and professionals, and 9 stores. Besides, the number of people daily entering and exiting to “Ulusoy Plaza” is approximately 60. Another example can be given as Ankara Trade Center (ATM) which consists of two blocks. Block A is 16-storey with actively working 28 and total 72 offices, and block B has not come into operation yet. 300 people are working in these offices in total. The number of daily entering and exiting has reached to 150 people since there are also offices of doctors and lawyers in the business center (Figure 28). All these numbers showing the people in relation with these business centers are significant since a generalization will be made within the research to infer the approximate population generated with business center functions within the neighborhood.

On the basis of these two examples, the population which has been attracted by these business centers is calculated approximately as 10,500. These two examples of “Ulusoy Plaza” and “Ankara Trade Center” were taken as samples, and the number of personnels and professionals working in and customers were generalized for the entire area regarding the number of business centers. Therefore, the additional

population was estimated approximately to daily urban traffic load in these neighborhoods. In case of completion of under construction business centers in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, daily population can be expected to reach to 18 000, which will result in the increase of the population in the area from 33,000 residential dwellers to 51,000 total daily people, meaning that 50% population increase in these neighborhoods in several years.



**Figure 27. Business Centers of Çukurambar Kızılırmak Neighborhood**

Source: (Personal Drawing)



**Figure 28. Ulusoy Plaza and Ankara Trade Center**

Source: (Personal Archive, 2014)

Consequently, excessive increase in daily population, created by business centers, has contributed traffic congestion in the area which means the difficulty in movements of vehicle and pedestrian flow in these neighborhoods. In addition, even as the capacity of urban transport infrastructure and car parking facilities has not been able to respond the demand of existing residents and 14 operating business centers, additional 10 more under construction business centers expected an excessive contribution to traffic problem in near future.

In Çukurambar and Kızırlırmak neighborhoods, commercial activities have also increased together with the implementation of urban regeneration. Small grocery stores were replaced with great supermarkets to respond the demand of increasing population. Luxury cafés, restaurants and hairdressers have been opened, and the number of pharmacies has been increased. The best baby stores in Ankara and branches of many banks have been opened in these neighborhoods after regeneration. Mostly commercial activities have been positioned on 1425<sup>th</sup> Road in Çukurambar Neighborhood and luxury cafés and restaurants have mostly been positioned on Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road in Kızırlırmak Neighborhood. Therefore, Kızırlırmak

Neighborhood has been playing the role of a sub-center of Ankara addressing to high income people. A high number of business centers in this neighborhood have created new demands, and the number of cafés and restaurants has incrementally increased. Besides, two shopping malls exist within the boundary of these neighborhoods, namely, Ambrossia, the smaller one, as a neighborhood bazaar and Next Level, greater one, addressing not only to the neighborhoods but also to the entire city (Figure 29).

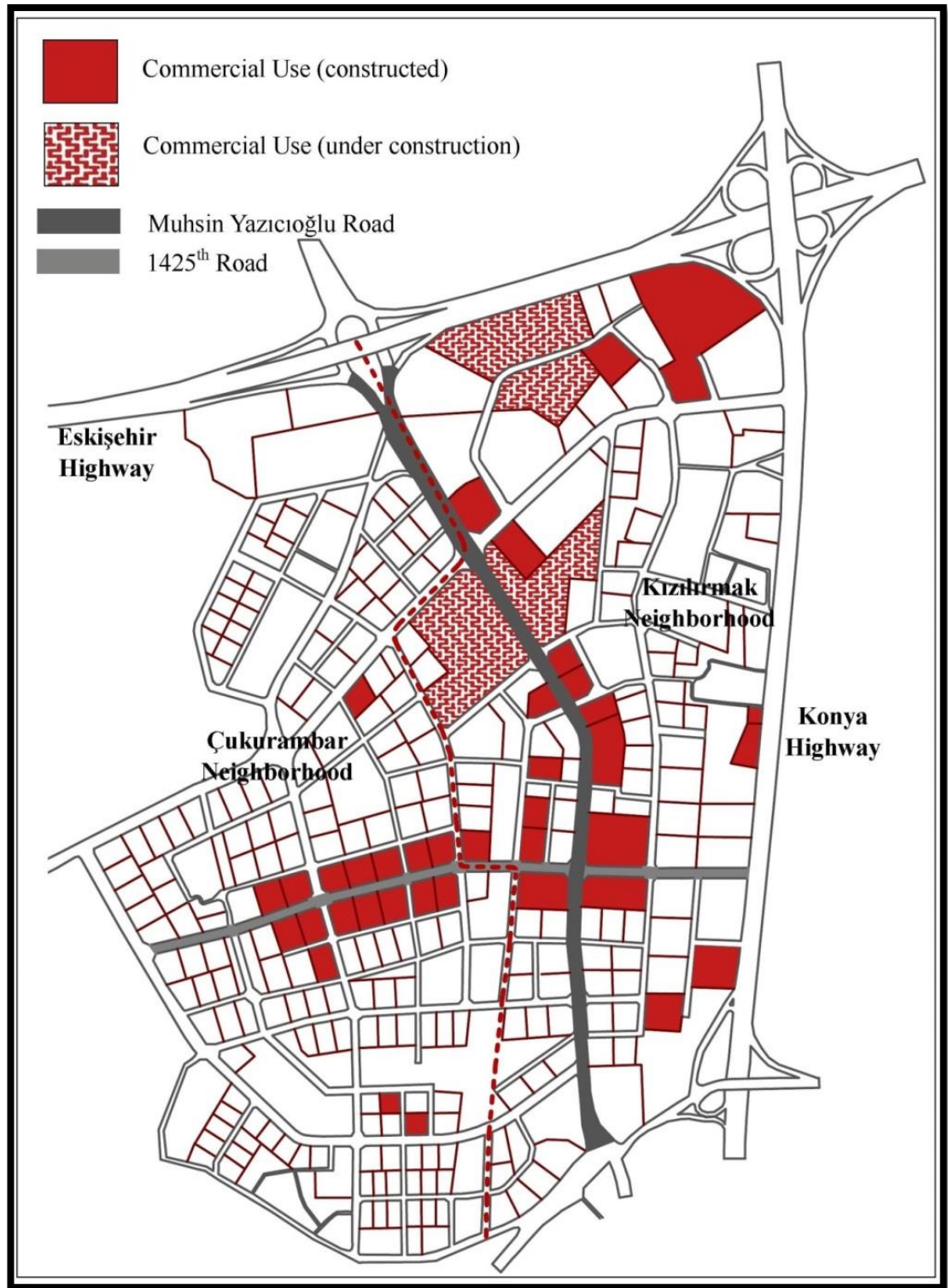


**Figure 29. Ambrossia Bazaar and Next Level Shopping Mall**

Source: (Personal Archieve, 2014)

By the increase in commercial activities and vitality in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods, both wins and losses have experienced in the area. Before urban regeneration, residents had to go other districts such as Balgat to meet their basic needs since there were only a small grocery store and a tailor in these neighborhoods. However, after regeneration, they have had the chance to reach all their daily needs by the increase in daily commercial activities and services. Therefore, these neighborhoods have started to serve to the people coming from different parts of Ankara beyond responding only the basic needs of residents living in the area. In other words, these neighborhoods have been started to be considered as new sub-center of Ankara (Figure 30), which have put the neighborhoods into trouble in terms of insufficiency of transportation infrastructure and vehicle intensity on the roads and

streets. In other words, increasing commercial activities have caused overcrowding and sustainability difficulties in terms of urban transport in the area (Figure31).



**Figure 30. Commercial Activities in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods**

Source: (Personal Drawing)



**Figure 31. Commercial Activities on 1425<sup>th</sup> Road and Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road**

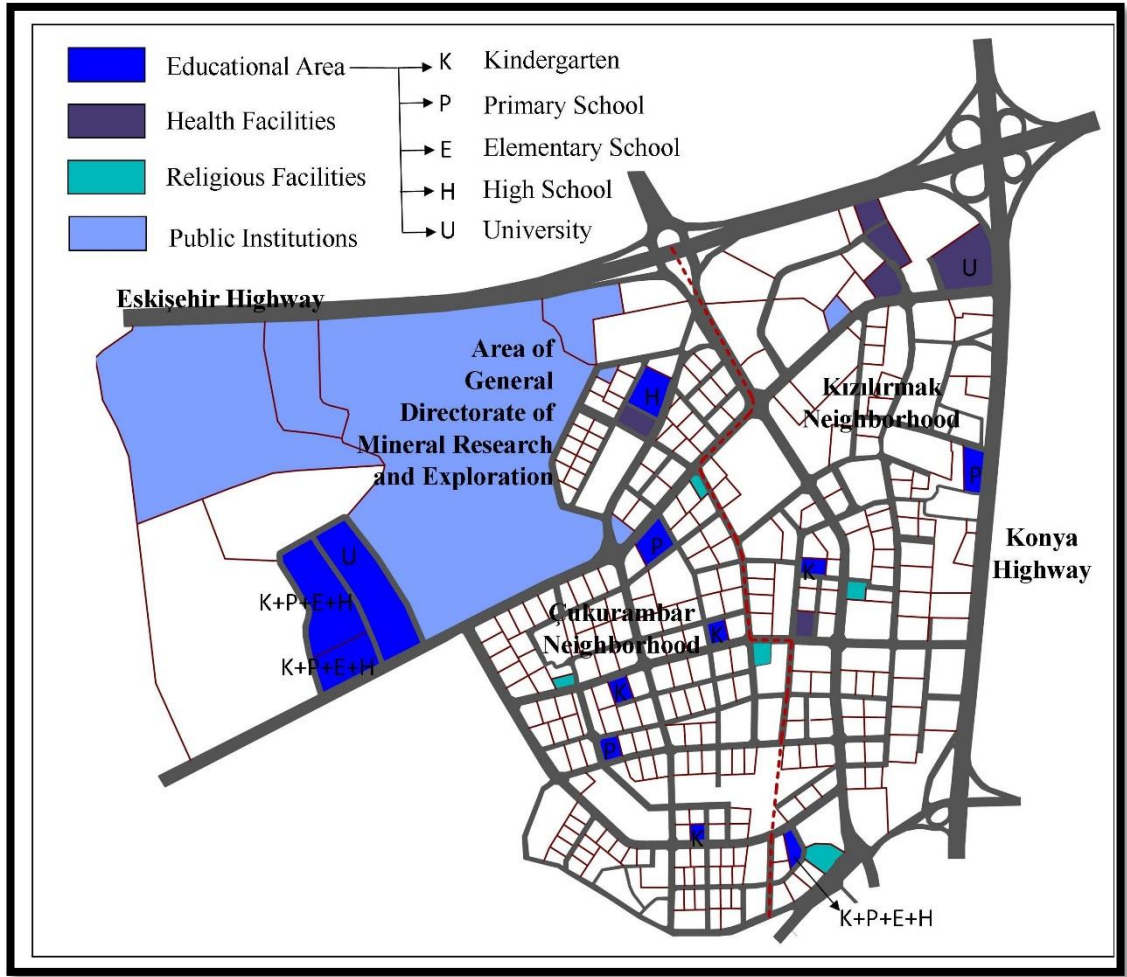
Source: (Personal Archieve, 2014)

#### **4.2.1.3. Health, Education, Religious and Public Institutions**

Another factor contributing the increase in daily population density and to the problem of traffic is the existence of universities, private educational facilities, public institutions and health facilities which continuously attract extra population to the neighborhoods.

Before urban regeneration, two primary school and one high school have existed as educational facilities. After regeneration, two universities have started to operate in the area which are Ufuk University and Çankaya University. Besides, three private high schools were added to the existing one public high school, four private primary schools were added to the existing two primary schools and four new primary kindergartens were opened. In addition, before urban regeneration, one community health center and two hospitals were operating within these neighborhoods; after regeneration, particularly special doctor's clinics and dental clinics have started to operate. Furthermore, MTA has existed in the area which takes 1/4 space of the total area of these two neighborhoods as a public institution, and AFAD building and a branch of TÜBİTAK have also existed in the neighborhoods after regeneration. Religious facilities in the area have also renewed and almost doubled in number together with the increasing population density (Figure 32).

All the institutions, which were preferred to operate in these neighborhoods, have been attracting people to the area from mainly other parts of Ankara, causing daily density increase in the area. The people coming for these health and educational facilities or public institutions particularly use their private cars, which have made the existing transport problem incrementally increased.



**Figure 32. Health, Education, Religious and Public Institutions in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods**

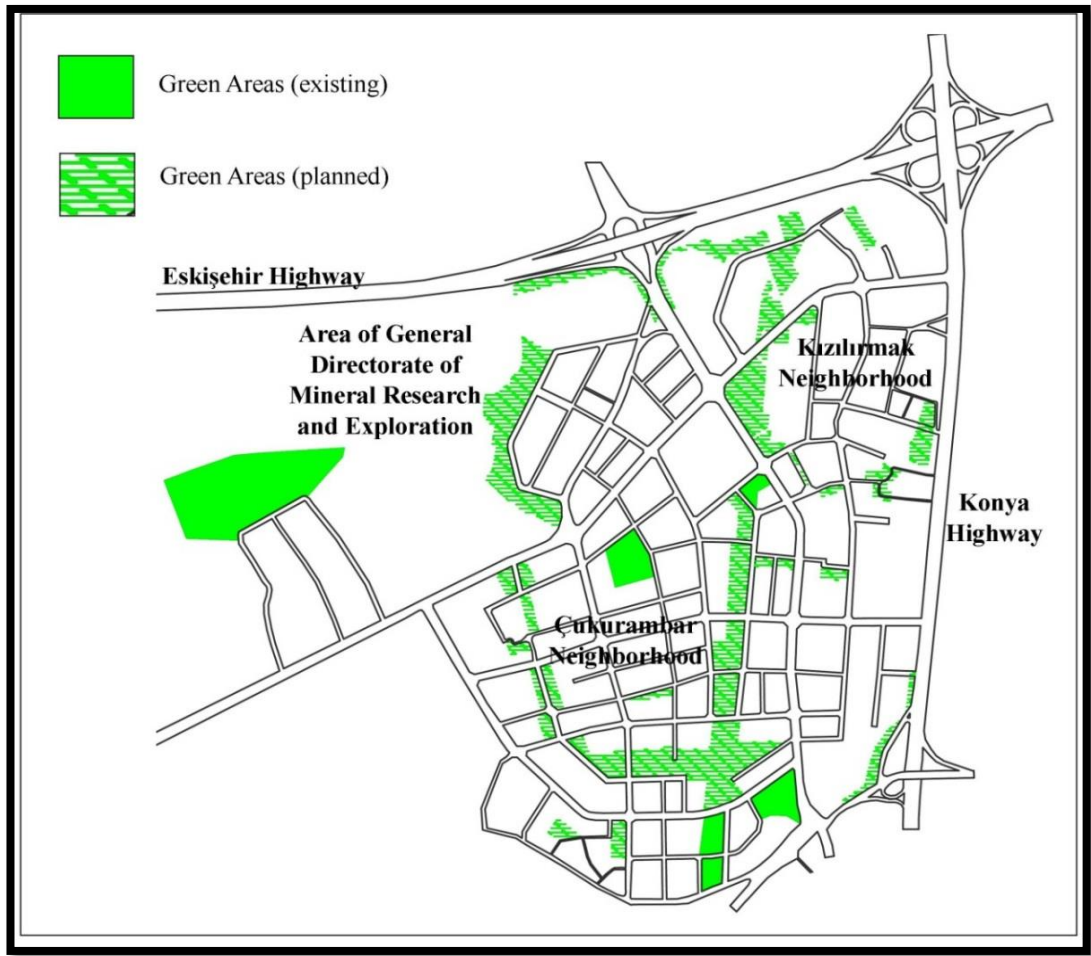
Source: (Personal Drawing)

#### 4.2.1.4. Open and Green Areas

In this section, an indirect relationship between green areas and sustainability difficulties of urban transport in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods will be established in terms of increasing building density. Open and green spaces network

have not been able to meet the demand of excessively increasing population in the area. Besides, some areas, designated as sport area or public open space, have been zoned for construction, and this results in more increase in density and population in the neighborhood. As mentioned in previous section, these neighborhoods have not had enough transport infrastructure capacity to respond increasing density; therefore, it is inevitable to experience sustainability difficulties in terms of urban transport. In this section, it seems to be beneficial to analyze the systems of open and green areas. Firstly, open and green areas network will be analyzed considering the conditions before and after urban regeneration.

In Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, the necessity of green areas was met in their own parcels as private gardens. Almost all *gecekondus* had a garden, and a public green system network did not exist. After regeneration, green system networks of these neighborhoods have also been reorganized. Some certain shares were cut from private properties as namely KOP to contribute the areas of parks and green areas. However, although a green open public spaces network was designed in Development Plan, they have not been able to complete in practice by beginning of 2014. Furthermore, some areas, designated as park area in Development Plan, have also been zoned for construction through making plan changes by the municipality (Figure 33).



**Figure 33. Existing and Planned Green Areas in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhood**

Source: (Personal Drawing)

Six separate parks and green areas implemented after urban regeneration in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods by the beginning of 2014. The most remarkable one, Çansera park and open public garden area, has not been completed yet and it has been the biggest one ever made in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods and the surrounding districts. Çansera public green area has met the need for green area in the neighborhoods even it has still been insufficient (Figure 34).



**Serçev Park**



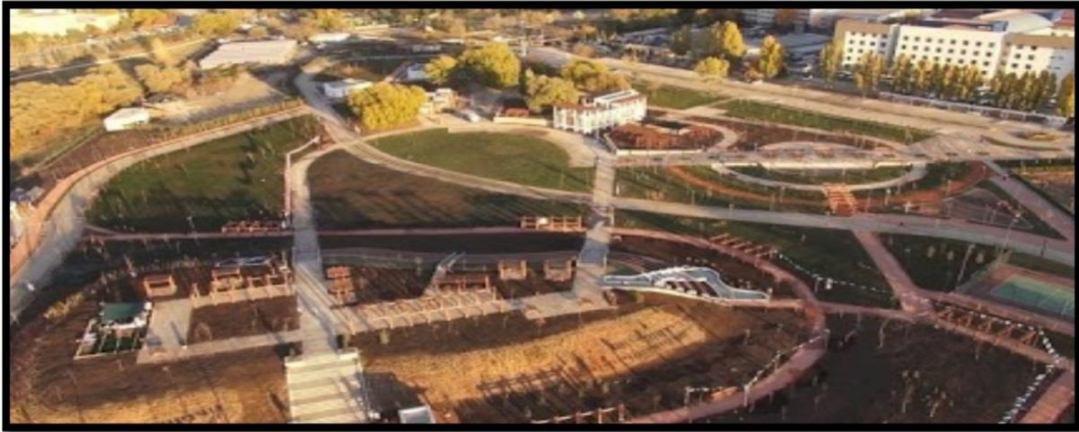
**Sefa Park**



**Türkan Saylan Park**



**Teoman Öztürk Park**



**Çansera**

**Figure 34. Parks and Green Areas of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods**

Source: ([http://www.cankaya.bel.tr/oku.php?yazi\\_id=12526](http://www.cankaya.bel.tr/oku.php?yazi_id=12526),  
<https://plus.google.com/+Robomore/posts>, Personal archive)

Besides, a green corridor was intended as passing through the middle of these two neighborhoods as a boundary between them; however, it has been recently started its establishment and has not finished yet by the beginning of 2014. The reason to leave such a wide corridor as green rather than zoning for construction is that high-tension line has existed on this land (Figure 35).



**Figure 35 . Planned Green Corridor Passing through the Neighborhoods**

Source: (Personal Archieve, 2014)

The public institution of MTA within the boundaries of Çukurambar also seems to be an opportunity for keeping an aerial corridor against continuously increasing density of the area. There are also walking tracks and sport areas in MTA area. In summary, total 10.7 ha park area, constituted by six open green areas, and green and sport areas in MTA seem not sufficient for the population of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. In Development Plan, it was not preferred to zone more space for green areas to satisfy the social needs of residents in the area; more construction was allowed to gain more urban rent instead. Moreover, the areas, designated as open public space in the plan, have zoned for the construction of high rise luxury residences by plan changes. In other words, open green areas in these neighborhoods would have been used as a balance factor for excessive increase in building density;

however, they have remained insufficient both in plans and in practice. Furthermore, the intended green areas in the plan were decreased by plan changes which also supported the increase in density as well as traffic problems in the neighborhoods due to insufficiency of transport infrastructure. Therefore, urban transport will continue to be a problem in this high density area, which lack of sufficient park and green areas, and sustainability difficulties are inevitable to be observed also in future for urban transport.

#### **4.2.1.5. Transportation System**

The aim in this section is to evaluate the sustainability difficulties in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods. In previous part, the reasons which increase the permanent and daily population density in the neighborhoods were examined to constitute the base of this section. Firstly, old transportation system in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods before urban regeneration will be analyzed; later on, assessment of existing situation will be mentioned together with the analysis of current roads and streets network. In addition, main vehicle entrance points of Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods were determined and analyzed, and public transport stations within the neighborhoods are examined. Finally, the primary issue in this section that has been intended to examine in detail is the assessment of sustainability difficulties of Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods.

Urban transport infrastructure of old Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods was established organically according to daily service needs and demands without having any kind of road hierarchy and order. As seen in Figure 36, continuity of streets and roads in the area did not exist, and many of those which provided service to residential units had the characteristic of dead end streets. The major road of the area was Öğretmenler Road which was also the continuation of the entrance from Eskişehir Highway side to the neighborhood. Additionally, Öğretmenler Road is one of the roads that also exists in the current layout of urban transport network of the area. Besides, another major road that some of its parts remained in current transport structure was 1<sup>st</sup> Road. This road is called as Ufuk University Road in its new condition today. If the population that those old transport structure served to is

analyzed, it is seen that there were approximately 6795 people living in those two neighborhoods. In this old transport structure, each individual parcel in the area was in relation with one of the roads or streets; in other words, all the residential units of this approximate population of the area could get service from these transport structure.



**Figure 36. Road and Street Network of Old Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods in 1990's**

Source: (Personal Drawing)

In urban plans made for Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, the road network of the area was also put in order. In the process of urban regeneration, roads have also been systematically regenerated considering road hierarchy. Almost all

dead-end streets were removed, and the roads and streets in the neighborhoods were arranged to serve all the built up elements continuously. However, such an increase in building density and population were not foreseen in the plans.

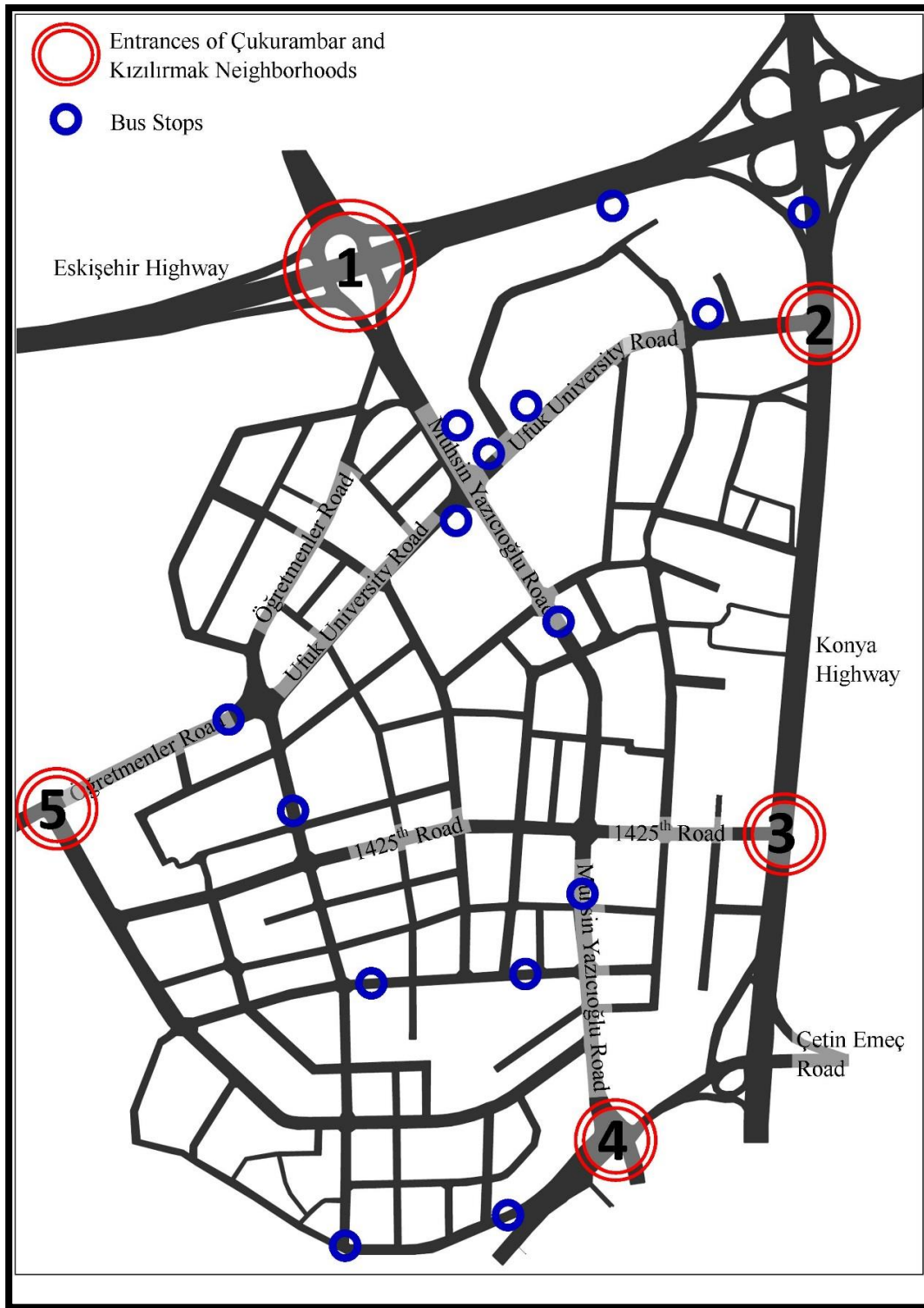
Eskişehir and Konya Highways constitute the north and east boundaries of these neighborhoods. In addition, there are four main arterial roads in the area. The first one is Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road with 25 meters wide and three lanes for each directions which divides the area along north south direction. The second arterial in the area is Ufuk Üniversitesi Road, previously named as 1<sup>st</sup> Street with 20 meters wide and the connection of Konya Highway. The third one is Öğretmenler Road which has existed also before urban regeneration with the connection of Eskişehir Highway. This road is 20 meters wide and consists of four lanes. The last one serving to these neighborhoods is 1425<sup>th</sup> Street passing through the area along east west direction with the connection with Konya Highway (Figure37).

Five main entrance points also exist to the neighborhoods. The first and the most frequently used one is the junction connecting Eskişehir Highway and Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road, numbered as “1” in Figure 37. The second entrance is from Konya Highway connecting with Ufuk University Road numbered as “2”. Another entrance point, shown as “3”, is 1425<sup>th</sup> Street servicing the connection with Konya Highway. The forth one, providing the connection between Çetin Emeç Road and Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road which is numbered as “4”. The final entrance junction, shown as “5”, makes the connection between Yüzüncü Yıl District and Öğretmenler Road (Figure 37). Most of these junctions are problematic in terms of being the places that vehicle traffic has intensively been seen. These problems will be elaborated in the following section in detail.

Another issue in this section is public transport destinations as bus stations serving the accessibility to the neighborhoods. Four of them exist in Çukurambar and eleven of them exist in Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. Besides, *dolmuş*'s also pass through the neighborhoods and share the accessibility service of the people to the area. In addition, an underground metro station, named Söğütözü, is also included within the

area which is the intersected destination between Metro (M2) line and Ankaray Light Rail System, which serves quite much to the accessibility of the neighborhoods.

In conclusion, in this section, the introduce of old transportation network in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods before regeneration, service roads in the area after regeneration, the entrance points to the area, and public transport stations were made including an overall situation assessment. In the following section, the criticism of these assesments will be made under the heading of sustainability difficulties in urban transport.



**Figure 37. Existing Road and Street Network of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods together with entrance Junctions**

Source: (Personal Drawing)

#### **4.2.1.5.1. Sustainability Difficulties of Urban Transport in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods**

After mentioning the assessment of urban transport structure in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak neighborhoods before and after urban regeneration, sustainability difficulties for future in urban transport will be mentioned in this section.

The fundamental reason for experiencing problems in urban transport in the area is the unexpected excessive increase in building density. The population in these neighborhoods has increased from 6795 -before regeneration- to 33000 people after regeneration. In case of the completion of under construction business centers and residences, daily population in the area will be expected to reach to 51000. In addition, the density was increased from 160 people per hectare to 330 people per hectare after urban regeneration. Therefore, it should be questioned whether existing and planned road and street network in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods will meet the demand coming from excessively increased population in the area or not. Therefore, the quality and sufficiency of main junctions will be evaluated in this section considering also the problems.

Initially, it is significant to realize that the area has become a junction as a whole in Ankara by means of its strategic location and inner connection roads arranged after regeneration. Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road, passing through the area towards north-south direction, has a function of being a transition route for the people coming from northern and southern districts. As seen in Figure 37, the junction, located on the northern exit of the area and numbered as “1”, and the one on southern exist of the area and numbered as “4”, are the start and end point of Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road which plays the role of being a transition route alternatively to Konya Highway. This road has not able to be deal with intensive traffic coming from out of the neighborhoods, and traffic congestion has deeply revealed on particularly peak hours. Another factor which contributes traffic intensity is that commercial activities and some of the business centers are located on or very near to this road. Commercial functions in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods have made the area a sub-center of Ankara; however, since there has not been enough space for parking on particularly Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road, the drivers use some part of the road as their

parking area. As a result, one way three lane road has decreased to two lanes, which contributes serving below the existing capacity and one of the reasons of traffic congestion (Figure 38).



**Figure 38. Traffic Congestion in Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road**

Source: (<http://www.hurriyet.com.tr/ankara/22334204.asp>)

According to a news (Sabah Gazetesi, 25 Şubat 2013), traffic congestion on Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road was mentioned as:

Çukurambar having high population density is a neighborhood which has been the most rapidly developing growing neighborhood recently. Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road, which is the only arterial road in Çukurambar -the center of high rise buildings-, has become the only road for people to reach the city center. The road has not tolerate excessive vehicle load, which has also caused traffic intensity even on Eskişehir Highway.

Another news from a newspaper (Hürriyet, 11 Ocak 2014) explains the intensity on Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road as:

Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road annoys the people in morning and evening hours due to traffic congestion. Drivers who want to switch to Eskişehir Highway have tried to use the access road near JW Marriot Hotel. Insufficiency of this access road causes queue on Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road, sometimes extending towards Çetin Emeç Road.

Apart from traffic congestion on Muhsin yazıcıoğlu Road, another problem is the connection with Çetin Emeç Road with a rapid slope causing slipping vehicles particularly in rainy weather conditions as well as traffic accidents. In addition, rain

water flows downgrade and creates puddles on the road (Figure 39). As an example to this explanation, a news from a newspaper (Hürriyet Gazetesi, Bu Bölgede Her Yağmur Ayrı Tehlike, 16 Nisan 2014) mentions the traffic accidents as:

A driver going downgrade on Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road lost his handling on the slippery road due to rainy weather. The vehicle lost its control and nine automobiles were intervened in the accident. Any dead or injured people does not exist, but the road was closed to traffic for a long time.



**Figure 39. A view After Rainy Weather on Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road**

Source: (Personal Archive, 2014)

In addition, another road that the vehicle intensity has increased after urban regeneration is 1425<sup>th</sup> Street, which is the main route to be used for transport. The primary reason for the increase in the intensity of vehicles is commercial activities that were positioned on both sides of the street. Supermarkets of the neighborhoods and baby stores have mainly located on 1425<sup>th</sup> Street. These factors have attracted people towards the area and created traffic congestion. Besides, a significant commercial function for the area and surrounding districts, named as Nişantaşı Bazaar, operates on Wednesday and Friday and attracts many people in crowds from

also surrounding districts; therefore, the traffic intensity of 1425<sup>th</sup> Street has excessively increased. In addition, since car parking opportunities does not exist for Nişantaşı Bazaar, people have left their automobiles on the street, which contributes more congestion by the excessive increase in vehicle traffic (Figure 40).



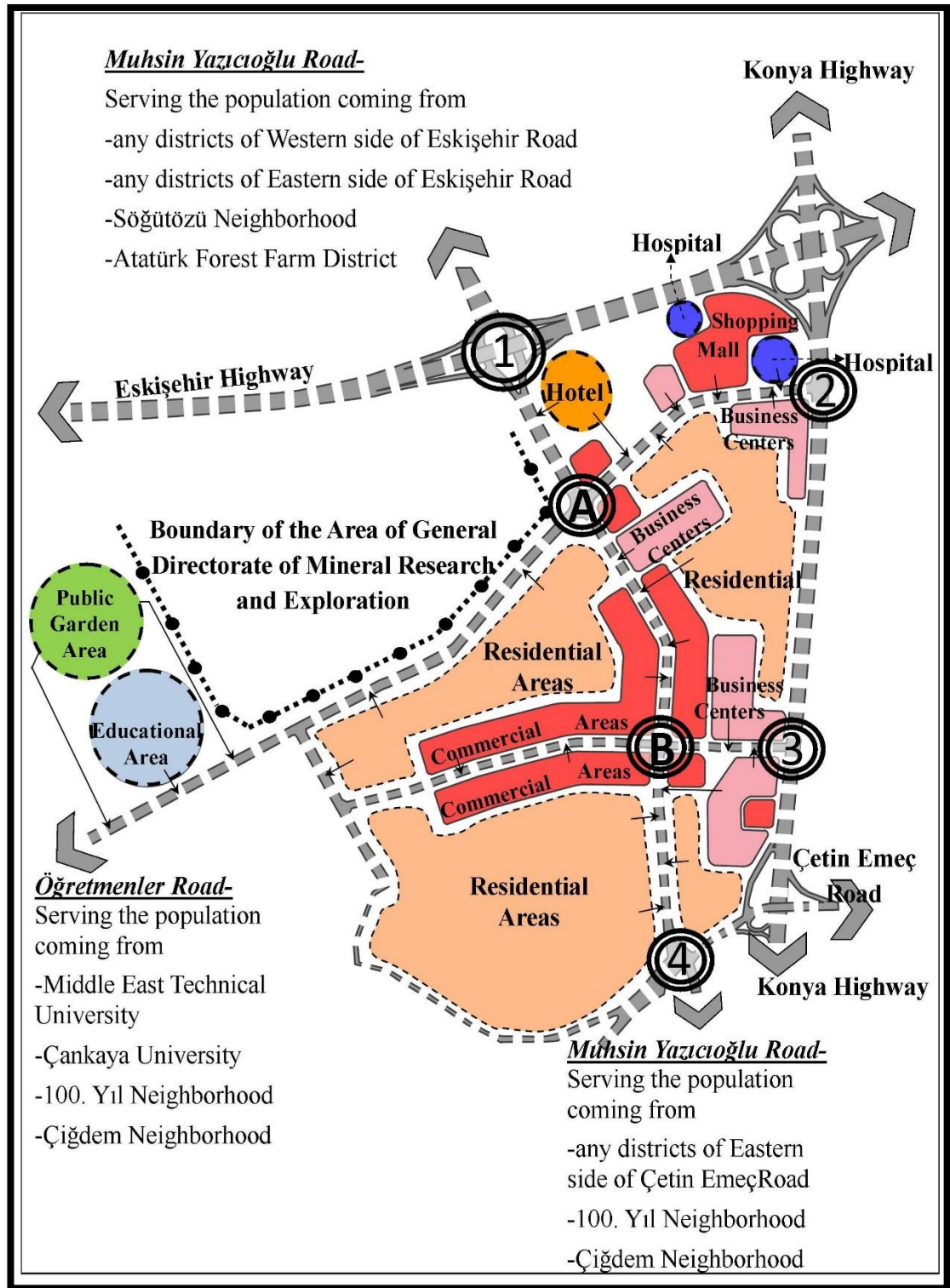
**Figure 40. Traffic Congestion in 1425<sup>th</sup> Road**

Source: (Personal Archieve, 2014)

Another main road serving inner parts of the neighborhoods and surrounding districts is Ufuk University Road and Öğretmenler Road as the continuation of each other. These roads provide the entrances from Yüzüncü Yıl district at the west and Konya Highway at the east parts. Similar to Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road, these roads are also used as a transition route to other districts. In addition, educational areas located at the end of western side of Öğretmenler Road (Çankaya University, Evrensel Collage and Arı Collage) and Public Garden Area (Çansera) constitute attraction points for the use of the road which makes vehicle traffic increased. Besides, these two roads are also main transition route of buses and *Dolmuş* including two bus stations on the road.

Another significant point, revealed as a problem for the area, is problematic junctions. In Figure 35, these junctions are shown as 1,2,3,4 and A, B. Firstly, the most significant characteristic of the 1<sup>st</sup> junction is providing the connection between the area and Eskişehir Highway. At particularly peak hours, traffic congestion has revealed due to intensive enter and exit of motorized vehicles. Another problematic junction is the 2<sup>nd</sup> one which establishes the connection between Konya Highway and Ufuk University Road. The problem here is the connection of a high degree arterial road -Konya Highway- with lower degree Local Street -Ufuk University Road-. Drivers, on the way towards Konya direction, have difficulties in turning to Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods. Besides, another problem of this junction is closeness to the intersection of Konya Highway and Eskişehir Highway meaning that sometimes a chaos occurred between the drivers who want to enter to Konya Highway from Eskişehir Highway and who want to turn to Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhood on the right hand side while driving towards Konya direction. Another junction is used as another entrance to the area from Konya Highway, numbered as 3. The problems of 3<sup>rd</sup> junction are vehicle traffic created by business centers and not meeting the intensive demand to enter to 1425<sup>th</sup> Street. Then, there are two main problems for the junction 4 which are traffic intensity on the intersection point of Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road and Çetin Emeç Road, and traffic accidents, particularly in rainy weathers, on this junction due to its sloping characteristics. On the other hand, there are also junctions which are used intensively at the inner parts of the neighborhoods. The reason of having vehicle intensity for the junction “A”, shown in Figure 41, is its location at the intersection of drivers coming from Eskişehir Highway and Konya Highway. Therefore, quite many vehicle intensity has been loaded to this junction; besides, drivers, coming from Eskişehir Highway and passing to Çetin Emeç Road, make this junction as their transition route over Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road. Therefore, junction “A” has become a problematic one since Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road is used for the entrance and exit of Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods. Another problematic junction at the inner part of the area is junction “B” which exists on the transition route of drivers who came for commercial activities or business centers. 1425<sup>th</sup> Road serves in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods as a central corridor including

supermarkets, cafés, restaurants and stores, which creates demand to travel in from inner parts of the neighborhoods and surrounding districts. Junction “B”, exists on 1425<sup>th</sup> Road, is a significant intersection of different activities as well as urban traffic for the area on which sometimes accidents also occur. Car parking is also another problem on this road, contributing traffic congestion on junction “B”, due to occupying road lane which narrows down the road and its capacity.

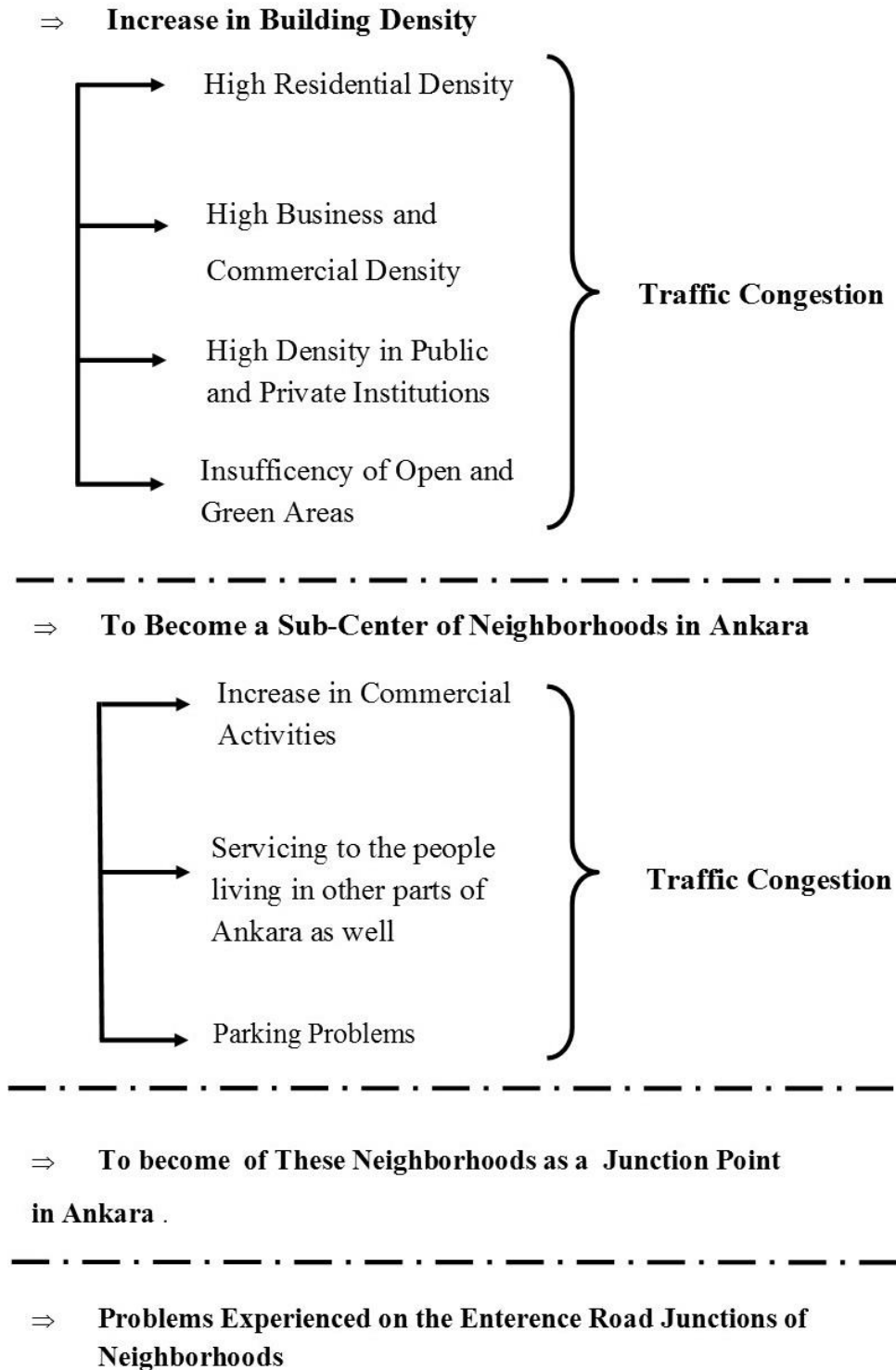


**Figure 41. Urban Functions in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods Affecting Traffic Density and Main Junctions**

Source: (Personal Drawing)

In conclusion, the roads, developed organically to serve *gecekondus* without any plan before regeneration process, put in order particularly after regeneration to serve inner parts of these neighborhoods. In addition, there were also difficulties in the accessibility to surrounding districts arterial roads around the area; however, increasing public transport destinations, service frequencies to these neighborhoods and developing major roads within the neighborhoods have facilitated the accessibility to these neighborhoods. All these developments can be considered as gains for these neighborhoods. However, many sustainability difficulties have also existed in terms of urban transport as well as traffic generated by the excessive increase in building density. Increasing population creates firstly problems for the deficient transport infrastructure as well as the efficient vehicle and pedestrian flow in these neighborhoods. Together with increasing density, private car ownership has increased considerably, and the roads and junctions, planned in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods after urban regeneration, have become insufficient to meet the demand coming from motorized vehicles. In addition to the density in the area, some of the roads and junctions play the role of being a transition route for the people who want to travel to other surrounding districts or to any other part of Ankara. As a result, intensive vehicle traffic occurring particularly on peak hours exists on some of the roads within these neighborhoods. In addition, people coming from other parts of Ankara have desired to come to the neighborhoods by means of increasing commercial activities; however, due to insufficient car parking spaces, drivers have needed to use the roads as their parking area. This contributes increasing traffic problems in the area. Besides, intensity on junctions in these neighborhoods also makes existing traffic problems increased. Even today, transport problems in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods seem extremely challengeable; however, in case of the completion of all under construction business centers and residences meaning overmuch population to the area, sustainability difficulties in urban transport for these neighborhoods will incrementally continue to be considerable (Figure 42).

## **Sustainability Difficulties of Urban Transport in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods**



**Figure 42. A Scheme of Sustainability Difficulties in the Area**

#### 4.2.2. Identity of Place

In this section, the discussion will be carried out in terms of identity of Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods. In order to reveal the general perception in the neighborhood about identity of place, personal observations, news from the newspapers and internet researches were benefited as research methods.

Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods have owned two different types of identities after urban regeneration: the first one is the identity of being conservative neighborhood, and the second one is the identity of being luxury neighborhood addressing to middle-high income people. In this part, how these identities have revealed in these neighborhoods will be explained through examples. Later on, the point that is needed to arrive in this part of the research is determining whether these neighborhoods will experience sustainability difficulties for future with reference to their identity or not. In other words, it will be questioned that whether the identity of Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods, which have become a fashion place in Ankara and created by conservative people after urban regeneration, can be sustained in case of a shift of these conservatives to another part of the city.

Firstly, the emergence of conservative identity in these neighborhoods will be explained. Initially, the most prominent factor for flourishing the area was the move of parliamentarians from a conservative view political party to these neighborhoods. Therefore, Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak have been referred as conservative neighborhoods, and conservative people have started to move into the area having the desire to live with the people who share the same characteristics and world-view. Another significant characteristic of these conservative people is being upper-middle class people affording excessively high housing prices. After the beginning of urban regeneration process in the area, commercial activities have also started to initiate addressing upper-middle class conservative residents in the area. For example, alcoholic beverages were not sold in café or restaurants. According to a newspaper article (Hürriyet Gazetesi, 11 Eylül 2011), this situation was exemplified as:

Recently, the conservativeness flag has been carried by Çukurambar which is very close to central building of AK Party. Non-alcoholic

cafés and restaurants such as Pelit, Mado, Çiçek Restaurant and S'lo have opened one after another.

In addition, another commercial activity serving to conservative people in these neighborhoods are hairdressers. *Tesettür*<sup>17</sup> part also exist in these hairdressers, and only women are working in there compatible with the conservative characteristic of residents living in these neighborhood. One of the hairdresser in the area is advertised as:

Nagihan Hairdresser and Beauty Salon presents service to the customers with *tesettür*. Our experienced woman hairdressers make you feel the difference with Nagihan Hairdresser for women with *tesettür*.

Another sector giving service specific to conservative people is textile. The products for the women with *tesettür* is sold in these stores selling ladies' wear and advertised as:

There have been very few boutique stores specialized on *tesettür* wear in Ankara. Tu'vera Butique, servicing in Ambrossia Bazaar in Çukurambar, seems as a significant step. Tu'vera is a place preferred by the women with *tesettür* having the culture of textile design.

As seen in these examples, conservative people have created their own fashion place in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods in which they can easily satisfy all their needs. In other words, one of the place identity of these neighborhoods has been constituted by a specific group of people, who were the first newcomers as conservatives.

In addition to conservative identity, Çukurambar and Kızılırmak have also owned the identity of being luxury neighborhoods addressing upper-middle class people. In other words, conservatives moved into these neighborhoods after urban regeneration, who have been high income residents in the area and have cut across all the boundaries in their consumption behavior. In addition, conservative parliamentarians

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<sup>17</sup> *Tesettür* is a term mostly used to define wearing of women in Islamic tradition. The term comes from the Arabic root s-t-r, meaning covering. It is used in Turkish to signify a set of Islamic practices where in women cover their heads and bodies and avoid contact with unrelated men (Gökarıksel & Secor, 2010).

or politicians, settled to these neighborhoods after regeneration, have sometimes been criticized due to their excessively conspicuous consumption behavior.

According to news from a newspaper (Haber Vaktim Gazetesi, 6 Eylül 2013), the conspicuous consumption pattern in the area is evaluated considering the quotation made from Muhsin Yılmaz as:

Çukurambar is a symbol place. I have seen parliamentarians from AK Party appeared in leisure time places in there. Mostly, business issues are told in these places. Three people eat or drink very few things; but, they pay at least a quarter of the minimum wage in Turkey!

It is seen that even conservative people, commonly known as having modest life style avoiding excessive conspicuous consumption regarding Islamic tradition, pay outrageous prices in these cafés and restaurants without avoiding waste.

Another criticism was made by Adem Çaylak to the condition in these neighborhoods. Considering a news from a newspaper (Milat Gazetesi, 12 Kasım 2012), it was mentioned as:

A new term has been generated as “Çukurambarization”. Religionist people have acquired the state, and it has undergone transformation and altered. Instead of constituting an environment depending on their own civilization values, they have been integrated into modern capitalist values system and created their own Çankaya district. The most obvious example of this circumstance is Çukurambar.

It is emphasized that new conservative middle class has dedicated itself to conspicuous consumption and has left the modest life style which is indeed the necessity of being conservative. The reason to state Çukurambar as an example is that everything in the neighborhood is expensive and luxury and conservative people still prefer to live in there or spend time.

According to Cantek (2014), urban regeneration process and the identity of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak neighborhoods are evaluated as:

In my childhood, Çukurambar was a *gecekondu* district that the people hesitated to enter when especially the weather was getting dark. In recent ten years, it has become a district in which super

luxury automobiles have appeared everyday, luxury restaurants, cafés, residences and skyscrapers have existed, and conservative new middle class people have been living. Where are the people who previously lived in there? They started to live in the districts such as Sincan, Etimesgut and Batıkent by purchasing several apartments for themselves and their children in return for their *gecekondu* lands.

The emphasis of this statement is that Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods have experienced a quite rapid urban regeneration process and have transformed from a *gecekondu* neighborhood to a luxury fashion place which conservative new middle class has been living in. In addition, according to another article indited by Gürallar (2014), conservative and luxury fashion identity of place of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak is emphasized as:

Çukurambar was a place that existed on the intersection of Eskişehir and Konya Highways as an inner city *gecekondu* district in which urban regeneration had even delayed. In the last ten years, Çukurambar has sprawled through regeneration from *gecekondu* to apartment blocks on a quite central location enclosed by main arterial roads of the city. It has also risen both in a physical manner and together with its new prestigious urban fabric. The difference of Çukurambar is that the area has earned reputation as a place which high income Islamist bourgeoisie and bureaucrats have preferred to live in.

In Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, conservative people have dominantly lived for a while. Later on, by the increase in the number of high rise apartment blocks and by means of the attractive location of the area, the group of people, namely modern, have also started to settle in these neighborhoods. In addition to residential apartment blocks in the area, business centers have also considerably constructed in particularly Kızılırmak Neighborhood. The professionals working in these business centers have also differentiated as conservative or modern; in other words, people having different worldviews and life styles are both included in these neighborhoods. In addition, commercial activities on Muhsin Yazıcıoğlu Road have incrementally increased, and recently, cafés and restaurants selling alcoholic drinks have also started to operate on the road. These commercial activities have started to serve mostly to high income people from these neighborhoods and many other parts of Ankara. As mentioned in previous sections, the best quality and most luxury

refreshment places have opened in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, particularly. For example, when an internet search is carried out to find the best places for refreshment in Ankara, Çukurambar and Kızılırmak stand at the top of the list, which has increased the reputation of the area as one of the most preferable place to spend time in Ankara. Consequently, these neighborhoods have become a mixed-use residential neighborhood with an identity of place addressing both modern and conservative people (Figure 43).



**Figure 43. A Scheme Mentioning the Evolution of Identity of Place in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhood**

In addition to luxury cafés and restaurants in the area, “Next Level” Shopping Mall, put into service recently, gives opinion for the identity of these neighborhoods. There are stores in this shopping mall addressing to only high income people, and any other branch of them does not exist in Ankara. In addition, continuously increasing rents and apartment prices also emphasize the upper middle class identity of these neighborhoods. The evaluation of increasing apartment prices after regeneration will be elaborated in “Housing Sustainability” part in detail.

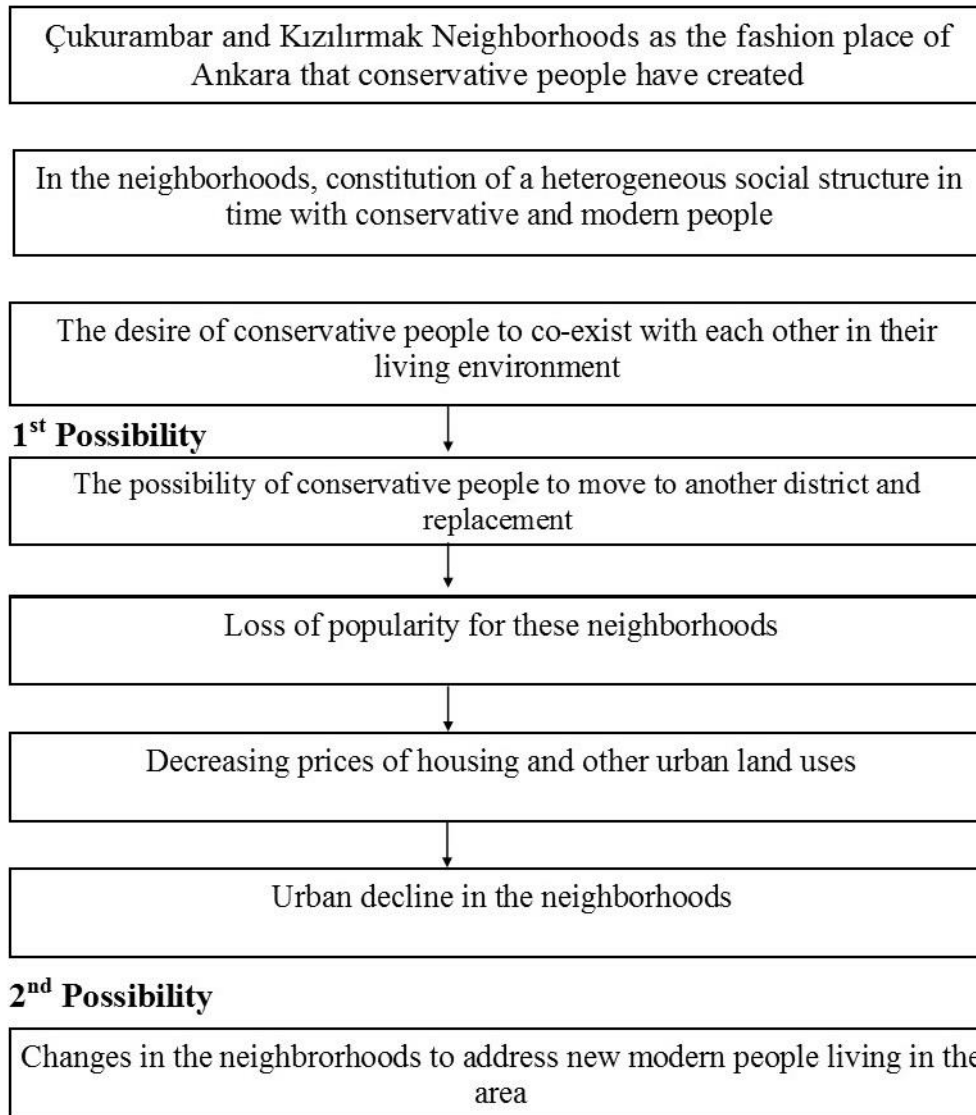
In conclusion, Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods seem to be the new fashion place of Ankara created by conservative people. In fact, this is the first time that conservative people have created such an attractive fashion place in Ankara. However, this area has transformed to a heterogeneous structure in time together with the move of not only conservatives, but also, namely, modern people into the area. Therefore, the possibility of a locational shift has started to emerge for conservative people from the area due to new heterogeneous social fabric. In other words, conservative people in the area have tended to move to other places in Ankara to keep their coexistence with each other and to avoid conflicts between conservatives and modern people. The most prominent candidate for being the new place of conservatives stands as Beştepe District. The luxury apartment blocks in the area have attracted conservative people; for example, one of the pioneer parliamentarians for moving into Çukurambar, Bülent Arınç, has preferred Beştepe as the new living environment. Besides, security guards working for the apartment block, in which parliamentarians have lived, also leaved from the neighborhoods. These security guards had also made conservatives living in and around this apartment block felt safe as well. Therefore, disappointment of residents due to the feeling of decreasing security in the area has contributed the replacement process of conservatives from Çukurambar to another prestigious district in Ankara. (I12), who is a real estate agent in the area, explains the reason of locational shift as:

Bülent Arınç moved from this neighborhood to Beştepe. Parliamentarians and Ministers have started to come together in there. Parliamentarians from AK Party have gone to Beştepe since Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods are heterogeneous in terms of their community identity. They have moved to this district

because of closeness to the prime minister's office building which has also constructed in Beştepe. However, apartment blocks in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak have started to become old, but the ones in Beştepe have recently been constructed.

Two main findings can be concluded from this discussion. Firstly, even conservative people would move from Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak, the area will continue to keep its vitality by regenerating itself considering the needs and demands of new modern residents; i.e. cafés and restaurants selling alcoholic drinks have also started to operate in the area recently. Secondly, together with the leave of conservative people from Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods, some possibilities exists due to the decrease in the popularity and reputation of the area, decreasing rents and apartment prices, becoming an urban decline and deprivation area, discharged stores, and becoming a fusty urban area, which seems as the most undesirable result of an urban regeneration implementation. As a result, identity of place issue has examined in this chapter and the possibility of existence of sustainability considerations in the area has been emphasized for future (Figure 44).

### The Reasons of Sustainability Difficulties in Çukurambar and Kızılrırmak Neighborhoods in terms of Identity of Place Issue



**Figure 44. The Reasons of Sustainability Difficulties in Çukurambar and Kızılrırmak Neighborhoods in terms of Identity of Place**

#### 4.2.3. Housing

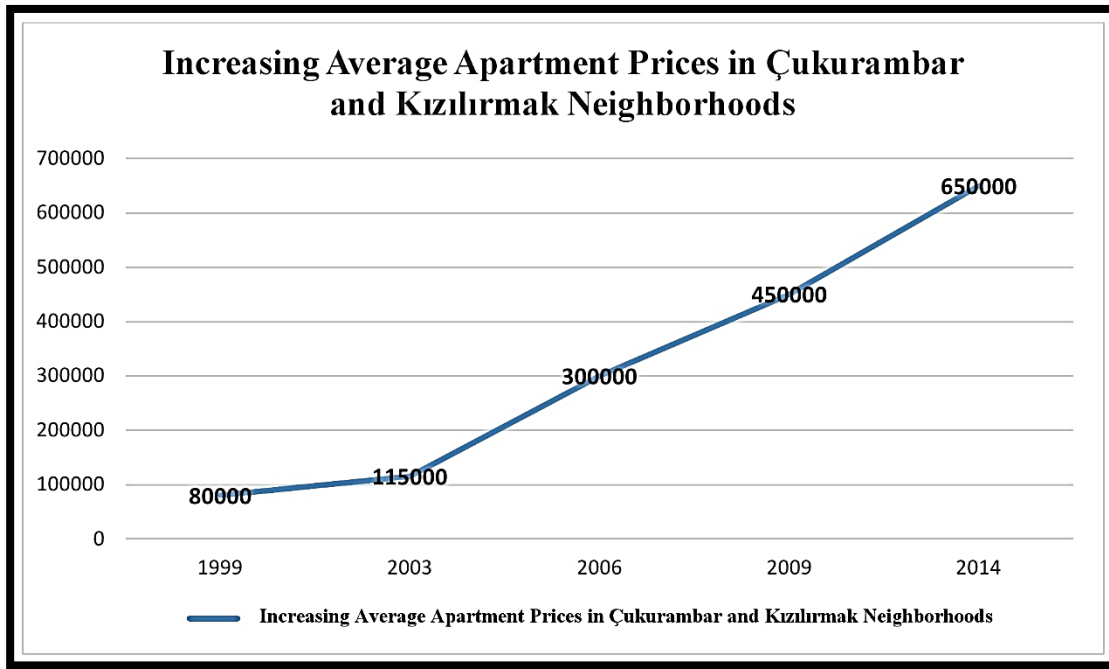
Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods are the cases of *gecekondu* regeneration implementation in Turkey. At the end of 1990s, urban regeneration process started, and several *gecekondu* parcels gathered for the construction of one standard apartment block having mostly Floor Area Ratio value of 1.80-2.00 in the area. After the beginning of urban regeneration, most of the *gecekondu* landowners have experienced voluntary displacement, namely gentrification, in order to benefit economically from their properties. As a result of the agreement between contractor and landowners, new high rise apartment blocks –mostly with 8 or 10 floors- were constructed, and starting from 1999 and the following few years, middle class people started to settle in the area by paying not too much money compared to the ones in 2014 -approximately 80,000-100,000 TL-. Starting from the mid of 2000s until the end of 2014, urban regeneration has continued, and the sale prices of newly constructed apartment blocks have uncontrollably increased approximately to 650,000-800,000 TL. Consequently, the people, who have paid that much money and moved into these neighborhoods, have been quite higher income residents -namely new upper middle class people- than the ones had bought right after urban regeneration in 1999 and the following few years. Moreover, residence towers and mixed use residential blocks have also been constructed or projected in the area in recent few years by year 2014 having approximate Floor Area Ratio value of 6 which have been different from the standard 8-10-storey urban regeneration apartment blocks in terms of quality, storey height, and also the price. These residences in the neighborhoods such as Hayat Sebla Residences, Nova Tower and Next Level with an approximate sale price of 1,000,000 TL have attracted quite high income people to the area. Consequently, it seems obvious that a single socio-economic level has not existed among residents due to differentiated purchase time periods starting from the beginning of urban regeneration process in 1999 to the mid of 2014.

In this section, the reasons of sustainability difficulties for the housing units in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods will be mentioned. In this manner, rapid increase in housing prices after urban regeneration comes in the first instance. Income differences may have been seen between the residents who bought apartment

right after urban regeneration and the ones bought after increasing real estate values. The difference between these two groups of residents in the area have already created some observable problems and stands also as a questionable issue for future in terms of its sustainability. One of these problems for some residents, who bought their apartment from a reasonable price shortly after urban regeneration, is their difficulties to afford some maintenance or aging costs of apartment blocks such as maintenance fee for apartment block, costs needed for repairment or rehabilitation of building and expenses for attendant. As a result of this problem, the people who earn lower income than the other ones living in the same apartment block might have come up against displacement, namely gentrification which stands as not the gentrification of low income, but the gentrification of middle class. In the following parts of this section, the problems related with sustainability difficulties within this context will be scrutinized and embodied with observations and previously made interviews.

First of all, the change in average apartment sale prices in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods between 1999 and 2014 (from the initial years of urban regeneration till the mid of 2014) depending on the years selected at certain intervals is mentioned comparatively as a graph (Figure 45). The aim here is to emphasize quite a lot increase in average sale prices of apartments. Therefore, it might be supposed that there have been a considerable difference between the residents who bought apartment right after urban regeneration -i.e. in 2000- and the ones bought after increasing real estate values -i.e. in 2014-. As seen in Figure 44, from 1999 to 2014, housing prices have excessively increased particularly after 2003. The average apartment price in these neighborhoods at the initiation of urban regeneration was 80,000 TL in 1999, and it rose to 115,000 TL till 2003. Later on, the average price has incrementally increased and become 300,000 TL in 2003, 450,000 TL in 2009, and finally it has reached to 650,000 TL in the mid of 2014. It can be inferred from the graph that there has been a continuous increase in the sale prices of apartments meaning that the attraction of the area has been continuously increasing together with being still one of the most preferable living and investment place in Ankara. In other words, social profile composition of the residents living in Çukurambar and

Kızılırmak Neighborhoods has been increasingly reaching to upper middle class high income people. This circumstance has created an income difference between two groups of people. The first group consists of the residents who have bought apartment at the initial times of urban regeneration and still been living in the area. Additionally, the people who have bought their apartments from directly Ankara Metropolitan Municipality and for some specific residences -i.e. Hayat Sebla Residences and Nova Tower- constructed in recent years by 2014 in which municipality has directly participated in the process as a shareholder by providing the land. Those buyers from municipality have obtained residence from lower price than the ordinary buyers from real estate agencies. The second group of buyers consists of the people who have purchased their apartments at the time when the prices have been continuously increasing particularly in recent years. In addition, the buyers from new luxury and excessively higher priced residences (Gökteşehir Residences, Nova Tower and Next Level Residences) compared to other 8-10-storey standard apartment blocks have made a serious contribution to this group. These groups have been living in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak with each other, and income difference has been increasingly continuing.



**Figure 45. Average Apartment Prices in Çukurambar and Kızırmak Neighborhoods between 1999-2014**

Source: (Gülbay, 2006; interview made with a real estate agency (I12))

The excessive increase in apartment prices was mentioned by the owner of a real estate agency in Çukurambar Neighborhood (I14) as:

My first mediation for the sale of an apartment in these neighborhoods is in 1999 from the price of 80,000 TL. Later on, there was a time period in which apartment prices were rapidly increasing as if they were the numbers increasing in a taximeter. Moreover, sometimes the apartment sale prices increased twice a day. There was an excessive demand on these neighborhoods to invest. In addition, monetary investments were oriented towards real estates by decreasing interests, and the people have made investments on apartments in these neighborhoods and mostly won financially since regeneration of the area has started in those years.

The analysis mentioned in Figure 44 gives inferences for the average apartment prices; besides, for more luxury residences such as Nova Tower, Gökteşehir and Hayat Sebla Residences the prices have been quite much more. The reasons for such an increase in real estate values are about the location and social structure in the area as mentioned in previous chapters. The essence that has been questioned from these

inferences is the constitution of income differences between new comers to the area after urban regeneration from 1999 to the mid of 2014. The main emphasis here is the evaluation of sustainability difficulties depending on the problem emerged from income imbalances between the residents: who, for instance, bought apartment in 1999 and the other one in 2014 having different income levels. One of these difficulties is exemplified by one of the residents (I13) as:

The buildings have been wearing out in time, and for example, a necessity has emerged for exterior thermal sheathing (*bina mantolama*) which costs about approximately 50,000-60,000 TL. The income of a resident, who bought his apartment right after regeneration from a relatively lower price, seems to be lesser than other residents in an apartment block. Therefore, high income residents do not have any difficulty in paying the cost of exterior sheathing, but the low income resident in the same apartment block cannot afford it. Nevertheless, he/she cannot say 'I cannot pay it'. If he/she has too much difficulty in paying, he/she prefers to move from the area.

As seen in these interviews, income and economic affordability differences have existed between the residents who bought an apartment in recent years and the one bought from a lower price initially. This process reminds the voluntary displacement of *gecekondu* residents from the area occurred in the process of urban regeneration at the end of 1990s and beginning of 2000s. Gentrification was seen for old *gecekondu* residents who moved to other parts of Ankara to make profit. In recent decade, another gentrification process has repeated itself between the two groups of beforehand buyers and recent buyers. There might be a possibility of displacement for residents who cannot afford the common costs of apartment block or the costs necessitated to live in the neighborhoods, meaning that a new gentrification process might be resulted due to income and affordability differences for also future.

Gentrification potential for future in these neighborhoods, caused by income and affordability differences among the residents, is stated by the owner of a real estate agency (I12) in Çukurambar as:

There have sometimes been some problems about the expenditures for apartment block and maintenance fee in our building. A person, working as a civil servant, bought his apartment at one time from a

low price. However, today the maintenance fee in our apartment block is about 300-325 TL and he has been insisting on to cut down common expenses of the building for the reason that he has made his children educated necessitating many expenses.

In addition, the problem caused by income differences among the people living in an apartment block is mentioned by the same interviewee (I12) as:

There was an issue discussed in a meeting between residents of our apartment block about increasing the room number of our attendant from 2+1 to 3+1 since there is not enough space for his guests to stay in the apartment. Therefore, this brings a cost for each apartment, and I rejected to pay this cost since my monthly budget was not sufficient for it. However, some of other residents said ‘the money is no problem, we can make the attendant’s apartment expanded. There are income differences in our apartment block; particularly, the people who recently moved are high income people. Therefore, we sometimes have conflicts among us.

As it is inferred from the interviews that some disagreements and problems occurred in the area due to income differences among the people living in the same apartment block who bought apartment right after urban regeneration and the ones bought after increasing real estate values. These differences in the neighborhoods have become more obvious in some definite residences such as Gökteşehir and Hayat Sebla Residences. Some of the apartments in these luxury and high priced residences were sold under the control of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality as one of the shareholders in regeneration of these areas from lower prices to some specific people. A real estate owner in Çukurambar Neighborhood (I13) expresses the income differences in those residences as:

Ankara Metropolitan Municipality provided apartments for some certain people from very cheaper prices than the existing sale values in the area. Since some of the apartments in Gökteşehir Residences were under control of Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, acquaintances could buy these prestigious residences at affordable prices. For example, a residence having the real sale price of 500,000 TL could be sold from 350,000 TL to these people under the real market value. Therefore, income imbalance has revealed between the people who bought apartment by paying low price and the ones who paid the excessively high real market prices. The ones who bought their residences from a more affordable price have had some difficulties in paying maintenance fees or other costs of

apartment block; and in the end, they had to leave from the neighborhood by renting or selling the residence.

As seen in this example, the people who cannot afford the costs of apartment block have started to move from these neighborhoods meaning that gentrification has started to occur, and also it has been standing as a continuous gentrification process for also future.

The critical point for Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods is that increasing income differences in the area might create sustainability difficulties also in future. To embody this issue, a Floor Area Ratio map is produced for the whole area for existing and under construction buildings to demonstrate the residential building density. According to Figure 46, residential units in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods can be classified into two main groups which are standard 8-10-storey apartment blocks having approximately 1.80-2.00 Floor Area Ratio and luxury higher priced residence towers (Hayat Sebla Residences, Gökteşehir Residences, Nova Tower and Next Level) having Floor Area Ratio between the range from 3.20 to 7. The main emphasis here is that the area has been continuously invested and urban rent has simultaneously increased. From 1999 until the recent years, urban regeneration implementations for *gecekondu*s were experienced, and standard 8-10-storey with 1.80-2.00 Floor Area ratio apartment blocks were generated. In recent years, the investments have been done to the area through the collaboration between building companies and Ankara Metropolitan Municipality to present more luxury residential blocks addressing particularly high income people which have approximate Floor Area Ratio value of 6. In other words, the residential building density has been increased in recent years due to providing prestigious residential clusters, which has made income gap between the residents living in the same area increased. Recently constructed residences in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods have been sold from outrageous prices. The average apartment sell prices is approximately 650,000 TL for apartment blocks having 1.80-2.00 Floor Area Ratio by the mid of 2014, yet it reached to 1,100,000 TL for Nova Tower which owns Floor Area Ratio value of 5. Similarly, the monthly payment of rental apartment blocks or residences is 2000 TL on average whilst it reaches to 4000-5000

TL for Nova Tower. In addition, as seen in the Floor Area Ratio map it is expected that under construction residences of Next Level and the construction initiated by Türkerler Company in the area will be sold from outrageous prices. To sum up, the number of residences addressing high income people has exponentially increased in the area which has been contributing also the increase in the number of residents belonging to upper middle class high income socio-economic level.



In conclusion, there have been people from different income levels who bought apartment right after urban regeneration and the ones bought after increasing real estate values. As a result, some problems have started to occur among the residents in the same neighborhoods due to different income levels which might be a critical questionable issue for also future. In addition, income gap between the residents living in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods will continue to increase in future by the completion of under construction luxury residences which means that sustainability difficulties in these neighborhoods might be anticipated in terms of income differences and affordability difficulties against continuously increasing urban rent in the area. The difficulty in affordability might have been resulted in gentrification, and sustainability of initial buyers' existence in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods has started to be interrupted. Consequently, a new gentrification process has been experienced due to income differences as the one was occurred by the leave *gecekondu* residents in urban regeneration process.

## CHAPTER 5

### CONCLUSION

#### 5.1. Summary of the Research

Theoretical framework of the thesis was formed considering the main aim of the research which is evaluating the success of urban regeneration depending on previously determined criteria and indicators for case study area of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. First of all, urban regeneration concept was elaborated in detail including its definition, reasons, goals and objectives, its emergence and intervention types. Later on, success and failure factors of urban regeneration regarding 20 cases from different countries in world was examined considering general characteristics of implementation, main problems and successes to conclude a lessons learned evaluation for the case study of the research. At the end of the evaluation, gentrification and sustainability inferred as the criteria to scrutinize the success of urban regeneration. After the introduction of urban regeneration concept considering also the examples from the world, urban regeneration practices from different parts of Ankara, Şentepe, Hamamönü-Hamam Arkası and Dikmen Vadisi, including their differentiated intervention types in the context of previously determined criteria of gentrification (voluntary-involuntary displacement) and sustainability (environmental-physical, social, economic).

At the second part of the theoretical framework, gentrification concept was scrutinized considering its general process, positive and negative effects of gentrification, and its indicators. The main aim in this part was to constitute a base for the evaluation of gentrification process in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. Later on, indicators determined for the criterion of gentrification was summarized as a table for examining case study of the research.

Another criterion to evaluate the success of urban regeneration was inferred as sustainability from the analysis of urban regeneration examples from different parts of the world. Since the content of sustainability concept seems to be quite broad for the evaluation within the context of urban regeneration, only a certain part of sustainability was studied to establish the relationship of sustainability literature with the problems in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. In this framework, initially, a brief introduction to sustainability concept was mentioned in relation with sustainable communities and urban regeneration. Later on, three indicators were determined as transportation, identity of place and housing depending on the framework of urban regeneration. These indicators were briefly explained to constitute the context of each indicator generated by the problems of sustainability difficulties in the area. Firstly, traffic congestion and car parking problems were indicated to demonstrate sustainability difficulties in terms of urban transport after urban regeneration. Secondly, identity of place and its relationship with urban regeneration was stated to evaluate sustainability of the identity in urban spaces after regeneration. Lastly, housing sustainability was investigated in terms of the factors increasing real estate values and its relationship with urban regeneration through mentioning income difference between old middle class residents and recent high income comers. All these criteria and their indicators were examined for Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods in the following parts within the context of urban regeneration.

Under favor of this theoretical framework, the case study area of Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods were introduced in detail in chapter 3 by revealing the general characteristics of the area and to enable making comparison between the condition before and after urban regeneration. Initially, the topography and location of the area were analyzed. Then, formation of *gecekondu* settlements was examined considering infrastructure condition and social profile of inhabitants before urban regeneration. Later on, urban regeneration process in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods was scrutinized including planning history, implementation process of regeneration, the reasons of rapid urban regeneration and current situation of the area.

In chapter 4, gentrification and sustainability criteria were analyzed for Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods. Firstly, gentrification process its implementation stages were examined in the area considering the indicators determined in theoretical framework chapter. Secondly, the actors in gentrification process were grouped and evaluated as winners and losers for the neighborhoods. Later on, positive and negative effects of gentrification on the area were discussed. Finally, four urban regeneration area, which were experienced gentrification, from İstanbul are analyzed and compared with the one in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods.

The second criterion is sustainability in the analysis of urban regeneration which classified into three main indicators. Increasing density in the neighborhoods was emphasized to examine sustainability difficulties in terms of urban transport. Within this framework, increasing population generated by residential areas, business and commercial centers, health, education, religious and public institutions was analyzed. Besides, deficiency of open and green spaces was also mentioned to emphasize excessive building density in the area. As a result, the problematic parts of the neighborhoods in terms of urban transport was investigated and sustainability difficulties were emphasized focusing on traffic congestion and car parking problems. Another indicator for sustainability difficulties in the area is the identity of place which was analyzed in terms of changing conservative identity in the neighborhoods and its sustainability difficulties. Finally, the last indicator, examined depending on sustainability difficulties after urban regeneration, was housing. Particularly in the last decade, real estate values have excessively increased in the neighborhoods which has caused a middle class displacement from the area. Whether the continuous increase in urban rents has been sustainable or not was investigated in terms of income differences in the area among middle class residents.

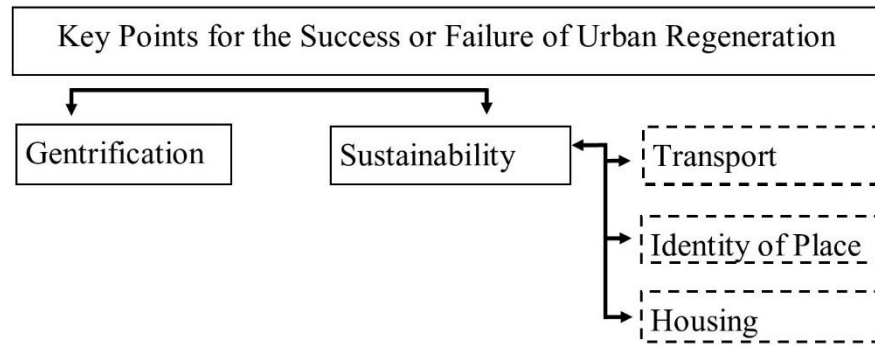
Consequently, it was mainly inferred from the research that gentrification process in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak neighborhoods did not generate losers; on the contrary, all the actors won economically in urban regeneration process. However, these neighborhoods have also had sustainability difficulties after regeneration of *gecekondu*s in terms of some certain aspects.

## 5.2. Main Findings

The main research question in this study has formed as: *Is urban regeneration implementation in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods successful?* In order to analyze the research question, some criteria was needed to be determined. Therefore, 20 urban regeneration districts were selected and analyzed in detail from different continents in the world. In the process of the analysis, main problems and successes were determined in these cases, and some key points were inferred to evaluate the success of urban regeneration which were gentrification, transport, infrastructure, housing, identity of place, attractiveness, participation, social well-being and conservation.

- **Finding 1**

Gentrification, transport, housing and identity of place issues were taken as significant, and analyzed within the research considering the condition after urban regeneration in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. Within this context, gentrification was analyzed independently as the first criterion, and the indicators of transportation, housing and identity of place were handled under the criterion of sustainability (Figure 47). Therefore, the first finding to constitute inputs to the research was emerged as the criteria of gentrification and sustainability in consequence of lessons learned analysis through selected 20 urban regeneration cases from the world.



**Figure 47. The First Finding of the Research Revealed from the Analysis of 20 Cases from the World**

The first criterion was inferred as gentrification for the research. A sub-question was constituted as: *Has gentrification potential in the area existed, and has gentrification been already experienced in the area?* This question was examined through the selected indicators inferred from the literature. In the end, the analysis has shown that existence of gentrification potential was proved through certifying five of the six indicators in the area. In addition, the fact that gentrification was experienced in the area was also proved through the existence of 14 of 16 previously determined indicators.

- **Finding 2**

In this research, another sub-question was constituted as: *Does gentrification always create losers in urban regeneration processes?* In order to analyze this question, the actors in the process of urban regeneration were determined, and winner/loser analysis was made in terms of only economic aspect in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. As a result, apart from some specific circumstances in the area, the analysis has shown that almost no loser existed economically in urban regeneration process. In other words, gentrification was experienced in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods in the process of urban regeneration, and it did not generate loser actors economically. Old residents completely voluntarily displaced from the neighborhood due to excessive economic benefit. Therefore, it is significant to mention that the argument, which gentrification always creates losers, seems not to be a correct determination.

- **Finding 3**

Another part of the research, four neighborhoods from İstanbul (Ayazma-Tepeüstü, Tarlabası, Tozkoparan, Başbüyük) were analyzed, in which gentrification process has generated losers, in comparison with Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods. Therefore, another sub-question was revealed as: *Why gentrification create losers or winners depending on differentiated urban areas?*

In Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods, *gecekondus* were settled on private properties as distinct from the other four cases from İstanbul, and *gecekondu* landowners have had the right to put in a claim for their economic benefit by means of their land deed. Therefore, a voluntary winners' displacement was experienced in the area. In other four cases from İstanbul, old residents could not own their private property, and public lands have predominated the area. In other words, public lands was occupied by constructing *gecekondu* settlements, and they have continued to live in there by means of some political tolerances given by central government in 1980s. However, in the process of urban regeneration, the residents living on these lands before regeneration could not put in a claim for their economic right, they only have had temporary solutions. In addition, old residents in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods have become the right holders in each stage of *gecekondu* regeneration process since they had had their own private property legalized by land deed. They also sometimes directed the contractors in accordance with their desires through making negotiations. On the other hand, old residents in four areas of urban regeneration in İstanbul were excluded from the process in order not to have any legal property right on their living environment.

- **Finding 4**

Another sub-question was constituted in the framework of the research under the criterion of sustainability as: *Are there any sustainability difficulties in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods after urban regeneration, and what are the fields in which sustainability difficulties exist?* Three main indicators were determined to examine this question in terms of sustainability. The first one is transportation

focusing on the sustainability difficulties of traffic congestion in relation with increasing building density in the area. In order to emphasize the increasing density in the area, the condition of residential areas before and after urban regeneration was firstly compared; later on, the density increase caused by business and commercial centers was mentioned.

Before urban regeneration, there were 1510 residential units in the neighborhoods which were single or two-storey structures meaning that 6795 people were living in the area with the residential density of 160 people per hectare. By the mid of 2014, there have been 240 residential buildings in Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods most of which are 9-10 storey. The number of people who have been dwelling in the area is 33,000 with the residential density of 330 people per hectare.

Business and commercial centers are another contributor to daily population of these neighborhoods. Most of 24 business centers have existed in Kızılırmak Neighborhood. Depending on an approximate calculation, about 10,500 people have been added to neighborhoods' daily population due to business centers. After the completion of under construction ones, the number has been expected to reach to 18,000. Consequently, total daily population generated by residential uses and business centers has been approximately 51,000 people.

Commercial activities have also increased after regeneration addressing a considerable amount of population in Ankara as a sub-center, which has contributed the daily population increase of the neighborhoods and crowdedness. Other urban land uses that have also caused daily population increase and traffic congestion after urban regeneration are health, education -particularly private education institutions have increased-, religious facilities and public institutions.

Continuously increasing population due to these land uses as well as increasing number of cars in traffic create problems for urban transport. Planned new roads and junctions after urban regeneration have remained insufficient for the recent population density in the area. In addition, building density in the area will also

continue to increase in future meaning that sustainability difficulties for urban traffic can be expected to become more apparent in future.

- **Finding 5**

Another indicator of sustainability was determined for this research as identity of place having the possibility of creating sustainability difficulties for future. In depth interviews, personal observations and internet search reveal that two different societal identity formations were observed after urban regeneration in the area, starting from the year of 1999, which are the identities of conservative neighborhood and luxury neighborhood addressing to high income upper-middle class people.

Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods have gained conservative identity in terms of social composition of residents who moved into the area after urban regeneration by the initiation of first new comers as the conservative political party parliamentarians. On the other hand, analysis in the area revealed that these parliamentarians have started to leave from the area in recent years, which has made the conservative identity and reputation of the neighborhoods decreased in time. Therefore, some conservative new comer residents living in the area have also started to leave from the neighborhoods. Leave of conservative parliamentarians and other conservative residents from the area, which has affected the reputation and attractiveness of the area negatively, has caused sustainability difficulty in the area. Thus, there has been a possibility of decreasing different urban functions and popularity in urban area which creates a possibility to emerge urban decline.

- **Finding 6**

Another indicator to examine sustainability difficulties for future is housing. The fundamental reason to analyze Çukurambar and Kızılırmak Neighborhoods in terms of housing sustainability is the imbalanced increase in real estate values over the years. Almost all *gecekondu* settlements in the neighborhoods have been regenerated and new apartment blocks have been constructed. Besides, some public open spaces have been exposed to the construction of high rise residence towers in the area. In the end, these two neighborhoods have been one of the most remarkable areas attracting

high income residents and new investors due to continuously increasing real estate values. The problem here is affordability difficulties in the area to the maintenance costs and income differences between the residents who bought their apartments right after urban regeneration from a relatively lower price and the ones bought 5-10 years after urban regeneration from a relatively higher price.

The average apartment price in these neighborhoods at the initiation of urban regeneration was 80,000 TL in 1999, and it rose to 115,000 TL till 2003. Later on, the average price has incrementally increased and residents bought their apartments from 300,000 TL in 2003, 450,000 TL in 2009, and finally it has reached to 650,000 TL in the mid of 2014 which means a continuous increase in real estate values in the area. In other words, people who have owned differentiated income levels bought apartments from the area in different periods of years. Therefore, some disagreements and problems have sometimes occurred for particularly maintenance costs of the building in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods due to income differences among the people living in the same apartment block with different income levels some of whom bought apartment right after urban regeneration and the ones bought after increasing real estate values. In addition, aging cost of buildings will not be able to be afforded by middle income group living in the area in future. Therefore, there might be a possibility of displacement for residents who cannot afford the common costs to live in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak, meaning that a gentrification process might be resulted due to affordability and income differences.

- **Finding 7**

Luxury high priced residence towers have also been constructed in the area which have quite much Floor Area Ratio value compared to standard 8-10-storey apartment blocks, and many of them has still been under construction by the mid of 2014. These residences have been sold from a relatively too much higher price which has made income difference increased in the area over the years. For instance, average apartment sell prices is approximately 550,000-650,000 TL by the mid of 2014 for standard apartment blocks, yet it reached to 850,000 - 1,100,000 TL for Nova Tower. Besides, the current rental income for this residence block is about 4000 TL whilst

other apartments' rents are about 2000 TL. As a result, it can be concluded that increasing real estate values, namely urban rent, has caused income and affordability differences between the residents living in the same neighborhoods.

### 5.3. Discussion

The main characteristic and difference of this research is that the thesis does not own ideological preconceptions purely focusing on the story of losers regarding how they have become deprived or loser in urban regeneration process. Studies on urban regeneration in Turkey mostly reveal that urban regeneration is a process damaging some previously acquired social values, displacing residents from their living environment and forcing them to live in mostly other peripheral parts of the city. Neighborhood relations, belongingness to the area and pre-constituted social networks are ignored by policy makers; besides, these implementations are criticized for being purely rent-oriented. On the other hand, some practices in Turkey reveal that almost all the actors have become winners in the process economically. Even old residences would have been displaced from the area; they have become satisfied from the profit that they own by means of their private property. Considering the fact that old residents living in urban regeneration area -for instance *gecekondu* dwellers- are mostly low income people, urban regeneration together with accompanying gentrification process does not stand as an implementation to be avoided in some cases. On the contrary, it seems to be a process in which almost all the actors such as landowners, developers and municipalities win economically that makes urban regeneration desirable for the area. Within this research, the thing that makes Çukurambar and Kızılrırmak Neighborhoods different from some other practices in Turkey is almost all the actors have satisfied from urban regeneration practice, and gentrification has completely been experienced voluntarily by old *gecekondu* residents.

Urban regeneration in Çukurambar and Kızılrırmak Neighborhoods has been implemented through reaching agreement between *gecekondu* landowners and developers, and it has derived considerable amount of profit to the actors within the process. However, such an urban development in the area has resulted in increasing

residential density, new transport infrastructure and road network, business centers and commercial activities. As a result of these findings, some questions stand as discussible which are: Did gentrification after urban regeneration process annihilate deprived residents and create losers? Are Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods excellent places to live, work or spend time; or are there sustainability difficulties in the area?

This research reveals that gentrification has not been a process that always creates losers as experienced in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods; yet, it seems significant to realize that only economic aspect has taken into account in this statement. In other words, there might be some losses socially within the process such as annihilation of neighborhood relations, displacement from the area, and loss of social interaction and belongingness to living environment for old residents. However, at the end of the research, it has been concluded that despite the social concerns of urban regeneration, this process as well as gentrification in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods have not generated losers with a few exceptions contrary to the ones experienced in other cases in Turkey. Outcomes of this research is not compatible with the context of other gentrification discussions for the practices in Turkey meaning that old residents have not been annihilated from their living environment; on the contrary, they have desired to leave from the area voluntarily for their economic revival. In other words, in the process of urban regeneration in these neighborhoods, economic welfare concerns have predominated the continuity of social well-being of old *gecekondu* residents. Consequently, they have mostly preferred to leave from the area after regeneration for the sake of their financial gains and satisfied from the process.

The research has revealed that the way of experiencing gentrification is a significant determinant for the winner or loser actors in urban regeneration process as scrutinized in the comparative study of Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods with four areas of gentrification. The most remarkable difference between these neighborhoods is whether the land is owned by individuals together their with real estate deed; on the other hand, in other districts in İstanbul, the land has been owned by public and *gecekondu* residents have occupied the land to meet their sheltering

needs. These people have been displaced towards the peripheral parts of the city without having the right to declare their desires. Therefore, they have involuntarily displaced from their living environment since they have not satisfied financially from the process in order not to have any deed for their land. Consequently, in Turkey, voluntariness of gentrification is directly related with economic concerns, namely financial satisfaction, of old residents in the area.

The aim of research is not in-depth examining of losers in urban regeneration. Besides, from an external point of view, Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods may seem to be excellent places to live; however, these neighborhoods have been expected to experience many problems in terms of sustainability for future. For instance, traffic problem will inevitably be increased in the area due to continuously increasing building density. Another discussable issue is about the identity of the area. The move of conservative people from the neighborhoods due to the desire to live close to each other in another part of Ankara might damage to the identity of place. Besides, since the construction of luxury higher priced residence towers have attracted upper middle class high income people to the area in recent years which means that existing middle class residents have exposed to a new gentrification process due to income and affordability differences.

Urban rent building density has continuously increased in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods in time, and any effort has not been put forth to control increasing density as well as real estate values. In addition, socio-economic composition of the neighborhoods has changed from 1999 (beginning of urban regeneration) to 2014. Middle class conservative residents have been living in the area since the beginning of urban regeneration, and recently, mixed socio-economic and identity composition has constituted over the years including upper middle class high income, conservative or modern residents. Moreover, the density in the area has seemed to be overloaded in time particularly after the construction of high rise residence towers on which any construction was planned in Improvement Plans. In conclusion, the only concern of the researches on urban regeneration practices in Turkey should not only be on social losses and displacement during the process of urban regeneration. This research reveals that in order to evaluate the success of an

urban regeneration practice, it seems reasonable to focus on two significant criteria of urban regeneration: **gentrification** considering voluntary displacement and financial satisfaction of old residents making them economically winners within the process, and **sustainability** indicators to examine urban regeneration regarding not only the current situation, but also sustainability of newly constructed urban area for future.

### 5.3. Further Studies

In this research, the effects of gentrification as one of the criteria of urban regeneration was analyzed in terms of economic aspect. In order to further develop this research, economic as well as social and environmental dimensions can also be studied for the case study area of Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods. The context of the research was limited to only economic dimension since it was revealed that almost all the actors, particularly *gecekondu* landowners, within the process of gentrification financially won which necessitated an economic analysis of urban regeneration. However, the analysis of environmental and social gains and losses would give more reliable results to evaluate whether urban regeneration in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods successful or not. Another criteria for the success of urban regeneration was sustainability which was elaborated through the indicators of transport, identity of place and housing. In the following researches, some other indicators of sustainability might be associated with urban regeneration in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods and evaluated to determine the success or failure of the implementation.

Case study research in these neighborhoods was carried out by using the methods of in-depth interviews and analyzing the area as the participant observer since Çukurambar is my living environment. For the following stage of the research, a questionnaire survey might be applied to reach more precise inferences through getting the opinions of a broad mass of population in the neighborhoods, which enables a taxonomic analysis of the results of questionnaires. In addition, in-depth interviews applied with the people who have already been living in Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods. In order to reveal the effects of gentrification more

precisely the experiences might be gathered through making in-depth interviews with displaced people from the area in the process of urban regeneration. In addition, in this research, sustainability difficulties of urban regeneration for future was mentioned. After a definite time period, a similar research might be carried out in the area to compare the outcomes with the one gathered from this thesis research.

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## APPENDICES

### Appendix A: List of Interviewees

Interviewee Code Mentioned in the Text	The position of Interviewee within the Research
I 1	Resident in regeneration area
I 2	Owner of <i>Mavi Emlak</i> Real Estate Agency
I 3	Mukhtar of Çukurambar
I 4	Resident in regeneration area
I 5	Resident in regeneration area
I 6	Manager and Investor of <i>Vişnelik Residences</i>
I 7	Resident in regeneration area
I 8	Resident in regeneration area
I 9	Resident in regeneration area
I 10	Resident in regeneration area
I 11	Resident in regeneration area
I 12	Owner of <i>Yüksel Emlak</i> Real Estate Agency
I 13	Resident in regeneration area
I 14	Owner of <i>Doruk Emlak</i> Real Estate Agency

## Appendix B: Tez Fotokopi İzin Formu

### ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Enformatik Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>
Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü	<input type="checkbox"/>

### YAZARIN

Soyadı : Durmaz

Adı : Büşra

Bölümü : Bölge Planlama, Şehir ve Bölge Planlama

**TEZİN ADI:** Evaluating Success Criteria of Urban Regeneration in terms of Gentrification and Sustainability: Cases of Çukurambar and Kızıllırmak Neighborhoods

**TEZİN TÜRÜ** : Yüksek Lisans ☒ Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☐
3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☒

**TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ:**