

SECURING FUTURE OF SOCIAL HOUSING:
LEARNING FROM AN ALTERNATIVE REGENERATION/
GYLDENRIS PARKEN IN DENMARK

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ABSTRACT

SECURING FUTURE OF SOCIAL HOUSING: LEARNING FROM AN ALTERNATIVE REGENERATION/ GYLDENRISPARKEN IN DENMARK

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There has been a vast quantity of mass-housing production by the central housing authority in Turkey in the recent years. Operated in line with neo-liberal economy-policies since the beginning of 2000s, the public production has concentrated on speed of construction, quantity of dwelling units, and developing financial resource for ‘social housing’ provision by building luxury housing in profitable urban lands. However, this provision has faced criticism of various academic and non-academic circles, primarily for its sacrifice of spatial quality, liveability, and sustainability of the built environment. In accordance with this criticism, there has been a noticeably rising trend in the amount of academic research in various disciplines for the last ten years on ‘mass-housing’ and related practices of the public authority. Nonetheless, no comprehensive academic study has been conducted on its spatial decision-making - planning and architectural design- processes or has focused on alternative housing supply forms (HSF) for the country.

In such a context, current study aims to contribute to the housing research field by introducing an alternative regeneration practice which has achieved sustainable solutions by enhancing the quality of the space and liveability of the settlement for the

existing community. Therefore, it examines spatial decision-making process behind the regeneration of Gyldenrisparken recently realized in Copenhagen, and regarded as a ‘best-practice’ not only Denmark but also in international grounds. The study intends to reflect the totality of the process which took residents’ participation as the core matter and to introduce the alternative HSF, through which the current provision has been realized, to Turkey. Thus, the study highlights not only fundamental principles of the HSF, but also policy, planning, and design mechanisms contributed to the practice’s achievements in sustainability and spatial quality. Accordingly, this study resolves the case into its components: context-dependent conditions, decision-making process, role-taking/contributing actors, and their possible grounds to participate.

As the final product, the study exhibits a complicated network in a systematized order by providing an analytically organized ‘story’ of the process, a graphically summarized scheme of spatial-decision-making, and a matrix for analysis of spatial decisions according to their contributions to sustainability. Consequently, it presents a framework based on the findings of the research to be exhibited as an alternative series of methods, systems, and processes not only for the Turkish context but also for others which face similar shortcomings in housing provision.

It should be clearly noted that the study does not intend to make a comparison of HSFs, policies, practices, or cases of Turkish and Danish contexts. On the contrary, it aims to provide an in-depth understanding of an alternative housing practice to inspire new attitudes and research for novel housing policies and implementations.

Keywords:

Social Housing, Regeneration, Liveability, Sustainable Housing Settlement, TOKİ, Housing Supply Form, *Almene Boliger*, Spatial Decision-Making, Gyldenrisparken

ÖZ

SOSYAL KONUTUN GELECEĞİNİ GÜVENCEYE ALMAK:
ALTERNATİF BİR YENİLEMEDEN ÖĞRENMEK /
GYLDENRISPARKEN, DANİMARKA

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Son yıllarda, Türkiye’de Toplu Konut İdaresi (TOKİ) tarafından önceki dönemlere kıyasla çok sayıda konut üretilmektedir. 2000’li yılların başlarından bu yana etkin olan neo-liberal ekonomi politikalarına çerçevesinde kamu eliyle yapılan bu üretim, daha çok üretilen konut sayısını arttırmaya, bu nedenle inşaatın hızına ve kar potansiyeli yüksek kentler alanlarda lüks konut üretimi yoluyla ‘sosyal konutlara’ finansman sağlamaya odaklanmıştır. Ancak, bu konut temin yöntemi, temel olarak, yapı çevrenin mekânsal kalitesi, yaşanabilirliği ve sürdürülebilirliğinden verdiği ödümler nedeniyle birçok eleştiri ile karşı karşıya kalmaktadır. Buna paralel olarak, son on yılda ‘toplu konut’ ve kamu otoritesinin buna yönelik uygulamaları üzerine yapılan akademik araştırmaların miktarında gözle görülür bir artış eğilimi vardır. Ne var ki, bu sunum biçiminin mekânsal karar alma süreçlerine (planlama ve mimari tasarım merkezli) ya da ülke için alternatif konut sunum biçimlerine (KSB) odaklanan yeterli kapsamlı akademik çalışma bulunmamaktadır.

Bu bağlamda, bu çalışma, mekânsal kaliteyi ve bu sayede yerleşim yerinin yerel halk için yaşanabilirliğini arttırmış ve böylelikle sürdürülebilir çözümler üretmiş alternatif

bir dönüşüm uygulamasını tanıtarak konut arařtırmaları alanına katkıda bulunmayı hedeflemektedir.

Bu amaçla, çalışmada, yakın zamanda Kopenhag'da gerçekleştirilen ve sadece Danimarka'da değil uluslararası ortamda da 'en iyi uygulama' örneklerinden biri olarak kabul edilen *Gyldenrisparken* sosyal konut alanının yenilenme sürecinin arkasındaki mekânsal karar alma mekanizmalarını derinlemesine incelenmektedir. Bunu yaparken, arařtırmaya hedef olan sürecin bağlamsal şartları, karar alma süreci, katılımcılığı sağlayan zeminler ve görev alan ya da katkıda bulunan aktörlerin rolleri gibi bileşenler çözümlenmektedir. Ayrıca, bölge sakinlerinin katılımını merkeze alan bu sürecin tümünü yansıtmayı ve ilgili konut alanının bir parçası olduğu alternatif KSB'yi Türkiye bağlamına tanıtmak da amaçlanmaktadır. Bu doğrultuda, çalışmada, hem bu KSB'nin temel prensiplerinin altına çizilmekte, hem de söz konusu uygulamanın mekânsal kalite ve sürdürülebilirlikte yakaladığı başarıların bağlamını oluşturan politika, planlama ve tasarım mekanizmaları aydınlatılmaktadır.

Sonuç ürün olarak, bu çalışma sürecin analitik olarak düzenlenmiş bir hikâyesini ortaya koyarak, karmaşık bir örgüyü sistemli bir sıralamayla açıklamaktadır. Bunun yanında, yürütülen mekânsal karar alma sürecini şema haline getirmekte ve alınan her bir mekânsal kararın sürdürülebilirliğe katkısını bir analiz matrisinde sınıflandırarak sunmaktadır. Özetle, bu çalışma sadece Türkiye için değil, konut sunumunda benzer sorunları yaşayan diğer bağlamlar için de bir dizi alternatif yöntem, sistem ve süreci sergilemek üzere arařtırma bulgularına dayalı bir çerçeve ortaya koymaktadır.

Çalışmanın, Türkiye ve Danimarka bağlamlarına ait politika, uygulama veya vakaları karşılařtırmayı hedeflemediği vurgulanmalıdır. Tersine, özgün konut politikaları ve uygulamaları için yeni tutumları ve arařtırmaları tetiklemek üzere alternatif bir konut sunum biçimine dair derinlemesine bir kavrayış sağlanması amaçlanmaktadır.

Anahtar Sözcükler:

Sosyal Konut, Yenileme, Dönüşüm, Yaşanabilirlik, Sürdürülebilir Konut Yerleşimleri, TOKİ, Konut Sunumu Biçimi, Mekânsal Karar Alma.

Dedicated to all communities
in need of happiness and will to live together.

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PREFACE

(The poem below was written by my father, right after demolition of the garden house he had grown up as a part of an unnamed but wide-scale urban transformation process in the city of Elazığ)

MISSING THE GARDEN HOUSE

They have torn down even the house,

I was born and grew up.

The inner walls we had delicately whitewashed,

The rooms in which voices of my dad and mom resounds,

Where we had sweet dreams,

Our feelings in first days of youth,

Which we believe that are still hanging on the walls,

The traces of sight my father had when I was born,

Have got lost among pickaxe sounds of a few workers...

...

We have torn down even the house,

I was born and grew up.

We brought down our beautiful memories into ruins,

Killed our childhood inside,

Destroyed the only witness of our happiest years, too.

Strange to say, I feel like a homeless, we don't have our house anymore.

To change two broken tiles of it,

How carefully my father used to walk on its roof,

He used to walk as if he is stepping on its ribs.

Our roof which was not spared to be walked on,

Have got lost among pickaxe sounds of a few workers...

Zekeriyya BİCAN

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

A shelter has always been a primary consideration of the human-being ever since he needed to protect himself against uncontrollable impacts of nature. The concept has evolved through series of forms due to changing functions for years. In time, people began to settle on land, establish complex social relations, and created common solutions to dwell together in forms of housing. Forms and functions of houses have evolved, and developed according to changing paradigms such as place, user preferences, climatic conditions, artistic intentions, governing ideologies, and economy-politics. These factors have affected their location, orientation, alignment, arrangement, and form; that is, their individual design and the way they are considered in urban planning.

Space and spatial relations have always been object of politics. (Althusser, 1970) Regarding this premise, spatial organization of cities and architecture have been a ground for solidification of political ideologies. Therefore, housing problem has been a central subject for not only politicians and policy developers, but also professionals, researchers, and academics working within disciplines concerning urban space - architecture, urban design, and city planning-.

The industrial revolution which took place in the second half of the 18th century and the first half of the 19th century has been a critical break point of the history and radically changed the relations of production. It caused an unprecedented transition from manual production methods to more efficient forms by the use of mechanized production. Large-scale mechanization of the methods gave birth to industrial facilities -factories- began to emerge in city centres. As a result, demand for manpower to operate those factories called for people from rural areas to cities, which resulted in population growth and urbanization, and the unprecedented growth of urban population created an extraordinary demand for housing in the cities. The initial

solutions aroused in form of shanty buildings around factories built by the workers themselves for instant need of shelter. However, the first organized creation of workers' housing was provided by factory owners in order to meet continuous demand of workers and, in fact, to keep their factories running. Besides, there was limited housing supply provided by some philanthropic societies for those with extreme need. Among the European countries, England led the way to provide the first examples of public housing settlements for the working class in the end of 19th century.

The world wars' period, which caused many losses of lives, serious illnesses due to damaged infrastructure, and destruction of cities, became the next breaking point both for the history of urbanization. Thus, the right for 'housing' was indicated among the basic human needs described within Universal Declaration of Human Rights. United Nations embraced the statement of 'procurement of adequate number of housing for everyone and making human settlements safer, healthier, and inhabitable' as a universal goal. (United Nations, 1948)

Accordingly, states which faced detrimental effects of the wars introduced central and local spatial policies to create urgent public solutions for the extremely growing housing problem (Keleş, 1966). Many European countries developed social housing programs to provide large quantities of affordable shelter for vulnerable low-income families in the cities, although content and handling of those were dependent on policies of governments but limited with resources of the countries (Keleş, 1966). This period has been regarded as the unnamed beginning of policies of social housing.

Social housing has usually referred to an organized solution of shelter particularly for vulnerable classes in terms of economy, health, and social problems. It has been used to denote low-cost -affordable- housing provided by either public authorities or non-profit organizations fundamentally on rental basis. Nonetheless, its definition is context-dependent. That is, it depicts varying housing models depending on changing contextual conditions.

Thus, following the world wars, the understanding of social housing provision as a pure shelter solution for the weakest classes evolved into one of a general development problem extending to all other classes of the society. Thus, during the post-war period, from 1950's to 1970's, public authorities undertook the duties of 'dealing with housing conditions of all the classes, provision of the necessary subsidizing, and conducting controls.' (Keleş, 1966, s. 169)

Nevertheless, in 1980's and 1990's those countries began to face social problems by the appearance of deprived neighbourhoods, especially focused in those post-war social housing venues. Extreme population growth in city centres by migration, continuous economic crisis, and increasing social needs of an aging population had triggered the deprivation. (Kunduracı, 2013, p. 63) In fact, the settlements had initially intended to provide healthy housing environments for people in need, but they ended up with a high concentration of socially segregated groups, criminals, and the vulnerable population. For about two decades, projects based on renewal, re-generation or urban transformation have been adopted by local or central authorities to resolve the problems. (Kunduracı, 2013)

In the meantime, the rise of capitalism following the industrial revolution made the relations of production more oppressive for the societies and individuals. Those relations resulted in increased segregation and consequent classification of the existing urban communities. The working class, who formed the most productive segment of the society, has been an object of related policies and was affected by key decisions. The problem of housing for the working class has been one of the major topics of central or local governments because their contribution to the economy is a vital concern for the countries.

Sixty Years of Housing Experience in Turkey

Historically speaking, the housing experience of Turkish society did not follow the exact course with the rest of the world. Although, Turkey had commonalities with European countries in terms of the global experiences of the twentieth century history to some extent, the housing problem was handled differently. Thus, before discussing recent 'social housing' provision in Turkey, it would be helpful to provide historical and contextual information based on how 'housing supply forms'¹-HSFs- have been utilized in the country for the lasts sixty years.

Mass housing provision is one of the HSFs mostly preferred in Turkish housing scene for more than thirty years both by public and private developers. HSF is a rather

¹ The definition of the term 'housing supply forms'-HSF or '*konut sunum biçimi*' in Turkish was first been made by İlhan Tekeli in 1981, and has been widely preferred to denote the different types housing solution in the related academic literature.

distinctive form of housing supply through which social housing in Turkey is provided on a national scale. Thus, one should be acquainted with the former HSFs appeared in Turkey as a developing country for more than a half century to understand this most recent variation of HSFs and the related criticism on it. According to Tekeli,

‘[e]ach housing supply form is defined by putting forward what the roles of households, official and non-official mechanisms of finance, producers, local and central governments are from the birth of housing demand until the housing is produced and begin to be used; by the quality of relationships established among actors, and by how the rights for determining decisions are organized.’ (Tekeli, 1983/2010, p. 221)

Squatters, Small-scale Property Development, Housing Cooperatives

Following the rapid urbanization after the two world wars, squatting was a spontaneously flourished HSF in Turkey, as the result of a combination of socio-economic and political factors. On one hand, the capitalistic system was demanding continuous labour and inviting labour force to urban areas where the centres of production accumulated. On the other hand, the state could not have provided those groups with legal housing options. For Tekeli, these reasons underpinned the ground of legitimacy for squatting social groups. (Tekeli, 1983/2010, p. 223) Furthermore, the housing problem did not create a pressure over wages in Turkey because squatting provided lower rentals. Labour class regarded squatter housing as an opportunity to survive in the cities. Indeed, submission of the labour class to bourgeoisie was a result of an extremely fast urbanization, which did not provide enough time for the labour class to be aware of the realities and their rights. (Tekeli 1978/2010, p. 163)

Limited supply of plots planned by local governments, increasing land rents due to resulting scarcity, and the rule which only allows a single owner to build a housing on a single plot had resulted in a negative paradox that did not allow middle classes to purchase dwellings. A series of legal arrangements put into force in 1948, 1955, and finally in 1965 made it possible for individuals to own a unit in a block of housing erected in the same plot. (Tekeli 1979/2010) The reflection of such legal enforcements onto physical urban environment became the emergence of ‘apartment blocks’. Thanks to these enforcements two new mechanisms appeared ‘*yapsatçılık*’¹ - small-scale

¹ ‘Yap-satçılık’ is an informal definition for small scale housing development mechanism based on a Turkish phrase ‘yap-sat’ which may directly be translated into English as ‘build and sell’ or ‘make and sell’.

property development- and housing cooperatives. (Tekeli, 1983/2010, p. 224)

'Yapsatçılık' became widespread after 1955 in the country as a new type of HSF primarily focusing supply for the middle class. The concept involved construction of apartment blocks on urban plots and sale of individual units by developers. It is a result of regulations allowing 'flat ownership' and 'housing credits' introduced in the same period to support purchase of new units, and the urgent demand for housing in the society. Within this mechanism, buyers were determined after buildings were constructed. Therefore, the developer -*'yapsatçı'*- decided the architectural design of the building according to common values within society, prioritizing maximization of the exchange value of the units. In other words, the developer was the primary decision-maker for the architecture of supplied housing. Because this mechanism was widely demanded in those years, a physical/architectural monotony aroused in urban areas and housing venues. Furthermore, because maximizing their profit was the primary concern for the developers, they strived to maximize the built area within plots. Ultimately, this mechanism created high-dense urban settlements which lack both infrastructure and social services. (Tekeli 1978/2010, p. 171)

Turkey embraced the emergence of 'a planned period' of development by the enactment of a new constitution in 1961. Following the new constitution, the first five-years' plan in 1963 introduced new credit mechanisms for cooperative housing. Besides, 'flat ownership law' in 1965 provided multi-dimensional regulations which allowed middle and lower-middle classes to own a flat through housing cooperatives, while provision of the small-scale developers was targeting relatively wealthier groups. In fact, housing cooperatives -in the form of garden houses- had been in the Turkish housing portfolio since 1930s, despite their limited extent. (Tekeli, 1979, 1983, 2009, 2010) For Tekeli, cooperative housing can also be considered as a mechanism under mass-housing supply form by 1960s. (Tekeli, 1996/2010, p. 232) Thus, mass-housing provision in 1970s was organized through cooperative housing, initiated by either local governments or private developers.¹

¹ Batıkent project in Ankara, *'Yenilikçi Yerleşmeler'*-innovative settlements- project in İzmit were among the cooperative-based local government initiatives in 1970s. Whereas Oran project in Ankara and Ezcacıbaşı was organized by private investors. (Tekeli, 1991)

Mass Housing: Its Embrace and Legal Promotion as the Dominant HSF

Mass housing has first been proposed as an alternative means for housing provision in the second five-years' development plan of Turkey in 1967. (Tekeli, 1983, p.225) In 1980s cooperatives and their unions have played important roles in mass housing provided by local authorities. The cooperative system in 1980s prioritized the nearby environment of the housing settlements. Within the system the term 'urban cooperativism' - '*kent kooperatifçiliği*' was preferred to disclose an enhanced concern for quality for the urban environment aimed by the new approach. Thanks to cooperative movement, the first mass housing law introduced in 1981 was primarily built on cooperative organization. The following legislation in 1984 was distinguished from the former legal arrangements in terms of introduction of the "mass housing fund" and the "mass housing administration" -TOKİ¹-. It is notable that the fund financed 31% of the total investment in housing within the country in the following year. Nevertheless, the fund was gradually transferred into the central budget until 1995. (Tekeli, 1983, p.226)

Until the end of 1990s, cooperatives, TOKİ, and private developers were the prime actors of the mass housing provision. Municipalities and semi-private organizations operated by them -such as KİPTAŞ of İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality- were also among the medium-scale actors. The process became effective in development of construction technologies and housing finance, but not successful in creation of housing environments. (Tekeli, 2009, p.251)

Attempts for Transformation

'Amnesty law for squatters' of 1984 targeted transformation of the squatter settlements by sharing urban rent with squatter owners. For Tekeli, this moment initiated a new HSF through transformation. Besides, 'the law for unlicensed construction' was introduced in the same year. These two enforcements resulted in erosion of power of sanction of town planning regulations. (Tekeli, 2009, p.251)

From 1960s to 2000s, Turkish cities experienced several methods to regenerate, rehabilitate, and thus, provide decent housing for the vulnerable low-income groups in

¹ Toplu Konut İdaresi.

many squatter settlements in major cities. For that purpose, local governments cooperated with private bodies and the local residents and developed tools for mutually beneficial and satisfactory ends. In some of those occasions, new cooperatives were formed and utilized to organize the demand structure in the target settlement and cooperative unions supported the project management and supply of necessary equipment and workforce -f.e. *Zafertepe, Ankara*-. In many of them, novel mechanisms were developed to ensure participation of local residents and to integrate economic and cultural realities in the settlements as an input for the projects -GEÇAK I-II, Ankara-. Those projects prioritized provision of housing within the existing context and elimination of land speculation. Besides, alternative means of housing were experienced in some other projects. For instance, ‘TEY - *Tasarruflu Ev Yap Modeli*’¹ in Aktepe, Ankara, bore 25% of down payment to be paid during the construction process, and the rest to be split into instalments. Alternatively, ‘*Nüve konut*’ -core house- model was based on provision of single units with basic infrastructure and living space to be developed as ‘open building’ by the residents themselves. In another one, land allocations were granted, and technical and material support were promised to those who would like to build their own houses. For some of the residents, prefabricated housing was provided. It should also be noted that new cooperatives were encouraged to be formed in many of those projects to secure participation and an organized body of residents for a sustainable process. (Yağlı, 2003)

After all, in 1999, a serious earthquake shook the most populated region of Turkey about only a hundred kilometres away from the Istanbul, which housed around ten millions of people at that time. The earthquake caused eighteen thousands of deaths and many serious injuries by devastating more than hundred thousand buildings in the region. It has been a national trauma and a strong triggering for a new attitude towards urban development reminding the risk of a potential collapse in case of a stronger earthquake to shake larger cities. In the following years, central authority took some precautions and municipalities were authorized to develop transformation projects to reduce the potential risk of future earthquake disasters. Whereas, the major legal enforcement came in 2012. A law was introduced to determine the rules of

¹ The name of the model can be translated into English as ‘build (your) house economically’.

‘rehabilitation, clearance, and renovation’ for the risky areas. (Law. 6306, 2012) By this law, mostly pronounced as ‘*afet yasası*’ -disaster law-, TOKİ has been assigned as the main public authority responsible from related implementations. Thus, it has gained a more central role than ever in the housing sector across the whole country.

1.1. Problem Definition

Neo-liberalism, Mass Housing, and TOKİ

As a developing country, Turkey has founded the base of its recent economy-politics on a growth model driven by its construction sector. Turkish governments have embraced neo-liberal policies starting from 1990s. The demand for new kinds of housing arose for the white-collar workers opened the doors for international housing market, especially in Istanbul. Large-scale housing developers have emerged and large plots have become scarce. During the 2000s, central housing authority -TOKİ- has been equipped with extensive rights to plan independent from local governments; to unify small sized properties; to use of plots of state treasury. At the same time, new types of HSFs have emerged with the contribution of both public and private actors.

According to Tekeli, existing HSFs may be hypothesized as variations of two basic channels as: “HSF of mass housing”, and “HSF through transformation”. For him, the former consists of gated communities, residences with or without shopping centres, TOKİ’s high-income housing, TOKİ’s low-income housing, and housing of cooperative unions. Whereas, the latter is composed of squatter transformations and transformations to cope with risk of earthquakes, a group of which are developed in the form of mass-housing. (Tekeli, 2009, p.252-253)

TOKİ’s housing provision in the last fifteen years has been based on a foundation of property ownership. This has been a result of a macro-economic policy, which targets financial development of the economy through the construction industry. In this period, the administration has developed a cross-financing system, which basically seeks finance to provide affordable housing for the low-income by developing housing for the high-income through ‘fund raising’ projects with high potential of profit. Thus, TOKİ provided more than 600.000 units of dwelling about 80% of which are ‘social housing’ as declared by the administration and other related governmental authorities.

(TOKİ Website, 2015) Nevertheless, the spatial aspects of its provision model have widely been criticized on political, academic, urban, and architectural grounds. Much of the criticism targets its quantity-focused approach stating that the model sacrifices quality of the provision.

Being in line with the neo-liberal policies followed by the central government, the administration has executed social housing projects mostly on state-owned suburban lands, and preferred to utilize the plots in the central urban districts for its ‘fund-raising’ projects to maximize its profit. Due to this dual approach, on one hand, the administration gets use of the maximum potential of land rent to canalize it for its social housing provision. On the other hand, for the sake of providing a ‘cheaper’ provision of those, critical spatial aspects for decent housing (i.e. connectivity with urban centres and existing physical, social, and economic infrastructure such as ease of transportation, availability of social, medical, and security services) have been sacrificed. Besides, perhaps more critical than the spatial handicaps, this approach contributes to classification of income groups within the urban space and the impairment of the feeling of social justice.

Spatial Decision-making Mechanisms in Recent Practices of TOKİ

For Tekeli (1983, p.221), ‘each housing supply form creates a certain quality of urban environment. Thus, there is strong relation of determination between environmental quality and forms of housing provisions.’ One should have an idea of spatial decision-making processes of the recent housing implementations following the macro policies, to understand the ground-paving way for the criticisms on the spatial production of the public authorities. As the major tool for provision of social housing, TOKİ utilizes a basic mechanism for ‘administrative implementations’ as graphically simplified in Figure 1-1.

Scheme of the mechanism consists of three basic steps: ‘initiation of the project and selection of the plot’, ‘project and construction’, and ‘sale of housing units’. Firstly, there are two primary means to initiate the project. Either TOKİ takes an initiative and determines a plot to develop housing, or a municipality/public authority applies to the administration with a project proposal to be executed in a certain plot. In the latter case, the parties sign a protocol if an agreement is reached. Second step begins with the development of the architectural project. After an initial investigation for quantity

and demanded combinations of spatial layout¹ for housing units to be developed, gathered information is forwarded to project department of TOKİ. In most of projects, the department prepares a preliminary project by selecting a set of apartment block types out of a limited ready-made housing projects it has already developed and placing them on the given plot.² Here, the major concern is securing the minimum/average number of apartment units with ‘demanded’ spatial layouts. Afterwards, the department either finalizes the project itself or the administration goes out to tender with the preliminary project, the details of which will be decided in collaboration with winning contractor. In both cases, contractors have the right to offer project revisions to provide ease of or to shorten the time for construction.

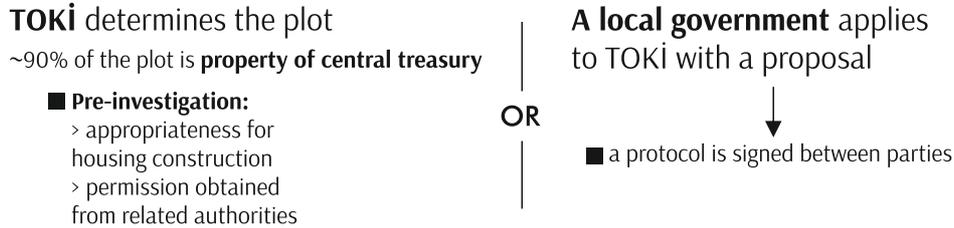
Sale of housing units can be regarded as the third and final step bridging the units with their residents. Legally, any citizen ‘who does not own a house’ can apply TOKİ for a ‘social housing’. However, there are pre-defined income limits that can change according to type of housing projects, each of which targets a unique income group - ‘poor’, ‘low income’, ‘narrow income’, and ‘middle income’-. The apartments begin to be offered to the buyers during the construction phase. TOKİ notes that ‘the poor group’ do not pay for the cost for land. At this point, the vital issue which should be highlighted is that each housing type for an intended income group has certain limits for the offered apartment sizes. For instance, poor group apartments are provided between 45-60 m². Whereas, a middle-income apartment varies between 85 m² and 146 m². In the end, one has the right to choose among the above-mentioned types of apartments according to the income limit that he is associated with.

¹ To determine the demand of housing in a certain plot, potential users are asked to declare their demand for ‘spatial layout’. Thus, either the administration or the local authority counts an average number of units, and TOKİ determines how many units in which ‘spatial layout’ will be constructed on the pre-defined plot. ‘Spatial layout’ primarily denotes number of ‘rooms’ inside an apartment unit. For instance, a four room-apartment is defined as a ‘3+1 apartment’ where ‘+1’ denotes a relatively large room than the other three rooms, and mostly called as ‘guest room/*salon*’ in Turkish housing jargon.

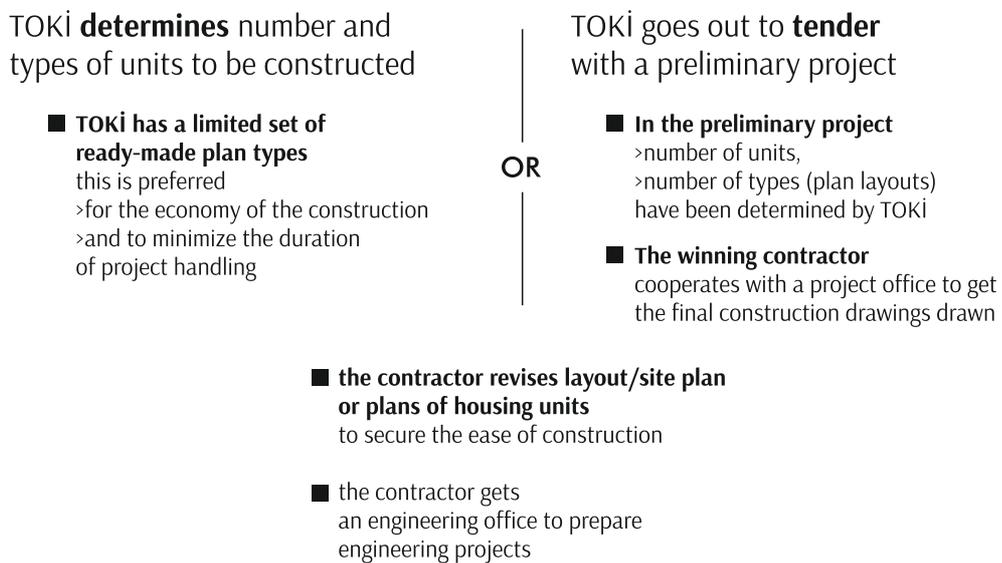
² The administration has recently switching its project handling process upon criticism on its ‘mono-typical’ provision. For *Kayabaşı* in İstanbul, it organized architectural competition in 2009. (source: <http://www.toki.gov.tr/yarismalar>) Besides, in 2014, it held another competition asking participants to design ‘typical projects’ to be applied in seven different geographical regions of Turkey. Nevertheless, the competition also faced criticisms for encouraging ‘copying of architectural works’ and ‘developing context-free projects’ with ‘fake identities’. (TMMOB’s declaration, Arkitera Website)

**Summary of Spatial Decision-making in
ADMINISTRATIVE IMPLEMENTATIONS of TOKI**

INITIATION OF PROJECT AND SELECTION OF PLOT



PROJECT AND CONSTRUCTION



SALE OF HOUSING UNITS

- Any citizen who does not own a house can apply. (**Social housing**)
- There are certain **maximum and minimum income limits** for projects. The limits change for low-income, poor, narrow-income, and middle-income groups.
- Poor groups do not pay the cost for land.
- **Aparment size** for poor group: 45-65 m²
for low-income group: 65-87 m²
for narrow- and middle-income group: 85-146 m²
- Housing are offered **for sale during the construction stage**.

SOURCE: Interview with TOKI Project Department (See Appendix 3), TOKI Due Diligence Document (2013)
Schematized by N.Burak Bican.

Figure 1-1: Scheme for TOKI's Administrative Implementations of TOKI. Source: Interview with TOKI Project Department (See APPENDIX C), TOKI Due Diligence Document (2013). Scheme is drawn by the author, N. Burak Bican

This basic scheme applies in many of mass housing projects recently developed by TOKİ. This scheme is also instrumentalized for provision of ‘social housing’ in transformation projects carried out in collaboration with local governments. In the recent transformation and renewal projects, TOKİ has provided social housing for right owners to be transferred from the transformed area following demolition of existing housing. While transformation projects fundamentally aim ‘to clear urban areas from squatter’ and ‘providing secure and decent housing for the low-income’ (TOKİ Website, 2016) urban renewal projects target to ‘provide dilapidated central historical districts with new functions and re-utilize these areas in the city.’ (Law 5366, 2005) Nevertheless, the targets have not always provided the intended result, at least for the ‘vulnerable’ groups. Spatial decision-making processes behind the recent transformation processes cast light on those reasons behind the suffering of local inhabitants. Here, two series of processes behind two selected cases implemented in İstanbul will be exemplified to highlight the critical issues.

The first case is transformation process of Ayazma and Tepeüstü neighbourhoods. (Figure 1-2) Uşaklıgil (2014) states that the neighbourhoods were two of the squatter settlements which had begun to develop in the outskirts of İstanbul in 1970s. As the city expanded, the neighbourhoods were surrounded by major highways and attractive urban tissues, and thus, the land has gained a high rental potential. Following a public cooperation protocol among TOKİ, İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality (İBB), and Küçükçekmece Municipality (KB), the local municipality, KB, announced the neighbourhoods as urban transformation areas in 2005. Demolition of the squatters and opening of the plot for new urban development required provision of alternative housing for the inhabitants. Thus, KB offered the locals, who could prove the legality of their stay, the right to have a social housing unit built by TOKİ in Bezirganbahçe - eight kilometres away from Ayazma. Those who accepted the offer signed contract with TOKİ and was required to make a down payment of 10 to 15 thousand liras for the apartments. Nevertheless, the units were too small because they were produced according to economic standards of low-income groups by TOKİ. Besides, there were no financial mechanisms to support the residents to afford monthly instalments, and they were required to pay monthly fees for their flats, and other extras. Furthermore, many had to pay for daily travel expenses to commute back to their old work places in the vicinity of Ayazma. Thus, many could not afford the new living conditions, and

finally, had to sell their new apartments and moved away.

Those who refused the offer of the municipality resisted against demolitions, got organized, and cooperated with some NGOs. However, their resistance ended after four years, in 2009. This group got in agreement with KB and moved to social housing in Kayaşehir, located 10 kilometres away. Nevertheless, many of them faced the same ending with the first group and displaced once again by selling the new dwellings.

After demolition and emptying of the neighbourhoods, the land has been sold. The area was utilized to construct 3100 luxurious housing units for high-income groups by a private company as a ‘resource development’ project of TOKİ.

The second case is an urban renewal process in a historical neighbourhood. (Figure 1-3) Sulukule is a historical settlement of 940 years with a strong social unity of ethnic Romans but a concentrated poverty, in the recent years. (Uşaklıgil, 2014) Nonetheless, it is not a squatter settlement, because most of the housing in the area was built legally. According to a UNESCO report on İstanbul, two of its neighbourhoods were regarded as cultural heritage. Right after a group of amendments in the Law 5366¹, Fatih Municipality (FB) collaborated with TOKİ and İBB in 2005 for an urban renewal project in Sulukule. The following year FB organized regular invited meetings with the residents and proposed three options to them. They should have either sell their houses themselves or let them expropriated by the municipality to get the right to move in a social housing provided by TOKİ. Alternatively, they could choose to buy one of the luxury housing to be constructed in the neighbourhood, if they could effort. Those accepted one of the first two offers moved to social housing in Taşoluk, 32 km away from Sulukule. As the pre-mentioned Ayazma residents, they could not put up with the new conditions, and many came back to Karagümrük, a neighbourhood in the boundary of Sulukule. Those who refused the offers were evicted by force, and their houses were demolished.

The new luxury housing settlement built in the area after the demolition was planned as a ‘tabula rasa’ regardless of the existing urban fabric. Although the new units were planned for the high-income, 199 of the local residents gained the right to buy one of

¹ The amendments has provided local governments with new rights for expropriation. It abandoned their requirement of getting approval from property owners in renewal projects. (Uşaklıgil, 2014, p. 80)

them. However, most of them either sold or rented out their dwellings, after they faced heavy economic burden as most of other locals did in other settlements. (Uşaklıgil, 2014)

As can be inferred, the processes ended up with displacement of majority of the residents of mentioned neighbourhoods and constrained them to face economic, physical, and social handicaps of ‘dispossession.’ However, similar procedures have been implemented in many other recent projects of TOKİ. Uşaklıgil tells the processes behind other cases - transformations and renewal processes in *Süleymaniye, Tarlabası, Fener-Balat*, and *Okmeydanı*- in İstanbul and there is more of these spread in many major cities of the country.

Common Problems in Spatial Decision-making Processes

One can grasp some common problems coming to the front, when the three selected schemes of spatial decision-making processes are viewed together. (Figures 1.1-1.2-1.3) First of all, for TOKİ’s ‘administrative implementations’, lands should be a public property to develop housing on. Accordingly, the administration principally prefers plots which are already owned by the central treasury. Those plots provide the public authority with ease of cheap production and pre-elimination of extra effort for the expropriation of private land. Accordingly, most of large plots owned by the treasury are located far in the edges of cities, thus, in case of a new housing development on them, they require extra investment for infrastructure and connection with the rest of the city. Moreover, this approach eliminates the possibility of locating social housing in central areas of cities in advance. Indeed, in case a free central plot is available, the authority tends to utilize it for ‘profit-gaining’ projects by utilizing its potential of high rent. This is in fact the basic model behind the ‘revenue-sharing’ model recently developed by TOKİ to finance its social housing provision. However, this mechanism falls also short in maintaining the perception of social justice, because it reserves the valuable central land only for the high-income while providing the classes with limited finances with unique alternative of living in boundaries of the cities. In practical terms, the results mostly turn out to be hardly affordable for residents in large cities, despite the relative ‘cheapness’ of the units. Similar mechanism applies in recent squatter transformation and urban renewal projects, in which most of the residents are forced to displace, and after all, face ‘dispossession’.

**Summary of Spatial Decision-making in
SQUATTER HOUSING TRANSFORMATION - AYAZMA TEPEÜSTÜ/İSTANBUL**
A squatter settlement from **1970s**

2004

TOKİ + İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality (İBB) + Küçükçekmece Municipality (KM)
A public + public cooperation

2005

Protocol among TOKİ, İBB, KM:
KM announced Ayazma and Tepeüstü as «urban transformation area»

KM offered **social housing** to those

- > who paid some amount for their dwelling through varying means
- > and signed a contract with TOKİ

those

accept the offer

- required to make a down-payment of 10-15.000TL for social housing



moved to social housing
built by TOKİ in Bezirganbahçe

- The social housing area is **8 km away** from Ayazma
- **No financial mechanisms** introduced to support residents to afford monthly installments
- **Small apartment units** for crowded low-income families
- **many could not afford the new living conditions**
 - > monthly installments to be paid to TOKİ
 - > monthly fees
 - > bills
 - > extra daily travel expenses to go to their old work places
- **many sold out their residences**

those

refuse the offer

- this group resisted until 2009 in the region

OR



2009

moved to social housing
built by TOKİ in Kayaşehir

The social housing area is 10 km away from Ayazma

⟨many of them faced similar conditions⟩

2010

The land has been assigned for a «revenue-sharing» project and utilized to produce 3100 luxury housing units for high-income groups by a private company

SOURCE: Uşaklıgil (2014). Schematized by N.Burak Bican.

Figure 1-2: Squatter Housing Transformation in Ayazma and Tepeüstü: Spatial Decision-making process. Source: Uşaklıgil (2014) Scheme is drawn by the author, N. Burak Bican

Summary of Spatial Decision-making in URBAN RENEWAL - SULUKULE/İSTANBUL

- **A historical neighbourhood** of 940 years with concentrated poverty but a strong social unity of ethnic Romans
- **UNESCO report on historical areas in Istanbul:** «Neslişah Sultan and Hatice Sultan neighbourhoods in Sulukule are cultural values»
- Sulukule is **not a squatter settlement**. Most of the housing were built legally

Law 5366 on «urban renewal» was revised in 2005. It provides dilapidated central historical districts with new functions and re-utilizes those areas within the city.

- **No requirement to get approval from property owners** for local authorities in expropriation for renewal projects
- **Law requires home owners**
 - > either to approve conditions offered by municipalities
 - > or transfer their rights of property to the municipalities
- Local governments has the right for «**urgent expropriation**» -acele kamulaştırma-

2005

TOKİ + İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality (İBB) + Fatih Municipality (FM)
A public + public cooperation

2006

Meetings organized by FM in the municipality

FM proposes **3 options** to Sulukule residents

- 1. to sell their houses themselves
- 2. to let their houses to be expropriated
- 3. to buy one of luxury units to be build in the neighbourhood

accept an offer

refuse the offers

- 3000 residents were **evicted by force**, their houses were **demolished**

accept the offer

moved to social housing built by TOKİ in Taşoluk

- The settlement is **32 km away** from Sulukule.

New housing in Sulukule

- After demolition in the neighbourhood, the new settlement was planned regardless of the existing urban tissue.
- New units were planned **for the high-income**
- 199 residents gained the right to buy one of new housing units,
- **but many could not afford the new living conditions.** They either sold or rented out the new units.

- **Many could not afford** the new living conditions and came back to Karagümrük, a neighbourhood on the boundary of Sulukule

Renewal Council registered 9 of 85 houses for restoration upon application

- >9 houses got public support. >Küçük Çekmece Street was taken under preservation

SOURCE: Uşaklıgil (2014). Schematized by N.Burak Bican.

Figure 1-3: Urban Renewal in Sulukule: Spatial Decision-making process. Source: Uşaklıgil (2014) Scheme is drawn by the author, N. Burak Bican

Another critical aspect of the processes is that the project development phase is intentionally kept as short and simple as possible not only to cut down on the total development duration but also to provide ease of construction with the tools and conditions which have already been experienced by contractors. Indeed, this preference is the most criticized spatial decision as it paves way for common shortfalls in architecture and urban design of the settlements and individual housing units. A group of monotypic apartment blocks are chosen among a limited set of ready-made projects to correspond to a counted number of units with 'demanded' layouts and located on the site plan of a given plot. This approach, despite creating a 'shortcut' in the architectural design process, comes with various shortcomings. Not only various context-dependant factors -topographical, geographical, ergonomic, cultural- are overlooked but also opportunities for case-specific, local, and innovative solutions are eliminated in advance. Furthermore, contractors' revision in projects -of site plans, apartment blocks, or housing units- 'to secure ease of construction' or 'to cut down on unnecessary expenses' are found favourable, once they prove to provide a shorter construction time without sacrificing security and strength of construction. In fact, such approach discloses that architectural priorities may be put on the back burner in case a possibility for economy of the construction appears during the process.

In terms of the mechanism which applies for sale of social housing units, there is a double problematic approach, despite the good will of 'providing everyone with a house through affordable means'. Firstly, there exists a paradox, which results from a mismatch between economic limitations and social realities of the targeted groups. That is, as income of a person decreases, so does the size of the housing units offered for the income level group to which he belongs. This means that a low-income citizen does not have an opportunity to live in a large size apartment, even though he has a large family. Even if he intends for it, he cannot afford to buy a larger apartment - which is normally offered for relatively higher income groups-. Secondly, the mechanism contributes to classification of the urban land according to income levels. In other words, each settlement creates a venue in which its inhabitants are composed of those whom can only afford a certain level of price for housing. Therefore, the process ends up with an unavoidable lack of 'social mix' of classes within the housing settlements. Besides, as both public and private sector pursue similar means of implementation, cities have become segregated and grounds for 'social exclusion'

have been reinforced.

As a result of the processes described above, recent transformation practices in Turkey do inevitably oblige vulnerable classes to face heavy burdens. While recent legal enforcements facilitate easier grounds for the local governments to transform the urban fabric, they also weaken the local citizens against law and results in their future impoverishment. Limited participatory processes operate to persuade the local residents to accept one of pre-defined alternatives in order to empty the land as soon as possible to make it ready for the future construction. Therefore, locals are forced to accept either to sell their houses or to leave them for expropriation. If they do so, they are offered to buy either a social housing unit built by TOKİ or -in some cases- luxury housing to be built in their neighbourhoods instead of their houses. Once they refuse those offers, they should either resist until a common ground is reached or face eviction by force before their houses are demolished.

Besides, current mechanisms do provide the right owners with the only opportunity to buy a social housing. Nonetheless, in case the plot in question is located in a central urban district with a high-rent potential, the offered alternative settlement for the locals is usually far away from the neighbourhood. This process mostly ends up with unaffordable conditions for the residents in the new environments. Besides, the projects' focus for increasing the profitability sacrifices alternative means of preserving the neighbourhoods through wide-scale renovation, conservation and rehabilitation. Consequently, those who move into social housing should, in advance, accept the shortcomings of limited space for their crowded families, restricted quality provided within, and their new locations within the city.

At the end of the day, it is the vulnerable classes of the society who suffer most from the public spatial interventions, although the visible initial goal of those has been to provide them with decent housing solutions. It should be noted that social and economic consequences are also vital but are not covered by this study.

To summarize, it is possible to summarize the following problematic issues about the recent HSFs utilized by the public authority:

- Forced displacement and resulting ‘dispossession’ of vulnerable groups in urban renewal and transformation areas,
- Reservation of central urban land for the wealthy groups and concentration of the low-income in the edges of cities,
- Limited means of participation for the local residents in projects which highly affect their immediate living environments,
- Sacrificed spatial quality of housing settlements and apartment units with regards to principles of architecture and urban design due to limited concern reserved for project development, and consequent mismatch of end-products with context-dependant factors and pre-elimination of case-specific and innovative solutions,
- Deficiency of approaches and implementations for sustainable and liveable housing environments jeopardizing the future of settlements
- A paradox arising from the poor and the low-income can only afford and be offered smaller apartments even if they have large families,
- Lack of ‘social mix’ within housing venues and economic classification of their communities because the settlements are designated according to the affordability of inhabitants,
- Consequent results causing spatial segregation of classes in accordance with the perception of ‘social exclusion’ and ‘social injustice’.
- Accelerated project and implementation processes leading to ignorance of historical values, cultures, and faulty approaches impairing the originality of existing settlements.
- Ownership-based model restricting alternative and flexible HSFs to solve the housing problem,

In fact, these issues are among the most criticized subjects regarding the recent public provision of housing. One may find an expanded summary of related discussions published in various academic and non-academic sources. (See heading 2.1)

Recent Legal Engagements

The development plan¹ introduced by the Ministry of Development - and approved by The Grand National Assembly of Turkey- in 2013 covers aims and policies for the years between 2014 and 2018. ‘Liveable spaces and sustainable environment’ is one of four main components² of those aims and policies. (Kalkınma Planı 2014-2018, 2013) Following the plan, it is also noticeable that the Ministry of City and Urbanism has taken those measures under its responsibility in the next year’s agenda. (T.C. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı, 2014)

As shown above, the engagements recently declared by the ministries, the authorities search for political solutions to the problems which are in line with those mentioned in the current study. Provision of social housing is still a primary concern for the central government, but the final products are prone to failure against long-term physical and social challenges, and thus, to become unsustainable because existing spatial decision-making processes behind do not prioritize quality and challenge with social realities and demands.

1.2. Aim of the Study

In the recent years, there has been a vast quantity of mass-housing production by the central housing authority in Turkey. However, the provision faces criticism in various academic and non-academic circles, mainly about its sacrifice of quality and

¹ According to the plan, ‘quality of people’s work and living environments is one of indicators for development and welfare’ It also underlines a need for an approach which centralizes ‘man and his quality of living’. This approach is regarded as a pre-condition of ‘regional development, strengthening of local economies and rural divisions, ensuring a balanced spatial development and urbanization’, and ‘meeting need for sufficient, healthy, and secure shelter for all’. For the plan the approach requires the living spaces to be ‘designed and built’ to eliminate disaster risks, be environment-friendly, centralize cultural values, and foster ‘social solidarity and cohesion’. (Kalkınma Planı 2014-2018, 2013, p. 891)

Among measures within the plan are creation of ‘indicators of liveability’ to secure spatial quality and to centralize social dimensions in urban transformation implementations; developing an approach ‘to ensure mix of varying income groups’, ‘to reduce distances between houses and working places’, ‘to sustain history and culture of cities’, and ‘to support social unification’; developing ‘decent and alternative solutions’ for the general housing problem including ‘social and rental housing project’; developing ‘design standards for housing and housing settlements’; and support housing cooperatives. (T.C. Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı, 2014)

² The other three headings among the targets and policies provide within the ‘development plan’ are ‘people of quality, powerful society’, ‘innovative production, high and stable growth’, and ‘international collaboration for development’.

sustainability of the built environment. In this regard, there is a noticeable trend and growing amount of academic research in various disciplines on ‘mass-housing’ and related housing implementations of the public authority for the last ten years. Nonetheless, no comprehensive academic study has been conducted on its spatial decision-making -planning and architectural design- processes. (See heading 2.3)

On the other hand, recent studies established so far has unavoidably focused on various ongoing problematic aspects of provision within the new production, transformation, or renewal -lack of architectural quality, ‘profit-based’ mind-set, social exclusion, limited participation, risk of sustainability. They analysed and evaluated those aspects through case studies in various regions. Several academic studies criticized the practices in different perspectives and called for alternative solutions -change of priorities, new policies, planning, or design approaches- but those are unable to go beyond proposals. A limited set of them developed or referred to certain principles/guidelines to achieve quality of space or sustainability of settlements. (Özbilen, 2004; Altınok, 2012; Aysev Deneç, 2012; Kaş, 2014; Koçancı, 2014; Ek, 2012; Çahantimur, 2008; Olgun, 2014; İlhan, 2008; Kural, 2009) However, none of the aforementioned studies thoroughly analyse an international housing practice as a potential alternative to the existing practices in the country. Thus, the current study aims to contribute the housing research area by focusing on how a regeneration practice implemented sustainable solutions by enhancing quality of the space and liveability of the settlement for the existing community. In doing this, it deciphers the implicit relations of architectural and planning interventions with spatial concepts of ‘density’, ‘diversity’, ‘program’, ‘identity’, ‘scale’, ‘accessibility’, and ‘topography’. (See CHAPTER 4 for detailed discussion.)

Accordingly, this study introduces an alternative regeneration case recently realized a rental non-profit social housing estate and received international recognition for its success in Denmark for taking internal and external contextual factors into consideration. Thus, the study examines the complete spatial decision-making process which took residents’ participation as the core matter and sought liveable housing settlements of quality, and a sustainable built environment, particularly to accommodate those who would suffer the most otherwise. A further goal of the current study is to introduce an alternative HSF to Turkey, by focusing on its ‘best practiced’ regeneration case, and to highlight policy, planning, and design mechanisms which

contributed to the practice's achievements in sustainability and spatial quality.

It should also be noted that the study does not intend to make a comparison of two different HSFs, policies, practices, or cases in different contexts. On the contrary, it aims to provide an in-depth understanding of an alternative housing practice to inspire new attitudes and research frameworks for alternative housing policies and implementations.

Following such primary targets, this research has been conducted,

- to determine mechanisms of spatial decision-making behind;
- to write an 'history'/'story' of handling of the regeneration process through primary and secondary sources;
- to develop a reasonable comprehension of the case and the contextual background forces to question coherence in-between;
- to uncover the contribution of participatory processes and actors/stakeholders in the spatial decision-making.
- to decipher the extent up to which local/national policies, plans, and related procedures are followed in the design and implementation periods;
- to explore the roles of political and regulatory forces to ensure quality of social housing provision;
- to classify unique spatial decisions according to their individual contributions to varying dimensions of sustainability;
- to reveal tacit effects of spatial -urban and architectural- qualities 'securing the future' of / the continuous demand to live within the settlement;

Accordingly, the study resolves the case into the following components: its context-dependent conditions, decision-making process, role-taking/contributing actors, and their possible grounds to participate. Finally, the study converts a complex network into a systematized order, and consequently, present a framework based on the findings of the research to be exhibited as an alternative series of methods, system, and process for not only the Turkish context but also for those others which face similar shortcomings in housing provision.

1.2.1. Selection of the Case Study

The case area selected for analysis is a housing settlement originally built in 1960's as one of "non-profit rental social housing estates" in Copenhagen within a period when the Danish state provided specific subsidization for industrialized construction of those -with pre-fabricated concrete elements-. In forty years' time the settlement evolved into 'run-down' settlement with growing physical decay and rising social problems. Finally, a total regeneration was processed in the last ten years covering major physical, social, economic, and environmental rehabilitation of the settlement with the contribution of diverse stakeholders through a well-established master plan. This was the first example of such a plan in the country. Since its establishment, the settlement has been nominated for national and international awards. Therefore, it is regarded and presented as a 'best-practice' of the recent trend of re-generation of social housing estates in Denmark both by academic and non-academic sources. (See section 3.3.2)

The existing problems of the housing system, and more specifically of the social housing provision model within this system, triggers a research framework to look for an alternative way out. Thus, the Danish 'social' housing system comes forth for its,

- non-profit rental structure,
- bearing broad resident composition -seeking social mix-,
- seeking spatial/architectural quality seeking for sustainable communities
- centralizing 'tenants' democracy' and participation
- and comprehensive attitude in recent regeneration activities to preserve 'past', to satisfy today's demand, and to 'secure the future'.

Research on a contemporary practice of the system not only contributes to current study's aim to achieve the 'state-of-art' phenomena in the context, but also provides the opportunities of direct contact with actors participated in the process, relative ease of reaching primary sources -documentation, local plans, architectural projects, data from stakeholder interviews-, and immediate observation within the site.

1.3. Scope of Research

According to Fontana-Giusti (2013, p. 93), since the emergence Foucault's discussion on panopticism, it has become impossible to see architecture as neutral, simply aesthetic and merely functional.' Foucault's philosophy affected architects to change their perspective from 'built form' to 'design of space itself', a space 'not neutral' but a space of 'social relations'. The Foucauldian approach defined 'the role of architecture' as 'allocating people' and 'organizing various flows of movement within urban contexts' (Fontana-Giusti, 2013, pp. 123-124).

According to Foucault's philosophy of 'archaeology of knowledge' (1972), space is the third element standing along with 'reality and power'. For Sargin (2012), space has a distinctive role in combining them or being a tool of mutual relation between the two in a Foucauldian approach. For Sargin, 'archaeological pursuit' for 'knowledge' bears searching relations between 'power' and 'reality'. Besides, Lefebvre defines 'space' as a social construct, and thus, it should be examined together with social relations of production. (Sargin, 2012) Thus, both the approach of 'archaeology of knowledge' and the comprehension of 'space as a social construct' (Lefebvre, 1991) provide better understanding of knowledge implicit in various levels of spatial decision-making.

These two philosophers of the modern age have impressed me much and helped for my intellectual development and formation of my research mind-set. While living in a social housing in Denmark, I have realized that a sustainable community life, provision of alternative architectural solutions of quality, innate participatory mechanisms, and liveability for all groups of the society would possibly be a reflection of an organized system, thanks to such a mind-set. Thus, such alternative patterns of 'social relations' which I have experienced within the built environment encouraged me to explore the spatial decision-making mechanism behind, and furthermore, to contribute to the housing research.

This study provides hypothetical channels of understanding to present a thorough comprehension of not only a unique practice but also the context set ground for it, The first channel presents current definitions, approaches, variants, and disputes in social housing. (See heading 3.1) The channel primarily focuses on the social housing provision in the European continent, first for being the geographical context surrounding the country of the case are to be analysed, and secondly for being the land

where the concept initially grew and spread out in a historical perspective.

As of twentieth century, European countries have been sharing common problems of ‘polarization’ and ‘segregation’. Accordingly, social housing sectors has been facing ‘residualization’ by the increasing demand of low-income and minorities. Various means of securing ‘social mix’ in the sector have been sought to overcome such major common troubles. (See heading 3.3 for selected cases.) Besides, the rising demand in the sector pushes providers to develop extra supply in certain markets. In doing this, provision of ‘sustainable, secure, liveable settlements of quality’ which are ‘accessible and affordable for all’ becomes not only a future goal but also an emerging challenge (Pittini, Ghekiere, Dijol, & Kiss, 2015, p. 8)

Through the next channel, the study introduces sustainability and the appropriate dimensions of this concept to support housing and related practices. (See heading 4.1) Here liveability is considered as a supplementary channel to provide focus on the quality of built environment and design aspects to shape everyday life of inhabitants. Finally, this group of channels is utilized to create an analysis framework to categorize the individual spatial interventions applied in the case study.

As the study focuses in to clarify the immediate context of the case area, it utilizes a set of narrower channels to provide specified contextual knowledge on welfare system, spatial planning system, architectural policies, and housing approaches of the targeted country, Denmark. (See CHAPTER 5) In doing so, special attention is assigned for highlighting any individual structural component of these systems supporting quality and sustainability of built environment either directly or indirectly.

In brief, current study has a scope which has been initially formed by an overall modern research mind-set, and then utilized specified channels of understanding to introduce the components of the research work as required by the aim of the study.

1.4. Research Methodology

Research is a process of illumination through searching, learning, making ‘known’ out of ‘unknowns’. It gathers and evaluates information to make decisions required for ‘crossing over from existing state to a desired state’. (Karasar, 2012) Current study is a product of ‘basic/pure research’ targeting aims to add new knowledge to the existing one through ‘exploration’, ‘detailed determination’, and ‘determination of cause-effect

relations'. (Karasar, 2012, pp. 24-25) Current research has been designed to analyse and understand an international 'best practice' of regeneration in social housing, which is argued to have developed certain methods for 'securing the future' of the settlement. It has searched clues for a sustainability-seeking spatial decision-making process within not only the practice, but also political and planning contexts framing the project.

The research study is designed for a thorough comprehension of the decision-making process and contributions of the actors/stakeholders throughout the specified regeneration of the social housing settlement which has been regarded as a sustainable 'best practice' of 'quality'. Thus, it adapts a combined research strategy to extract 'case-specific' factors built on the foundation of a complexity of systems -social welfare and planning system, housing and architectural policies of the country; the international regulations guiding the national provisions-. Accordingly, the current study comprises both background knowledge of local and central legal frameworks with economic, administrative, and social aspects, and specific details of the regeneration process.

The study utilizes a combination of 'qualitative' and 'interpretive' research strategies (Groat & Wang, 2002). Besides, it takes the advantage of Gadamer's (1989) approach of 'hermeneutics' on philosophical level for comprehension and representation of the case study. Conceptual approach of the 'hermeneutic circle' is based on 'interpretation which must be a matter of constant revision: revising one's sense of the whole as one grasps the individual parts, and revising one's sense of the parts as the meaning of the whole emerges'. Therefore, the circle, regarded as 'a cumulative productive one' (Kidder, 2013), has supported current study in 'translation' of data, 'transferring of the meaning' (Çelik & Ekşi, 2008), and developing comprehension about the long-lasting regeneration practice.

1.4.1. Literature Review

The study made use of a literature review to identify the extent of problems and their roots related to recent public housing provision in Turkey and to explore essence of those to identify the basis of current problematic conditions. The review has contributed to the definition of problematic for the current study. (Groat & Wang,

2002, s. 50) (See heading 2.1)

Furthermore, a literature survey has been established to search for solutions addressing those recent problems related to the recent public housing provision. The survey was specifically utilized to look for relevant academic studies on alternative housing practices and spatial decision-making processes. The research gap determined through the survey lead the study to focus on an alternative practice and deciphering the process behind it. (See heading 2.3)

1.4.2. Research Strategy

According to Groat and Wang's classification of research strategies, 'qualitative' and 'interpretive' research strategies are considered as two different approaches. Nonetheless, the authors also accept that the two strategies may be combined to serve for a particular thesis study and mutually support and complement each other. (Groat & Wang, 2002, s. 180) Interpretive research denotes 'investigations into socio-physical phenomena within complex contexts, with a view toward explaining those phenomena in narrative form and in a holistic fashion.'. (Groat & Wang, 2002, s. 136) The research requires collection and organization of the largest possible evidence/data, consequent evaluation of it, and building up a 'holistic narrative'. (Groat & Wang, 2002, s. 137) On the other hand, 'qualitative research' is defined as an 'interactive process' where 'qualitative writing becomes very much an unfolding story in which the writer gradually makes sense, not only of her data, but of the total experience of which it is an artefact'. (Holliday 2007: 122, cited in (Lynch, 2014)

Therefore, on one hand, current analysis of decision-making process basically involves a qualitative strategy which involves face-to-face interviews with 'the actors' of the process, and interpreting the first hand information together with documents, architectural drawings, photos, and site visits. On the other hand, it questions the historical background of the target settlement for a better comprehension of spatial decisions and interventions. That is, an appropriate combination of research tactics has been sought for the largest possible comprehension of an existing housing provision model, a process of social housing transformation/re-generation, and a series of architectural/spatial decisions practiced through.

Qualitative approach of the current study can also be defined as a search for a

‘grounded theory’ which gets use of ‘an intensive, open-ended, and iterative process’ and at the same time consists of ‘data collection’, ‘coding-data analysis’, and ‘memoing-theory building’. (Groat & Wang, 2002, s. 180-181) It is because no definite structure of a whole decision-making process has existed in the beginning and course of data collection. Therefore, qualitative interviews were conducted by key actors of the process; bidding, and planning. In addition to the interviews, architectural documents were collected as primary data and first-hand experiences through site visits have been utilized to observe the built environment in place. (Groat & Wang, 2002, s. 191-192) The study also makes use of the “interpretivist” approach, which is derived from Husserl and Heidegger’s phenomenological tradition with ‘a goal of understanding the complex world of lived experience from the point of view those who live it’. Such approach also helps to ‘develop an objective interpretive science human experience. (Scwandt, 1997, cited in Groat & Wang, 2002, p.187)

As soon as interviews were concluded and the ‘first hand’ documents were gathered from the actors, the procedural framework has begun to shape. Thus, the interview questions and guidelines have been revised before each new meeting according to the updated ‘picture’ of the process. Consequent interviews focused more on filling information ‘gaps’ and clarifying ‘contradicting statements’ attained through previous interviews. Thus, an interactive cyclical process has been performed by many ‘back-and-fronts’ among ‘data collection’, ‘coding’, and ‘memoing’- saving- to extract ‘a grounded theory’. (Groat & Wang, 2002, s. 191-194) During the process of data collection and analysis, transcripts have been reduced into notes and checkpoints in a timeline. Interconnections or conflicts between individual steps or achievements of the process have been investigated. As a final product, charts and tables to display the data regarding the decision-making process have been presented as comparable material. The accumulated and organized knowledge of the process will be presented in CHAPTER 6 as the thesis engages in analytically explaining the course and details of the regeneration process in Gyldenrisparken.

Development of a Supportive Analysis Framework for Spatial Decisions

A framework of analysis for spatial decisions have been developed to analytically group each individual spatial implementation. A grouping of those implementations aims to categorize each individual decision according to its contributions to

sustainability and space-making, as well as its scale applied.

The framework has been developed by making use of three previous academic studies. Their system of categorization and similar frameworks have been examined and adapted to the new framework. Besides, a set of space-making concepts have been adopted from these studies into the framework as a level of categorization. Furthermore, literature on sustainability and liveability in social housing has been utilized to form ‘sustainability column’ of categorization systematic of the framework. (See CHAPTER 4 for detailed information)

Interviews with Key Actors

Individual open-ended interviews were conducted for the study to penetrate the decision-making process as much as possible to maintain a multi-perspective view and to obtain first-hand data regarding the project and the process.¹ The ‘actors’ who had critical roles during the regeneration process of Gyldenrisparken were contacted and interviewed,

- to question their individual experience,
- to understand course of decision-making process and their roles during the process,
- to attain a thorough knowledge regarding economic, social, administrative, and spatial/architectural pre-conditions, transformations, and results.

In selection of interviewees, a ‘snowball sampling’ has been utilized to contact with the optimum set of actors and eliminate irrelevant contacts beforehand. (Biernacki & Waldorf, 1981) Thus, the first group of interviewees were determined through a preliminary investigation within web sources and contact with the housing association. (1st Cycle) New interviewees were added to the list as soon as new details regarding the process were discovered or an interviewee addressed a specific actor to be interviewed. (2nd and 3rd Cycles) (Table 1-1)

Each set of questions to be asked for each individual ‘actor’ were designed according to their role/position during and after the transformation process, and possible specific

¹ The interviews were conducted during the author’s guest PhD period in the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts -KADK- in the spring semester of 2014.

knowledge to be acquired by them based on the assumptions of the author. The interview questions were revised and re-designed according to critical data received from the previous interviewees. The interviews were recorded as sound files by getting permission of the interviewees beforehand. (See APPENDIX B for summaries of the interviews)

Method and Content of Interviews

The interviewees were initially contacted by e-mail or phone. They were informed about the general outline of the research project, and asked for their contribution to the study through a face-to-face interview. The time and place of interviews were determined according to informants' preferences and availability of their schedules. Thus, they were offered various options including meeting in their own offices and homes or an invitation to the author's office at KADK for the interview. Some of the 'actors' in the process could not be reached, and some were not able to arrange an appropriate time for a meeting.

The interview questions aimed to produce knowledge and gain insights on the following issues about the actors and the processes:

- Each actor's position / roles / duties during the process; and also current position / job / occupation.
- Time period each actor engaged in the recent transformation process of Gyldenrisparken
- Connections -network- of each actor within process
- Their individual knowledge about scheduling were questioned.
- Their perception about the process and their shares of roles within the transformation.
- Means of participation enables each actor to join the 'decision-making' process.
- Knowledge on critical dates/time periods -to discover/clarify overall calendar of the whole process-
- Components of Spatial decision-making process -exploration of problematic situation; planning; idea of architectural competition; structure of architectural competition; idea of architectural project; stakeholders' roles and means of expressing their opinions etc.-

- If possible, further documentation were asked to be shared with the researcher
- Individual reflections of each actor - their learnings, criticisms, level of satisfaction- regarding the transformation process and their overall experience.
- Satisfaction of each actor about the process.

Other Case-specific Documents

Critical documentation shaping the pace of the process were systematically sought for and obtained. The documents were utilized for cross-checking the information gathered through interviews, controlling consistency or contradictions within/among documents, and presenting first-hand information utilized within or effecting the course of the process. Here are the most critical documents achieved and integrated in the study:

- *Local Plan of the Municipality -2004*
- *Local Plan of the Municipality -2006*
- *Physical Master Plan,*
- *Social Master Plan,*
- *Tender Document for Total Consultancy,*
- *Idea Katalog*
- *Winning architectural proposal document,*
- *Lejerbo's document for Communication Strategy*
- *Newsletters published by the housing association*
- *Architectural Policies of Danish Government, (2003, 2007, 2014)*
- *Architectural Policy of the Municipality of Copenhagen*
- *The Planning Act in Denmark (2007)*
- *'Directive 2004/18/EC of The European Parliament and of the Council of EU*

Table 1-1: List of Interviewees

CYCLE	NAME	GROUP	RESPONSIBILITY	NOTES
1	Bjarne West	Board of Residents	Chairman	Advised to meet 'Sevgi Öteyaka'
1	Nina Stockholm	HA - Lejerbo	Social Worker / Project Leader	
2	Steffen Boel Jorgensen	HA - Lejerbo (Formerly in KK)	Business Director / Former Technical	Advised to meet 'Jan Christiansen'
2	Mette Francis Johansen	HA - Lejerbo	Social works in Copenhagen Dep. Of HA	Advised to meet 'Lisbeth Vestergaard'
2	Line Eriksen	HA - Lejerbo (Formerly in Witraz)	Employee	
1	Carsten Bai	HA - Lejerbo	Project Manager	
1	Jan Albrechtsen	WVW (Vandkunsten)	Partner	
2	Jan Christiansen	Advisor to KK	City Architect to Copenhagen (2000-2010)	An architect; A professor at KADK; Not an employee of KK
2	Lisbeth Vestergaard	CC - Kuben Management	Secretary to 'Task force' and 'Building Committee	
2	Niels Andersen	CC - Kuben Management	Director	Advised to meet 'Sune Skovgaard'
3	Astrid Le Bækgaard	CC - Kuben Management	Assistant	Prepared evaluation document of Gyl. for HA
3	Vilfred Hvid	CC - Kuben Management	Consultant	Prepared evaluation document of Gyl. for HA
2	Sevgi Öteyaka	Board of Residents	Member of Board	She has lived in Gyldenrisparken for more than 20 years
2	Tina Gudrun Jensen	SFI-Danish National Institute for Social Research	Researcher/Sociologist	Conducted research of social impacts of Gyldenrisparken project
1	Per Zwinge	WVW (Witraz)	Partner	Contacted by phone but cannot be interviewed
2	Sune Skovgaard	Landsbyggefonden (Former in KK)		Contacted by phone but cannot be interviewed
2	Tine Saaby	Advisor to KK	City Architect to Copenhagen (2010-)	Contacted by phone but cannot be interviewed
Abbreviations: HA - Housing Association; CC - Consultant Company; WVW; Winning consortium of architectural and engineering firms for total consultancy in the project; KK - Municipality of Copenhagen - Københavns Kommune				

1.5. Framework of the Thesis Study

Main body of the current study begins with the second chapter. The first section of the chapter displays the thematic background of problems in the recent public provision of housing and the on-going debate in academic and professional venues of spatial design, namely architecture and planning. This introductory literature review is followed by a literature survey established within Turkish sources. The survey intends to explore relevant academic studies searching for solutions, design principles, and alternative practice models to set up a ground for alternative means of housing provision by the public authorities. Selected studies are presented to provide the state of art in recent academic research and highlight the research gap that paves the way for a search for an alternative practice model. The chapter ends with an explanatory section on the recent social housing model in Turkey providing a point of reference to the problem definition of the current study.

The third chapter aims to disclose both theoretical and practical information on international social housing and regenerative housing practices to provide a contextual introduction about alternative provisions. Thus, it brings out contemporary definitions, connotations, approaches, and disputes of social housing and related provision fundamentally focusing on the European experience. The chapter briefly describes selected alternative transformative/regenerative practices in international and Danish social housing cases to provide a broader perspective on the possible implementations for recovery/resilience of those areas. Lastly, the reason of selecting Gyldenrisparken's regeneration as the unique case of the current study has been disclosed in reference to recent publications on the practice, its nominations for prizes, and pioneering of recent social housing regeneration practices in the country.

The next chapter is built on theoretical knowledge of key concepts centralized in the study. Here, following a brief on primary implications of sustainability concept, its social and cultural aspects have been centralized to discuss 'human' centred approaches for sustainable housing and liveability concerns in housing environments. With those critical concepts clarified, the chapter focuses on developing a method of analysis for the spatial decisions taken and applied during the regeneration process. A scale-based framework of analysis has been created to classify each of them according to their contribution to various dimensions of sustainability, thus, to provide a supplementary system for comprehension of the practice. The framework is utilized at

the end of sixth chapter after detailed description of the case study.

The fifth chapter has a critical role in the study. It not only provides contextual information about Danish systems and policies framing the spatial practices in Denmark, but also highlights various specific regulations to maintain quality, sustainability, preservation culture, and participation in those. Moreover, the chapter provides contextual information on the definition, history, , and details about the present state of ‘social housing’ provision in the country. Finally, the chapter concludes by highlighting relevant international regulations, which have been a guide in the implementation phase of the proposed case of the current study, as setting outlines for procurement of architectural projects -threshold for design contests, jury composition and decisions, shortlisting of competitors- and particular rules for ‘subsidized housing schemes’.

Based on the knowledge built in previous four chapters, the sixth chapter would be regarded as the essence of the study, within which the regeneration process of ‘Gyldenrisparken’ is examined in detail. The chapter follows a sequential, analytical, and systematic structure to explain details of the process with contributing subjects and effected objects. It organizes ‘dispersed’ and independent pieces of information collected from the interviews and other primary documents into a structuralized knowledge. Having such a perspective, the chapter begins with a brief introduction on Gyldenrisparken. Then, spatial, social, economic context of the settlement and the regeneration process are presented. Built on such an extended contextual awareness, the next part describes critical components of decision-making process. After introducing the actors and the primary executive subgroups took role in the process, this part follows a sequential order. Thus, it describes the pre-conditions which paved way for a regeneration; procedures followed to secure a sustainable settlement of quality throughout pre-design process -master plan, use of professional consultancy, encouraged participation, preference of architectural competition and methods of its handling-; and details of the implementation process. The last sub-heading explains basics of the ‘social master plan’, which has catalysed the physical change and social inclusion within the community.

The following part of this chapter comprises categorical description of spatial-decisions of the implemented architectural project in scale-based order. Each individual intervention is categorized within a matrix of analysis, the framework of

which is drawn previously, and provided at the end of chapter. The chapter is concluded by disclosing a set of reflections compiled from the interviews with the participating actors and organizations, besides a round-up of the experience and the accumulated knowledge developed through the process. At the end, a summary of the chapter is followed by disclosure of intangible factors secured the quality of production and the spatial decisions taken towards sustainability of the settlement.

Finally, in the last chapter, the framework of the findings is presented as an epilogue of the thesis. A diagram accompanies the section by graphically visualizing the relations of tangible and intangible factors within the regeneration process ensuring the quality and sustainability, and the external background which consists systematic and political components of Danish and international contexts. The study is rounded up with reminding the problems in Turkish context which provided the initiating force to the study and a group of proposals extracted from the Danish experience.

CHAPTER 2

HOUSING IN TURKEY: PROVISION, PROBLEMS, AND RESEARCH

This chapter aims to display the existing public housing provision model, an expanded background of housing problems, and the state of art in the related research work from an academic viewpoint. The perspective developed within the chapter supports the relevancy of the problem definition and the aim of the study. It outlines the structure of the present public provision, highlights the focal points of the criticisms on the recent provision, and points the ‘gap’ in the contemporary housing research in. Thus, it paves the ground for a search for an alternative way out for housing in Turkey.

2.1. Recent Public Housing Provision in Turkey

Unprecedented increase of urban population resulted from migration flows from the rural in 1980s had created a large demand for housing. Accordingly, in 1981, mass housing began to be promoted by enactment of the first ‘mass housing law - 2487’. Three years later ‘mass housing fund’ and ‘mass housing administration’ -TOKİ- was introduced with a following law -law.2985- in 1984.

TOKİ has been regarded as the primary actor for more than ten years, not only in social housing provision but also within overall housing sector in Turkey. Its prominence in the sector rests on two basic reasons. First one is the housing shortage which is mostly defined as a result of private sector’s incapability to meet housing demand or citizens’ financial deficiency to buy house in the existing market conditions. Secondly, it is a legal base recently strengthened step-by-step through a series of laws introduced, and consequently, rendered TOKİ exempt from varying bureaucratic procedures. Nonetheless, although this primary role of TOKİ has provided it with being the major operator of an unprecedented housing provision, it also placed the authority to the centre of various criticisms as presented under heading 2.1.

This section presents the increasing housing provision of TOKİ, after its being furnished by high authorities in the beginning of 2000s based on the sources published/shared by the administration. Thus, it provides information on the process and contextual factors subjected to the problem definition of the current study. Within the section, TOKİ's modes of housing provision and the recent social housing model will be clarified.

2.1.1. Primary Actor for Public Housing Provision: TOKİ

TOKİ is Mass Housing Development Administration of Turkey -*Toplu Konut İdaresi Başkanlığı*- which operates on a 'non-profit based' and is a direct subordinate administration of the Prime Ministry. It is not a part of 'general administrative bureaucracy.' Having 'exclusive responsibilities' and a unique 'legal status' it does not compete with any public or private actors in the sector. It is immune from 'bankruptcy' and 'attachments'. (TOKİ Due Diligence Document, 2013, pp. 59-61)

Legal Basis of Housing Provision

TOKİ is the major public foundation for housing provision in the country with comprehensive legal rights the extent of which has been gradually enlarged after 2004. The newly introduced legal framework provided the administration with the right 'to make or have made, and amend plans and zoning plans of all types or scales...where it is to implement slum transformation projects, or plots and lands under its possession, or areas determined as mass housing settlements sites by governorships.' (TOKİ Due Diligence Document, 2013, p. 15) Besides, TOKİ has been even more strong after it has been equipped with transfer of the authorities of previous Ministry of Public Works and Settlement and assignments of the ministry's 'Department of Dwelling Affairs' to the administration in 2007. Following that, in 2010 an exemption of 'real estate tax' was introduced for the lands and plots owned by TOKİ, and also other specific legal immunities have been provided. (TOKİ Due Diligence Document, 2013, pp. 16-17; Duyguler, 2009) This enlarged authority has rendered the administration as a unique apparatus of the state shaping the urban land and architecture within that would easily lead to elimination of control over its implementations. It is noted that TOKİ has provided a large stake of the housing stock -5-10%- in the country until 2013. (TOKİ Due Diligence Document, 2013, p. 19)

TOKİ's implementations have their legal basis in the Turkish Constitution and related laws. The 56th article of the Turkish constitution ensures everyone's right to live in healthy and balanced environment and briefly describes the role of the State in developing and maintaining environment. Whereas the next article provides a more tangible outline for the provisions:

The State, takes precautions to meet housing need along with a planning which favours individualities of cities and environmental conditions, also supports mass housing enterprises. (Turkish Constitution, Article 57)¹

Built within the constitutional framework, the Law No.2985, which is also called as 'mass housing law', outlines all the principles for meeting the housing demand, describes methods and principles for housing builders, and covers related public subsidizes. (2985 Nolu Toplu Konut Yasası, 1984)

Financial Resources

Among TOKİ's financial resources are 'sale and rents of houses, work places and land', 'loan reimbursements', 'interest incomes', 'subsidies allocated with budget laws', and 'service fee amounts... between 3-10% of the cost of the constructions made in the name of governments agencies.' (TOKİ Due Diligence Document, 2013, p. 11)

Lands owned by public authorities, the Treasury, local governments of private owners are taken over by TOKİ either free or in exchange for an agreed price. The High Audition Council which is assigned to the Court of Accounts -*Sayıştay*- has the responsibility to audit accounts of the administration. It does not receive money from the Treasury for its provisions of housing. Instead it develops its own assets. (Table 2-1) Those assets are fundamentally spent for 'developing land plots' and 'constructing housing units' which consist of 95% of its total expenses. (TOKİ Due Diligence Document, 2013, pp. 67-68)

¹ Translated by the author from the original.

Table 2-1: 'Receivables Portfolio' of TOKİ

TOKİ's 'Receivables Portfolio'	
Major income sources	Sales of social housing projects
	Land sales
	Share from receivables from 'the revenue sharing projects'
	Receivables from housing loans
Other income	Budget appropriation
	Levies of Turkish citizens travelling abroad

2.1.2. Social Housing Program of TOKİ

TOKİ prioritizes provision of social housing in the country. The major pressure behind the issue is fast urbanization in the recent decades and related need of citizens – especially the low-income- for housing, and resulting squatters within cities lacking of social and physical infrastructure. (TOKİ Due Diligence Document, 2013, p. 7) The administration presents its primary goal of its 'social housing program' as to provide housing for 'the low and middle-income people who cannot own a housing unit under the existing market conditions'. (TOKİ Website, 2015)

'Social housing', according to TOKİ, comprises 83% of its production -416 thousand units acc. to 2012 values are of this type. (TOKİ Due Diligence Document, 2013) Nevertheless, there is not an official definition of the term 'social housing' available within public sources. In one of its publications the term 'housing with social quality' -*sosyal nitelikli konut*- has been used to define a certain kind of housing targeting those with 'limited resources'. (TOKİ Kurum Profili, 2013, p. 28) As stated within related sections of recent TOKİ publications, it may also be inferred that 'social housing' in Turkey denotes relatively cheap housing built and sold basically through organization of the governmental authority to the low and middle income groups through long-term instalments. (TOKİ Website, 2015; TOKİ Strategic Planning Department, 2013; TOKİ, 2013)

Five primary criteria are listed for selection of applicants to be provided with 'housing with social quality'. These are,

- Not owning a house,
- Not having previously been supported by TOKİ with housing credits - mortgage-
- Living in the city where the project to be applied is going to be built,
- Having stated his national identity and tax numbers,
- Officially documenting that one earns not more than the amount specified to buy a house in specified projects (TOKİ Kurum Profili, 2013, p. 28)

2.1.3. Practice of TOKİ in 2000s: Principles of Provision

Nearly 85% of TOKİ's housing projects are consisted of 'social housing projects' while the rest are defined as projects of 'fund raising by method of revenue sharing'. (TOKİ Due Diligence Document, 2013, p. 20) The latter is basically based on mixed-use projects consisted of housing, offices, and many other types of facilities of various functions developed through private-public partnership. That is the major way how TOKİ 'raises funds' for its provision of 'social housing'. (Figure 2-1)

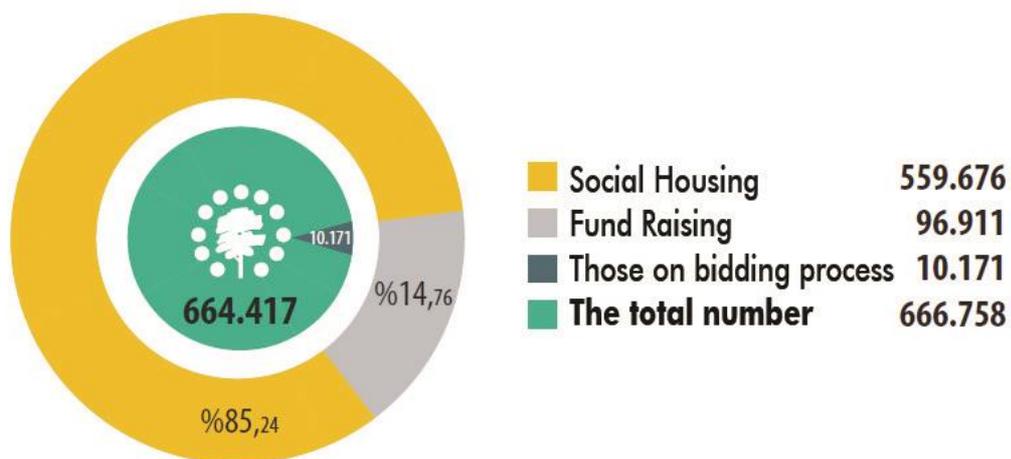


Figure 2-1: TOKİ's Chart of Housing Production according to the numbers of 2015. Yellow: Social Housing; Grey: Fund Raising Projects; Blue: Those on Bidding Process; Green: The Total Number
SOURCE: TOKİ Official Web Site Document

People to own one of those units, however, should pay a down-payment during the initial phase of the construction and pay the rest of the amount as monthly-payments for a set of years -a pre-decided interval between 10 to 20 years according to one's income condition-. It should also be noted that 'social housing' projects of TOKİ are built on lands owned by the administration. (TOKİ Due Diligence Document, 2013, pp. 9,21) (Figure 2-2)

Among the 'social housing' projects established by TOKİ nearly 40% of units have

been intended for families with ‘narrow- and middle-income’, whereas about one fourth of them consists ‘the low-income and the poor’. It is also noted that one out of every eight units has been built within ‘urban transformation projects’. (TOKİ Due Diligence Document, 2013, p. 23) The relative ratio of housing types has stayed almost the same between 2013 and 2015 with only slight variations.

Although any Turkish citizen without a home has the right to apply for TOKİ’s social housing projects. Applicants are mostly consisted of workers and civil servants, TOKİ admits. Until the end of the payments period TOKİ preserves the right of ownership, that is, title deeds are not transferred to the residents before the total debt is over. This is a means of guarding the residents against potential bank debts and warranting the projects. (TOKİ Due Diligence Document, 2013, pp. 24-25)

TOKİ decides on the sale prices of apartments according to certain variables. All types of ‘constructional costs’, availability and complexity of ‘social facilities’, ‘cost of infrastructure’ and ‘consultancy services’, and the ‘cost of land’ are calculated for the final prices-if only not produced for the poor-. (TOKİ Due Diligence Document, 2013, p. 27) Nonetheless, according to the type of projects based on ‘income group’ prices per square meter change. Differences among the cost prices reflects tangible quality differences among the houses offered to different groups of income. (Table 2-2)

Table 2-2: Average areas and unit prices in TOKİ housing projects

	The poor	Low-income	Narrow- and Middle-income	Luxury Houses
Percentage in total Production of TOKİ	~20%	25.40%	39.71%	~15%
Average Area	45-60 m ²	67-87 m ²	85-146 m ²	Not mentioned
Cost price per m ²	700-800 TL/m ²	800-930 TL/m ²	900-1050 TL/m ²	Not mentioned
Sale price per m ²	700-800 TL/m ²	900-1050 TL/m ²	1000-1150 TL/m ²	1000-9500 TL/m ²
NOTE: This table is developed by the author based on the information given in Due Diligence Document of TOKİ published in 2013, April.				

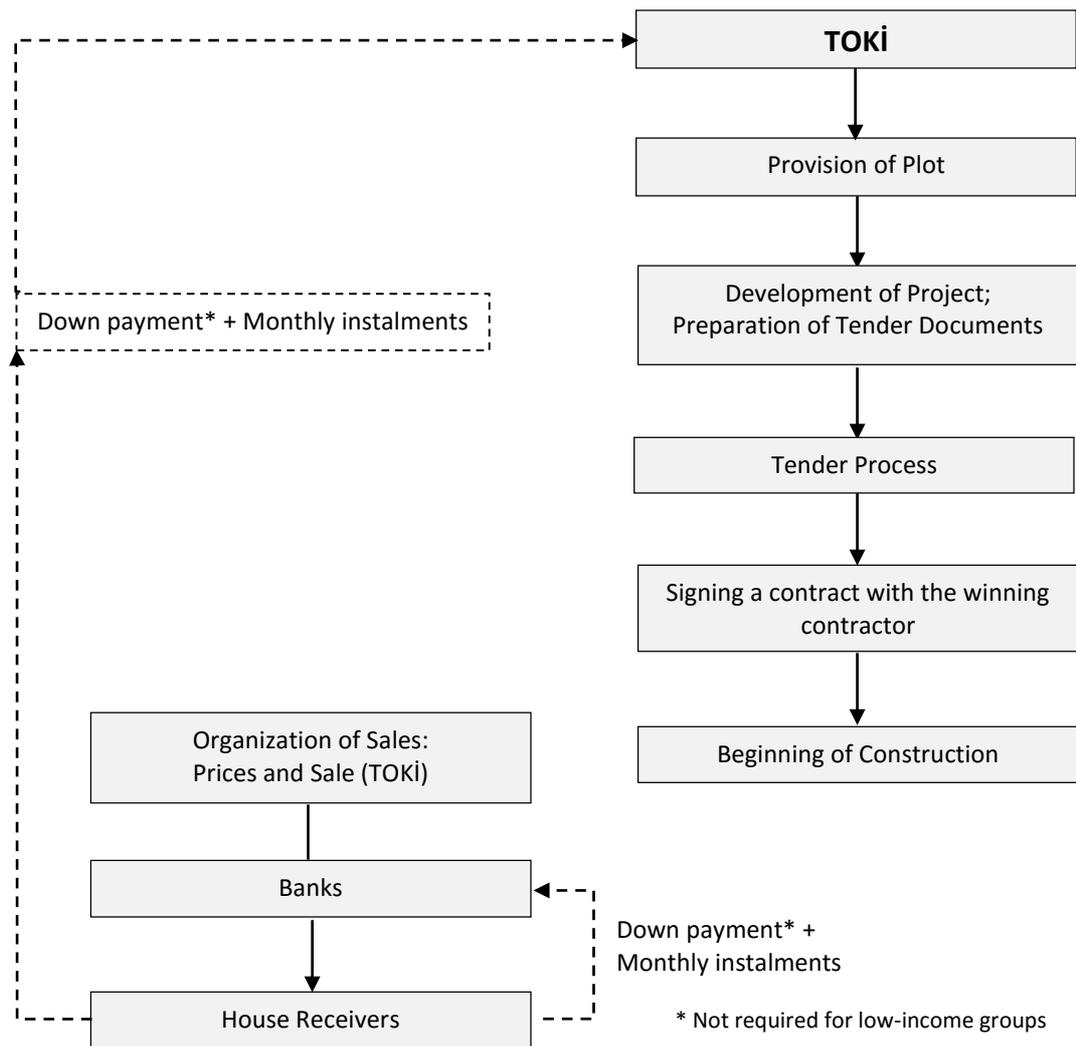


Figure 2-2: Scheme of Social Housing Provision by TOKI. Source: TOKI Kurum Profili 2012-2013. Re-drawn by the author.

A notable contradiction about areas of housing units is that the primary variable for deciding sale prices is the income levels or affordability of families. TOKI argues that the extent of its provision of housing and social facilities between 2004 and 2013 is almost equal to ‘22 cities with a population of over 100.000’ as a result of its ‘Planned Urbanization and Housing Production Programme’. This statement is an admission of housing 2.2 millions of people in about 500.000 units produced. This means that the administration is aware of the average household in TOKI housing consists of more than 4 people. To be more precise, in the country families with low financial capabilities have higher number of members compared to the average and especially to those with higher incomes. Nonetheless, the area of housing units allocated for ‘the

poor’ and ‘low-income’ -living in 25% of the social housing- are limited to 45 to 87 square meters. (Table 2-2) It should also be noted that within the Turkish context, an apartment within such limits of area usually consist 2 to 3 rooms - including the living room. However, within this approach demographic properties, economic and societal facts take a backseat. financial limits of those crowded families turn into a further handicap when buying a state supported dwelling It may be interpreted as ownership-based model limits the alternatives of supply for the low income and also cause a mismatch between social realities of households and the supplied architectural space of dwellings. Moreover, the ownership-based model and long term loans to be paid back limit alternatives and flexibility of decisions for them about the future.

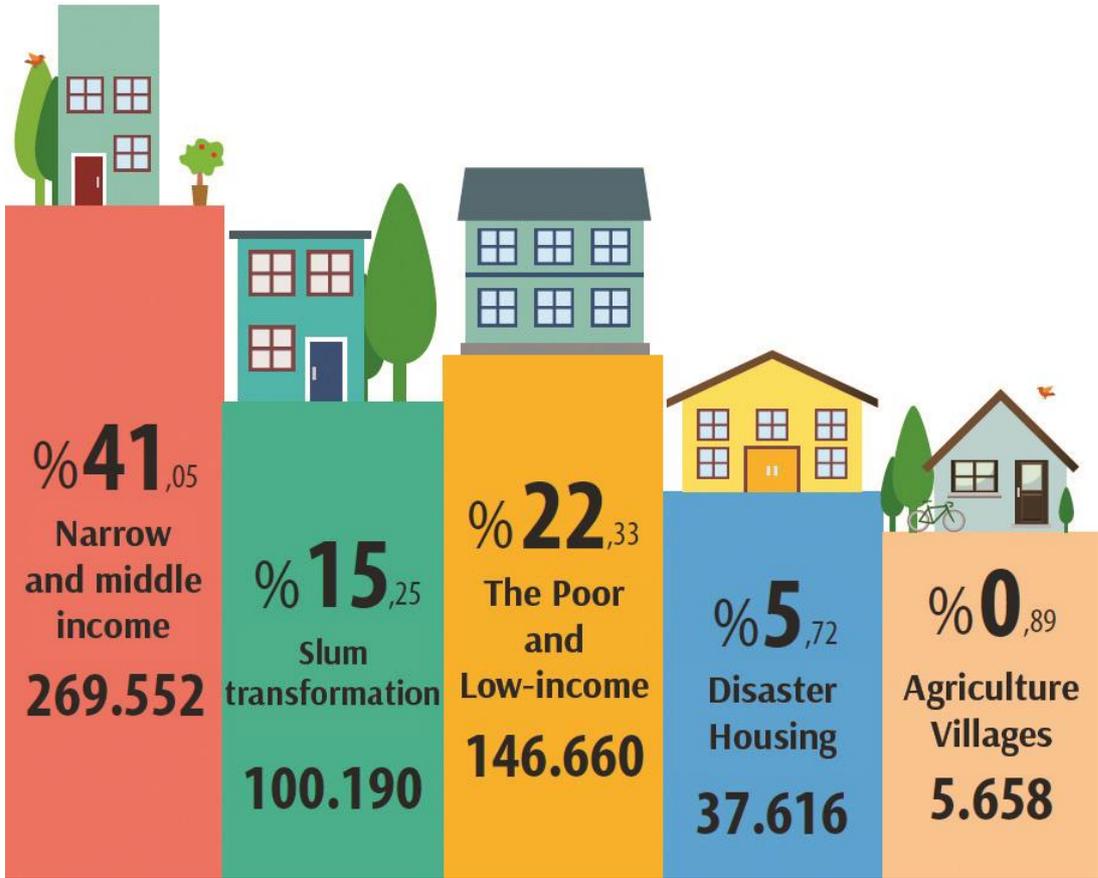


Figure 2-3: TOKI's Percentage Chart of Social Housing acc. to the numbers of 2015. Red: Narrow- and Middle-income; Green: Slum Transformation; Yellow: The Poor and Low-income; Blue: Disaster Housing; Pink: Agriculture Villages SOURCE: TOKI Official Web Site Document - Information translated by the author.

Partnership between SYGM - TOKİ for Social Housing

Since 2009, TOKİ has started a partnership with the General Directorate for Social Support -SYGM-¹ to develop a new scheme for social housing. The partnership involves implementation of ‘social housing projects’ for those social groups with the lowest income profile who do not own houses. SYGM, within the context of this partnership program, is liable from identification of the citizens in need. The housing program requires lowest instalments -100TL- and the longest payback periods -270 months/25,5 months- for the poorest classes of the society. (Kunduracı, 2013, p. 71) Besides, even if the total amount of depth has fully been paid back, one will not have the right to transfer or rent out the dwelling before 10 years of time. (SYGM Activity Report, 2011) According to SYGM’s official numbers the target for 2015 is 40.000 of units; for 2023, 100.000; 14.000 of the which has already completed by the year 2012. Furthermore, it should be noted that SYGM allocates 10% of the stock for citizens with 50% handicap in line with law 3294.

The definition of the program, sets a critical spatial pre-decision on fundamental details of the architectural layouts of individual apartments in the very beginning. In SYGM’s report the target of the project is stated as follows:

The target is to meet the need of sheltering which is one of the basic and indispensable needs of our poor and indigent citizens and to provide them the possibility of ‘sheltering’ within a framework of humane living standards. The houses in question are planned to be 1+1 and 45m². (SYGM Performance Program, 2011, p. 110)

Thus, the housing units proposed to be built through the project, assumed to provide only the basic need of shelter for the poor. Such a political preference reflects the perspective of the project which centralizes a perspective of pure economy. As a result, purchasing power of the target group only provides them with such a limited quality of housing.² Besides, such a ‘short-cut’ spatial decision-making by the public authority leaves no place for alternative spatial solutions. In another point of view, it may also be argued that the ownership based model confines the maximum available area for a

¹SYGM, stands for *Sosyal Yardımlar Genel Müdürlüğü*. The directorate is subordinate to Ministry of Family and Social Policies -*Aile ve Sosyal Politikalar Bakanlığı*.

² ‘1+1’, indeed, is an informal abbreviation of ‘a two room apartment one of the rooms of which is slightly larger than the other to alternatively be utilized - for instance, to welcome guests-’, is a common numerical phrase as pronounced within public or real estate market to explain basic layout of an apartment with such properties.

basic apartment to be built for groups with limited economic resources.

On the other hand, TOKİ implements such projects outside city centres and away from other mass-housing settlements. (Kunduracı, 2013) However, while site selection criteria prioritize the cheapest or 'free' lands outside city centre, it unavoidably detaches the settlements from the existing city tissues. As a result, it paves the way for economic burden for infrastructure, new transportation lines, or encouragement of individual transport habits; social burden of segregation of city land and most importantly the social classes.

Consequently, one may argue that pre-decided spatial implementations for social housing provision through the model is a problematic for setting socio-economic and physical drawbacks. Such drawbacks are the major restrictions for liveability and sustainability of the projects. That is, these are solid handicaps against sustainability of the model in the long run stemming from the concrete mismatch of social realities of focus group and the spatial provision.

Transformation Projects

For TOKİ, local governments in the country have been unable to prevent and find a solution for 'slums and shanty settlements' -squatters and registered buildings-, so that it developed policies to be implemented with 'local governments and other actors of housing sector.' TOKİ claims that those policies will 'transform slum and shanty settlement areas'. Moreover, it argues that its implementations are supposed to put end to re-appearance of squatters because of its provision of 'housing for narrow income families.' (TOKİ Strategic Planning Department, 2013, p. 31) Perhaps, such a policy would prevent people from building squatter houses on their own. However, appearance of deprived areas cannot be avoided, because of the procedures of applying for housing units sort out the applicants according to their income levels in the very beginning. Consequently, housing settlements developed according to certain 'price limits' classifies citizens according to their financial backgrounds. (Bican, 2012b)

Construction System vs. Flexibility

The housing policy of TOKİ has been built on a rapid provision of housing to match the demand in the country as soon as possible. To accelerate the constructions of the

housing blocks TOKİ utilizes ‘tunnel form’ system. The system is argued to provide ‘quality production’ with smooth finishes, and which is also claimed to be a safe method against the high earthquake threat in the geography. (TOKİ Strategic Planning Department, 2013, p. 33) In parallel to this, TOKİ has prepared a limited list of ready-made ‘architectural plans’. This enables ‘designating’ buildings of various storeys through the possibility to be multiplied according to the number of units defined by the ‘demand’ of applicants.¹ Nonetheless, the resulting dull and architecturally ‘poor’ spaces has been a target of criticism for TOKİ housing projects.

TOKİ produced more than 500 thousands of units of social housing by 2015. It targets to arrive in one million units in total in eight years of time in parallel to the governmental programme. (TOKİ Strategic Planning Department, 2013, p. 79) This quantity brings about a high level of responsibility in terms of maintaining the quality of environments. It is obvious that affordability and location-based provision is prone to lead to a lack of decent living conditions and decrease sustainability of the settlements.

Today, TOKİ’s basic modes of implementations are basically categorized as ‘squatter transformation’, ‘disaster housing’, ‘demand organization’, ‘administrative implementatitons’, and ‘revenue-sharing implementations’. A brief of the implementations of the administration are provided in APPENDIX C.

The Due Diligence Document (2013) of TOKİ while stressing the urgent need for ‘renovation’ for the 6.5 millions of units of the total housing stock –approx. 20 million- the term is defined as ‘[r]enovation, that is, demolition and re-building’. (TOKİ Due Diligence Document, 2013, p. 19) Although such quotation cannot be fully regarded as an official definition of the administration, it is obvious that demolition is nearly the ‘sole tool’ for its ‘renovation’ activities when its implementations -especially transformation cases- are examined. Nevertheless, it should be noted that what is mostly criticised about this ‘powerful’ administration is its handling of those so-called

¹ ‘TOKİ Tipleri Albümü’ -Album of TOKİ Types- is an unofficial document that comprises most of ready-made architectural ‘storey plans’ of TOKİ housing blocks. The document has been collected from the administration for the final paper of a research course called ‘Arch 714: Housing Research and Design Studio- II’ offered in the Spring semester of 2012, at METU. (Bican & Parlak, 2012)

‘renovations’ in a national extent and the worries focus on its possible future implementations. It can be inferred that quality and liveability of the future provisions are needed to be secured and an approach of sustainability should be developed in order not to sacrifice common resources of today and the future for the sake of meeting temporary demands.

2.2. Literature Review: Major Issues and Problems on Housing in Turkey

Recent policies and provision of housing by the central public authority in Turkey are subjected to vast criticism and academic research. A group of those criticisms refer to political, economic, social, and environmental aspects. However, within the framework of current study, concentration is devoted to spatial, urban, and architectural dimensions without eliminating those of other perspectives.

The review puts forward an outline of problematic issues in Turkey and displays related discussions supporting the problem definition of current study. The complexity of the multi-dimensional issues will be presented by highlighting critical definitions, forms of provision, actors active in the sector, and core matters of selected discussions. It should be noted that the following section targets not to present a unique or specified problem definition but to introduce a wide-perspective of intricate problems of housing in the country, materialised through/within spatial design.

2.2.1. Housing and Urbanity: Reflections in Turkey

Before thoroughly disclosing problems related housing in Turkey, a base of comprehension for the discussions will be built out of varied contextual approaches in the literature.

For Tekeli, ‘housing’ has many other functions besides being a shelter: ‘a commodity produced’, ‘a commodity consumed’, ‘an assurance within society’, ‘a place-maker within a certain layer of society’, ‘an investment’, ‘a tool of appropriation for increasing land profit *-rant-*’, ‘a tool of determination of cost of reproduction of labour.’¹ (Tekeli, 1994/2010; Tekeli, 1987/2010) Similarly, according to Cengizkan,

¹ Phrases translated from Turkish by the author.

it is also a sum of diverse implications. In his essay, where he discusses ‘housing’ as ‘an object of culture’, he claims that ‘housing’ may refer to objects of varying concepts. It would thus be an object of ‘sheltering’, ‘prestige’, ‘commodity -meta-’, ‘consumption’, ‘investment’, ‘production’, ‘labour’, ‘cultural artefact of city’, ‘cultural belonging’, and ‘architectural design’. (Cengizkan, 2009) Thus, for both of the authors ‘housing’ does not refer to a singular ‘object’ or ‘function’, on the contrary it bears diverse social, economic, political, spatial, and cultural implications.

For Sassen (2012), combining those elements inside, housing would be considered as ‘a tool of intervention’ to optimize conditions of ‘urbanity’ within cities. According to her, cities should house mostly middle-classes -and lower-middle classes- who needs the ‘urbanity’ of the city. Indeed, those classes contribute to the city’s economy spending their money within the city. However, Sassen argues that ‘density’ that purely consists of high-rise towers cannot maintain ‘urbanity’ -‘the social fabric’ which is represented through mutual engagements, support systems, and interactions. Thus, for Sassen, provision of housing is ‘a tool of intervention against deep economic tendencies towards growth of inequalities’. (Sassen, 2012, pp. 70-77)

Another approach for housing is one of Marxist perspective which underlines social and economic causes and effects of housing policies. David Harvey (Sol Haber Sitesi, 2012), argues that housing policies have always been instrumentalized for ‘capital accumulation’ in times of economic crisis of capitalism, closing eyes to public needs and demands. Besides, urban transformation is implemented through ‘gentrification policies’ for the sake of ‘re-marketing of city centres’. According to ‘Harvey’, ‘capitalism attempts to overpass its periodical crises by meeting the effective demand through motivating people to ‘own housing’ by means of ‘debiting and crediting.’ Exemplifying his arguments by many post-crisis happenings experienced in USA, China, Russia, Brazil, and Latin America, Harvey criticizes instrumentalization of the public space by the capital. The urban geographer claims that recent construction-based economy in Turkey is also a product of similar approach, and therefore, bears a possibility of rendering the country’s urban spaces ‘unliveable’. (Sol Haber Sitesi, 2012)

Harvey’s perspective for ‘housing’ not only presents the concept as an ‘instrument of capital accumulation’, but also sheds light on the basis of ‘housing problem’ in Turkey which will be discussed further under following subheading. -See 2.2.2- Moreover,

comprehension of ‘housing’ as a phenomenon of complexities consisting multiple approaches will be a foundation for following discussions.

Building his arguments on the Lefebvrian ‘space’ as ‘social construct’, Bican argues that ‘economic profit’ is fundamentally effective on spatial morphology of a city within a capitalistic system. (Bican, 2012b) Exhibiting a research analysis in forms of conceptual ‘maps of rental morphology’, he points out a parallelism between average land-rents of given districts and social classification. Referring to Sargın, Yırtıcı, Tekeli, and Jacobs, he claims that spatial fragmentation is a reflection of class-based fragmentation of the society. Thus, locating of social housing venues outside in the peripheries of urban land would not only lead to pure physical or economic problems related to infrastructure, transport, but also catalyse the existing fragmentation of society by concentrating numerous people of unique classes. (Bican, 2012b, p. 61)

Indeed, what is the common point of reference within the arguments above is the spatial practice of neo-liberal approaches to ‘housing’ provision and the vision of urban land as a meta of ‘capitalistic accumulation.’ Such spatial practice has been growing and evolving for years. There is need to grasp the conditions of this reality, for further understanding of the long-lasting housing problem in Turkey.

2.2.2. Housing Problem: The Shortage and Quantitative Approaches

As there have been meta-approaches to the long-lasting ‘housing problem’ of the country on the one hand, there are works concentrating on some specific problems of housing within the context, most related to ‘transformation’, ‘social housing’, ‘participation’, ‘physical lack’, and ‘sustainability’ on the other hand. Tekeli (1994/2010, p. 121) presents one of the meta-approaches. According to him, ‘housing problem’ is one of continuously re-defined subjects in line with evolution of the society. Hence, it faces a repeated renewal and stays updated. For Tekeli, comprehension of this dynamic situation would only be built by an ‘intersubjective’¹

¹ Tekeli (1994) uses the word ‘*öznel arası*’-intersubjective- as an opposite adjective for ‘subjective’. Indeed, he also does not prefer using ‘objective’ as the opposite of the term. It is partly because housing problem is not an ‘objective’ one and cannot be defined as an absolute/definite phenomenon. Besides, although many individual definitions are possible to be done depending on space, time, and actors, calling it solely a ‘subjective’ phenomenon cannot suffice to describe its multi-dimensional state. Thus, the author prefers to use ‘intersubjective’ which connotes a totality of subjectivities.

approach rather than an objective one, because of its dependency of time, space, and actors. He argues that the ‘housing problem’ stays in agenda of Turkey because ‘existing practices of housing supply’ and ‘framework of legitimacy for urban development foreseen by the society’ have not been matched yet. (Tekeli, 1994/2010, p. 123)

Güzer (1995) presents the ‘housing problem’ as a joint object of several other problematic approaches. The ironical heading of Güzer’s essay implies unchanging existence of the problem: ‘Problem of ‘Housing Problem’’. Referring to Tekeli’s discussion of ‘intersubjectivity’, Güzer highlights continuous appearance of the problem in time, and explains reason behind this repetitive problem with ‘a problem of changing priorities of parties’. He also underlines the fact that the problem is not solely an architectural one, but is one of many intersecting disciplines. (Güzer, 1995, pp. 20-21)

Indeed, housing problem has been a global problem as a result of increasing population, ‘inequality’, and ‘strictly quantitative approaches’ risking ‘liveability’ of urban space and introducing ‘complex social problems’ (Mejia, 2012, pp. 16-19) For Tekeli (1994/2010), a discourse which deduces the problem of housing to calculations of ‘housing shortage’ is an oversimplification of such a complicated issue. For a country which has already maintained a level of urbanization, enough technological accumulation to meet large-scale housing demand, and a certain level of organization, a ‘quantity based’ definition and handling of housing problem do not suffice. (Tekeli, 1994/2010, p. 121) Being in line with this statements, the evaluation report of Chamber of Architects (TMMOB, 2009, p. 68) underlines that the recent model of housing provision in the last decade which is built on a policy solely targeting to build a definite quantity of units within a definite time period, cannot be a sustainable solution for complex ‘housing problems’.

According to Cengizkan (2009), the quantity-based approach stems from short-time economic interests of investors. For him, it is ‘exploration of cheapness of public and treasury assets and high rent of ‘production of housing’ on them ‘within global circulation’ which leads the central administration of housing chasing for a target of quantity in the shortest available time.

2.2.3. Mode of Housing Provision, Actors, and Related Problems

According to Tekeli (2010, p. 252), basically two dominant HSFs are currently utilized by both private and public bodies in Turkey: ‘mass-housing provision’ and ‘transformation provision’. Gated communities and ‘residences’ together with/separate from shopping centres developed by private sector; TOKİ’s provision for high income -as a tool to develop financial resources- and the low income; and settlements of cooperatives constitute the first form. Whereas, the latter form denotes transformation projects for squatter settlements or disaster sites, although implementations mostly end up with ‘mass-housing’. (Tekeli, 2010) However, for Türel (2012b, pp. 58-69), a comprehensive policy of housing sector does not exist in Turkey.¹ On the contrary, neo-liberal free market conditions are effective on both production and consumption of housing.

State-led Capitalist Interventions Leads to Urban Problems

Uşaklıgil² (2014) criticizes methods of managing urban transformation projects - primarily targeting alternative housing provision- and argues that priorities defined by the state favour the capital and profit-seeking actors. Following citation clarifies her argument:

Instead of amending the social and economic structure, maintaining peace among citizens and their cities, targeting to provide use of opportunities for them, projects of urban transformation focuses on distribution of income derived from project area. The state gives priority to projects of market actors and their strategies of exploitation in order to provide capital’s intervention to the areas... This (attitude) converts the city into one of so-called (independent/unconnected) ‘projects’ rather than a city of planning.³ (Uşaklıgil, 2014, pp. 127-128)

Uşaklıgil’s publication⁴, specifically focusing recent transformation and renewal projects in Istanbul and their implementation processes, sets a dependable source to

¹ Ali Türel’s contribution in the Housing Convention 2011 is substantial for its inclusion of an extended analysis of housing policy in Turkey with its historical context. Thus, it may be read for a better understanding.

² Emine Uşaklıgil, graduated from *Paris Institut d’Etudes Politiques*, worked as journalist, manager -of newspaper and company of consultancy, producer for television and cinema, web publisher, cinema administrator, and columnist.

³ Translated by the author.

⁴ Emine Uşaklıgil’s research-based work published in March 2014 is called ‘*Bir Şehri Yok Etmek: İstanbul’da Kazanmak ya da Kaybetmek*’, and can be translated as ‘Destroying a City: To Win or To Lose in İstanbul’.

comprehend on-going problematic urban issues related to ‘transformation-led’ housing, neighbourhood, participation, and social problems. Uşaklıgil claims that existing model of urban transformation in Turkey had been abandoned in many countries because of challenging social justice and preservation of built environment, but still utilized by the public authorities for being in line with current economic targets. (Uşaklıgil, 2014, p. 158) Therefore, she underlines the necessity for new legal and political frameworks to take the urbanization under control, and to eliminate self-interest, speculation, and exploitation of public assets. (Uşaklıgil, 2014, p. 178)

For Uşaklıgil, recent urban implementations of varying scales prioritize preferences of private sector putting public realm and rights of lower classes on the back burner. Thus, privatization in the country not only sets a means of ‘dispossession’¹ of public, but also leaves the ‘urban profit’ to the private sector. Besides, effective mechanisms for stakeholders’ participation to city management in comparison to European equivalents do not exist. (Uşaklıgil, 2014, p. 175) Land-use decisions challenging with upper scale plans are frequently changed by local authorities. Moreover, the changes favour the new owners and create a burden of infrastructure, traffic, and other related problems to be undertaken by the rest of the society. (Uşaklıgil, 2014, p. 86)

2.2.3.1 Criticism Associated with Central Housing Authority

TOKİ established as the governmental association for provision of ‘mass-housing’ in Turkey in 1984, has begun to take more central and active role in the housing sector producing substantial quantity of housing units within considerably shorter period compared to previous experiences of the country. Hence, Tekeli (2010) defines TOKİ as a ‘grand housing developer’ which has never existed before 1980s. He states that the urban land was divided into tiny plots and larger ones were in scarcity as a result of ‘crooked’ urbanization. Upon that, TOKİ was equipped by ‘extraordinary’ authorization rights among which are ‘independent planning free from local governments’, ‘amalgamation of tiny plots’, ‘right to utilize lands of the Treasury’. (Tekeli, 2010, pp. 250-251) Although these rights have been intended to be utilized to shorten durations of housing practices by eliminating procedural delays, they stay in

¹ The word ‘dispossession’ is used as ‘*mülksüzleşme*’ in Uşaklıgil’s Turkish text.

focus of criticisms for obstructing control mechanisms, consistence with on upper-scale plans, quality of final production, and liveability of settlements.

Rights of TOKİ and 'Law of Disaster'

Staying in line with Tekeli, Uşaklıgil criticizes TOKİ's authorization right 'to take over public lands of the Treasury free of charge' upon prime ministerial permission, with which it was equipped in 2007. (Uşaklıgil, 2014, p. 55) As a result of a set of rules and procedures, once TOKİ authorities announces its decision for urban transformation of a certain land, related directory of land registry has the right to 'cancel all deeds' within. According to the author's interpretation, in practice, the regulation leads to consequent abolishment of the 'right of ownership'. (Uşaklıgil, 2014, p. 73) Uşaklıgil criticizes far-reaching rights of TOKİ and Ministry of Environment and Urbanism¹, and the recent 'law of disaster'² which has introduced a high level of potency over city land and justify all sorts of interventions during urban transformation. (Uşaklıgil, 2014, p. 32)

Indeed, the unprecedented level of authorization of TOKİ is in centre of many recent criticisms because of setting freedom of decisions to the central administration while lessening the control mechanisms over it. Besides, its right to establish plans for city districts allows plans to be established free-from upper scale urban decisions. (See APPENDIX D for selected notes from governmental officials in Housing Convention 2011)

2.2.3.2 Urban Transformation: Experiences and Problems

Türkün (2014, p. 19) argues that urban transformation projects in Turkey brought up feeling of continuous 'uneasiness to be moved', 'impoverishment', and 'gradual dispossession' in recent ten years. According to her, segregation of classes within urban land and sheltering problem of the low-income have emerged by the industrial capitalistic period. As a result of immigration towards cities and rapid urbanization the high income moved to peripheries renting out their houses in central areas out to the

¹ 'Çevre ve Şehircilik Bakanlığı' in Turkish. Author's translation.

² Law of disaster -*afet yarasası*- is the law for transformation of lands under risk of disaster-

new-comers. Nevertheless, following this urban movement, the central areas turned into run-down districts together with unprecedented population increase, lack of infrastructure, appearance of ghettos, and increasing social problems. To solve the problems, states have introduced policies to gentrify the urban areas, created low-density housing settlements in place, and organized social housing initiatives. Especially, standards of social housing and gentrification activities realized in the United States and Western Europe following the Second World War were of reasonable levels. Nevertheless, it should also be noted that, concentration of poverty and nodes of ghettos remains still even in those countries (Türkün, 2014). On the other hand, experience of transformation in Turkey is more complicated, and bears deeper problems.

Transformation in Turkey: Displacement, Demolition, Challenges for the Poor

For Cengizkan (2009), in Turkey, particularly after 1980s, laws, legal arrangements, and projects which targeted transformation of squatter areas led to problems based on ownership and forced the long-time dwellers of those sites to ‘displacement’ in Turkey. He criticizes speculative urban ‘policies over housing allowances’ which has driven the society and the urban space towards ‘lawlessness’. He argues that negative social results of such implementations will reveal themselves in the future.

According to Uşaklıgil, it is the recently introduced legal structure which has allowed demolition of all kind of buildings through transformation practices. She claims that the underlying reason is the prioritization of profit-making rather than building long-lasting high quality production. (Uşaklıgil, 2014, p. 113) Moreover, within TMMOB’s report, TOKİ, as the major actor of the recent processes, is criticized for its urban transformation projects with a claim of violation of human rights for the sake of ‘creating free urban lands for marketing luxury housing.’ (TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, 2008)

Uşaklıgil argues that the ‘profit-targeting’ planning model is not concentrated on poverty-led problems, respect to historical identities, socio-economic difficulties of locals, consciousness of preservation, and urban belonging. However, there is need for an understanding of planning which has elements of design, law, financial administration, and political sciences to establish the inevitable urban transformation practices. (Uşaklıgil, 2014, p. 114) Nevertheless, what took place in İstanbul through

urban transformation activities justifies the arguments of Uşaklıgil. For instance, after the demolition of dwellings in Ayazma, İstanbul, for the sake of ‘transformation’, the residents were moved to TOKİ’s ‘social housing’ blocks in Bezirganbahçe, which is considerably away from Ayazma. (Remember the schemes in section 1.1) Besides, they were asked to make extra payment because alternative new units offered them in place of the old ones were worth more. However, many of the households were not able afford the monthly payments, and other extras of the ‘new life’, so that, they sold the new flats and moved to somewhere other. Uşaklıgil highlights similar challenging situations in a series of selected transformation projects, and criticizes governmental authorities for not providing financial mechanisms for a wise pay back. (Uşaklıgil, 2014, p. 120)

Uşaklıgil interprets the implementation of urban transformation in Turkey as a transfer of ‘ownership’ from the poor to the affluent, and a conversion of living spaces contrary to experiments in western counterparts. Here, demand of inhabitants has a backseat. As a result of limited participation, common decisions cannot be taken for a transformation set for the good of all. For the author, such a system omitting the inhabitants cannot sustain. (Uşaklıgil, 2014, p. 142)

Uşaklıgil stresses on the sociological aspects of urban transformative initiatives. Addressing the riots of 2005 in Paris, she discloses two deductions. Firstly, for her, urban transformations cannot achieve success unless they take social conflicts into consideration. (See Figure 2-4 and Figure 2-5) Secondly, serious further problems may appear if urban interventions are instrumentalized as ‘tools of social engineering’. (Uşaklıgil, 2014, p. 47)



Figure 2-4: Ayazma, before 'urban transformation'. Photo Source: kentseldonusum.info



Figure 2-5: Ayazma, after 'urban transformation'. The construction site of 'Ağaoğlu My World Europe' Project. Photo Source: megaprojeleristanbul.com

TOKİ VE KÜÇÜKÇEKMECE BELEDİYESİ

VERDİĞİN SÖZLERİ TUT!



İKİTELLİ AYAZMA-TEPEÜSTÜ KENTSEL DÖNÜŞÜM PROJESİ MAĞDURU AİLELER

DESTEK BEKLİYOR!

www.ayazmamagdurlari.wordpress.com
ayazmamagdurlari@gmail.com



Figure 2-6: Two pages of a brochure by 'Sufferers' of Transformation in Ayazma, calling the authorities to 'keep premises' and warning the residents of their neighbourhood and the outside world to be aware of the emerging demolition. Source: ayazmamagdurlari.wordpress.com

Urban Transformation: A Political Project, Risks, and Vitality of Participation

Tekeli (2014) briefly discloses his viewpoint for the recent urban transformation implementations in Turkey within his introduction of the research-based study compiled by Türkün. He states that future urban transformation to be implemented in Turkey is claimed to cover a seven millions of units of housing in the whole country for the coming years by the governmental authorities. Thus, it is a resource-demanding, wide-scale 'political project'. For Tekeli, a project of such extent bears the risks of same size in case of not being carefully planned and implemented, and not securing comprehensive participation of the stakeholders. Among the risks are misuse of public resources, decline of architectural and environmental quality, and unfair share of the total burden. Tekeli highlights the criticism aroused within cities and among urban specialists upon transformation projects led by powerful administrative actors who ignore negotiations with stakeholders and locals. According to Tekeli, rightful worries stems from previous experiences of implementation which were undertaken through impositions led by 'super-centralized' administrations. Tekeli

argues that for such a project to be a ‘sustainable’ one, it should be managed in a ‘transparent’ manner, bear consistency with resources of the society, be fair, and contribute to ‘urban life qualities’. (Tekeli, 2014)

Rant -Unearned Income-, Impoverishment, Dispossession, Segregation

For Türkün, there is a strong co-relation between profit-seeking market economy and the operations in the urban land. According to her, ‘demand for *rant* -unearned income- from urban land’ stems from pressure of local and global real estate sectors, and thus, determines orientation of urban transformation in Turkey. Such transformation catalyses urban segregation through considerable change of social patterns within the urban space. The spatial implementations re-organize places of social classes and urban functions within the city in accordance with the ‘profit-based’ wills of the capital. Therefore, major ‘mix-use’ lands of the city are converted into ‘homogenized’ districts of unique functions to maximize the profit. The result is sectoral spaces which are dependent on purchasing power and much more introverted than ever before, as once experienced in the ‘zoned’, ‘dis-identified’, so-called ‘modern’ American cities of post 1960s defined by Jane Jacobs. (Türkün, 2014, pp. 4-6)

According to Türkün, many squatter settlements -especially in İstanbul- has been transformed according to their potential of profit-making. Basically, implementation processes of the transformations follow such a sequence: target area is announced as ‘urban transformation area’ either by local or central governments; demolition takes place; residents transferred to ‘social housing’ settlements built by TOKİ in the periphery, and the area ‘cleared’ is ready for construction. One critical step is that residents are obliged to pay the difference between prices of their new¹ and old dwellings² in 15 years’ payment scheme. Consequently, residents face a complicated situation to have a new housing unit with limited alternatives. Selling their old dwellings for pre-defined price; paying the depth of one of luxury dwellings of high price to be built in the same site; or paying the depth of one of ‘social housing’ of relatively low price to be built in the peripheries of the city but far from their workplaces are the only alternatives. For Türkün, this highly contradictory process

¹ The price is calculated according to updated price list of the related ministry-

² The price is calculated as being ‘ruined’ buildings.

ends up with ‘impoverishment’ and ‘dispossession’ for the lower income. (Türkün, 2014, pp. 6-9) Exclusion of the lower income opens place for spaces with ‘high-prices’ allocated only for the higher income groups, paving strong barriers in favour of social segregation.

Capitalistic Policies and Spatial Conflicts

Nilgün Fehim Kennedy, referring to the recent spatial policies in Turkey and favouring David Harvey’s determinations, states that urban politics are utilized as new tools of economic profit -rant-. For her, ‘in western societies, systems to preserve society and environment still operates despite many deficiencies.’ Nonetheless, in Turkey mechanisms of opposition are prevented by modification of legal system in favour of capital. Thus, housing has shifted from being ‘the basic human right’ to being ‘a luxury commodity’. Therefore, Kennedy argues that so-called ‘urban transformation projects’ cause people not only ‘to lose their homes’ but also their ‘to be isolated’ because of getting detached from ‘patterns of social solidarity.’ (Fehim Kennedy, 2012)

To summarize, urban transformation experienced recently in Turkey has primarily caused unavoidable challenges especially for the poor because of their displacement due to the demolition of their houses. For the next and tremendous sized urban transformation plans of the government, careful planning, implementation, supported with thorough participation of all of stakeholders are proposed as unique pre-conditions of sustainability to be considered. Nevertheless, elimination of the profit-centred practice is strictly advised in order not to lead sectoral fragmentation of urban space and social segregation. This is also claimed to be the major way out to avoid ‘dispossession’ and ‘impoverishment’ of defenceless social classes. Finally, it is possible to say that there is a need of ‘society’/human oriented perspective to avoid shortcomings of capitalistic economic system and related spatial conflicts.

2.2.3.3 Limits of Participation

Vanishing of Historical Characteristic of Participation from Neighbourhoods

Neighbourliness and related conscience of living together within had been a historical common feature of Turkish urban living patterns until recently, as being an implicit form of sharing and participation. Citing from Turgut Cansever, one of most

forthcoming figures of Turkish architectural history, Uşaklıgil underlines this critical aspect of Turkish cities losing its priority within housing venues. For her, the mutual relations of buildings with its residents and the neighbourhoods should be preserved as a legacy from the past. (Uşaklıgil, 2014, p. 183) Nevertheless, today, residents of neighbourhoods are weakly connected with each other only by mechanisms of central administration. The concept of neighbourhood *-mahalle-* has also lost its 'autonomy' gradually as result of weakened physical and social bonds. (Uşaklıgil, 2014, p. 35) The innate "conscience of 'living together' and 'being neighbours' has left its place to individualism, thus existing grounds of participation has been dissolved.

'Participation' for Decision-making in Housing Production

For Anlı Ataöv (2012), decisions regarding cities and their residents should be taken by a human oriented perspective, which also bears harmony with environment. Therefore, participation of the residents into decision-making processes regarding the space they live in is a vital concern. According to Ataöv, production of housing should be regarded as a 'social process'. Thus, participation is a tool of democratic action for learning the means of managing their own problems and consequently making decision for themselves. Besides, 'appropriating' *-sahiplenme-* is a further positive outcome of a participatory process. The critical point is that each participatory process should be considered on its own context and should be designed and implemented according to different and evolving demands within. For Ataöv, 'relating authorities with local people', 'including knowledge of experts into the process', and 'planning the process of participation itself' are those which should be included in all decision-making processes for housing. (Ataöv, 2012; 2013)

2.2.3.4 Quality Problems and Reasons Behind

Joan Clos (2012),¹ reminds two crucial ideas arose in 1996 HABITAT Istanbul Conference: 'right to proper urban housing' and 'participatory process in order to establish housing'. For Clos, other than those two ideas, today's 'new paradigm' necessitates rights 'to the city', 'to the street', 'of a proper energy use', 'to develop',

¹ John Clos is the executive director of United Nations Human Settlements Programme -UN-HABITAT- in 2012 and former mayor of Barcelona and former Spanish ambassador in Turkey.

‘of a proper job’ and ‘to have a qualitative urban right’. Accordingly, he presents an anonymous criticism against ‘governments’ which disregard those rights and processes, and solely search for ‘large-scale housing projects’. (Clos, 2012) Thus, housing being a fundamental component of the city should be considered as an issue of ‘human rights’, and be properly handled according to urban realities, through participatory means, and ensuring the quality for all.

Monotypic Production and Lack of Alternatives

While recent housing policies in Turkey are marching towards to achieve a targeted quantity of units in a certain limited time period, there arouses criticism for the spatial qualities of ‘mass-housing’ settlements, including both urban and architectural ones, sacrificed for the sake of rapid construction demand of the capital. This conflict signals for an unavoidable emerging problem, which would not only pave the way for more complicated transformations most probably including demolition of the just built, but also create a heavier burden of ‘housing problem’ than now.

Boyacıoğlu provides a criticism of the present state of housing within Turkish cities concentrating basically on its physical architectural and urban qualities as a product of recent policies.¹ (Boyacıoğlu, 2010) She points out the paradox of variety of demands versus banality and ordinariness of existing provision of housing. For her, independent from being urban or rural; being located within ordinary unique plots or large settlements or gated communities; or targeting lower or upper classes, dominating architectural ‘end-up’ in the existing system is whether ‘unique/twin/row house’ or - and most specifically- ‘apartment/point block’. (See Figure 2-12 and Figure 2-13 for a selected case in Ankara) Thus, she criticizes multiplication of ‘monotype dwelling types’ with an extremely poor sense of creativity and mostly as a product of ‘tunnel form’ constructions. Boyacıoğlu asks a series of ironical questions to emphasize the quality problem which stems from the ignorance of architectural concerns. Little sense of aesthetics -limited to only colour of painting, ‘shallow’ historicist formations and ornamentations-, ignorance of existing topographical conditions, common areas formed out of residual spaces after random placement of ‘point blocks’ on an empty

¹ An introductory text for a special periodical publication of Chamber of Architects with the name ‘City and Housing’ -*Kent ve Konut*-.

canvas, and loose public spaces lacking cultural and re-creative urban qualities excluding many layers of the society are of those points of criticism Boyacıoğlu articulates. (Boyacıoğlu, 2010) (See Figure 2-7Figure 2-8Figure 2-9Figure 2-10Figure 2-11) ¹

TMMOB's² report in 2008³ also covers a series of critical appreciations about implementations of TOKİ, brought about by participants of panels and forums organized by the chamber. TOKİ's -mass housing- projects are criticized for not 'attempting/intending' to set an exemplary performance within its local and regional architectural provisions for other contemporary designs. According to the report, such ignorance does not only set a dull environment consisted of typical blocks, but also presents a negative image for its 'mass-housing' provisions. TMMOB also criticizes mimicking of historical ornamentations, and ignorance of local qualities in site selection, neighbourhood relations, settlement characters, and social and cultural service areas. Besides, it is claimed that such 'mono-typical' urban development receive only a quantity-based approval within the public opinion. Therefore, TMMOB proposes that alternatives for new settlements should be considered with creative potential of street and neighbourhood tissues, and be respectful for local cultural, climatic, topographical, and landscape properties. (TOKİ Raporu, 2008, pp. 14-15)

¹ The problem what Boyacıoğlu refers, of course, is not solely one of physical appearance or aesthetics. On the contrary, it refers to an incompatibility between the spaces designed and presented, and the individual demands of people, districts, geographical conditions, many other variables. Similar problems of incompatibility have been faced in Korea following a rush of housing provision took place after the wars in the last century. Sang Leem Lee (2012), drew attention to social character of cities and its relation with housing types in the recent convention in Turkey. For him, variety of households and changing life styles within society do not correspond to 'monotype' housing provision. Nonetheless, what is experienced in Korea, after Second World War and Korean War is a prototypical reflection of the mentioned conflict. Focusing on establishment of a certain quantity of housing blocks, ended up with collage of 'apartment blocks' of varying sizes with low quality settlements lacking basic landscape and overall master plan features. Thus, for the last two decades many Korean cities has suffered from growing slums, traffic congestions, and other social problem. He foresees that the city growth will not be towards outside, but rather inwards, towards the old city by means of transformation. Thus, he states that Korean experience would set a critical example for future implementation in Turkey.

² *Türk Mimar ve Mühendis Odaları Birliği* - Turkish Union of Chambers of Architects and Engineers

³ The report is also published within appendices a book published by TMMOBİ which is based on proceedings of a workshop titled '*TOKİ Çalışmaları Üzerine Değerlendirmeler* - Appreciations over Implementations of TOKİ' held on the 9th of January in 2009.



Figure 2-7: Mass-housing by TOKİ in Manisa -a city in Western Anatolia- Source: TOKİ web site 2015



Figure 2-8: Mass-housing by TOKİ in Istanbul -northwest Anatolia- Source: TOKİ web site 2015



Figure 2-9: Mass-housing by TOKİ in Diyarbakır/Şilbe -Southeast Anatolia- Source: TOKİ website2015



Figure 2-10: Mass-housing by TOKİ in Erzurum -Northeast Anatolia- Source: TOKİ website2015



Figure 2-11: Mass-housing by TOKİ in Gümüşhane -Northeast Anatolia- Source: TOKİ website2015

Faulty Planning, Projects, and Implementations

One critical occasion would help us to clarify our point regarding the gap between the needs and the housing provision by the governmental authority. According to a news published in 2004¹ right in the beginning of the recent rush of public housing provision by TOKİ, the administration faced with its ‘faulty planning’ concerning the East and South-eastern region of the country. In the region there is need for large dwellings with large balconies because of large families, and extremely hot and dry climatic conditions. Nevertheless, in Şanlıurfa -one of those South-eastern cities with extremely hot summers-, dwellings were built ‘without balconies’, and settled far away from the city centre. As a result, after the completion of the construction, demand for purchasing those dwellings appeared to be much lower than the expected. (Mimarlık, 2004) Although, the administration admitted the faulty planning, and declared to review problems and revise new projects accordingly, such occasions reveal the ‘ugly truth’ of ignorance in planning and design.

¹ The news is originally published on the 28th of June, in 2004, in a newspaper of economics and politics called *Dünya* basically. We have come across the article in monthly publicized journal of the Turkish Chamber of Architects, *Mimarlık*, in its issue of July-August 2004.



Figure 2-12: Yenimahalle Social Housing by TOKİ, Ankara



Figure 2-13: Aerial Perspective: Yenimahalle Social Housing by TOKİ, Ankara

Besides, the occasion mentioned is not a unique one. On the contrary, there are more common problems because of ‘mono-typical’ production of TOKİ. a research study conducted as a part of a PhD course at METU, reveals many other common problems of spatial quality concerning apartment blocks built by TOKİ. (Bican & Parlak, 2012)

The study analyses on basic physical attributes -sun exposure, dimensioning of rooms, corridors, and service areas of the units based on multiplication of 19 ‘typical floor plans’ implemented in 40 different settlements according to basic needs and universal design principles. According to the study although the reductive ‘mono-typical production’ helps to cut down on construction time and costs, it also puts context and user dependant concerns aside sacrificing architectural qualities, physical ergonomics, and spatial richness. (Bican & Parlak, 2012) These determinations can be justified by checking user satisfaction analysis¹ established by TOKİ. (TOKİ - Satisfaction Survey, 2010) While 24.9% of all residents living in TOKİ residents all around the country declares that the inner layout and materials inside are ‘bad’, this ratio reaches nearly to 50% in some regions. Moreover, lack of social and cultural facilities, quality of workmanship, insufficiency of parks and greeneries, and other physical attributes of blocks come forth as the criticisms declared by the TOKİ residents. (TOKİ - Satisfaction Survey, 2010)

2.2.3.5 Unsustainability of Transformation and New Provision

In Turkey, the housing sector and related implementations within are criticised by the actors inside and outside for not being ‘sustainable’ as evaluated through varying perspectives. Emre Arolat (2012), as one of prominent contemporary architects in Turkey, accuses the mainstream architectural approach within the country for ignoring existing social patterns. For him, architects are building expensive ‘luxury ghettos’, which resist penetration and catalyse social problems. For him, what is unsustainable is the approach which eliminates social facts. (Arolat, 2012, pp. 102-107)

Moreover, Uşaklıgil claims that many urban transformation practices are not economically sustainable for not including proper financing alternatives for the dwellers. Residents who were provided with proposal of ‘self-renovation of their existing dwellings’ were not supported with benefits or public state funds as to catalyse their finance. For her, the common problem of all those is that there has not been a clear definition of a sustainable system. (Uşaklıgil, 2014, p. 109)

¹ The survey is conducted by *Pollmark Araştırma* between April 27 and May 6, 2010 upon the order of TOKİ to determine demographical, socio-economical levels, and household types and to assess the user opinion about TOKİ and its provision.

2.2.3.6 Rental versus Ownership

Rental Social Housing: A Long Standing Need

Need for a rental social housing has been pronounced for many years in Turkey as an alternative for those who cannot ‘own’/buy a house within existing market conditions. Tekeli claims that supply of rental housing is an appropriate solution especially upon demand of rapidly evolving societies with high ratios of displacement. It also supports effective utilization of existing housing stock and compensating the acceleration of social change. Besides, arguing rental housing is a means to supply shelter for the low-income, Tekeli implies that it should be encouraged. (Tekeli, 1987/2010)¹ Such need was also pronounced within TMMOB’s 2008 report and re-stated in the workshop organized by the unions in 2009. (TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Genel Merkezi, 2009) It is argued that the concept of ‘rental housing’ should be re-considered within public projects, instead of sole embracement of ‘ownership-based housing provision’. Besides, the demand for rental social housing is one of recent determinations of Urbanization Council Meeting -*Kentleşme Şurası*- in 2009 organized by ministerial authorities. (Sonuç Bildirgesi / Final Declaration, 2009)

According to Türel (2012b), unlike many western countries, existing housing policies in the country fail to comprehend underlying reasons of the supply and demand dimensions of the stock. Thus, while sector produces housing units more than the demand, there are some cities where total supply is far below the need. For Türel, policies should match the demand, consider affordability of the low-income, and most critically, provide not only housing based on ownership but also ‘rental social housing’.² (Türel, 2012b)

Causes of Tendency towards Ownership

Indeed, owning a house has been an ‘ideal’ choice for residents in Turkey. Erman (2010) sorts causes of such tendency towards the ‘ideal’ model as follows: non-

¹ The Essay was originally published in ‘Birleşmiş Milletler Türk Derneği 1987 Yılı (Konut Özel Sayısı)’ -Turkish Foundation of United Nations 1987 Yearbook -Special Edition for Housing-; Ankara, 1988, pp.45-58.

² Türel notes that the demand for rental social housing is also one of recent decision of Urbanization Council Meeting -*Kentleşme Şurası*- in 2008 organized by ministerial authorities.

existence of an alternative, cheap, rental social housing model -within the country-; citizens' need for monetary investment to keep the value of their financial savings under control against the risks of inflation; limited tools for alternative investments; and limited chance of alteration and maintenance for the tenants because of temporariness within private rental sector. Thus, 'purchasing a unit' and 'squatter building' have evolved into being the permanent and almost the unique solutions for sheltering within the country. (Erman, 2010, p. 6)

Research: Home Ownership vs. Unemployment

Although 'home ownership' is considered as a safe harbour against unstable economic conditions, there is research which indicates the vice versa and bears critical findings on its limited but negative impact. (Munch, Rosholm, & Svarer, 2006; Taşkın & Yaman, 2013) Orhan Erdem¹ claims that there is an inversely proportionate correlation between 'home ownership' and 'unemployment patterns within cities.' For Erdem, homeowners do not prefer to take long distance every day to a work place far away from their homes. Thus, home ownership interpreted to be a kind of 'obstacle' against 'labour mobility'. Erdem suggests governmental authorities to consider introduction of an organized rental housing within urban areas to provide flexible accommodation opportunities for employees many of which are low and middle class people. (Erdem, 2012, pp. 142-145)

Thus, when considered from the viewpoint of individuals, rental housing comes to the forefront to set an alternative for the tenants to flexibly shift their addresses within cities, or when their demographic profile within families change in time. In another way of saying, as Tekeli (Tekeli, 1987/2010) indicates, rental housing is a means of 'effective utilization of existing housing stock' for matching social changes, and thus, adapting to flexible needs of the society.

2.2.4. Selected Suggestions to Overcome the Housing Problems

The researchers, specialists, and academics referred until here not only criticize the housing system and on-going implementations, but also propose some alternative

¹ Assist. Professor in İstanbul Bilgi University, Department of Economics.

ways of approach to overcome the problems referred. The suggestions concern economy, policies, social life, housing system, urban planning, architectural design, and related legal regulations. Within this sub-section some of the proposals will be specifically addressed.

For Uşaklıgil, an economy dependent solely on construction would lead a country to future crisis because it sets ‘an illusion of dynamism’, consequently many problems grow in parallel, accumulate, and cannot be answered. Her further interpretation for such kind of execution of resources is a means of exploitation of resources of both today and tomorrow. (Uşaklıgil, 2014, p. 144) Thus, for her, existing policies of economy are not long-reaching, unsustainable, and not development-seeking ones. (Uşaklıgil, 2014, p. 167) Uşaklıgil’s recipe against ‘unearned income-based’ -*rant*-economy is to design and develop policies that would activate productive sectors - industry, agriculture, cultural tourism- and to encourage export of resulting production, instead of an economy based on the resource-consuming construction sector. (Uşaklıgil, 2014, p. 151)

Housing sector effecting and being effected from those policies would be considered and be utilized as a means and target of sustainable policies. Tekeli is not pessimistic about Turkey, for its ability and flexibility of developing alternative forms of housing provision. As he states, structural changes have always been adopted in reply to insufficient forms of housing provision, or bottleneck situations. Even if those changes do not suffice or new capacities develop, there evolve new forms of housing provision. (Tekeli, 2010)

Cengizkan, also, points out a potential way out by reminding previous methods and implementations in Turkish housing sector. For him, TOKİ could explore a reasonable ground out of its previous experiences and build its future practices upon. For him, at the end of 1980s, the administration not only developed design tools for ‘housing of quality’, but also successfully experimented them in Ankara, Eryaman, in 1990s. (Figure 2-14; Figure 2-15; Figure 2-16) Far beyond, according to Cengizkan, it established a visible progress in:

...buying contractor services; enhancing qualities of construction details through novel actors developed within the process of building-production; elevating quality of near-by environments of housing sites; supporting the feeling of social equality by gathering non-homogenous user fractions in housing environments; formation of a communal homogeneity determined by purchasing power when housing gets into circulation as a meta; automatic achievement of sustainability in housing environments through democratic participatory management; housing environments', as physical regions, being a recognizable partitions of cities as a result of the process of housing production itself... (Cengizkan, 2009)¹

Cengizkan states that a prospective perspective for the future basically depends on some pre-conditions. For him, an understanding of housing not only as 'a cultural object' but also 'a product of social, economic, and political appearances' and role of these on production of each individual dwelling and 'micro space politics developed on the basis of place concept' will provide a strong ground for policies matching with rational demand of the society. (Cengizkan, 2009)



Figure 2-14: Eryaman 4th Phase Housing in Ankara. Architect: Ahmet Gülgönen. Photo: N.Burak Bican, March 2012

¹ Translated from Turkish, by the author.



Figure 2-15: Eryaman 4th Phase Housing in Ankara. Architect: Tuncay Çavdar, Photo: N.Burak Bican, March 2012



Figure 2-16: Eryaman 4th Phase Housing in Ankara. Architect: Tuncay Çavdar. Photo: N.Burak Bican, March 2012

Awareness of Variety for Sustainability

For Hüseyin Kaptan,¹ as relations of production and climate -and other geographical conditions- change, systems of settlements change accordingly. Therefore, spatial interventions of ordinary and mono-type solutions fail to notice the varieties among cities, urban spaces, and neighbourhoods, so they cannot survive for long. (Uşaklıgil, 2014, p. 194) It may be interpreted as a warning against ignorance of contextual factors which may otherwise result in possible failure of decisions of politicians, planning authorities, and designers. Thus, a sustainable built environment is strictly bound to an awareness of those ‘varieties’, and producing the corresponding spatial alternatives.

Keleş’s proposal for competitions

In TMMOB’s workshop with a group of forerunning academics within planning and architecture disciplines, Keleş proposed integrating ‘competition method’ within spatial processes. (TMMOB, 2009, p. 19) According to him, this is not simply a ‘formal’ proposal, but indeed a structural one which is implicit within existing constitutional law regarding shelter needs and requiring ‘a planning framework which considers qualities of cities’. Thus, for Keleş, competitions should absolutely include basic guidelines of ‘qualities of cities’ and urban identities.

Stress on Decentralization

TMMOB’ report criticizes recently implemented laws paving the way for an extremely empowered central authority, TOKİ, instead it proposes diminishing authorities of local governments. According to the report, urban development rights should be owned by local governments, but those rights should strictly be under supervision of scientific and democratic organs. (TMMOB, 2009, p. 66)

In fact, many alternative suggestions to overcome many of minor and major housing problems in Turkey are possible to be encountered within the lines above. Some of critical suggestions aroused within housing conference organized by TOKİ in 2012 have been highlighted set a base for resilience of problematic conditions and

¹ Academic. Architect. Experience of 50 years in planning in public & private sector. Founder and Chairman of İstanbul Metropolitan Planning and Urban Design Centre (İMP) between 2004-2008. Uşaklıgil conducted an in-depth interview with him, and included in her work cited.

development of new approaches in the future.

Environmentally Sustainable Housing as a Tool of Economic Development

Saskia Sassen¹, draws attention to the potential of ‘building housing’ as a tool of employment growth. For her, housing would also have ‘multiplier effect’ for innovations as in many western countries. She claims that an economy depending majorly on housing would work, if it does not sacrifice ‘environmental sustainability.’ (Sassen, 2012, pp. 40-41) According to her approach, the demand for new housing would be considered as an opportunity to march the economic growth as soon as maximum attention is paid to environmental concerns.

‘Successful Housing Ecosystem’ Through a Total Transformation Policy

David Smith² (2012), appreciating TOKI’s provision of 500 thousands of dwellings within the last ten years, questions the relation of it with urban agendas, city growth, and land use patterns. For him, a ‘successful housing ecosystem’ would only be ensured by financing construction and purchase of housing; financing the private sector; encouraging improvement of existing stock, and considering squatters/slums as ‘assets’ deserving restoration. Thus, he emphasizes importance of amending people’s own houses - ‘gentrifying the squatters’- by allocating financial sources for those, because building houses for all cannot be an immediate and quick solution. Moreover, disaster risks -which TOKI is searching for solutions in line with the legal arrangements- can only be minimized and eliminated by sharing the risks, ensuring urban management, activating local governments, and providing active involvement of the public in local decisions. That is, there is need for ‘a total transformation policy’ to be implemented. In doing this, state should develop means of finance not only for public initiatives but also major and minor private construction or renovation works. Besides, it should encourage local governments of cities through financial incentives, to set a positive competition among them. (Smith, 2012)

¹ Co-chair of the Committee on Global Thought at Columbia University, USA.

² Founder of Affordable Housing Institute (AHI).

'A City of Liveability, Walkability, Mix-use, and Social Mix'

According to Sidney Rasekh¹ (2012), the question of 'which sort of society is needed to be created' has been the pathfinder for the planning of Vancouver, which is regarded among topmost 'liveable' cities in the world. The planning idea was developed out of social and economic structures rather than pure physical one. The features of 'walkability', 'density', and 'mix-use' have minimized demand for transportation based on cars. Furthermore, a 'mix' of people from varying economic income groups has been maintained to build a 'society of equality'. (Rasekh, 2012) The features to maintain a 'liveable' contemporary urban environment in Vancouver bears the inner mechanisms to sustain itself. Thus, the experience sets an exemplary performance not only for new provisions but also for resilience of the existing stock through transformation schemes.

'Connect Sociological Approach with Production of Housing'

Murat Güvenç's (2012) sociological approach to migration patterns deserves attention for its will to embrace demographical realities and potential to support all possible economic, political, and spatial planning attempts. According to Güvenç 'internal migration' has been a fundamental force both effecting and effected from public entities, demand of service, and processes of production. For Güvenç, 'need of housing, size of units, net immigration, speed of population increase, employment, and fertility' are not primarily considered as basic variants to shape products or processes in the contemporary era. Rather, what configure the production are market dependent forces and variables. Therefore, Güvenç argues that new policies of housing should be utilized so as to trigger 'new forms of design' and 'new forms of know-how production'. Besides, a new approach to sociology would be an advantage to understand demands and decision patterns of immigrants. Thus, such an approach would also help to prepare new housing policies, models, and designs accordingly.

¹ Founder of Urban Green Global. Urban Development Expert. Worked for 30 years in planning committee of Vancouver City.

‘Collaborate with NGOs and communities and Study International ‘Best practices’

Building his arguments especially on the English experience of urban transformation, Michael Gibson¹ (2012) discloses a future perspective for Turkey in line with Smith. Gibson proposes ‘a massive neighbourhood regeneration programme which gives priority to earthquake vulnerable districts’ and ‘a parallel and planned program of strategic, prestigious regeneration projects’. However, as the pre-condition, TOKİ -the major administration concerning urban interventions- should go beyond its previous partnerships with local governments and private sector, and develop various kinds of collaborations with NGOs and ‘community based organizations’.² For him, study of ‘best practices’ of transformations in international contexts should be one of initial steps before taking action. (Gibson, 2012) This suggestion is critical for being in line with the intent of the current study.

2.2.5. Interim Conclusion for the Review

Within this review, we have both referred to definitions of terms and problems, and also revealed suggestions from the specialists who concentrated on critical issues of housing in the country. The proposals above have been made not only to overcome existing complicated problems of housing sector in Turkey and but also to ensure a better future with alternative means of handling of the stock.

First of all, existing housing provision model implemented by governmental authorities prioritizes rapid construction preferring quantity-based production to quality concerns because of a series of reasons- ‘housing shortage’ perspective; profit-based capitalistic premises; necessity of urgent supply to meet increasing demand- (Tekeli, Tekeli, 1987/2010, 2010; Güzer, 1995; Cengizkan, 2009; Housing Convention, 2012; Uşaklıgil, 2014; Türel, 2012a; Boyacıoğlu, 2010; Bican & Parlak, 2012). Secondly, as another shortcoming of the prioritization just mentioned, participatory and transparent processes have been either eliminated or performed in

¹ Emeritus Professor of Urban Planning, London South Bank University and Associate Director in JVM Consulting, London.

² A similar argument also disclosed by Haluk Sur, president of Urban Land Institute -ULI- Turkey, as the private sector should be encouraged to engage low-class housing projects and social housing provision. (Housing Convention, 2012, p. 116)

limited sense in major transformation projects. (Ataöv, Housing Production From a Humanistic Point of View: The Issue of ‘Other Actors’, 2013; Uşaklıgil, 2014) Thirdly, those transformation projects end up with ‘victimisation’ of the residents mostly consisted of the poor and the low-income. (Fehim Kennedy, 2012; Türkün, 2014; Uşaklıgil, 2014; Tekeli, 2010; Cengizkan, 2009) Fourthly, it is highlighted that there is not only an absence of, but also a need for a rental social housing sector to set alternative opportunities of shelter for the citizens with diverse demands -low-income classes; households with changing demography; citizens in need of flexible sheltering within space and time- (Tekeli, 1987/2010; Erman, 2010; Housing Convention, 2012; Taşkın & Yaman, 2013; Munch, Rosholm, & Svarer, 2006) And lastly, all those ways of handling the phenomenon of housing is argued to end up with a built environment that is not possible to sustain longer. (Uşaklıgil, 2014; Arolat, 2012)

In summary, criticisms on housing provision by the central public authority in Turkey has been concentrated on the following basic subjects:

- Ignorance of ‘quality’ concern as a result of prioritization of quantity
- Lack of/limited end-users’/residents’ participation in spatial decision-making mechanisms; a top-down decision-making
- ‘Displacement’ and ‘dispossession’ through urban transformation and renewal practices
- Suffering of inhabitants of due to pre-mentioned subjects
- Resulting sacrifice of sustainability and liveability of housing settlements

Keeping those concerns in mind, it should be reminded that the governmental authorities recently pronounces a future strategy bearing a more extensive transformation movement than before across the whole country to cover more than six millions of housing units to be demolished and rebuild. However, previous experiences related to sector and recent practices of the administration cause rightful worries and signal for a need of more careful consideration than ever. Finally, as an inference of the highlighted ideas and proposals, it might be argued that a sustainable solution would only be ensured by participatory processes with a strict concern of quality caring not only for people to live within but also outside/among the new settlements, and consideration of all the intricate social, cultural, economic, environmental, and spatial factors. In other words, only a combination of such approaches would secure the future of provisions of public housing in the country.

2.3. Literature Survey: Recent Housing Provision by Turkish Public Authority

A literature survey conducted within Turkish academic sources to explore relevant research studies searching for spatial solutions, design principles, and alternative practice models to set up a ground for alternative means of housing provision by the public authority. Target of such a study is to discover state-of-the art within the relevant literature and discover possible ‘gaps’ within the research and highlight them. Therefore, first the method of the literature survey is presented below with brief explanation of limitations for it. This part depicts the thematic distribution of the research studies. Then, the following part exhibits brief information on the content of the selected relevant PhD studies and essays. At the end, it provides a short discussion on the survey revealing the need for alternative studies.

2.3.1. Survey on TOKİ, Social Housing, and Mass Housing

A set of databases has been utilized to search for recent research studies focusing Turkish context and centralizing

- mass-housing produced or supported by public authorities;
- sustainability or quality concerns in mass-housing;
- the housing policies;
- architectural design and space planning aspects of housing provision;
- and alternative housing supply forms to the existing ones in Turkey.

The terms ‘konut’- housing-, ‘sosyal konut’- social housing-, ‘toplu konut’ - mass-housing-, and ‘TOKİ/toplu konut idaresi’ -housing development administration- are searched with certain time restrictions to scan the most recent academic work produced in Turkey. (Table 2-3) The keywords were intentionally kept short to scan the largest possible extent of research within the field. The Turkish translation of the terms were preferred to automatically restrict the extent of the search with the research studies to specifically produced for the country. such approach was followed due to the assumption that research outputs of most critical studies -theses, essays, articles- either are published in Turkish or English, or include headings, abstracts, and usually keywords in both languages. In the first five trials of search, PhD theses were sought with the pre-mentioned keywords in the online thesis centre of the Turkish Council of

Higher Education -YÖK-¹. The search areas were not restricted to keep all possible alternatives of theses in consideration. Headings of the theses were initially scanned by eye and those with irrelevant subjects were eliminated. It is possible to say that those works with relevant subjects have been published within fields of architecture, city and regional planning, public administration, and sociology. Thus, most of these works cover evaluation or analysis of existing housing settlements either in a certain case area or in a limited region/city according to various aspects. A limited set of the works concentrates on alternative means of housing provision or design methods or attitudes. Nevertheless, none of the works bears a comprehensive research on alternative housing supply forms or spatial decision-making processes to secure quality of life in housing settlements.

In the second five steps of the search METUnique Search tool² has been used to search other possible types of research work published -essays, articles published in academic journals and articles, books, or e-books- which cover those relevant subject areas. Here it should be noted that Turkish matches of the keywords, ‘social housing’ and ‘mass-housing’³ together with ‘TOKİ’/‘Toplu Konut İdaresi’ have been searched individually without limiting subject areas to review the largest possible content. The time period was intentionally restricted to a period beginning from 1980, considering introduction of first mass housing law in 1981 and TOKİ’s establishment in 1984, in searching ‘social housing’ and ‘mass-housing’. Furthermore, the last three steps of search were applied with English keywords - ‘social housing’, ‘mass-housing’, and ‘housing’, but the search was limited with Turkish geography and certain time restrictions as indicated in the Table 2-3 . Thus, all possible academic sources published after the establishment of a public administration for mass-housing in the country have been reviewed.

¹ Turkish Council of Higher Education, (YÖK) Online Thesis Center. Webpage: <https://tez.yok.gov.tr/UlusalTezMerkezi/>

² METUnique Search tool is utilized. The search tool is an official web service provided by METU Library powered by Ebscohost. The tool covers all printed or soft copies registered by METU library.

³ ‘Sosyal konut’ and ‘toplular konut’ respectively.

Table 2-3. Keywords and Restrictions for the Literature Survey

Search Trials	Keyword(s)	Search Area Restriction	Source type Restriction	Date Restriction	Search Engine	Number of Studies
1	'TOKİ'/'Toplu Konut İdaresi'	All	PhD Theses	No	YÖK	21
2	'sosyal konut' (social housing)	All	PhD Theses	2000-2016	YÖK	5
3	'toplu konut' (Mass Housing)	All	PhD Theses	2000-2016	YÖK	41
4	'konut alanları' (Housing Areas)	All	PhD Theses	No	YÖK	16
5	'konut'	All	PhD Theses	2000-2016	YÖK	497
6	'toplu konut' (Mass Housing)	Architecture	No	1980-2016	METUnique	37
7	'sosyal konut' (social housing)	Architecture	No	1980-2016	METUnique	24
8	'sosyal konut' (social housing)	All	No	1980-2016	METUnique	136
9	'TOKİ'	Geography: Turkey	No	No	METUnique	20
10	'Toplu Konut İdaresi'	All	No	No	METUnique	159
11	'Mass Housing'	Geography: Turkey	No	1980-2016	METUnique	20
12	'Social Housing'	Geography: Turkey	No	1980-2016	METUnique	33
13	'Housing'	Geography: Turkey	No	2000-2016	METUnique	832
13'	'Housing'	+ eliminate irrelevant subjects	No	2000-2016	METUnique	120

It should also be underlined that one can come across an entirety of research work published by TOKİ itself between 1993 and 1996. The works were conducted by experienced academics from diverse disciplines. These works covered subjects on spatial quality, built environment, urban development, historical housing stock, economic impact, cooperatives, effect of migration, neighbour relations, rental housing, finance, organization, and local governments. However, although the quantity of its provision has risen sharply in the recent years, the publications of the institution are limited in number. There is only a couple of publications which are based on research studies and the rest are mostly consisted of introductory publications of its provisions. (TOKİ Website, Yayınlar -'Publications'-, 2015)

2.3.2. Selected Academic Research on Problems and Alternatives

The survey explored a set of relevant and ‘meaningful’ academic studies for the current study. This section discloses selected research works which are published in the last twelve years and concentrated on recent mass-housing practices or provision of the central housing authority in Turkey. Sorted them in a chronological order, it provides glimpses of the PhD theses and essays fundamentally bearing criticisms, evaluations, or implications of alternative solutions of the recent practices.

Dominant themes of the selected works are architectural design quality, property rights, neo-liberal approaches, social exclusion, participation of locals, social housing policies, sustainability, urban development, ‘consumer-based’ provision, decentralized approaches, renovation, regeneration, transformation, rental housing, and historical neighbourhoods. Hence, the works could possibly provide inputs and inspiration not only for the current study but also for future research to be established.

PhD Theses

Özbilen (2004) proposes a set of quality principles for architectural design in the settlement scale for mass housing and applies them to evaluate three recent housing settlements recently produced by TOKİ in Ankara. She claims that the study has uncovered some potential means for solution of problems which aroused worries for the quality of life within housing settlements produced by the administration and have been widely criticized.

Çahantimur (2008) argues that mainstream of sustainability studies concentrates on physical -economic and ecological- aspects of urban development, thus, she problematizes the neglected social and cultural components of the issue. Accordingly, she develops a model to comprehend how to maintain a sustainable urban development through culture within housing venues and applies in a traditional case area, in Bursa.

İlhan (2008) builds up his study on a hypothesis which argues that ‘consumer-centred housing provision’ has begun to dominate some housing markets such as of Netherlands and Japan, and about to effect those of under countries in the future. For the author, the ‘open building’ and ‘lean construction’ philosophies call for a novel approach for flexible design solutions in housing. He questions the reasons which prevent the approach from being concretized within the contemporary housing market

in Turkey.

Kural's PhD study draws outlines of relations of social sustainability and 'place-making'. (Kural, 2009) The thesis presents two outcomes: a 'framework posited for a socially sustainable urban environment' and 'a proposal for the parameters of place formation for sustainable urban design'. She develops 'a matrix of place' as 'a tool for urban design and for measuring sustainability.' The approach of place for urban design is based on the claim that 'socially sustainable communities' entail 'environmental and economic sustainability'. She evaluates four case areas in a region including housing developed by TOKİ and private cooperatives. Her study, thus, could support a new comprehension of sustainability and paves the way for a better definition of it. Besides, one may get use of components of 'the matrix of place' she proposed to assess and understand the sustainability of given housing settlements.

Ek (2012), questions the perception of architectural quality by the residents living in varying mass-housing venues in Turkey. Surveys conducted in the venues -including a TOKİ project in İzmir, Buca- reveals that the inhabitants of mass-housing, notwithstanding being members of different social classes, do not consider the uniformity of apartment plans as a negative factor for the quality of their living.

Another PhD thesis (Altınok, 2012) established within the subject area of city and regional planning, focuses on the transfer of property rights through TOKİ projects between 2002-2011 in İstanbul. Altınok deciphers the mechanism of intervening to properties by TOKİ, and argues that it results in an unfair situation the weak faces dispossession, while the economically strong 'acquires' property and gains high levels of profit.

Aysev Deneç (2013) questions the role of 'architect' within the recent urban space practices in İstanbul through a set of processes operated by various pioneer actors be it public, private, profit seeking, or non-profit. For her, neoliberal policies in Turkey governs all such practices that, architectural quality can only be prioritized if it has a potential to enhance profitability of a project. TOKİ is one of the actors whose practices are discussed within her study. According to her, despite being the most dominant public actor, it eliminates architectural decision-making process from all of its production either by diminishing the process to typical production or leaving it to contracting companies. That is, TOKİ does not seek for such quality, because it provides no potential for extra profit in marketing its housing provision. The author,

therefore, questions architectural design strategy of such an active actor and underlines lack of a comprehensive consideration of design and spatial planning and indicates that there is limited research to upgrade the level of such consideration. In the conclusion part of the study, she calls for ‘alternative modes of production to the dominant practices’ to secure quality of production of built environment in the future.

A Phd thesis in sociology (Koçancı, 2014) has examined the depression and social exclusion in ‘poverty social housing’ through cases built by TOKİ in three cities since 2009. According to the study, principle decisions related to planning and architecture causes the backbone of major social problems. Location of these settlements outside the borders of the cities, and thus, their being away from the labour market, and also non-existence of a ‘social mix’ are the major causes of transformation of these settlements into new areas of depression or slums. This negative circle is also supported by the low quality of the dwellings and the distance of the settlements from the city centres.

Concentrating on an urban transformation project realized through a collaborative work of TOKİ and local authorities in Konya, Kaş (2014) examines how local people participated in the project and states that the people’s engagement had a positive effect on their supportive attitude towards the project. However, details of means of participation cannot be achieved in the database, because the main text of the thesis is restricted by the author.

Olgun’s study (2014) in public administration can also be highlighted for its focus on ‘social housing policy of Turkey’ and providing a comparative historical literature analysis with British, French, Swedish policies of social housing. The study concludes that one cannot find an absolute resemblance among the housing policies of the countries, due to varying local political and cultural factors.¹

Essays

Alkışer and Yürekli (2004) highlights the absence of quality in the housing market of Turkey following the state’s changing social and economic policies and its resulting retreat from implementations of ‘public housing’. They conclude that there exists a

¹ The thesis study has been restricted until 23.09.2017.

gradual disappearance of state's intervention in housing area in line with neo-liberal policies, thus, there still exists a deficit of both quantity and quality of housing especially for the low-income classes.

Another essay within the subject area of public administration examines the role of local governments in the housing policies of Turkey (Kılıç and Özel, 2006). Although the study discusses experience of a set of countries, it does not propose an alternative policy or system of housing. Nevertheless, it criticizes rent-seeking approaches and speculation-based growing of cities, and underlines the need for multi-component solution models and development of alternative systems of housing specially to meet the demand of the low-income citizens.

Kumkale (2009), in her article disclosing an alternative way of handling of rehabilitating housing areas, criticizes the on-going 'fast' production of housing by governmental initiatives. According to her, formation of new mass-housing introduced as 'urban transformation' and defined as 'total transformation' by TOKİ are the object of many discussions and criticisms in the country. Kumkale focuses on an urban research and development programme -URBACT- which discusses the ways of renovation/transformation within large-scale housing projects under a thematic sub-web called: 'Hous-es'. The discussion within this web is built on ways of renovating large-scale housing communities neglecting needs of residents and developing proposals for solutions. Main approach of the web is built on assessment of both 'physical -technical- components', and 'spatial, social, economic, and foundational pre-conditions.' The vision of 'sustainable' European cities lays behind as the fundamental policy.

Kumkale summarizes final inferences of the program:

- A sustainable perspective for sufficient, efficient and, affordable housing,
- Consideration of solutions for the low-income, the unemployed, and the immigrants,
- A context-dependant -local, regional- definition of social housing and its components,
- An understanding of renovation beyond physical and technical terms
- Connection and communication of stakeholders, authorities, and specialists.

Besides some tangible points for physical environment are also underlined by Kumkale; variety in housing stock, active participation of residents for regional decisions and handling of common areas, provision of decent access to other parts of the city, preserving the historic legacy and conservation of the existing environments accordingly. There are also some other administrative advices as follows; participating in executive activities, well-defined roles of participants, systematic share and accumulation of knowledge, and avoidance of 'individual property ownership' to eliminate potential problems regarding maintenance. Kumkale highlights the recommendation of avoiding selling of housing units as a radically contradicting alternative to TOKİ's recent widespread mode of production in Turkey.

Görün and Kara's essay (2010) discusses the role of social entrepreneurship in urban regeneration projects and proposes a series of guidelines for public decision-makers in Turkey -government, ministries, municipalities, TOKİ- to enhance quality of urban life through those processes. Participation of the local residents, cooperation with academics and chambers of professional, utilization of integrative social projects, and a nation-wide holistic comprehension to be developed for the urban regeneration - are stressed by the authors.

Kuyucu and Ünsal (2010) defines recent change in the governance of urban land and housing markets in Turkey as 'a radical shift' from 'populist to a neo-liberal mode'. For them, this shift has most obviously solidified in the urban transformation projects -UTP- and is the urge behind their analysis of UTPs in İstanbul. Main inference of their analysis is that the recent UTPs has forced inhabitants to move out to further districts of the city and to transfer their properties. This reflects the pure contrast between the initially stated goals of the UTPs, as 'creating a more sustainable and livable urban environment, and improving the lives of the urban poor', and their real goals, as 'physical and demographical upgrading of the areas' to attract investors and the affluent towards. (Kuyucu and Ünsal, 2010, p.1495)

Akkar (2010) questions the role of 'community needs' in regeneration projects specifically focusing on conservation of historic sites. Although her paper closely examines recent initiatives in historic neighbourhoods of Fener and Balat, in İstanbul, it presents a wide definition of 'community needs' regarding them as the basis of continuous demand of living together, that is, as an indispensable requirement of 'sustainable communities'.

Siting from ‘Community Tool Box’¹ Akkar provides the definition of ‘community needs’ as ‘necessities that specifically relate to a particular group or community’. Underlining its distinctive property of a ‘not being universal’ but a local one, she indicates importance of discovery of ‘problems of local communities’ as a critical means to identify ‘the key issue’ for ‘conservation and regeneration of deprived neighbourhoods’. (Akkar Ercan, 2010, p. 203)

For Akkar’s essay the last ‘renewal project for Fener, Balat, and Ayvansaray’ (2006) lacks ‘a community-based regeneration’. On the contrary, it attempted for the ‘quickest’ gentrification, by shipping the present residents -mostly poor and with many problems- to a distant site within the city. Thus, far away from a ‘community-based’ or ‘sustainable’ handling of regeneration process, a completely ignorant initiative has taken place in the region provided the vice versa of it by replacing the existing community with an affluent alternative.

For us, Akkar’s findings in the paper she mentioned as ‘requirements’ for regeneration a long with her definition of ‘community needs’ would shed light to initiatives targeting ‘sustainable urban settlements’ not only within historical sites but in the whole city land and support the arguments developed within the current study. Thus, those in the list are cited below:

- ...to develop wide-scope regeneration initiatives to address the complicated and multi-dimensional deprivation problems of such areas.
- ...to provide long-term sustainable initiatives; more specifically, to ensure the continuity of a robust regeneration strategy and program
- ...to ensure the continuity of the commitment of political authorities to regeneration projects.
- ...getting a wide range of stakeholders from public, private, voluntary and community sectors into regeneration projects, and ensuring the continuity of their support as the project progresses
- ...the government’s approach to urban conservation and measures they take
- ...The presence of a comprehensive, integrated and sustainable conservation strategy and regulations ensuring the preservation of both the historic physical stock and its social life
- ...The inevitable tension between the community needs and conservation policies. The conservation of historic urbanscape, is a universal responsibility of governments to pass on to future generations. (Akkar Ercan, 2010)

1 An initiative developed by a group from University of Kansas introduces the role of it as ‘a free, online resource for those working to build healthier communities and bring about social change. Our mission is to promote community health and development by connecting people, ideas, and resources.’ Source: <http://ctb.ku.edu/en/about>

Türkün (2011) states that because urban areas with high potential of rent has gained importance in the recent years, squatter settlements and urban historical lands within the city centres has begun to face pressure of demolition or ‘transformation’ in Turkey. For her, this is the result of ‘hegemonic neo-liberal economy’ which is strongly supported by an ‘urban coalition’ consisted of ‘central and urban governments’, ‘authorities of important state institutions’ -TOKİ and Privatization Institution-, private-sector actors, and the ‘leading media’. Türkün argues that decision-making mechanisms of the recent urban regeneration projects -especially in the city of İstanbul- exclude the inhabitants directly feeling the pressure of change, and instead, are designed for short-term interests of powerful actors engaged. (Türkün, 2011, p.70)

Concentrating on the changing role of public authorities in housing provision in Turkey, Özdemir (2011) draws attention to the period after 2000 when the public sector actively involved in housing provision thanks to TOKİ’s emerging role as the leading actor of the construction sector. Her criticism to the recent public provision targets the housing venues built on greenfield sites outside city centres, elimination of resident participation and moving out of residents to far districts through ‘urban regeneration’ projects. Özdemir accuses of the central government for seeking a populist agenda which has centralized solely increasing quantity of housing stock but abandoning ‘integrated social policies and redevelopment or rehabilitation programmes’. (Özdemir, 2011, p.1113)

According to Çoban (2012) republican policy for housing has primarily focused on provision of property housing -including the TOKİ implementations-. However, this is obviously a major reason behind shelter problem of the poorest classes. Thus, those classes with limited resources have to accept the housing offers with the lowest standards. Nevertheless, public authority has the responsibility to optimize the quality of the housing for those. According to Ören and Yüksel (2013) a lack of sustainable urbanization understanding, illegal settlements, migrations, squatting, unbalanced population increase, and inadequate urban renewal attempts are among the negative dynamics behind the housing problem of Turkey. The authors propose development of social policies within a larger framework of social state principles and they call for development of alternative solutions for the housing problem through those policies and principles.

Pelin Sarioğlu-Erdoğan and her fellows established a comprehensive research study focusing on occupancy types of households -owner and non-owner- in Dutch and Turkish contexts. (Sarioğlu-Erdoğan, Balamir, Pellenbarg, & Terpstra, 2012) They provided a comparative analysis of household and housing stock characteristics in the two countries. According to them, it was the result of long-time housing policies of both countries which led them to ‘diverse paths’. The Netherlands has a varied housing stock matching with characteristics of households thanks to ‘state intervention’ and well-established ‘public rental sector’. Whereas, Turkey cannot meet the demands of many ‘outlier’ households, because market mechanisms have been major controller of housing stock for long years and shaped the provision according to ‘the average household’. Thus, differentiation in the tenure types offered in the total stock is very limited. A critical finding the paper uncovers is that Dutch people enjoy a flexibility regarding tenure types during their lifetimes according to changing life-time events and household attributes. However, in Turkish context there is almost a unique order: ‘first renter than owner’. That is, a common Turkish citizen tends to become a home-owner after a certain period of non-owner -rental- occupation as a result of market forces. For Sarioğlu, it is mostly the effect of economic instability of long times and resulting stimulation over citizens to lower risks which renders home ownership ‘a safe investment to protect their savings against inflation’. (Sarioğlu-Erdoğan, Balamir, Pellenbarg, & Terpstra, 2012, s. 159) For us, this tendency is also multiplied by the lack of proper welfare policies, and thus, relatively limited social rights and benefits provided in the country.

This study would be a guide to develop an alternative model of housing for the Turkish context. The comparative contexts of the paper are also relevant for our study, because Danish and Dutch contexts have commonalities since the Second World War, and both have well-established public rental sectors.

Finally, the survey has revealed that there is a rising trend in the number of works conducted on housing provision in Turkey in line with the increasing quantity of implementations handled by the public authority. The works are of diverse disciplines include not only architecture, city and regional planning, landscape design, public administration, and sociology; but also law, economy, business administration, fine arts, art history, econometrics, tourism, geology, and various engineering disciplines.

The research subjects are also diverse most of which utilize case studies of TOKI housing to analyse or evaluate various performances of the settlements or units, material quality, quality of building components, residents' satisfaction, sense of security, quality of urban life, managerial approaches, and more specific details.

However, despite the rising trend and criticisms reflected in most of the research works, there is no comprehensive studies to address alternative solutions and practices. One may argue that there is a research 'gap' especially among the recent housing studies concentrating processes of spatial decision-making -planning and design- of public provision, and alternative practices of housing supply forms. Apparently, there is need to develop updated research work to meet the contemporary demands and provide solutions of today's problems. Consequently, the current study attempts to contribute to fill in this 'gap'.

CHAPTER 3

SPATIAL PRACTICES TO SECURE FUTURE OF SOCIAL HOUSING

This chapter consists theoretical and practical information on social housing practices fundamentally seeking for implementations of quality to maintain liveable built environments, and consequently ensuring the sustainability of the housing venues and communities. Therefore, it brings out not only contemporary definitions and connotations of social housing, but also current approaches and disputes on related provision fundamentally focusing on the European experience. The chapter highlights key problems of the sector -polarization, segregation, residualization- and proposed solutions -social mix of tenure and ethnicities- to overcome those. Following these discursive approaches, some selected alternative transformative/regenerative practices in international and Danish social housing cases are briefly described, specifically underlining the spatial interventions to obtain liveable and sustainable settlements. Setting such a broad perspective on the possible implementations for recovery/resilience of those areas provides not only a global awareness on the world-wide practices but also creates a vision to understand the case study better. Lastly, the reason of selecting Gyldenrisparken's regeneration as the unique case of the current study has been disclosed referring to recent publications on the practice, its nominations for prizes, and its pioneering of recent social housing regeneration practices in the country. A systematic list of the recent publications on Gyldenrisparken's regeneration has been provided to disclose appreciation of the practice at the end of the chapter.

3.1. Liveability and Sustainability in Recent Social Housing Approaches

Verbal meaning of social housing has usually been defined with similar definitions. According to the Oxford Dictionary (2015), the phrase 'social housing' denotes 'housing provided for people on low incomes or with particular needs by government

agencies or non-profit organizations.’ Another definition provided by Cambridge Dictionary (2015) is as follows: ‘homes provided by the government for people with low incomes to rent cheaply’. MacMillan Dictionary (2015) provides a similar definition ‘houses that local councils and other organizations provide at a low cost’. Thus, one may argue that among the common connotations of the term are ‘its affordability’, ‘its primary focus group’ -the low-income-, and ‘the public support behind’.

According to UNECE¹’s discussion paper in 2003 ‘a commonly recognized and referred definition of social housing’ is as follows:

Social housing is housing where the access is controlled by the existence of allocation rules favouring households that have difficulties in finding accommodation in the market. (UNECE, 2003)

The paper also notes that this is the definition which was ‘proposed by CECODHAS² to the European Commission in 1998.’ However, it also criticizes the definition for not including ‘aspects of tenure’ and not specifying target groups. On the other hand, a set of criteria for a ‘comprehensive’ definition has been underlined within the paper. These are ‘allocation and access’, ‘affordability’, and ‘security of tenure’. Within the report it is also noted that there are multiple modes of tenure -within the European Commissions’ region-, despite social housing has been ‘traditionally associated with rental housing’. These are,

- ‘Social rental housing’,
- ‘Cooperative housing’,
- ‘Privately owned housing resulting from the privatization of the public housing stock in countries in transition (poor owners)’,
- ‘Privately owned housing – constructed with substantial public support for private ownership (affordable housing for middle-income groups)’,
- ‘Mixed tenure’. (UNECE, 2003, p. 3)

UNECE’s report also provides a chart which not only puts briefly forward crucial items of the definition, but also sets its priorities for sustainable development and responsibilities within governance of social housing. (Table 3-1) Explaining the components of the chart, importance of ‘political responsibility’ of the local and central authorities has also been underlined. UNECE also names economic, social, and

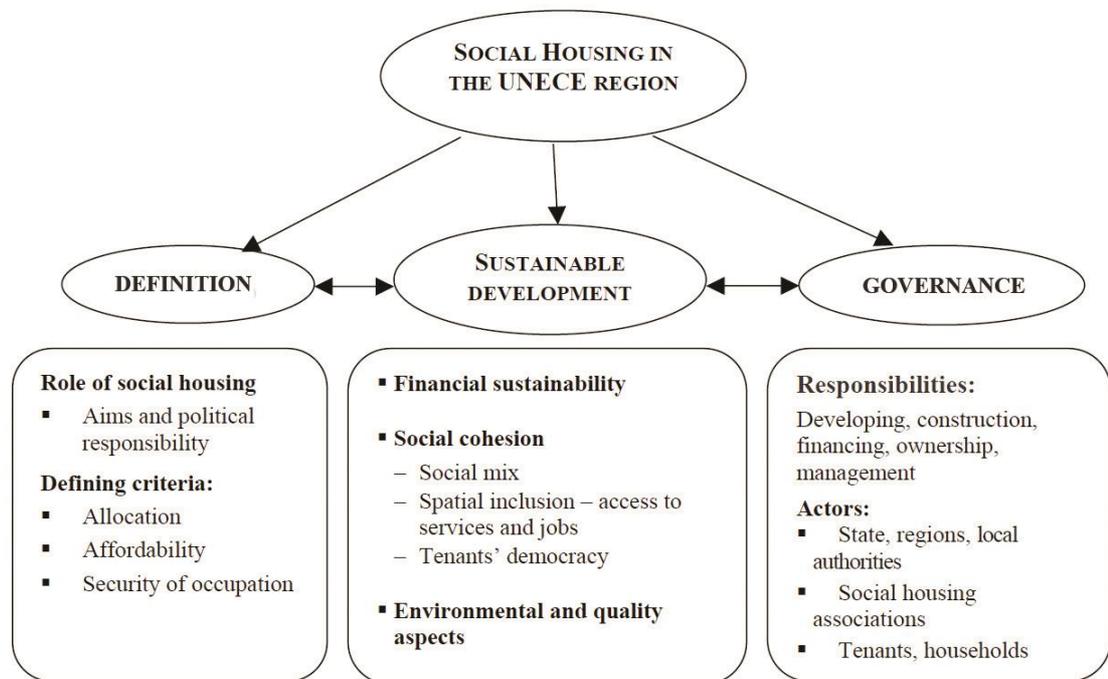
¹ UNECE - United Nations Economic Commission for Europe.

² European Liaison Committee for Social Housing

environmental aspects for a sustainable development in ‘public policies’ of social housing. Moreover, it also underlines the ‘quality standards of provided services and goods’ implying prominence of liveable environments. (UNECE, 2003, pp. 1-2)

Within CECODHAS’ report to EU in 2005, it is accepted that there is ‘no common definition’ for the term, ‘social housing’, but they would define it as ‘any housing for which there are specific public service obligations concerning tenure’. However, it is also stated in the report that CECODHAS is considering a definition as follows: “housing for rent or for accession to ownership for which are defined rules governing access for households with difficulties in finding housing”. (CECODHAS, 2005)

Table 3-1: Elements of Social Housing in the UNECE region (UNECE, 2003, p. 2)



On the other hand, in academic studies focusing on ‘social housing’ one may come across various contextual definitions. For instance, within a study based on social housing in the United States, definition of ‘subsidized housing and means supported accommodation for low-income households by the government’ where subsidization consists ‘direct housing subsidies, non-profit housing, public housing, rent supplements and some forms of co-operative and private sector housing’ has been referred. (Franz, 2009, p. 9) Besides, she highlights ‘the main objective of social housing’ as ‘providing affordable and decent housing’ and notes that ‘affordability’ has not completely been secured in the United States. (Franz, 2009, p. 11)

For Oxley et al. (2010), nomination of a housing scheme as ‘social housing’ could be decided according to ‘who owns it or how rents are set.’ Therefore, the term denotes ‘housing owned by local government or non-profit organizations or housing that is let at sub-market rents.’ Moreover, what Oxley et al. specifically state about the allocation of units deserves special attention. According to the authors, ‘[s]ocial housing is not allocated by demand and by price, but is rather allocated according to some politically or administratively defined and interpreted form of need.’ (Oxley et al., 2010, p. 339) That is to say, politics and administrative organs play an important role in defining borders, mode of support, and extent of the ‘need’.

In a recent PhD thesis established in United Kingdom, Oyebanji digs into a wide extent of academic, non-academic, and official sources including works of Drudy & Punch (2002), Murphy (2003), Li (2007) , and Malpass & Victory (2010) for the definition of social housing and covers a large perspective of information to set the big picture. According to him, within such an extensive research area there is no ‘internationally accepted’ definition. (Oyebanji, 2014, p. 33) In fact, because housing schemes in different countries have been subjected to varying forces and has evolved through years there is no single term/phrase defining the housing with similar approaches across the world. (Scanlon & Whitehead, 2007; Czisschke, 2009)

As a result of his inquiries, Oyebanji argues that although there is no common definition, basic elements are covered within each individual trial for a definition of the term. These are ‘regulation, nature of providers, management, funding, intended beneficiaries, allocation criteria, price, motive, and tenure.’ (Oyebanji, 2014, p. 36) Finally, he proposes a definition combining the elements mentioned to be potentially utilized as ‘an internationally acceptable definition of social housing’.

Social housing is a form of government regulated housing provided and managed by the public agencies or non-profit organisations using public and/or private funds for the benefit of many households, based on degree of need, made available at below market price with the delivery of social service or not-for-profit motives on a short or long term basis” (Oyebanji, 2014).

Oyebanji’s definition is a comprehensive one in terms of bearing codes for alternating aspects attached to the term in various contexts and provision models, although one cannot claim an absolute international acceptance for it. Nevertheless, it may be argued that it is a definition which may be considered satisfactory and all-inclusive. In fact, because of denoting the possible flexibilities, it is not context-dependant definition.

Thus, it may be utilized in various circles as an introductory reference for the concept. For Oyebanji, social housing provision is based on key objectives as can be proved by related literature. For him, a grouping of ‘social housing objectives’, which was proposed by Burke (2005), is an ‘appropriate’ base to help one to broadly examine social housing provision. For Oyebanji, the group of objectives appears to be implicit within the provisions in United Kingdom, Netherlands, New Zealand, and Australia. (Oyebanji, 2014, p. 37) Burke’s list of housing objectives cover ‘diversity, opportunity, inclusiveness, affordability, sustainability, and security of tenure’ and would provide guidance for spatial planning and design considering social, economic, environmental demands of varying contexts. (2005, p. 7) (see Table 3-2)

Table 3-2: 'Objectives of a Contemporary Social Housing System'. Adapted from Burke (2005)

Diversity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dwellings of a form which is appropriate for different users and uses • Generating urban diversity • Allocations systems which facilitate greater choice and movement between tenures • Dwellings which are flexible to changing needs and circumstances
Opportunity	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ability to relocate without limiting employment, educational or health-care opportunities • Reduced barriers to moving within and between tenures • Housing assistance to minimise barriers to workforce opportunity • Expanding home ownership opportunities
Inclusiveness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Housing of a form which helps build or maintain community and local economy • Urban and regional locations which do not exclude or divide
Affordability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Appropriate dwellings which are affordable for all income ranges
Sustainability	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Housing of a form which reduces energy and water consumption • Housing provision which is consistent with local environmental capacity • Housing which is of sufficient durability to reduce long-term economic costs
Security	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Equivalence of security of tenure across tenures • Communities and neighbourhoods which instil a sense safety and security

It is possible to realize that the objectives imply a liveable physical milieu for all classes living together and search for a sustainable system of all grounds.

3.1.1. Social Housing Practices in Europe: Social Mix against Segregation

Social housing provision has been applied as a fundamental programme by many governments and non-profit organizations in Europe, following two world wars hit the continent extensively causing deep social and urban problems. Because urgent demand for housing could not be met through existing market forces at that time, not only

social housing has been a major topic in European policies since the second quarter of the last century, but also its provision in the European context has been a focus for many academic discussions. (Oyebanji, 2014, p. 32) Thus, a better understanding of the concept and the state of art of the phenomenon necessitates having broad knowledge regarding the contemporary reflections of the provision in the continent.

Definition of ‘social housing’ differs from one country to another depending on ownership types, constructing agents, relative rents in the general housing market, funding agents, and the reason of provision. (Whitehead & Scanlon, 2007; Lennartz, 2013) Moreover, while in some countries social housing is offered to those who cannot manage to meet their need for housing because of their certain individual handicaps; in others, there is no formal restriction for citizens to apply or to have a social housing unit. (Whitehead & Scanlon, 2007, p. 8) One may see a list of contemporary contextual definitions/denotations of ‘social housing’ provided in APPENDIX E reflecting varying approaches towards the system in major EU countries.

Polarization, Segregation, Residualisation

In 2007, European researchers thoroughly explained handling of social housing issues and extracted major common and individual debates in a book called ‘Social Housing in Europe’.¹ The book is critical for the target of the current study, because its publication date matches the beginning of on-going transformations in social housing venues in Denmark, including that of our case study area, Gyldenrisparken and TOKI’s recent practices of mass housing in Turkey– both began around 2003-.

As stressed by John Hills in its foreword, along with a rising demand in the sector, fundamental problems were ‘concentration of much social housing in particular disadvantaged areas’ and ‘the low levels of economic activity amongst tenants’ – problems which still remain in Europe-. Thus, ‘polarization’ and ‘segregation’ were addressed as the basic common problems, and policies have been restructured to overcome them. (Whitehead & Scanlon, 2007, p. 4)

Many European countries have been facing problems related with housing estates built right after the world wars in large scales and industrial methods. Although the targeted

¹ The book was published by London School of Economics and Political Sciences, disclosed the on-going situation in social housing in Europe mostly focusing the western countries of the continent.

inhabitant groups differ in each country, mostly the low-income, the old, and families with single-parents occupy such housing provided by the sector. Countries lean to provide new supply for the growing need for decent housing as a result of ‘demographic and income pressures.’ (Whitehead & Scanlon, 2007, p. 6)

Social Mix of Tenure or Ethnicities: Mixed Communities

It is also noted that a mix of society –mix of tenure or ethnicities- has been targeted both in new provisions and recovery of existing social housing sites while reasonable attention is paid for spending of public sources. On the other hand, there remain problems related with *residualisation*¹ and segregation which arose among all rental social housing venues. Minorities with common ethnic backgrounds tend to live together mostly in large-scale settlements with common traits of ‘poverty, household composition, and restricted access to other tenures.’ To maintain a tenure mix, ‘shared ownership’ or ‘subsidized owner-occupation’ has been encouraged by some governments as alternatives to prevent the accumulation of the low-income in social housing sites. Accordingly, many countries try several possibilities of ‘public-private partnerships’ for funding the supply. That is, either private sector contributes to funding of developments by social actors or private actors directly develops operations in social housing. (Whitehead & Scanlon, 2007, p. 6)

For the editors of the book, the possible common solutions about the social housing sector remains as ‘partnership and mixed communities with particular concerns about segregation and the position of vulnerable households’. However, although politicians loudly stress them, satisfactory funding programs have not been introduced for the investments. (Whitehead & Scanlon, 2007, p. 7)

It is possible to observe no major changes happened since 2007 when examining the book of review published by Housing Europe² in May of 2015. Marc Claon, as the

¹ Residualization is an economy-term defining transformation of a service into one which is only utilized by those with low-purchasing power.

² Housing Europe is the European Federation of Public, Cooperative and Social Housing. ‘Established in 1988, it is a network of 42 national and regional federations which together gather about 43.000 public, social and cooperative housing providers in 22 countries. Altogether they manage over 26 million homes, about 11% of existing dwellings in the EU.’

president of the federation, stressing the priority of housing for people, asserts that there has been so little tangible improvement according to the figures extracted by the federation's research activity. Underlining the necessity of 'a decent, affordable, and safe' homes for all, he points out the coming issues to be tackled as follows: 'cities which are accessible and affordable for all', 'more sustainable, efficient and decentralised energy', and 'neighbourhoods where people feel secure and where they can reach their full potential.' (Pittini, Ghekiere, Dijol, & Kiss, 2015, p. 8) Repeating the importance of meeting 'the demand for affordable, quality homes, and neighbourhoods' as 'a common objective', the general secretary of Housing Europe, Sorcha Edwards, criticises general tendency of housing reports and policies for only focusing individual private ownership and private rental sectors, and ignoring social housing sector, which houses diverse models, tenures, and activities. For Edwards, it is this diversity which should be preserved and encouraged to be developed that soon would lead to the accomplishment of the common objective. (Pittini et al., 2015, p. 10)

3.1.2. Variants in Decision-making in European Social Housing

Scanlon and Whitehead (2007) provides a comparative table for fundamental decision-making actors within a set of European countries. (Table 3-3) The table include four basic components of decision-making which are consisted of 'amount of new construction', 'location of new construction', 'system for rent determination', and 'definition of financing/subsidy system.' The authors state that there is a common tendency for transferring elements of decision-making from central to local mechanisms through legislative changes since the end of 1980s. (Whitehead & Scanlon, 2007, p. 14) Most obvious determination which can be inferred from the table is that 'system for rent' and 'the financial system' is mainly defined by central authorities, whereas most of other components are decided in the local level within EU region. For instance, in Denmark, it is the central authority -government and related ministries- who determines legal framework of rental system and defines methods of

It should be noted that *Türkkent* - The Central Union of Turkish Urban Cooperatives- represents Turkey, and BL - Boligselskabernes Landsforening/National Association of Housing Companies- represents Denmark within the federation. Source: <http://www.housingeurope.eu/section-37/about-us>

finance and subsidization within. On the other hand, in case of new constructions -or transformations-, the ‘social housing’ settlement which is organized and managed by non-profit housing organizations decisions are made in negotiation with municipal authorities -*Kommunes*-. Whereas, in Austria and Germany central/federal authority only decides on the basis of rental system, and lets the rest of the decisions to be taken in the local level. On the other hand, in England central authority has more control on the system, than other EU countries, while local authorities are assumed to decide on number and location of new provision in negotiation with associations.

Table 3-3: ‘Who makes decisions regarding social housing’ - adapted from Whitehead & Scanlon (2007). Row for Turkey is added by the author.

	Central/Federal	↔	Local/Provincial	↔
Austria	R		ANC, LNC, €	
Denmark	R, €			ANC, LNC
England	R, ANC, LNC, €			ANC, LNC
France	R, LNC, €	ANC		LNC
Germany	R		€	ANC, LNC
Hungary				R, ANC, LNC, €
Ireland	R, €	ANC, LNC		ANC, LNC
Netherlands	R, €			ANC, LNC
Sweden	R, €			ANC, LNC
Turkey	R, €, ANC, LNC	ANC	LNC	
↔: in negotiation with; ANC : Amount of New Construction; LNC : Location of New Construction; R : System for Rent Determination; € : Definition of Financing/Subsidy system				

Entry limitations can also be considered as a critical step in decision-making for its shaping the mix of communities. In many European countries, for a household to be eligible for ‘social housing’ there apply pre-defined ‘income limits’. (Table 3-4) (Scanlon & Whitehead, 2007) Whereas, in Denmark, there is no formal income limit to enter ‘social housing’ system, thus, 100% of the population is legally eligible for entry. The same scheme for entry is also eligible for Sweden and England. However,

in England, access is only based on the urgency of housing need. Although, in all of the countries, including those with no limitation of income for entry, affluent classes of society, do not normally prefer living in. The information presented in the two tables sets the ground for further interpretations of similarity, relativity, or disparity among practices.

Table 3-4: Access to social housing: Income limits. adapted from Whitehead & Scanlon (2007). Row for Turkey is added by the author.

	Income limits at entry		Percentage of population eligible at entry	What happens if income later exceeds limit
	Formal	De Facto		
Austria	YES	YES, BUT RATHER HIGH	80-90	RENT UNCHANGED
Denmark	NO	YES	100	NA
England	NO	YES	100*	NA
France	YES	YES	Varies by housing type: highest 80.7 Middle: 65.5 Low: 30	Tenants should pay small supplement (does not always happening in practice)
Germany	YES	YES	Probably 20%, but lower availability	The municipality has the right to raise the rent for people above limits (<i>fehlbelegungsabgabe</i>) however rarely done, as it drives people with social capacity out of social housing estates
Hungary	YES	YES	VERY LIMITED	
Ireland	YES	YES	NO DATA BUT VERY LIMITED	RENT RISES
Netherlands	Yes, for affordable housing stock**	YES	<40	RENT UNCHANGED
Sweden	NO	YES	100	NA
Turkey	YES	YES	Social housing covers poor, low, and middle-income groups	Nothing changes, because the system is based on ownership.
<p>* But access based on housing need ** Housing associations also provide more expensive dwellings that are available to all.</p>				

3.1.3. Disputes in ‘Social Housing’ in European Context

Scanlon and Whitehead summarize major common subjects debated on social housing in European context. The authors present them under following headings: ‘supply’, ‘segregation’, ‘politics’, ‘the social contract - entitlement versus need’, ‘location’, ‘tenure and use mix’, ‘special needs’, ‘broadening the role of social housing’, ‘funding’, and ‘rents’. (Scanlon & Whitehead, 2007, s. 30-32)

In Europe, except from some specific regions of a few countries, the demand for housing has been increasing. Due to migration and lack of social cohesion all of the countries suffer from social segregation in varying degrees. This is a result of ‘concentration’ of minorities/ethnic groups ‘on particular estates’ paving the way for *ghettoization*. Therefore, country policies are being shaped accordingly, and there is a tendency for re-organization to eliminate ‘crime’ and ‘anti-social behaviour’. On the other hand, there exists a dilemma regarding priority for allocation. There is no definite choice of governments in between ‘locality’ of residents and the urgency of their ‘needs’ in the prioritization. Besides, in some countries there is demand-supply unbalance with regards to the location of settlements within cities.

A recent foremost concern in social housing in Europe is mix of ‘tenures’ and ‘uses’, although no sufficient solutions have equally been developed across the continent. By re-structuralizing of land-uses, values of housing venues are targeted to be increased while at the same time canalizing funding towards the venues. Although, it is a current way of handling problems in England, many other countries shifting their policies to transformative implementations.

Especially, because there is rising need for extensive regeneration/transformation of social housing estates, organizations are forced to develop their expertise in order to provide a wide range of services and a better management of the neighbourhoods. Accompanied by new provision, improvement, and maintenance, it is also a precondition for sustainability. Nevertheless, funding mechanisms are not always sufficient for wide-extent development. Thus, in some countries, there is a tendency towards privatization.

Concluding from a broad analyses of EU countries, Housing Europe’s 2015 report states that housing is still a ‘critical issue’ in the continent as for none of member states has ‘a structural solution’ to comprehensively meet the ‘affordable housing demand’.

The federation declares its agreement on the statement of EU's Taskforce for the implementation of its Investment Plan, where it says '...shrinking regional and municipal budgets are having a negative impact on urban social services, including the provision of social housing in several Member States.' (Pittini et al., 2015, p. 94) Seeing a potential in EU's capacity of finance and support for 'affordable housing projects' and referring to the positive economic and social influence of social housing policies, it proposes 'construction of new homes', 'reconversion of empty private properties to social housing' and, 'the refurbishment of the multi-family buildings.' (Pittini et al., 2015, p. 94) The report also criticizes the lack of foresights for existing complex housing and housing-related problems in the Union's social policies. Nevertheless, it regards some funding programmes of EU as potential instruments for the housing sector's emerging combat against 'housing exclusion' in one hand, and 'complex housing needs' in the other. (Pittini et al., 2015, p. 100) Another critical issue the report emphasizes is 'co-production' which is described as 'involvement of users and their families in designing the support.' Besides, it stresses the inclusion of stakeholders as the 'most cost effective way to provide housing to people with complex needs.' The report discloses the reason of approach towards such co-working as follows:

'the challenge of independent living in an ageing society urges social housing providers to cooperate with a wide range of stakeholders from various sectors (health, homelessness...) within the community, even more now that communities and neighbourhoods are hit by unemployment and poverty as well as new migration flows. (Pittini et al., 2015, p. 101)

Therefore, future practices for social housing in the region may find valuable insight and knowledge within the recent problematic issues and the search for solutions discussed in Europe. The countries share many common historic and contemporary social and economic realities. Thus, sharing of experience would be mutually supportive for all sides to overcome common problems or pre-eliminate many others before growing.

3.1.4. Selected Social Housing Experiences in the Rest of the World

Because the current study targets to provide a contextual comprehension of concept of social housing, the existing state of phenomenon in some selected non-European countries will be presented by pointing some critical qualities. The information within

this sub-section is primarily based on Kunduracı's essay (2013) in which he cites a set of authors to outline the experiences of the varying contexts.

United States

In contrast to Europe, USA survived both of the world wars without urban destructions, thus it did not face immediate devastation of them. (Stone 2003) Nonetheless, housing problem in USA appeared following the economic crisis after 1929. The first group of social housing -*public house*- were those subsidized by the state authorities following the global crisis in 1933. After the Second World War another group of housing was constructed in the form of apartment blocks -as their European counterparts- for slum transformation.

However, because it was only the poor class occupying those social housing venues, the process ended up with concentration of poorness, crime, social exclusion, and consequently slum areas. (Keith 73: 23-24; Jacobs 61 Stone 2003:8 Erder 2006:52) In time, those venues became focus of major social problems for sustaining acute poorness within the society and also resulting in high crime rates. According to Sukita (2006, cited by Kunduracı, 2013, p. 61), 'those social housing settlements, although had once targeted to free the poor from high rents of urban dwellings and the cities from crooked appearance of the slums, today still exists together with the social problems they have caused.'

USA was struck by the recent global economic crisis in 2007, and immensely effected by it being in the very centre of the crisis. As known, it was the collapse of mortgage system in USA, which caused the capital economy's subsequent fall. Within the country, as a result of more than 8 million families' losing of their homes because of not being capable of paying their mortgage loans back, 11% of the total American housing stock has been emptied. Thus, according to Pertierra and Wardrip (2009), there has been a social housing deficit of nearly 6 million. Despite of this reality, today there is no visible increase social housing sector in the USA. (Kunduracı, 2013, p. 64)

China

China bears the second largest economy in the world and stays within the Asia-pacific region which has extreme speed of urbanization in the last 20 years, (Zhou and Laurence, 2003). China has been implementing social housing policies within which

'low-cost government subsidized' housing mostly targeting the 'urban middle classes' rather than the 'low income/poor classes'. (Meng et.al., 2004) China has been planning to build 36 millions of social housing units between the period 2011 and 2015, aiming not only to meet urban housing demand but also to boost the construction sector.

India

India has the second highest speed of increase in terms of urbanization following China. Nonetheless, poverty is a major problem of country because its enlarging economy do not support the middle and low income. There exists an extreme unbalance between housing demand and supply, that there are numerous homeless citizens and according to official numbers about 62 million lives in 'unhealthy, low-quality, slums and barracks lacking basic infrastructure.' Despite the serious situation of problem, there is no social housing implementation. The government has limited support for low credited housing provision and implements rent supervision for the poor. Microcredits have been supported for the poor to revitalize their dwellings in bad conditions or to build new housing. Nevertheless, the credits do not match the demand and difficulties of 'pay back' arouse. (NHA, 2012)

South Africa

South Africa has the housing need in other African countries, despite being relatively the most developed country of the continent. The country has built 42 thousand of social housing, since it has first begun to activate social housing implementations. Social housing is planned and implemented by the central government, and families to benefit from the provision are subsidized according to their income levels. (Tomlison, 2001)

Morocco

According to 2005 values there is housing shortage of 500 thousand dwellings and the Ministry of Housing implement 'a slum-clearing program by the fund raised from cement production.' (David la Blanc, 2005)

Nigeria

The low income has extreme sheltering problem due to lack of urgent housing supply. Federal and provincial governments cannot succeed in their mass-housing projects due to lack of technical staff and political problems. (Olokesusi ve Okunfulure, 2000)

Brazil

Brazil, despite having a high value of urban lands within its territories -87%-, bearing urban sprawl, and poverty, only began to implement social housing in 2009. The country targeted 2 million units until 2014 through a program focusing the poor classes.

Argentina

Argentina falls behind in terms of infrastructure and basic necessities of its urban housing stock, despite having a 92% of urbanization ratio. (Almans 2009) Social housing policies covers low-interest credit provision for the poor and subsidization of environmentalist housing built by the poor.

Saudi Arabia

Within the country they are the foundations which fundamentally implement social housing provision. King Abdullah Foundation, being the foundation in the name of the king and the largest foundation in terms budget and its provisions, provides social housing for the poor and implements employment projects for them until they support themselves. Besides, Ministry of Housing has begun to implement a housing scheme for the middle and low income with long term - low instalment model a few years ago. The model works similar to the TOKİ model, aims to cover 500 thousand dwellings in five years' time. (Coşkun & Kunderacı, 2013)

3.2. Definitions: Transformation, Renewal, and Regeneration

Transformation

According to Thomas (2003), urban transformation denotes ‘extensive vision and action to providing solution of urban problems and maintaining a permanent solution for economic, social, and environmental conditions of the site in question’. Therefore, together with physical change, transformation integrates ‘variety of economic sectors’, ‘creates employment’, ‘develops social life’, ‘enhances life standards’, ‘provides collective activities and facilities’ as indicated within academic and politic literature. (Turok, 2004)

Renewal

Although Pak (2014) states that it was a term used to define the ‘regeneration’ in 1970’s, it is possible to come across definitions in many dictionaries. For instance, it is defined as ‘Rehabilitation of impoverished urban neighbourhoods by large-scale renovation or reconstruction of housing and public works’ in American Heritage Dictionary. (2011) Whereas the term is categorized under ‘human geography’ and shortly explained as ‘the process of redeveloping dilapidated or no longer functional urban areas’ in Collins English Dictionary. (C.E.D., 2003) Besides, Random House Dictionary provides a definition which includes tools of implementation in a process when explaining the term as ‘the rehabilitation of substandard city areas by renovating buildings or demolishing and replacing them with new ones’. (Random House, 2010) The dictionary also notes that it would also be refer to ‘urban redevelopment.’

Furthermore, the Encyclopaedia Britannica (2015b) provides an extended definition for ‘urban renewal’ where it elucidated shortly historical background of the term and disclosed some solid methods of it. According to the source ‘urban renewal’ bears ‘comprehensive scheme to redress a complex of urban problems, including unsanitary, deficient, or obsolete housing; inadequate transportation, sanitation, and other services and facilities; haphazard land use; traffic congestion; and the sociological correlates of urban decay, such as crime.’ Through initial implementations of urban renewal in Great Britain concentrated on ‘housing reform and sanitary and public-health measures’ and then focused more into ‘slum clearance and the relocation of population and industry from congested areas to less-crowded sites.’

Regeneration

Despite of having its primary connotations in biology, theology, and electronics, ‘regeneration’ has many reflections in spatial literature in the form of ‘urban regeneration’. According to Pak, ‘urban regeneration’ is the most contemporary term used to in the terminology of urban literature after a series of change. Similar conceptual meanings were attributed to ‘reconstruction’ in 1950’s, to ‘revitalization’ in 1960’s, to ‘renewal’ in 1970’s, to ‘redevelopment’ in 1980’s, and finally to ‘regeneration’ after on 1990’s. (Pak, 2014) She refers to Korean Urban Renaissance Centre, for definition of the term as follows:

‘urban regeneration is an integrated promotion of social and economic revitalisation and physical management of deserted or underdeveloped city areas to improve the quality of life and secure urban competitiveness.’ (Pak, 2014)

Robert and Sykes (2000) in their frequently cited ‘handbook’ for ‘urban regeneration’ define the term as a ‘comprehensive and integrated vision and action which leads to the resolution of urban problems and which seeks to bring about a lasting improvement in the economic, physical, social and environmental condition of an area that has been subject to change’. (Roberts & Sykes, 2000) It is possible to realize a clear attribution to elements of sustainability to secure future of the ‘vision and actions’.

Mehdipoura and Niab (2014) also referring to their work provides an alternative definition which specifies ‘sustainability’ as a final target of the concept. For them the term denotes ‘a process concentrating on all elements of an area that contributes not only to the creation of a more environmentally friendly city but also to provision of social equality and economic growth which all together result in more sustainable urban space’. (Mehdipoura & Nia, 2014, p. 179) They argue that its targets are in line with the ‘indicators’ of ‘sustainable development’, which are mostly pronounced as ‘triple bottom-line approach’ -environment, economy, equity-. (Mehdipoura & Nia, 2014, p. 180)

Although, within Danish sources, the terms ‘*renovering*’ -renovation- or ‘*omdannelse*’ -change, conversion, transformation- have been used to reflect the recent process in Gyldenrisparken, the term ‘regeneration’ has been preferred within the course of current study. There are basically two reasons. On one hand, the process does not only bear physical renovation, but also limited demolishing, construction, and many other

physical and social efforts. On the other hand, the term ‘transformation’ would possibly create an impression of ‘large scale urban renewal’, or ‘a total physical change in the form/layout of the settlement’. Besides, readers with Turkish background would be misled because the direct translation of the term *-dönüşüm-* in Turkish language has frequently been used within discussions of ‘slum/squatter transformation’ among Turkish academics. In fact, we would also prefer to use the term ‘renewal’ but it would also connote pure physical connotations, although we admit that it is a better alternative than ‘transformation’ for implying both ‘renovation’ and ‘new construction’ efforts for the sake of ‘rehabilitation’ of deprived urban tissues. After all, this study uses the term ‘regeneration’ for it is primarily associated with basic concepts of ‘to evoke’, or ‘re-birth’, or ‘to be restored to a favourable state or physical condition’ in diverse disciplines, and thus, can better meet the total experience in Gyldenrisparken

3.3. Selected Cases of Transformation/Regeneration in Social Housing

This part has two basic goals. Firstly, it aims to provide a global understanding about the means of in varying contexts to secure future of social housing venues. Secondly it mentions some selected regeneration cases recently held in Denmark. By providing such a background information, this part targets to develop an understanding about the alternative studies which may potentially provide glimpses of solutions for numerous problems related to social housing provision in the rest of the world. Furthermore, the part attempts to decipher some common grounds of spatial decision-making which targets sustainable and liveable environments in those housing settings.

3.3.1. International Cases

This subsection highlights undertakings of a selected set of physical interventions in some deprived housing settlement to sustainably transform/regenerate the built environments in a recent collaborative research work published in Denmark, *‘Arkitektur Der Forandrer: Fra Ghetto til Velfungerende Byområde’* (2008)- *Architecture that Transforms: From Ghetto to Well-functioning City Districts-*. An extra case at the end of the sub-section is from the ‘Sound Settlements’ study. The case area is selected by a group of Danish and Swedish researchers as a recent ‘best

practice' in EU region together with Gyldenrisparken. The cases presented here share similar periods of implementation with Gyldenrisparken, so that, they can provide a background information to grasp better the regeneration of the case study. The selected practices reveal the physical interventions realized to maintain quality of built environment to secure liveability and consequent sustainability.

Vaulx-En-Velin, Lyon, France

Vaulx-En-Velin is a suburban municipal district in the edge of Lyon, which has totally been regarded as a 'vulnerable' site until recently. The district, originally planned for car traffic, has a population of 42.000 citizens, 60% of whom lives in social housing. Blocks of 8000 apartment units was built between the village and factory area nearby in 1970's according to CIAM principles and, thus, a strict functional zoning where housing, shopping, and public functions were arranged separately. Furthermore, it could never get enough finance from the centre for its open space arrangement and public services. In years, the neighbourhood evolved into a 'ghetto' where extreme violence grew up area. As a result, after the year, 2000, a comprehensive transformation of densification strategy, consisting both physical and social improvements has taken place in two scales. On one hand, it bears total condensation of the municipal region in large scale, by creating a central area in the middle, and suburbs around the centre. On the other hand, in the smaller scale, it comprises an extensive re-programming of 'mono-functional building blocks' into multi-functional mix of shops, offices, and housing. (Holek, 2008, pp. 132-133)

Accordingly, many blocks were demolished to arrange webs of streets, squares, and open spaces. This ensured a closer contact with the rest of the city, Lyon, and rendered the settlement a more open one. By additional re-arrangement of parking places, new parks, and playgrounds, the area turned into a walkable one prioritizing human activity and leaving main car traffic outside. Besides, instead of the high mono-functional residential blocks, low multi-functional blocks have been built with housing, shopping, and public facilities to create a functional mix which assure dynamism and liveability and at the same time, establish a more condensed area of vertical arrangement. Besides, together with new ownership and housing types introduced, a social mix has been maintained. As a consequence of the efforts Vaulx-En-Velin has become an attractive place for communal activity. (Holek, 2008, pp. 134-137)

Bijlmermeer, Amsterdam, Netherlands p 13

Bijlmermeer is a housing settlement originally built between 1966 and 1975 as a suburban district in Amsterdam seeking to maintain a quiet environment. The settlement has housed 12,500 units in eleven-floored blocks horizontal blocks placed within a 'park-like' greenery and through a car-traffic oriented planning on. Nevertheless, the area could not able to attract the number of citizens targeted for a long-time. By 1980's there was high ratios of criminalities, waste, maintenance-related problems, and it had become a representative of social problems faced in 'modernist housing blocks' in the country. As a result, in 1992 a quarter of the settlement was demolished and seven years after one third of the rest faced the same. (Holek, 2008, pp. 137-138)

Previously, the settlement had a large scale character made of uniform and monotonous buildings, lacked planning of open spaces discouraging walkability and public use and only offered recreation. After 1999, half of the remaining high blocks has been demolished, and instead, small scale apartments and family houses were built to lower the scale down and introduce verticality. Eventually, rest of the buildings has been thoroughly renovated and ground floor residences have been turned into rental offices and public facilities. Besides, new narrow streets have been introduced for walking and cycling to encourage local life and closed parking areas have been demolished and car parks provided along streets to maintain private-use. Lastly, the green areas have been planned so as to provide more private areas, and less public areas to assure better embracing of the open space, limit their ignorance, and consequently provide a 'natural' security and cleanliness for the public space. (Holek, 2008, pp. 139-141)

Cabrini Green, Chicago, USA

Cabrini Green is a housing settlement built between 1942 and 1966 in northern Chicago, mainly consisted of 10 to 14 floored high blocks and a smaller group of 2 floored row houses, within green open space and made of either concrete or brick built in modernistic principles. The settlement which housed at most 15,000 residents was consisted of only 'black' tenants by 1970s, and was regarded as 'dangerous' for being a centre of high levels of criminalities, drugs' sale, and abuse. The disrepute of the settlement had led it to being 'a ghetto' where ethnic, economic, and social problems

have concentrated in years. (Holek, 2008, pp. 144)

Finally, in 1995 city government took up a radical transformation planning for the area including the demolishing of all of the high blocks, and instead building lower blocks to be constructed in ‘New Urbanism’¹ principles. It is highlighted that the existing residents were integrated to central decision-making for the neighbourhood right in the initial design phase. The plan initially began to ‘strengthen residents’ appropriation and feeling of responsibility for the area’ by providing with a set of possibilities ‘keep an eye on the neighbourhood’ and ‘know its residents’. Thus, to ensure a ‘feeling of community’ for the locals, larger areas has been divided into smaller pieces by introduction of street among, and defining each with an individual name to create identity and support appropriation. Besides, scale of the settlement has been lowered down by introduction of new small scale blocks, together with a traditional web of streets, private gardens for ground floors, and smaller open spaces. Additionally, dwellings’ entrances have been arranged so as to encourage feeling of common ownership, by eliminating singular and isolated street doors instead providing common entrances. Those have been undertaken to maintain security by providing a physical setting the residents know each other, embrace their environment, and consequently maintain security. (Holek, 2008, pp. 146-147)

In order to maintain a social mix within Cabrini Green exactly same type of housing units has been offered for different ownership models through a variety of finance methods: rental social housing, cheap housing, and housing on sale for market price. Thus, a community of diverse incomes has been maintained, and the condition of vulnerability has been removed. Moreover, a set of public facilities -library, park, kindergartens, shops, restaurants- have been provided to render it easy for the residents to orient themselves within the setting and to create values of attraction for new comers. It is also noted that the new buildings have been built in a similar style of classic Chicago houses to blur the difference between and to get rid of isolation born out of physical attribution of a vulnerable district. (Holek, 2008, pp. 147-149)

¹ New Urbanism is a movement first initiated in 1993 and published its principles in its well-known congress in 2001. The movement basically intends to ‘the restoration of existing urban centres and towns within coherent metropolitan regions, the reconfiguration of sprawling suburbs into communities of real neighbourhoods and diverse districts, the conservation of natural environments, and the preservation of our built legacy.’ For more information, the congress’ website would be visited. (Congress for the New Urbanism, 2015)

Robert Taylor Homes, Chicago, USA,

Originally built nearby central Chicago in 1962, Robert Taylor Homes, were known as the largest housing construction in the USA for years. Although, initially erected with ambitious intentions, it grew into a settlement for a ‘parallel community’ of rival bands and drugs’ sale. The settlement, consisted of 28 high blocks of 16 floors with open spaces with parking areas, playgrounds, basketball courts, and large grassed areas, was completely demolished in 2007, because authorities could not see an alternative way out to get rid of the disreputable image and call for resourceful citizens inside to maintain a mix. However, physical layout of interiors was too small to adopt contemporary living conditions, and thus, were not regarded as appropriate to be economic to renovate them. Thus, the new construction followed ‘New urbanism’ principles as Cabrini Green in Chicago. (Bak Mortensen, 2008, pp. 168-175)

The Brunswick, London, England

Consisted of 560 apartments surrounding a shopping passage with a total area of more than 50.000 m², the Brunswick was built between 1967 and 1972 in Bloomsbury district of London. Originally designed by Patrick Hodgkinson, the complex was developed as a criticism of modernistic principles but also borrowing its principles as optimizing light and air inside, at the same time providing a continuity with its historical context. Nevertheless, the building could not be able constructed with relevance to the original plan, and the construction skipped major ideas developed by the architect. Although it was designed to be an ownership based housing, it was utilized as social housing for years. Besides, its inner passage to integrate the building existing street pattern of the historic town surrounding was prevented by an additional construction at one end, and the apartments became narrower by sacrificing many of original architectural intentions. Also, only 3 types of apartments were constructed, while there should have been 16 types to maintain a better mix. In years, the block gained a disrepute for being a centre of criminality and drug sale. (Holek, 2008, pp. 188-189)

Nevertheless, in 2000, after a private company bought and decided to preserve its original planning, everything has changed. The company worked with a group of designers including the original architect, and followed a high profile marketing strategy. As a result, the Brunswick has turned into an attraction centre with its well-

functioning layout and connecting central parts of the district by providing a passageway in the middle of London. (Holek, 2008, p. 191)

Chateau Rouge, Paris

Despite having had a historical architectural quality and style, and built as a suburban area of Paris in 1930s, Chateau Rouge had evolved into a 'ghetto' of immigrants where many illegal events were based on. In the beginning of 2000s, the Municipality of Paris decided to undertake an extensive transformation including, renovation, demolishing and new construction. Accordingly, a set of guidelines has been defined by taking architectural identity and value of heritage, inherited elements and scale of buildings, into consideration. Consequently, a series of architectural conferences has been arranged to secure the quality of implementations. Besides to ensure a sustainable life for the settlement, strategies to attract outsiders of varying profiles to visit and inhabit the quarter have been developed. Education facilities to attract students, shops and ateliers to attract creativity, artists, and art-lovers, and varying types of trade possibilities has been introduced to secure dynamism within the area. (Holek, 2008, p. 192-194)

Hovsjö in Södertälje, Stockholm

Hovsjö is a housing settlement of rental and shared ownership-based properties majorly comprised of three and four floored blocks and a limited group of terraced houses. The settlement which is mainly consisted of apartments of two or three rooms was built in 1970's with many of residents who had been living in for years. The settlement consisted of districts where car traffic does not interfere in pedestrian ways, additionally, a lake and a park in the middle with many satisfactory open spaces. Nonetheless, the community is basically consisted of immigrants, unemployed - despite of many with high education-, and low-income; and the settlement lacks maintenance and suffers isolation, crime, and insecurity. In six years-time before 2013, a transformation was undertaken by integrating its highly educated young people to the process, and targeting to 'increase the status and attraction of the settlement' by improving the 'investment climate'. New housing and school units, centres for commercial and cultural activity were built, while a group of existing structures were demolished. (Sound Settlements, 2013, p. 15)

3.3.2. Cases in Denmark

A brief recent history of legal arrangements to eliminate physical and social problems in social housing in Denmark may help one to internalize the context. In SBI's¹ report in 2011, which included evaluations on ten selected renovations on social housing in the country, a summary of such information is provided. (SBI 2011-22, 2011) The laws to rehabilitate social housing estates introduced respectively in 1985 and 1994 were unable to result in satisfactory solutions for overall architectural and social problems until 2000s. The first one prioritizing 'physical renovation and re-organization of economies of housing estates' lacked social efforts and co-operation with the municipalities. Whereas, despite including a set of rules to 'reduce rents together with social efforts and promoting integration', the second law could also not suffice to completely get rid of problems. Following the third law introduced in 2000, the physical renovations has become possible to be carried out in a more organized way, and social efforts have been supported by separate schemes. Consequently, the last modification of the law ended up with more satisfactory architectural results, and for SBI, architects and estates had got use of the previous experiences. (SBI 2011-22, 2011, pp. 7-8)

Thus, for the last years many of social housing estates from 1960's and 1970's has been/being renovated by collaboration of related housing organization, municipalities, and other stakeholders; and architectural competitions are being organized to secure the quality and sustainability of productions. Below are some contemporary cases of those practices undertaken in some selected Danish social housing estates in the recent years.

Himmerland Boligforenings Afdeling 19 & 22, Aalborg

Himmerland Housing Association's social housing estates -Department 19 and 22- have recently been comprehensively renovated since 2009. The renovation has been selected as 'the best residential construction project of the year in 2015' and as the regional finalist of 'Civic Trust Awards 2016'. The settlement originally built in 1977 through prefabricated methods with 370 small-sized apartments in the form of row

¹ Statens Byggeforskningsinstitut - National Building Research Institut.

blocks. According to the jury of ‘construction project of the year’, the renovation projects has transformed the vulnerable settlement into an attractive one by drawing many people varying social backgrounds and, thus, resolving the security problems. Praising spatial solutions of quality of the project, the jury declared that it has broken ‘a negative development.’ (C.F. Møller Website, 2015a)

Through the project a number of the small houses has been joined to have more and practical family houses, while ground-floor apartments have been provided with full accessible solutions. Larger windows, French balconies, roof-top flats have been introduced with an overall use of new cladding. (C.F. Møller, 2015b; C.F. Møller, 2015)



Figure 3-1: Himmerland Housing Estates, Aalborg. Source: C.F. Møller Website

Albertslund Syd, Albertslund, Copenhagen

The settlement is mentioned as a good example of recent social housing renovations in two of publications mentioned in 3.4. (Bæredygtig Renovering af Bygninger, 2014; Renovering, 2012) Moreover, it is also regarded as a ‘cultural heritage of 1960’s functional city planning ideals. (Danish Agency for Culture, 2015) Albertslund Syd, located around a canal, is consisted of 631 multi-floor apartments, 552 row houses, and 1000 garden houses built out of concrete readymade elements. The first-phase consisted of the multi-floor blocks has been established in 2009, following a total

consultancy competition ended up with a respect for the original architecture and provided solutions of variety and quality. (NOVA5 Arkitekter As, 2015) Six of the row houses have been renovated as exemplary practices to decide on the best arrangement of climatic performance. (Bæredygtig Renovering af Bygninger, 2014; Renovering, 2012)

The settlement has been regenerated through a masterplan, targeting to merge efforts of physical and social efforts, established with a collaborative work of the housing association and the Municipality of Albertslund. Residents meetings and workshops have been organized to create feelings of appropriation and set insights about the project as a means of open process of tenants' democracy. Overall target of the project has been 'to develop Albertslund Syd both physically and socially' to render it 'an attractive housing settlement with many possibilities' in the future. (Renovering, 2012)



Figure 3-2: Albertslund Syd, Albertslund, Copenhagen. Source: Nova Arkitekter Website

Vejleåparken, Ishøj, Copenhagen

Vejleåparken was built in Ishøj, an agricultural border town between the new dwellings and rural areas in the beginning of 1970s, as being one of largest social housing venues of Denmark. The settlement with around 1700 dwellings built in a high speed of construction through the industrialized concrete montage system of the time -as many other social housing built in 60's and 70's-. In the beginning it has been hard to find tenants for such a far district from the centre that the deposits were reduced more than 90%. Thus, first residents became new-coming immigrants, unskilled workers, and guest workers, many of which were Turkish citizens. (Danish Agency for Culture, 2015; Boligforeningen AAB, 2015)

In time, the settlement turned into a socially and physically deprived community with high crime rates and many social problems. Consequently, in line with the Local plan 2001-2010, the settlement has been renovated as the largest and most expensive -1.3 billion of Danish krone- housing renovation project. (Danish Agency for Culture, 2015) The transformative process is also carried out through a master plan funded by *Landsbyggefonden* and *Byggeskadefonden*¹ supported with additional social efforts. The total consultancy services including architectural design, construction management, and site supervision were handled by and a consortium of architectural and engineering companies. (Domus Arkitekter, 2013) Finally, Vejleåparken has got out of government's official list of 'vulnerable settlements' -known as 'ghetto list'- and recovered the long-lasting social challenges. Today, the settlement has become an attractive setting with residents from variety of income groups with its 'high standards of housing and open spaces, and energy savings.' (Boligforeningen AAB, 2015)



Figure 3-3: Vejleåparken, Ishøj, Copenhagen, after renovation. Photo: N.Burak Bican, 2013 October

¹ See heading 5.5.2 for basic framework of finance of social housing in Denmark and clarification about funding system.

3.4. A Best Practice of Regeneration: ‘Gyldenrisparken’

Our initial investigation revealed that the recent regeneration process of Gyldenrisparken was held comprehensively following an architectural competition process and close participation of parties. Gyldenrisparken has been put forward as a ‘best practice’ in Europe setting an exemplary performance for a group of housing settlements to be built in near future in *Øresund* region¹. (Sound Settlements, 2014)² Besides, it has been selected and presented in many publications in Denmark, such as, *Byplan Nyt, Renovering of Foundation of ‘Building Culture- Dansk Bygningsarv A/S’, ‘Guide to New Architecture in Copenhagen’* of Danish Architecture Centre (DAC)³, *‘Bæredygtig Renovering af Bygninger’* of the Municipality of Copenhagen as a forthcoming housing practice of the recent years for its success. The publications have underlined its success in achieving architectural quality, renovation, sustainability, conservation of cultural heritage, innovation and more. (See 0 for more information.) Furthermore, the settlement has recently been nominated for ‘European Award of Mies Van der Rohe’⁴ and ‘RENOVER Prize Denmark’⁵ in 2013. Thus, Gyldenrisparken has been regarded as a settlement to sustain itself by academics and public authorities in Denmark that it has become a destination for international royal visits.⁶ (Hansen, 2012)

Finally, for choosing Gyldenrisparken as a case study the reasons below would be presented:

¹ *Øresund* region is the area comprising coastal regions of the cities of Copenhagen and Malmö surrounding the piece of Baltic sea in between, *Øresund*.

² Note that, the study was published in an article and a website: www.soundsettlements.com

³ The information supplied in the website of the centre is as follows: ‘The Danish Architecture Centre (DAC) is Denmark’s national centre for the development and dissemination of knowledge about architecture, building and urban development.’

⁴ “Prize for Contemporary Architecture: Mies van der Rohe Award is granted every two years to acknowledge and reward quality architectural production in Europe.” “Candidates are put forward by a broad group of independent experts from all over Europe, as well as from the architects’ associations that form part of the European Council of Architects and other European national architects’ associations.” (Fundacio Mies Van Der Rohe, 2014)

⁵ “Renover Prisen 2013 – Danmarks Bedste Renovering”: ... RENOVER price to provide renovation the visibility and status of renovation deserve. And in the end purpose of the award to inspire even better renovation of our buildings - for the benefit of us all.” (Renover Prisen, 2014)

⁶ Royal Visit to Gyldenrisparken by Prince Charles of Wales in 2012.

- *A best practice*: selected and examined by academicians/researchers/experts among research studies, academic/non-academic publications, regarded as ‘best practice’.
- *Social and Physical master plans*: the first social housing transformed through comprehensive master planning.
- *Solid acknowledgment of its success*: nomination for prizes (Nominations for Mies Van der Rohe, Renover 2013)
- *Quality concern*: transformed through architectural competition, involvement of an experienced city architect, based on sustainability principles
- *A Recent and reachable case*: actors are available for contact; observation is possible
- *Tangible satisfaction*: Visible increase in the waiting times for getting an apartment in the settlement and overall satisfaction of residents.

Current study has searched for footprints of those. The main focus is the "human-centred", "society-centred" forces which is applied to “secure the future” of the settlement, and consequently shaped the final physical interventions. A total exploration of time, space, actors, and modes of their participation has been searched to maintain a comprehension of a broad perspective.

Gyldenrisparken in Recent Publications

In many recent publications on housing renovations/transformations which included selected projects in Denmark, despite having different sets of criteria for shortlisting, Gyldenrisparken comes forth. In SBI’s report published in 2011 for *Landsbyggefonden*, 10 renovations of post-war social housing settlements have been evaluated with a focus of architectural heritage, sustainability, and accessibility.’ (SBI 2011-22, 2011) The report selected settlements originally built between 1960 and 1979, which represent various types of efforts and housing types, spread within Danish geography. The report stated that Gyldenrisparken’s transformation has ended up with a successful architectural solution thanks to the architects’ conscious handling of its foundational qualities. (SBI 2011-22, 2011, p. 110)

In *Byplan Nyt*, six renovation projects of social housing projects were selected. When three of them represent the positive results, the other three stands for projects lacking certain aspects. The text, written by SBI’s reporter Claus Bech-Danielsen, highlights the project’s overall success briefly describing its preserving of old qualities and

adding new ones. (Byplan Nyt, 2011)

Renovering, prepared by Foundation of 'Building Culture- Dansk Bygningsarv A/S'¹, is a publication of recent selected works of renovations including buildings, houses, and districts which are argued to be 'better' than others in the country. (Renovering, 2012) In this work, Gyldenrisparken is praised for its respect for original architecture, use of material, and ending up with qualities.

It has been selected as one of seven 'best practices' of urban settlements designed and transformed for sustainability in a collaborative academic study of Danish and Swedish researchers from universities and research institutions of both countries. (Sound Settlements, 2013) Aim of the study is stated as 'to create new knowledge and 'best practices' for sustainable urban settlements, transportation, and decision making processes in the Øresund region.' The study defines 'best practices' as 'examples of city districts and settlements designed or transformed for sustainability...'

DAC's sixth edition of 'Guide to New Architecture in Copenhagen' introduces 137 selected works of architecture built/renovated in the last 15 years during which the city has 'experienced an accelerated transformation that is unique in its history.' (DAC Guide, 2013) Thus, the guide states its intention as documenting 'a new city in the making' and presenting 'a comprehensive overview to Copenhagen's new architecture and urban development.' Gyldenrisparken is the unique social housing settlement from 1960s published within the selection for its being a 'classic public housing development'. It is also underlined that the spatial quality of the settlement has visibly been elevated through an extensive architectural intervention. It should be noted that 25 buildings are comprised of houses or housing settlements and not all the projects within the selection has been built yet. Besides, only six of them consist social housing, the other five projects have been built after 2000. (DAC Guide, 2013, p. 65)

The Municipality of Copenhagen's special publication series of '*Bæredygtig Renovering af Bygninger*' includes 'good examples' of sustainable renovations of institutions, housing, culture centres, and offices. Within the publication including eleven selected housing projects, Gyldenrisparken is one of three social housing settlements. Its façade renovations, for strengthening quality of the buildings, the

¹ Published by *Grundejernes Investeringsfond* - Landowners' Investment and Fund-. <http://gi.dk/>

handling of daylight and vision, and densification of the built environment has been defined as ‘3 good initiatives’. (Københavns Kommune, 2014)

Table 3-5: Gyldenrisparken in selections of publications

Source	Sound Settlements	Renovering	SBI 2011:22	BYPLAN NYT 2 p.12-13	Bæredygtig Renovering af Bygninger	Guide to new architecture in Copenhagen
	2013	2012	2011	2011	2014	2013
Publisher	Academic collaborative study of Danish and Swedish Researchers	Prepared by Foundation of 'Building Culture- Dansk Bygningsarv A/S'	State's Building Research Institute	Dansk Byplanlaboratorium	Municipality of Copenhagen	Danish Architecture Centre
Selection Criteria	<i>Set of international best practices including two Danish Cases</i>	<i>Published for Grundejernes Investeringsfond: 25 Selected 'successful renovations' 2 of which are consisted of social housing</i>	<i>Published for Landsbyggefonden, Renovations of 10 selected Danish social housing settlements built between 1951-1981 Renovated between 2008-2010</i>	<i>Danish Periodical on Planning: 3 selected Positive renovations from 3 periods in Denmark</i>	<i>11 Selected sustainable Housing Renovations</i>	<i>The only social housing - regenerated-project in the guide</i>
Selected Works	Søndergårdsparken Copenhagen	Karré ved Søerne	Albertslund Nord	Gyldenrisparken København 1964	Ryesgade 30	Gyldenrisparken
	Freiburg	Gyldenrisparken	Gyldenrisparken København	Vejleåparken i Ishøj 1970-1974	Birkegade 4-6	
	Rieselfeld, Freiburg	Jemtlandsgades Kvarterhus	Høje Kolstrup, Aabenraa	Ridderborgparken i Nakskov 1975-1981	Gyldenrisparken	
	Vauban, Freiburg	Ole Kirks Allé	Hånbæk, Frederikshavn		Allégården	
	Cité Manifeste, Mulhouse	Albertslund Syd	Milestedet, Rødovre		Albertslund Syd	
	Tour Bois Le Prêtre, Paris		Skelagergårdene, Aalborg		Ryesgade 60-64	
	Gyldenrisparken, Copenhagen		Sprotoften, Nyborg		Ørnevej 13	
	Hovsjö in Södertälje West of Stockholm		Urbanplanen, København		Ægirsgade 4-8	
			Vanggården, Aalborg		Hiort Lorenzen Gade 15	
			Varbergparken, Haderslev		Langkærparken	
				Peter Fabers Gade 5-19		

CHAPTER 4

A FRAMEWORK FOR SPATIAL ANALYSIS OF DECISIONS

Under this chapter, a framework developed for analysing the relationship between problems, ideas developed/proposed, and spatial/architectural solutions as tangible approaches that pave the way towards sustainability have been described. A matrix of themes of sustainability and implementation scales is, therefore, utilized to document findings in various scales. An amalgamation of spatial ‘concepts’ discussed in a group of research works has been an assisting tool to integrate discursive intentions beyond spatial interventions and support the classification of each individual intervention. In other words, the current study develops a tool to comprehend spatial decisions -either an intervention to change, to make, to upgrade, or a decision to demolish, to restore, to preserve- in terms of their contribution to sustainability of a settlement comprised of many physical and non-physical attributes.

Therefore, first of all, definition of decision-making and space making concepts, which will provide fundamental background knowledge for further analysis of interventions and the discourse behind, will be discussed. Then, themes of sustainability adopted in the matrix and the extent of physical scales will briefly be mentioned. At the end, the final matrix of analysis will be provided together with alternative analysis schemes adapted in Danish/Swedish and Turkish contexts to assess sustainability of housing settlements.

4.1. Concepts of Sustainability, Sustainable Housing, and Liveability

This section covers theoretical information on the basic concepts of sustainability, sustainable housing, and liveability to provide a background knowledge to develop the

targeted framework of analysis. Specifically, social and cultural approaches on sustainability are underlined rather than economic and environmental aspects of the phenomenon being in line with the problem definition of the current study.

4.1.1. Sustainability and Primary Implications

The verb ‘to sustain’ fundamentally means ‘to cause or allow something to continue a period of time’ of ‘to keep -something- alive’. (Cambridge Online Dictionary) Thus, the term ‘sustainability’ denotes an ability or capacity ‘to sustain’ certain kind of a system or formation as can be inferred through a logical semantic interpretation.

In recent years, sustainability and sustainable development have been of major topics within academic research. Concept of sustainability was initially appeared within literature in the beginning of 19th century around a discussion over forestry, agriculture, and productivity of those lands. The concept, afterwards, was used within other environmental discussions in 1960’s and 1970’s. According to Bozlağan, Conference for the Human Environment hold by United Nations in 1972 has been milestone for the concept of sustainability. The Human Environment Manifest declared in this conference has put forward principles for use of world resources concerning inter-generational equity, and for bridging economic and social development with the environment. (Bozlağan, 2005) Another crucial step for the concept of sustainability was in 1987 ‘Brundtland-Our Common Future Report’, where it was defined as a vital phenomenon for connecting environmental growth and economic development. (Report of the World Commission on Environment and Development: Our Common Future, 1987) The term ‘sustainable development’ was defined by the World Commission of Environment and Development as

‘development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs’ (United Nations, 1987)

This phrase has been referenced in almost every research study focusing on sustainability for its being the pioneer definition of the term and its source of validity. It may be noted that, just after six years, in 1993, ‘The Commission for Sustainable Development’ was established within the United Nations.

On the other hand, although not presented through this very phrase, the concept was implied in Marxist literature while discussing reproducing mechanisms of production

of social formations. Althusser (1970) presented the process as follows:

As Marx said, every child knows that a social formation which did not reproduce the conditions of production at the same time as it produced would not last a year. [2] The ultimate condition of production is therefore the reproduction of the conditions of production. This may be 'simple' (reproducing exactly the previous conditions of production) or 'on an extended scale' (expanding them) ...

It follows that, in order to exist, every social formation must reproduce the conditions of its production at the same time as it produces, and in order to be able to produce. It must therefore reproduce:

1. the productive forces,
2. the existing relations of production.

Thus, for Althusser and the Marxist ideology, any social formation -a policy, a social foundation, a system of housing, etc.- would only maintain its existence and independent continuity by a system which can provide 'reproduction' of 'productive forces and their relations.' That is, it may be interpreted as a chain with reciprocal feeding mechanism securing a sustainable 'life-cycle' of a productive system. In other words, if a social system/mechanism/policy -e.g. social housing system- bears innate mechanisms to produce alternatives for changing conditions in time and keep these mechanisms updated accordingly, it achieves a sustainable ability to exist. (Figure 4-1)

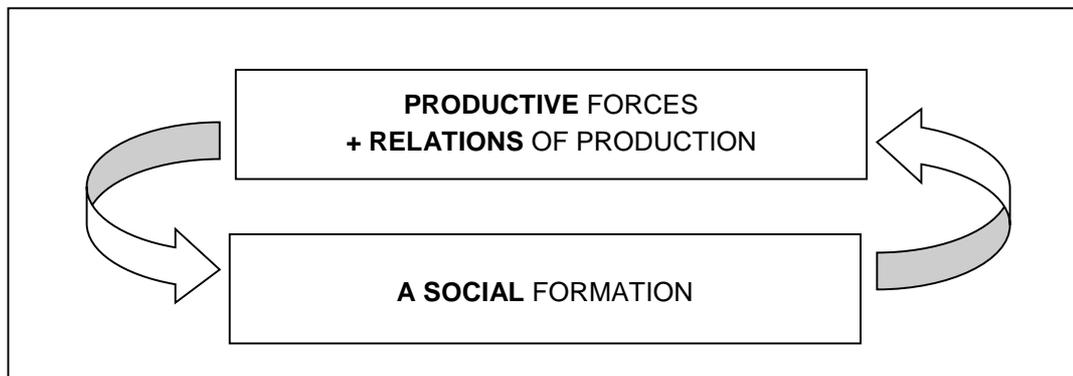


Figure 4-1: Diagram of a sustainable 'life-cycle' of social formation based on Marxist interpretation. Drawn by the author.

4.1.2. Components of Sustainability and 'Human' Factor

A set of branches of sustainability have been recently discussed within academic studies centralizing a sustainable future for built environments. These are four basic strands of sustainability, namely, 'environmental', 'economic', 'social' and 'cultural'. (Chiu, 2004). Chiu reminds that Brundtland Report has been accepted as a threshold for the idea for years. However, the term of sustainability sounded as an economic and

environmental concept, although the report also pointed out the social and cultural aspects of the it (Chiu, 2004, p. 66).

McKenzie (2004), also refers to this limited approach once embraced in series of declarations for a long time. It was considered as a means to success in ‘the highest sustainable economic growth and employment in Member countries in order to stimulate employment and increase living standards’ by OECD in 1960. The World Conservation Strategy in 1980 did also centralise the issues of ‘habitat destruction’ and ‘environmental degradation’ for ‘sustainable development’. Even the UN’s ‘Our Common Future’ report is criticized for its ‘vague’ definition of sustainability and favouring priorities of developed countries. (Jacobs, 1999; Joshi, 2002 cited in McKenzie, 2004, p. 2)

McKenzie provides two diagrams representing the relational conditions of three common components of sustainability -economic, social, environmental-¹ (McKenzie, 2004, pp. 4-5). According to first figure of ‘three concentric spheres’, environmental sphere dominates the other two, while social sphere is in between. The second figure displays an equality among three with ‘overlapping circles’ model, which is noted as being the most embraced one.

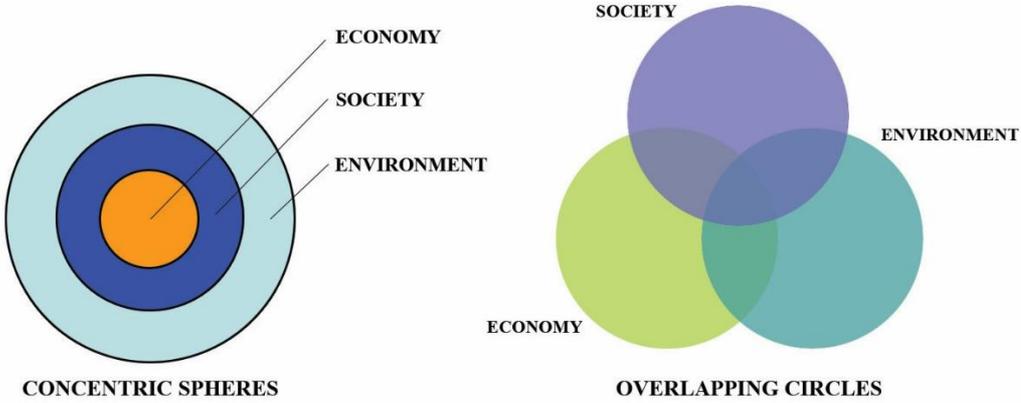


Figure 4-2: Two models for sustainability: Concentric Spheres vs. Overlapping Circles proposed by McKenzie, 2004. Re-drawn by the author.

McKenzie criticizes environment-centered approaches and models for regarding social

¹ McKenzie borrowed the models from Western Australian Council of Social Services (WACOSS), Model of social sustainability, <http://www.wacoss.org.au/downloads/socialsustainable.pdf>

and economic prospects as secondary elements. According to his literature study the 'social' element of sustainability has either been considered as a challenging issue against 'environmental protection' or regarded as a supplementary utility to support and justify the priorities of environmental and economic aspects. Nonetheless, especially together with the end of the twentieth century, 'interdisciplinary and integrated models' and the concept of 'equitable and just society' have become prevalent, thus social sustainability come to forth. (McKenzie, 2004, p. 11) McKenzie reviewing some 'key examples of recent work' on social sustainability in detail concludes with following statement on social sustainability:

Social Sustainability is a positive condition within communities, and a process within communities that can achieve that condition. (McKenzie, 2004, p. 23)

Alongside this statement, he provides a group of 'features' as to be 'indicators of the condition' and defines attempts to achieve those as 'aspects of the process'. The features are cited below:

- equity of access to key services (including health, education, transport, housing and recreation)
- equity between generations, meaning that future generations will not be disadvantaged by the activities of the current generation
- a system of cultural relations in which the positive aspects of disparate cultures are valued and protected, and in which cultural integration is supported and promoted when it is desired by individuals and groups.
- the widespread political participation of citizens not only in electoral procedures but also in other areas of political activity, particularly at a local level
- a sense of community ownership
- a system for transmitting awareness of social sustainability from one generation to the next
- a sense of community responsibility for maintaining that system of transmission
- mechanisms for a community to collectively identify its strengths and needs
- mechanisms for a community to fulfil its own needs where possible through community action
- mechanisms for political advocacy to meet needs that cannot be met by community action. (McKenzie, 2004, p. 23)

Maintaining a parallel discourse with McKenzie, Kural (2009) develops 'parameters of sustainability' for housing settlements in her doctoral study. She states that 'sustainability' is a term initially pronounced within discussions of 'economic development' but later on utilized for ecological issues as soon as global worries for limits of natural resources aroused. The author, also citing the Brundtland Report, remarks its path as 'the search of means for the attainment of a mutually agreed quality of life within the limits and conditions of possible world resources.' For her, beyond its economic and environmental reflections, there is the factor of 'man' and his social

relations as being in the centre of life. Therefore, ‘the social milieu/agent... and his/her role in sustainability projects’ are vital elements for any system including human as a component. (Kural, 2009, p. 6)

4.1.3.Social and Cultural Aspects of Sustainability

Approaches of Social and Cultural Sustainability

Chiu’s paper (2004) gathers, categorizes, and examines concepts regarding ‘social’ and ‘cultural’ sustainability in housing research. Within the paper, she argues that it is impossible to define universal standards regarding sustainability. Therefore, rather than specifying standards for socio-cultural sustainability, Chiu presents existing trends in quality and quantity basis. (Chiu R. L., 2004, p. 75)

Chiu, in her study in 2003, summarized three different interpretations of ‘social’ sustainability within the literature until that time. First one was setting a ‘development-oriented’ perspective and arguing that a certain development has to be in line with social relations, values, norms, and structures for its ability of continuation. The second perspective is an ‘environment-oriented’ one, and regards social conditions as means to provide sustainability of the ecology. That is, as indicated in the Brundtland Report, rules and values of a certain society shapes the distribution patterns of natural sources within and between generations. On the other hand, the third interpretation sets a ‘people-oriented’ approach and a perspective focusing well-being of people living today and their future generations. (Chiu R. L., 2003) This last one promotes social cohesion, integrity, social stability, and improvement of quality of life, and reduces social inequality, social exclusion, social discontinuity, and numerous destructive conflicts. (Chiu R. L., 2004, pp. 66-67) (Table 4-1)

Table 4-1: "Interpretations of Social Sustainability". Adapted from Chiu (2004) by the author.

Interpretation 1	Interpretation 2	Interpretation 3
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social constraints limiting development <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Social relations ○ Customs ○ Structure ○ Values • Development-oriented 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social pre-conditions determining distribution of resources and assets within and over generations <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Rules ○ Values ○ Preferences ○ norms • Environment-oriented 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Maintenance or improvement of the well-being of people <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Increased social cohesion and integrity ○ Enhanced social stability ○ Improvement in the quality of life • People-oriented

Furthermore, citing from Cernea (1993), Khan (1995), and Thaman (2002), Chiu argues that culture-related values and norms, and cultural sustainability are pre-conditions for the sustainability of a system. Besides the cultural sustainability is not a static but rather a continuously evolving phenomenon. On the contrary, the concept aims ‘to sustain cultural diversity and to enable cultures to evolve’. (Chiu R. L., 2004, p. 68) Chiu, also classifies ‘interpretations of cultural sustainability’ to set a better ground for comparison with the social sustainability. (Table 4-2)

Table 4-2: "Interpretations of Cultural Sustainability". Adapted from Chiu (2004) by the author.

Interpretation 1	Interpretation 2
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The contribution of shared values, perceptions and attitudes to sustainable development • Cultural sustainability as a pre-condition for sustainable development 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The sustainability of culture itself • Culture as a critical component of development • Cultural development to take place within the limits of ecological capacity.

Furthermore, Chiu’s study (2004), sets a clarified base for social and cultural sustainability and their embodiment in housing. For her, social and cultural sustainabilities have both common and discrete traits. Firstly, while social sustainability concerns ‘social well-being’, the cultural one interest in ‘continuation of culture. Nonetheless, they share common concerns of ‘socio-cultural limits to and pre-conditions for sustainable development - values, norms, customs, and life style-. Secondly, they conflict in certain manifestations. For instance, while social manifestations are basically related to intangible aspect, such as, social cohesion, stability, equality, equity, peace, and inclusion or their opposites, culture manifests itself through more tangible indicators, as arts, music, performing arts, literature, and religion. (Figure 4-3)

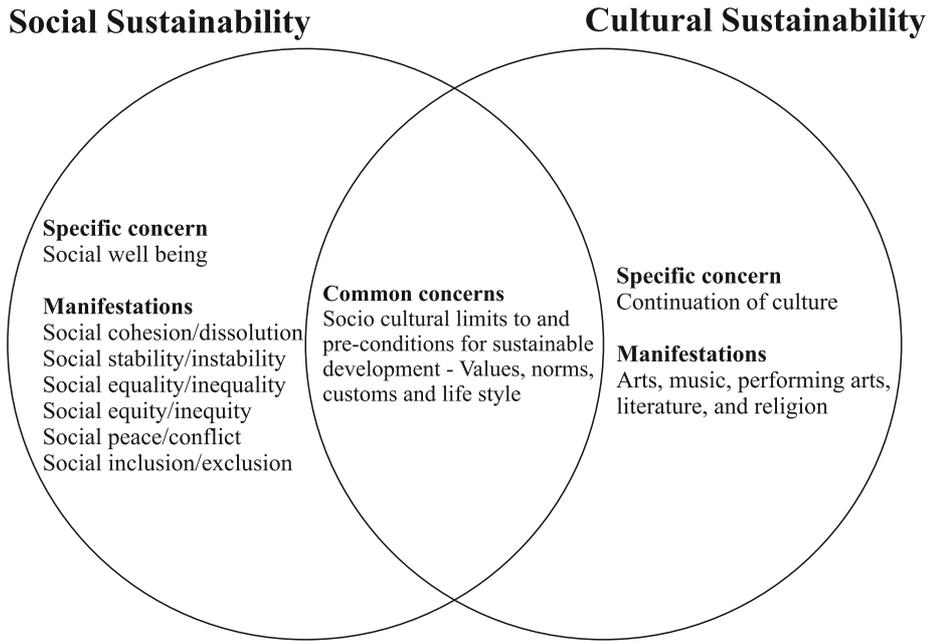


Figure 4-3: "Common and distinctive features of social and cultural sustainability" Source: Chiu (2004)

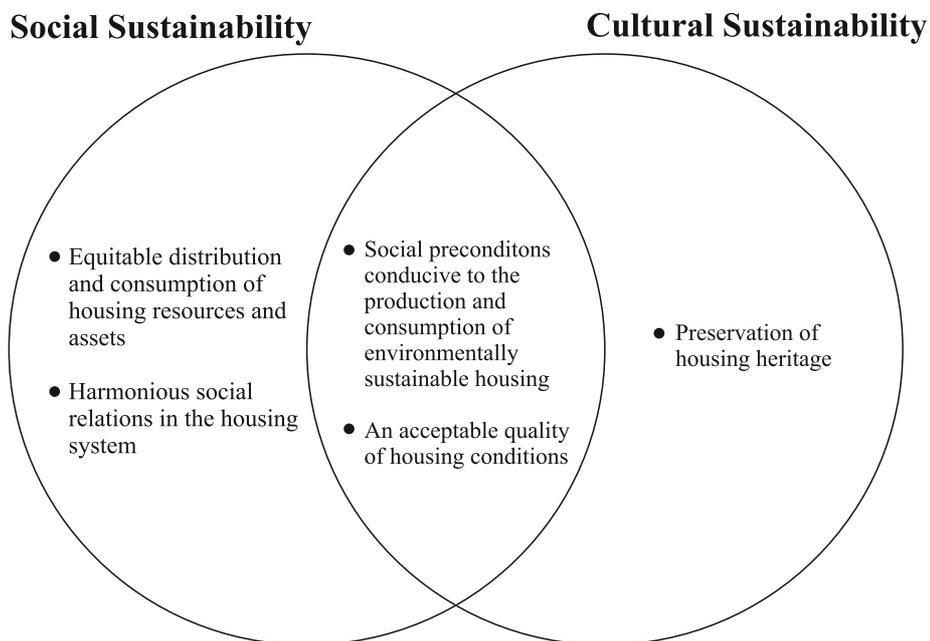


Figure 4-4: "Social and cultural sustainability of housing" Source: Chiu (2004)

Figure 4-3 is utilized by Chiu to describe the two sustainabilities independent from a specific system or concept. However, she provides another figure to illustrate their manifestations in 'housing' with reference to her paper in 2003. (Figure 4-4) For her,

on one hand, within context of housing social sustainability is based on ‘equitable distribution and consumption of housing resources and assets’ and ‘harmonious social relations in the housing system’. Whereas, cultural sustainability of housing is specifically concerned with ‘preservation of housing heritage’. On the other hand, they share certain common goals to reproduce conditions of environmental and economic sustainability, and besides, to ensure ‘acceptable quality of housing conditions.’ (Chiu R. L., 2004, p. 69) ¹

‘Social Dimension’ of Sustainable Development

Another research paper (Dempsey, Bramley, Power, & Brown, 2011) conducted in United Kingdom, also concentrates on ‘social dimension’ of sustainable development within urban context. The authors highlight two main dimensions, namely, ‘equitable access’ and ‘sustainability of the community’ itself. They also note that there is relatively limited literature on the very phenomenon of ‘social sustainability’, however there is plenty of studies on a multitude of concepts such as social cohesion, social inclusion, social exclusion, and sustainability of various other development subjects (Dempsey et al., 2011, p. 290).

As Dempsey et al. point out a recent EU policy paper gives, nevertheless, a strong implication of ‘social sustainability’ defining ‘sustainable community’ as ‘a place where people want to live and work, now and in the future.’ According to the policy paper, such places meet the diverse needs of existing and future residents, are sensitive to their environment, and contribute to a high quality of life. They are safe and inclusive, well-planned, built and run, and offer equality of opportunity and good services for all. (ODPM, 2006, p. 5)

Besides, Dempsey et al. summarize a number of physical and non-physical factors contributing to ‘urban social sustainability’ within their literature review study. Among the non-physical factors are education and training; social justice, inter- and intra-generational; participation and local democracy; health, quality of life, well-being; social inclusion; social capital; community; safety; mixed tenure; social order;

¹ Chiu discusses details of these principles in her study together with some quantitative data based on research in Hong Kong. Thus, the paper would be considered to be read further for researchers.

social cohesion; social networks; social interaction; sense of community; residential stability (vs. turnover); and active community organizations. On the other hand, the physical factors sorted by them are urbanity; attractive public realm; decent housing; local environmental quality and amenity; accessibility; sustainable urban design; walkable -pedestrian friendly- neighbourhood (Dempsey et al., 2011, p. 291)

Proposal for a New Approach: Context-aware Sustainability

Vallance and fellows (2011) try to clarify the conceptual discussions around ‘social sustainability’, identify basic trends, classify them, and extract the conflicts within the subject area. The study deciphers the trends through three fundamental works published focusing social sustainability in the recent past (Sachs, 1999; Chiu R. L., 2004; Godschalk, 2004). The threefold classification of Vallance et al. is cited as follows:

...(a) ‘development (social) sustainability’ addressing basic needs, the creation of social capital, justice, equity and so on; (b) ‘bridge (social) sustainability’ concerning changes in behaviour so as to achieve bio-physical environmental goals; and (c) ‘maintenance (social) sustainability’ referring to the preservation – or what can be sustained – of socio-cultural characteristics in the face of change, and the ways in which people actively embrace or resist those changes. (Vallance, Perkins, & Dixon, 2011)

The proposed ‘development social sustainability’ is based on the will to reconcile social aspects with environmental goals and targets of economic development. The approach reveals a strong connection between an economic model and social needs, as highlighted in Crabtree’s (2005) proposal of ‘flexible models of land tenure so as to enable those on low incomes to enjoy the benefits of good design and healthier homes’. (Vallance et al., 2011, p. 344)

Stated as ‘a growing and cohesive body of work’ ‘maintenance social sustainability’ is an approach which covers ‘the traditions, practices, preferences and places people would like to see maintained (sustained) or improved’. Vallance et al. extract those preferences as ‘low-density suburban living, the use of the private car, and the preservation of natural landscapes.’ For them ‘(t)hese practices underpin people’s quality of life, social networks, pleasant work and living spaces, leisure opportunities, and so on.’ (Vallance et al., 2011, p. 344)

The authors underlining people’s tendency to ignore or to resist ‘eco-messages’

propose a ‘re-humanized, context-aware sustainability’ within the approach. Thus, they suggest environmental scientists to cooperate with their counterparts in social sciences ‘to explore how residents interpret, and incorporate concerns about, the places in which they live and the world around them.’ For them, such a management of conflicts would also end up with ‘equitable and meaningful solutions’. (Vallance et al., 2011, p. 347) This suggestion implies necessity of specialists’ -and also residents’- involvement for decision-making processes of spatial transformation schemes in housing to receive an extensive social acceptance.

4.1.4. Alternative Spatial Proposals for Sustainable Housing

Following the arguments supported through previous sub-headings, it may basically be argued that sustaining social and cultural relationships of residents sharing common housing settlements is substantial. Sustainable relationship of an existing community and its future residents is based on mutual benefits of all. Thus, it is a means of maintaining long-term sustainability.

Within academic literature focusing on sustainability of housing areas, ‘open building’ is one of the most prominent approaches since 1990s for its emphasis on residents’ active participation in decision-making processes of the inhabited settlement. Through such a participatory process, a certain level of ‘social sustainability’ is desired to be maintained. Stephen Kendall (1999, p. 1), discussing concept of ‘residential open building’, underlines the urgency of ‘constructing buildings with the in-built capacity to adapt over time to changing issues and preferences with minimal conflict’ so as to be a cure for sustaining contemporary urban architecture. His recommendation is ‘to view the built environment as an artefact that is never finished, that is grounded in convention.’ For Kendall, the concept of ‘residential open building’ comes front for not only resolving technical issues in housing industry, but also maintaining sustainability by introducing solutions for social and equity problems (Kendall, 1999, p. 6).

According to Kural (2009), one of forthcoming issues among research on spatialization of sustainability has been the ‘urban form’. Nonetheless, recent research has disclosed that it is not always the right choice to apply a single form when designing urban areas due to challenging local conditions. Indeed, there had been

studies to offer ‘compact city’ form as a dependable ‘macro model for urban sustainability’. However, professionals should focus on the ways ‘to determine which forms are suitable in any given locality’, rather than insisting on pre-defined forms. (Jenks, Burton, & Williams, 1996)

4.1.5. Liveability for Sustainable Housing Areas

Liveability is a gradually developing concept which is embraced by a variety of disciplines, mostly together with/supporting sustainability. (Woolcock, 2009) Having a strong connection with the built environment, it basically denotes ‘the quality of life as experienced by the residents of a neighbourhood within an urban area’. (Norouzian-Maleki et. al., 2015, p. 263) In other words, it primarily depends on ‘subjective evaluation of the quality of the housing conditions’. (Heylen, 2006) Referring to her and a set of other studies, Setijanti et. al. (2014, p. 206) argue it depends on many ‘tangible and intangible aspects’ and traits of built environment to ‘create attractive residential neighbourhoods’.

Liveability is commonly associated with ‘accessibility, inclusiveness, equity, safety, continuity, and participation’ in principal level, and formed by physical factors such as ‘design, maintenance and use of built environments, availability and proximity of public spaces, effects of urban microclimate, aesthetic qualities of landscape, presence of vegetation and greenery’, ‘accessibility of parks and other public open spaces’ and ‘perceived safety of an area’ (Norouzian-Maleki et. al., 2015, p. 263) effecting quality of living experience. Heylen, in her study on social housing, frames ‘four dimensions’¹ of the concept as follows:

- Quality of the dwelling/ building
- Quality of the physical environment, including the level of services and facilities
- Quality of the social environment
- Safety of the neighbourhood (2006, p. 4)

Current study gets use of physical aspects effecting the experience of liveability in residential areas. Although social aspects and their quality plays a role in the perception of liveability, it regards related interventions as basic contributors for

¹ Heylen refers to research studies in Flanders and the Netherlands before 2006.

‘social sustainability’. Therefore, such principal approach is preferred in the classification system of the analysis framework proposed under heading 4.5.

4.1.6. Components of Sustainable Development and Liveability:

Godschalk’s Prism

According to Godschalk (2004), the discipline of ‘land use planning’ is supposed to create ‘sustainable development’ and ‘liveable communities’ -as other spatial planning disciplines of varying scales-. However, these objectives bear conflicts within their internal components. Firstly, sustainable development has inherited conflicts for which it has to seek grounds of reconciliation from birth. The conflicts are between binary combinations of its three major components, namely, environment, economy, and equity -mostly known as three ‘E’s.’¹ (Godschalk, 2004, pp. 6-7)

Here, Godschalk’s preference of ‘equity’ in place of ‘social’ component of sustainability should be highlighted. ‘Equity’ is a concept implying a balance between social demand and supply. For Chiu (2004) and some other authors, she cited, the concept is about ‘the distribution of benefits and dis-benefits: who benefits and who loses, and by how much’. Thus, the term differs from ‘equality’ in terms of fairness and justice. Besides, in housing practice, there are two common approaches: ‘horizontal equity’ and ‘vertical equity’. The former one concerns equal subsidies or assistance for the families with same level of affordability or with similar problems as a rule of housing policy. Similar logic operates in the latter one: ‘unequal treatment of people -households-in unequal positions’. (Chiu, 2002; Headey, 1978; Lampman, 1977; Le Grand, 1991 cited in Chiu R. L., 2004, p. 72)

On the other hand, ‘liveability’ has more to do with ‘everyday physical environment’ and takes ‘place making’ in centre. (Bohl, 2002 cited in Godschalk, 2004). Godschalk’s explanation on critical relation of ‘liveability’ and components of sustainability reveals the concept’s implicit nature:

¹ In many case, the third one, equity, bearing a will to ‘equal rights’ to all and eliminating handicaps of people in the society interchanges with ‘social sustainability’.

Within the liveability arena are both the two-dimensional conceptual aspects emphasized by sustainable development (economy, ecology, and equity) and the three-dimensional aspects of public space, movement systems, and building design. In other words, the liveability vision expands the sustainability mix to include land use design aspects, ranging down to the micro scale of the block, street, and building, as well as up to the macro scale of the city, metropolis, and region. (Godschalk, 2004, p. 6)

That is, liveability is a supplement for sustainable development of built environment for underpinning its intangible dimensions into ground with tangible dimensions related to the space of everyday life and place-making factors.

Godschalk provides a triangular figure to illustrate the three components and the 'conflicts' among them adapting from Campbell (1996). (Figure 4-5) Building his argument on insufficiency of the three basic components of sustainability to establish best practices for liveable communities, he proposes 'liveability' to be placed together with -but a little elevated from the surface of- 'triangle of sustainability' to create a hypothetical triangular prism. For him, such three-dimensional understanding would help to conceptualize interactions and conflicts among all four components. Here, critical issue is that liveability is not purely the fourth component of sustainability. On the contrary, it is a supplementary element to secure a 'perfectly realized' urban area. (Figure 4-6) (Godschalk, 2004, p. 8)

It is not only Godschalk but also Chiu who argues pure sustainability does not suffice 'to meet needs and aspirations of human race'. The further concern should be provision of 'equitable, harmonious, and cohesive' society to ensure 'better quality of life to people', (Chiu R. L., 2004, p. 67) which can also be interpreted as an implication of 'liveability'.

Following Goldschalk's and Chiu's argument sustainability of housing venues can also be claimed to depend on 'liveability' for bearing spatial aspects in varying scales. The concept has both primary and secondary effects on the way people live and the continuity of the demand to live within. Thus, it may be regarded as a pre-condition of sustainability to ensure continuous demand to inhabit a given settlement, -for the current study, housing settlement-. This conceptual approach is utilized for a building up a spatial analysis framework in CHAPTER 4.

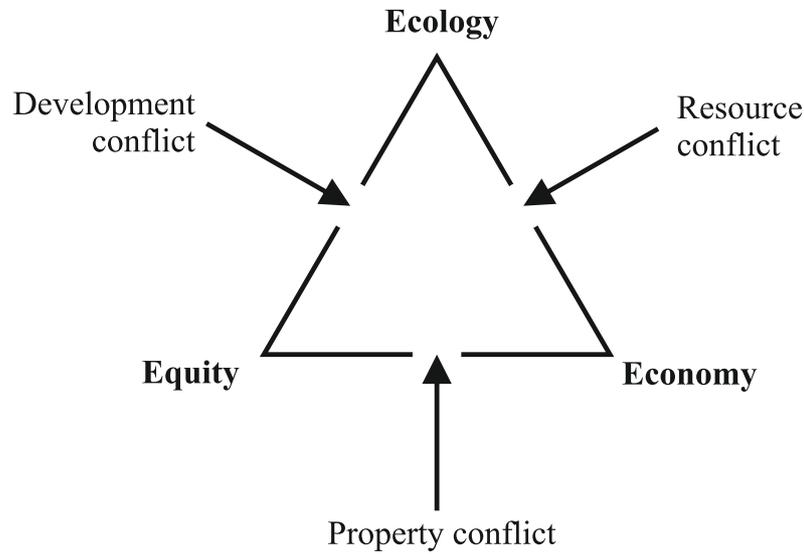


Figure 4-5: Triangle of sustainability components. Source: Godschalk (2004)

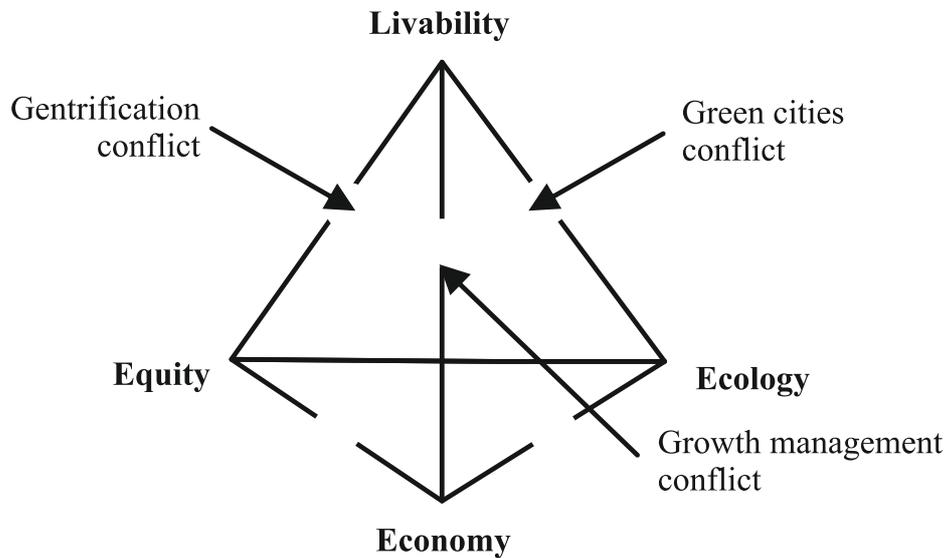


Figure 4-6: Four-pointed prism of sustainability components and liveability. Source Godschalk (2004)

4.2. Decision Making in Spatial Design and Planning

‘Decision making’ is utilized within various disciplines and fundamentally describes ‘process and logic through which individuals arrive at a decision.’ (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2014) According to Qudrat-Ullah et. al. (2008), ‘quality of information’ plays a critical role for decision-makers for thorough and healthy comprehension of the system. Such information may bear variables such as ‘feedback processes, non-linear relationships between variables, and time delays on the performance of the complex system.’ In urban planning and related spatial decision-making ‘community engagement’ is ‘structured’ means of involvement of citizens which may take place in forms of ‘information-giving, consultation (two-way interchange) or extend up to participation (involvement in decision-making).’ (Stewart & Lithgow, 2015, p. 19)

Although there exists many theories on the concept, 'rational decision-making' has a wide acceptance as being 'self-interested, purposeful, and efficient.' The efficiency of the rational decision-making depends on initial maximization of information and consequent satisfaction of preferences together with minimization of use of resources. This is the basic systematic thinking on which the modern economics rests. Whereas, 'appropriate decision-making' holds an opposite position which depends much on a 'sociological approach emphasizes social context over economic rationality.' The 'appropriate decision-making' is built on individuals' tendency 'to do the right thing' by centralizing 'the fit between the context' and 'roles'. (Encyclopedia Britannica, 2014)

Architectural design is a 'dynamic' one for depending on decisions of a variety of 'internal and exterior stakeholders'. The dynamism is born out of 'a complex search for information, full of detours, enriched by feedback from casting about in all directions, gathering and discarding information, fuelled by fluctuating uncertainty, indistinct and conflicting concepts.' (Zeleny, 1982, cited in Harputlugil et al., 2011, p.11) Harputlugil et al. (2011, p. 2) claims that architectural design is 'a process influenced by many stakeholders, each of which has different decision power.' For them, 'each stakeholder might have his/her own criteria and weightings depending on his/her own perspective and role.' Therefore, they argue that it is a sort of 'multi-criteria decision making (MCDM) process.' For Pohekar and Ramachandran (2004), conflicts tend to occur in a usual sense among decision-makers for the processes demands 'quantifiable or non-quantifiable and multiple criteria.'. Thus, parties should consider compromises.

Within the context of the current study 'spatial decision-making' is used to refer the totality of urban planning and architectural design supported by policy-making and any possible participatory mechanisms to arrive in a collaborative decision of design of a given space. Thus, it would be considered as a MCDM, combining 'scale' of intervention and 'appropriateness' as the sources of references. In any case, there is an apparent consideration on the 'quality of information' flow among parties and varying degrees of 'community engagement'.

4.3. Space-making concepts for housing settlements

Various conceptual ideas would be instrumentalized either for designing attributes of a space or analysing an existing space. Here, space would denote various scales of physical environment -city, district, neighbourhood, buildings, blocks, apartments, houses, rooms etc.- It should be noted that current study restricts the scale of the proposed framework with the settlement, apartment block, and individual apartments to cover the total impact of implemented architectural project.

Within the discussions hold in ARCH 714¹ in Spring Semester of 2012 at METU, there aroused seven basic concepts in search for defining problematic issues related to housing settlements - especially for the low and medium income families- by TOKİ in Turkey. The concepts, despite would call for various reflections are as follows:

- Density
- Diversity
- Program
- Identity
- Scale
- Access
- Landscape / Topography

‘Sound Settlements’² is a research-based work of an ‘interdisciplinary and transnational approach to sustainable housing’ covering four specified housing settlements placed around neighbouring coasts of Denmark and Sweden -*Øresund* region-. During the study the contributing researchers developed a ‘toolbox of concepts’ together with a model including the concepts with a scaled approach for systematizing comprehension about the settlements. (Mortensen, 2013, p. 17) Mortensen describes the concepts as ‘thematic’ ones and discloses them as ‘identity,

¹ Arch 714- Housing Research and Design Studio - II is a one semester-long studio course hold at Middle East Technical University -METU-, Ankara, based on site visits, academic and non-academic readings, and discussions. The major themes of discussion is recent governmental housing implementations in Turkey. The course is offered by Prof. Dr. Ali Cengizkan, advisor to the current thesis study.

² ‘Researchers from Lund University, Institute of Sustainable Development on Malmo University, the Royal Danish Academy of Fine Arts, School of Architecture in Copenhagen and the National Building Research Centre of Aalborg University formulates the findings. Associated communities in the region are Lund, Malmo, Helsingborg and Albertslund.’ explains Mortensen (2013) within the introduction to the paper.

landscape, resources, density, and diversity'.¹ The model elaborates those thematic concepts within scales of 'district', 'settlement', and 'building' and provides representative diagrams to illustrate each intersection. (Figure 4-8: The Model of Sound Settlements Project consisted of thematic concepts in three scales. Source: Mortensen (2013)Figure 4-8)

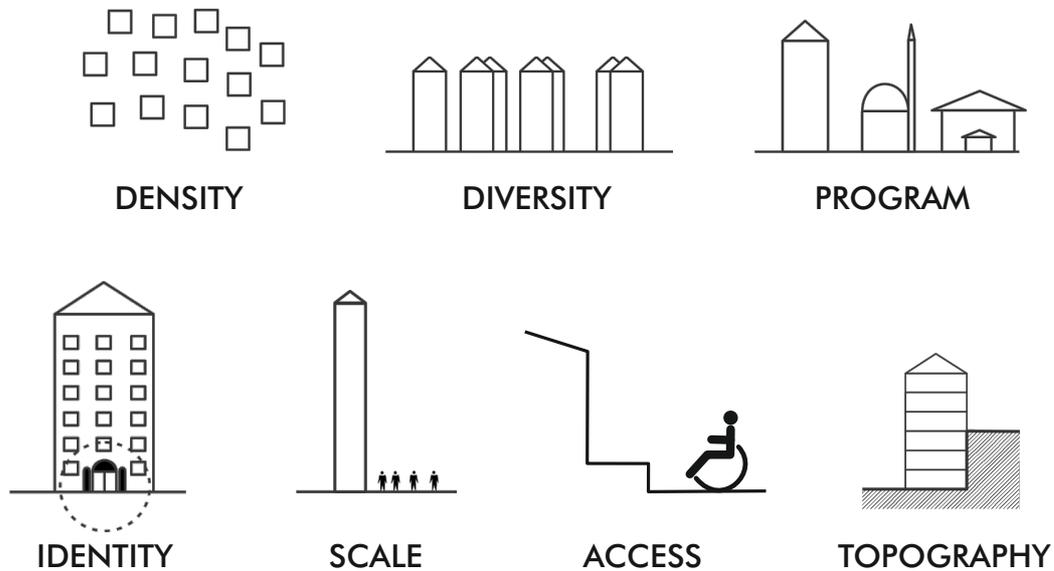


Figure 4-7 : Concept of spatial parameters developed in ARCH 714 with icons drawn by the author based on a critical approach.

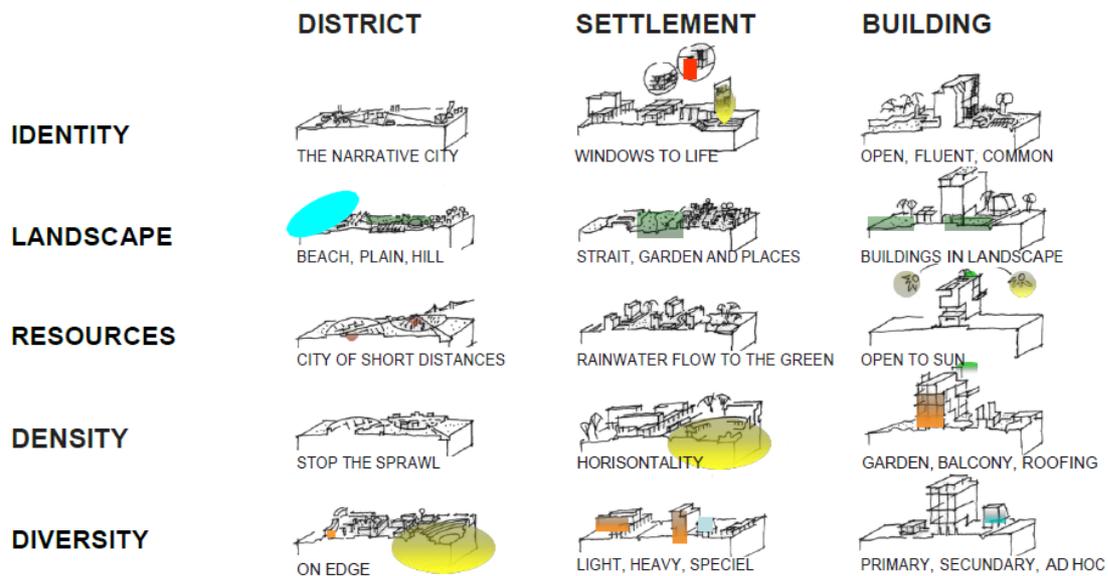


Figure 4-8: The Model of Sound Settlements Project consisted of thematic concepts in three scales. Source: Mortensen (2013)

¹ The study includes 'experiences and research related to planning and decision-making processes.'

Spatial Concepts and Their Implications in Sound Settlements Study

Assuming 'identity' as an issue of 'awareness of individuality', the paper questions possible means of its development out of the ordinary. Its 'opening to differences, acting upon them and making them visible' is one of the proposals. Identification of 'fundamental values', and also extraction and promotion of 'characters of the settlements', 'cultural heritage', and many other location-specific 'tangible and intangible values' are suggested as alternating tools to promote 'identity'. For Mortensen, in accordance with those, an architectural 'homogenous uniformity' would also help for advance of 'a strong character'.

The study considers 'landscape' as a concept to promote 'identity', to encourage social engagement, to contribute biodiversity, public health, and psychology, and to manage natural resources. Access to various scales of green areas is crucial for well-being of society. Besides, decent topographical arrangements contribute to the spatial quality of the landscape and three-dimensional utilization of the built environment. Thus, design, maintenance, and management of it deserves careful attention.

Regarding 'land' as a non-renewable resource, the study argues that urban sustainability is proportionate to the extent of its open spaces. Thus, land allocated for redundant for 'traffic and division of land' sacrifices the green and recreational space. Besides, traffic-led disturbance challenges not only biodiversity but also patterns of social life. Thus, the study proposes transport efficiency considered together with 'cycling, walking, and public transport' opportunities. 'Compact and mixed-use development' is also stated as a means to 'provide shorter distances' and consequent less dependency for physical mobility.

Criticizing the quantity-based approach to the term of density, the study highlights the 'sensual experience' reminding possible numerical equality of 'low-dense' and 'high-open' arrangements of settlements. Mortensen reminds the basic definition of density as 'ratio of built and open space'. However, for him 'density of built structure' is a much more an issue of relations of streets and open spaces, and moreover, 'openness' is bounded to 'the experienced visual density'.

Mortensen questions various contrasting arguments regarding 'diversity'. He implies avoidance of pure formal 'diversity' or 'diversity' just for the sake of being diverse. It can be interpreted that, for him, being uniform cannot be regarded as the sole source

of problems, but rather rich spatial relations can be achieved through generic spaces with varying scales, and concern about structural and material quality. (Mortensen, 2013)

Prospects for Sustainability: Processes, Actors, Dilemmas

The study regards concept of sustainability with three widely-accepted components. Basically, environmental sustainability depends on ‘less resource consumption’, economic sustainability necessitates ‘balance between income, living costs, and maintenance’, and social sustainability is bound to ‘households’ ability to manage their lives’ -especially against many ethnic, social, and economic problems challenging their integration-. According to Mortensen, for a transformation scheme to be a sustainable one, long-run prospects should be considered and many related issues should be managed concurrently. Therefore, for the author it is possible ‘to make settlements more diverse i.e. attractive to new, self-supporting residents, to improve density and integrate with the surrounding city (a)nd finally: to improve housing and energy standards.’ (Mortensen, 2013, p. 23) (Table 4-3)

Table 4-3: Thematic Concepts and their manifestations in three scales; derived from Sound Settlements and adopted by the author

	DISTRICT/ CITY	SETTLEMENT	BUILDING
<p>IDENTITY If identity is awareness of individuality is a way to go then: To loosen differences, create consciousness and make differences visible? What is it about? Which characters? Which spaces needed?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City of generations , cultures, and narratives 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • suburban, live of 60's city • windows for life 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unobtrusive-open • repeating-fluent • individual-common
<p>LANDSCAPE Green structure is a source to identity, sensitivity and conceptualization of rather abstract goals for sustainability: Is landscape identity reflected in the district park, green common and courtyards? Is it possible to see from the vegetation if you are in Skåne or Eastern Sjælland? Does the settlement have wet land and biological diversity? Are recreational and green spaces accessible from the apartments?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • By the beach • on plain area • on a hill 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Landscape and places • The shopping street, the avenue, the garden 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Buildings within Landscape
<p>RESOURCES Land is not a continuous resource, thus the share of open land become an indicator for urban sustainability. Can improvement of public transport be followed by reduction of street area and parking? Can public transport i.e. tram line be realised in existing, green straits and reverse covered surface into green - and connect to neighbourhood?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • City of short distances 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Short streets • minimum covered land • Rainwater collection 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Compact • Easy to maintain • Open to sun
<p>DENSITY Today the discourse is about 'the dense city' and 'densification', but what do we mean – density in relation to what? To inner city, to districts of the 60's and 70's, to the suburban garden city? Urbanity is often compared to density, making the inner city a sort of paradigm But low/dense and high/open can have same density but is experienced differently. Do we want a city with the same density everywhere?</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stop city-sprawl • Transformation with density • Dense and green districts 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Horizontal city • with functions back to back • Passages • Arcades in street-line 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hard - soft • open - closed
<p>DIVERSITY Are we sure, the problem is in simplicity? Or in spatial diversity, in scale and in materiality and structure? Is diversity not major in social housing, where cultures live next to another? Is it possible to give space to existing differences in everyday life? Do we really want diversity, or is it a trendy idea among architects and planners? 'There is so much more to it'</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • On the edge • around the garden • back to back with other buildings 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Open • Heavy, general • small, light and special 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ad hoc / temporary • Primary • secondary

Those intentions would only be achieved through a collaborative work of several actors, to tackle challenging interests, determine the common good, and agree on targets of mutual benefits. According to the author, such cooperation is indispensable for a sustainable transformation programme. The dilemmas between 'local solutions' and 'strategic municipal challenges', and between 'short term problems of current residents' and 'long-time goals of local authorities and associations' would only be tackled through coordination of stakeholders consisted of actors of 'civilian society - dwellers/inhabitants, societies-', 'state/public sector -municipality/council, municipal office-', and 'market sector -housing companies, land owners, developers, constructors etc.'. (Mortensen, 2013, p. 24)

'A matrix of space" and 'strategies for urban design' for sustainability

Kural (2009) proposes 'a matrix of place' to be applied as 'a tool in urban design for urban sustainability'. The matrix, in one hand, consists of six 'place dimensions' which are considered in three themes of sustainability. On the other hand, it discloses sets of 'indicators of sustainability' suggests strategies alternating 'strategies for urban design' for each dimension of place. (Kural, 2009, p. 93) (See APPENDIX F.) The fundamental difference between two models is that the proposed model of 'Sound Settlements' includes more tangible attributes for all scales than Kural's matrix and includes architectural ones in the scale of building *-bygning*. As the dimensions of place, Kural proposes 'historical, geographical materialist condition', 'place identity', 'site and natural assets', 'history, culture, architecture', 'governance and subsidiary', and 'temporality'. Nonetheless, it should be noted that the strategies for urban design she suggests 'to be augmented for locale and need' share similarities with the 'thematic concepts' proposed by 'Sound Settlements'. Those are 'density', 'street design', 'open spaces', 'amenities-community services', 'architectural design, block layouts and types', 'zoning', and 'public space' respectively, which have more emphasis on space-making. Thus, it would be to the point to get use of the information provided by Kural on those strategies.

According to Kural, no certain limitations can be determined for residential areas, because local conditions may vary for each individual area. Rather, she notes, as a general acceptance, sustainable residential areas tend to condense the built environment. Maintaining 'low-rise, high-density residential development' bears

‘economy of infrastructure’, ‘intensity in the use of urban services’, ‘concentration of social activities and communication’ as a result of limited utilization of ‘land resource’. Citing from Churchman, Kural highlights ‘graded density’ and ‘a balanced mix of land uses’, because a ‘uniform’ density would result in dullness and sacrifice efficient use of resources. (Kural, 2009, pp. 104-105)

According to Kural ‘public transport network’ and ‘green spaces’ shapes the fundamental framework of an urban space. Besides, streets are basically to be utilized for ‘walking’. Thus, safety of pedestrians and movement patterns of them should be major guiding principles of ‘accessibility’. Such approach would help ‘local business to survive’ and ‘social facilities to be used’; ‘social networks’ to be developed; ‘sense of community’ to be improved; ‘pollution’, ‘emissions’, ‘energy waste’, number of ‘accidents’ and ‘street crime’ to be reduced.¹ (Kural, 2009, pp. 104-105)

Kural takes attentions to ‘the quality and effectiveness of green spaces’ and asserts urban areas to be considered in parallel with existing landscapes for efficient use of local resources. Furthermore, she highlights ‘community services’ as opportunities for residents provided within an urbanized local environment. Shops, schools, health services, and ‘a variety of recreational open spaces’ existing within local limits not only encourages social and economic life in a community, but also supports accessibility, social contact, social inclusion, community life, and healthier life styles. (Kural, 2009, pp. 105-107)

According to Kural, spatial design for urban environment has the ability to promote ‘local identity’. Thus, its potential to enable ‘anchoring’ would be utilized for renovation schemes in existing settlements by ‘involving existing community’, ‘re-use of existing buildings, structures, ... materials or elements’, and ‘use of the existing land form’. Kural also stresses on ‘local economic activity’ and ‘local work’ opportunities and proposes consideration of it within decision-making through mix-use planning initiatives together with adequate residential solutions. Besides, she also underlines inclusion of affordable housing in neighbourhoods without major quality differences to maintain ‘a mix of housing’ paving way for mix of users and social integration. In a similar attitude, the public space in between would also be organized to meet

¹ Kural cites largely Barton et al. (2005) and Frey (1999) in explaining “strategies for urban design and design elements” for sustainability projects especially for residential areas.

demands of diverse social groups and people of varying ages through ‘public, semi-public, and private spaces.’ (Kural, 2009, pp. 107-108)

Table 4-4: Three studies utilizing spatial concepts to analyze housing settlements

STUDY UNDER ARCH 714 (2012)	‘SOUND SETTLEMENTS’ (2013)	KURAL’S STUDY (2009)	
Less urban more architectural focus / Developed through discussions in PhD class and criticism on TOKI housing	Urban and Architectural Focus / developed through discussions, site visits, best practices / for observations, discussions and suggestions	Urban focus / a tool for urban design and for measuring urban sustainability Developed by Castells and Lefebvre references	
Spatial Concepts for criticism	Toolbox of Thematic Concepts	A matrix of place	
		Dimensions of Place	Strategies for Urban Design and Design Elements
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Density • Diversity • Program • Identity • Scale • Access • Landscape / Topography 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identity • Landscape • Resources • Density • Diversity + Process 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historical, Geographical Materialist condition • Place Identity • Site and Natural Assets • History, Culture, Architecture • Governance and Subsidiary • Temporality 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Density • Street Design • Open Spaces • Amenities-community services • Architectural Design, Block Layouts and Types • Public Space

4.4. Developing a Framework of Analysis to Categorize Spatial Findings

Spatial interventions through a transformation scheme are valuable for their reflecting intensions and discursive targets. In Foucauldian approach, because the role of architecture is regarded as ‘organizing various flows of movement within urban contexts’, the discourse of a built environment would be grasped through the special decision concretized. Besides, the social relations of production constitute primary

source of space as for being a ‘social construct’ in Lefebvrian sense.

In the previous section (4.3), we have presented a series of concepts have been presented on space-making to develop comprehension and provide a common ground of inspection on Turkish and Danish contexts. Furthermore, an extensive literature survey on sustainability, its manifestations, recent classifications and conceptualizations of it, and its relation with housing have been provided in section 4.1 and focuses and classification systems of the academic studies have been comparatively presented in Table 4-3. Hence, for a better categorization of spatial interventions current study get use of those concepts. They would thus set tangible guides for the following case analysis and, further utilization of it for future research.

4.4.1. Themes of Sustainability and Liveability

It should be noted that major classification of sustainability in the literature is based on three elements: social, economic, and environmental. In some of the studies it is defined as three ‘E’s, where the ‘social’ component is represented by ‘equity’ - basically implying equal rights for all-. The current study utilizes five conceptual assessment tools based on major components of sustainability -social, cultural, economic, and environmental- and ‘liveability’ which were presented by specialists, Mejia and Rasekh (Housing Convention, 2012) and has been conceptualized by Godschalk (2004) together with the three sustainabilities so as to constitute four equal corners of a hypothetical prism.

As Dempsey et. al. (2011) highlights, the recent EU policies strongly implies importance of social sustainability while defining ‘sustainable community’ as ‘a place where people want to live and work, now and in the future’. For Dempsey et. al. ‘equitable access’ and ‘sustainability of the community’ are two main dimensions comprising social dimension of sustainable development. Besides, they define physical and non-physical aspects of ‘urban social sustainability’. It may be noted that ‘urbanity; attractive public realm; decent housing; local environmental quality and amenity; accessibility; sustainable urban design; walkable -pedestrian friendly- neighbourhood’ are of those physical aspects which would be adopted from their work within the framework of analysis of the current study.

Besides, despite having common features and concerns with social sustainability,

cultural sustainability has also independent concerns and manifestations. Especially, for its manifestations bear tangible aspects -architecture, arts, religion etc.- (Chiu R. L., 2004) in contrast to mostly intangible ‘social’ counterparts, the proposed framework includes the ‘cultural’ component as the fourth one. Thus, preservation of values of architectural heritage would be claimed to be one of those tangible manifestations of the cultural sustainability. Moreover, because the ‘cultural’ component includes many implications of ‘identity’, cultural continuity is considered as a tool of sustainable system to be controlled by spatial -especially architectural- interventions.

It should be reminded that liveability bears numerous traits of ‘everyday physical environment’, and therefore, centralizes ‘place making’ according to Godschalk’s (2004) interpretation. Chiu (2004, p. 67) also supports this argument and states that provision of an ‘equitable, harmonious, and cohesive’ society ensures ‘better quality of life to people’, which would also be defined as ‘liveability’.

Below, a table has been provided to summarize the set of research works which adopt different classifications of sustainability. (Table 4-5) Built on the arguments above, current study adapts not only four widely-accepted components of sustainability but also the concept of liveability as the fifth component to support and maintain sustainability of a given social housing settlement.

Table 4-5: Summary of Literature Review on Sustainability: Classifications and Research Focuses

Research Works	Sustainability Classification	Research Focus
(McKenzie, 2004)	Economic, Environmental, Social	Social Sustainability
(Kural, 2009)	Economic, Environmental, Social	Social Sustainability - factor of ‘men’; social agent
(Chiu R. L., 2004)	Social, Cultural, Environmental, Economic	Social and Cultural Sustainability of Housing
(Demsey, Bramley, Power, & Brown, 2011)		Social Sustainability [equitable access + sustainability of community]
(Vallance, Perkins, & Dixon, 2011)	(Bio-physical) Economic, Environmental, Social,	Social Sustainability [3 classifications]
(Godschalk, 2004)	Economy, Environment, Equity (Social), Liveability	Sustainable Development + Liveable Communities

4.4.2. Definition of Physical Extent: A scale-based framework

For the spatial analysis framework of the case study, a scale-based approach of three levels will be utilized: ‘settlement’, ‘building blocks’, and ‘apartment units’. ‘Settlement’ merely denotes a conceptual urban design scale which covers the relations between building blocks, organization of access routes, free areas, parking lots, cycling routes, and pedestrian circulation. Whereas ‘building blocks’ has more architectural implications and consist of spatial-implications in building scale and interventions on whole building or components, such as, façades, roofs, circulation systems, entrance etc. Lastly, ‘apartment/housing unit’ scale involves pure architectural scale interventions and decisions regarding interior space of individual apartments and their possible relations with each other and the outside environment.

4.5. Proposed Framework of Spatial Analysis

To analyse and classify spatial changes through certain spatial interventions in housing settlements, academic studies apply conceptual frameworks built on certain set of variables. In section 4.3, some academic works each of which utilized such frameworks have been mentioned. Within the study of Sound Settlements, ‘a toolbox of thematic concepts’ juxtaposed with a series of spatial scales to create a model for understanding a set of ‘best practices’ and providing new knowledge for ‘sustainable urban settlements, transportation, and decision making processes’ in a pre-defined region.

In Kural’s PhD Thesis, ‘a matrix of place’ is proposed to be utilized for checking indicators of sustainability in some existing settlements and proposing urban design strategies for new settlements or transformations, the matrix consists two major sets of components are ‘dimensions of place’ -a set of intangible elements build on Castells’ model for urban movements- and ‘sustainability elements’.

For the analysis of spatial decisions taken during the process of regeneration in Gyldenrisparken, current study proposes a matrix with an alternative layout. The matrix targets to classify each spatial decision and related spatial intervention according to the three levels of ‘scale’ and five themes of sustainability -including liveability as the fifth dimension-. Besides, each spatial-decision is matched with one or more spatial concepts of seven components borrowed from the pre-analysis

methodology of Arch 714 course, developed to categorize items of criticism for TOKİ housing in Turkey.

It should also be noted that both tangible and intangible spatial decisions and interventions categorized in the matrix.¹ Thus, it provides a framework for comprehension of the spatial decisions taken through the regeneration process. (Table 4-6) It can be noted that, the developed matrix can also be utilized for new spatial schemes to set guidance for sustainable and liveable development by controlling interventions scale by scale, and support new developers to flexibly integrate innovative solutions through guidance of spatial concepts.

¹ The matrix of categorization was developed by collaboration with Peder Duelund Mortensen - professor in KADK-, who coordinated the mentioned ‘Sound Settlements’ study, edited the gathered research work, and wrote the final paper. Mortensen was also the advisor to the author for his guest project focusing transformation of Gyldenrisparken, and is the co-supervisor for the current thesis study.

Table 4-6: Proposed 'Sustainability-Scale Matrix for Spatial Decisions'

PROPOSED 'SUSTAINABILITY-SCALE MATRIX FOR SPATIAL DECISIONS'			
	SETTLEMENT	BLOCK	APARTMENT
SOCIAL / EQUITY	PRG • SOCIAL GATHERING AREAS	PRG • SOCIAL FACILITIES INSIDE BLOCKS • BLOCKS TO HOUSE VARYING HOUSEHOLD TYPES	PRG • CHANGE OF LAYOUT
	DIV • SOCIAL FACILITIES (FUNCTIONAL SPACES)	DIV • SOCIAL MIX	DIV • FACADES - BAY WINDOWS FOR ALL
	ACC • EQUITY OF ACCESS TO KEY SERVICES • EQUITY BETWEEN GENERATIONS AND SOCIAL GROUPS (ELDERLY/YOUNG/CHILDREN; PEOPLE WITH BABIES/PREGNANTS; IMMIGRANTS; VULNERABLES)	ACC • ACCESSIBILITY WITHIN BLOCKS VERTICAL HORIZONTAL	ACC • ACCESSIBILITY WITHIN APARTMENT • UNIVERSAL DESIGN
CULTURAL	LAN • OPEN SPACES	LAN • ROOF GARDENS	LAN • PRIVATE GARDENS
	IDE • PRESERVATION OF ORIGINAL LAYOUT • ARTISTIC VALUES / SCULPTURES, INSCRIPTIONS	IDE • PRESERVATION OF ORIGINAL ARCHITECTURAL FEATURES • CHOICE OF AUTHENTIC MATERIALS	IDE • DAILY RITUALS • GENDER
	PRO • NEW PROGRAMS TO MATCH DEMAND	PRO • INTRODUCTION OF NEW BLOCKS	PRO • INSTALLATION WORKS
ECONOMIC	DIV • CHANGE OF HOUSEHOLD MIX • ENSURE 24 HOUR OF UTILIZATION	DIV • EXTRA FUNCTIONS SAVING SPACE (ROOF GARDENS)	ACC • RENOVATION OF INTERIOR ELEMENTS • CHANGE OF INTERIOR ELEMENTS
	• SUN - SHADOW/SHADE CONTROL • WIND - BARRIERS TO SLOWDOWN • PRECIPITATION - CONTROL OF FLOW AND ACCUMULATION • RESOURCE HANDLING • RE-USE • INNOVATIVE TECHNOLOGIES	• SUNLIGHT - ORIENTATION/FACADE DESG. • WIND - ALIGNMENT ACCORDINGLY • PRECIPITATION - RAINWATER COLLECTION • RESOURCES • WASTE MANAGEMENT • GREEN ROOFS / SUN PANELS • INNOVATIVE TECHNOLOGIES	• DAYLIGHT CONTROL • VENTILATION • MATERIALS • INNOVATIVE TECHNOLOGIES
	PRG • FUNCTIONAL PLANNING • CAR / CYCLE PARKING LOTS	PRG • FUNCTIONAL ORGANIZATION • PUBLIC/PRIVATE AREAS - STORAGE -	PRG • QUALITY OF SPACE PER PERSON • BALCONIES -

PROPOSED 'SUSTAINABILITY-SCALE MATRIX FOR SPATIAL DECISIONS'			
SETTLEMENT	BLOCK	APARTMENT	
	ENTRANCE		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • STORAGES • RENOVATION ACC. TO HOUSEHOLDS' DEMAND
DIV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • DIVERSITY O FAÇADE ELEMENTS 	DIV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • FLEXIBILITY / GENERICITY FOR SITUATIONAL NEEDS
DEN			
ACC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • TOPOGRAPHY - BLOCK RELATION • RELATION OF BLOCKS' ENTRANCE/EXITS WITH PARKING 	ACC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • UNIVERSAL DESIGN • DAYLIGHT OPTIMIZATION
LAN	ROOF GARDENS	LAN	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • FLATS FOR VARYING HOUSEHOLD TYPES • BLOCKS VS. GREENERY
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • MACROFORM: • HUMAN SCALE, HEIGHT, LENGTH 		
ABBREVIATIONS OF SPATIAL CONCEPTS: PRO: Program; DIV: Diversity; DEN: Density; ACC: Access; LAN: Landscape; IDE: Identity; SCA: Scale			

Table 4-6: Continued from the previous page.

CHAPTER 5

CONTEXTUAL FACTORS OF DANISH SOCIAL HOUSING PRACTICE

In this chapter, systems and policies framing the spatial practices in welfare state of Denmark, and related specific regulations to maintain quality, sustainability, preservation culture, and participation are highlighted for a contextual understanding. History and present state of ‘social housing’, and details about recent related practices in the country are disclosed extensively revealing the continuous search for a provision centralizing the social demand. Finally, the chapter concludes by highlighting relevant international regulations, which have been a guide in the implementation phase of the proposed case of the current study, as setting outlines for procurement of architectural projects -threshold for design contests, jury composition and decisions, shortlisting of competitors- and particular rules for ‘subsidized housing schemes’.

5.1. Danish Social Welfare System

Welfare State is a model where a government takes responsibility to provide everyone in the society with the opportunity of achieving services of housing, education, health, work, social security in the minimum level defined by the society itself. (Malpass, *Housing and the Welfare State: The Development of Housing Policy in Britain*, 2005) In Denmark public services are offered equally for all and in high standards -compared to other countries- in line with the politics of a welfare state. Reliable governmental financial structure, advanced employment opportunities and labour market, and a public sector, as efficient as a private one, provide the background for sustainability of the welfare society. ‘A socially coherent welfare society’ is claimed to be a result of provision of ‘equal opportunities’ for all. (Social Policy in Denmark -SPiD-, 2011)

‘The Danish welfare model’ is fundamentally depends on ensuring ‘certain fundamental rights’ for all citizens ‘in case they encounter social problems such as unemployment, sickness or dependency.’ With regards to the social system in Denmark following principles are listed:

- ‘Universalism’ -no matter they are employed or not all citizens have the same rights in terms of achieving social benefits and services-
- ‘Tax financing’ -funds/economic accumulation from taxes is the basic financial resource for benefits and services in the social security system-
- ‘Public responsibility’ -public sector is responsible from the system’s practices-
- ‘Possibilities of labour market affiliation’ -services aim to strongly join ‘family’ and ‘working’ environments by social services for all-
- ‘Active social measures’ -Measures are regulated to match the changing needs and occasions, so are actively changing according to those-
- ‘Local community approach’ -responsibilities towards society is divided and shared with local governments rather than a centralized control.
- ‘Local scope of action’ -Decisions of implementation for managing society-related issues are autonomously taken by local governments-
- ‘User influence’ - Local authorities are obliged to ensure engagement of ‘citizens/claimants’ for the social decisions.
- ‘Comprehensive view’ -each and every case is considered within a wide angle-view-
- ‘Cooperation with other social players’ -private sector, and voluntary players work together with public authorities to ensure ‘social welfare’-.

(SM, Social Policy in Denmark, 2011)

For effective praxis, all kinds of social welfare duties, responsibilities are shared among ministries of the central government.¹ Nonetheless, for better and well-fitting implementation of welfare tasks local governments are the major actors/tools of the

¹ The Ministry report briefly discloses a basic legal framework related to local and central authorities within the country as follows: ‘Denmark is divided into five regions and 98 local authority areas. Regions and local authorities are independent, politically controlled organisational units. Only municipalities can levy taxes individually. The bodies charged with local political management – regional councils and local councils – are elected every four years in ordinary elections.’

system. Related legislations cover and ensure execution of those tasks, but besides, local authorities have initiative power for implementing them according to specific local conditions and factors of each occasion, providing engagement of related other public and private local actors -institutions, companies etc.- It is noted that finance of activities and provisions of social tasks depend on various funds which have been established for specific needs. (SM, Social Policy in Denmark, 2011)

5.2. Spatial Planning in Denmark: Visions ‘to Live Now and in the Future’

Spatial planning is considered as the foremost ground to develop sustainably within/over space by connecting economic, social, and economic aspects as agreed by ministers responsible for spatial planning in the five Nordic countries. (Action programme for 2001–2004, 2001) A comprehension regarding spatial decision-making in Denmark necessitates being familiar with its fundamental political ground of planning where all the rest is built upon. The first ‘planning act’ was introduced in 1992. Following that it was supported by a series of ‘amendments’, including frameworks, strategies, and rules of planning, regeneration, local, urban, and rural policies. The most recent planning act has been introduced on the 21th of June 2007 by the Ministry of Environment, following establishment of a reformation of local government structure¹ in the very beginning of the same year. (Spatial Planning, 2007) It is stated in introduction of the act that municipalities have been given ‘almost full planning control of both urban areas and the countryside.’ This means that local governments have the largest share of the total ‘planning responsibility’ hereafter. Following quotation indicates primary approach of the planning policy regarding people and life as the central focus:

People use planning to form the surroundings of daily life.
Planning should be based on visions of how we want to live now and in the future and what we need to preserve from the past.
Planning is both the basis for and the concrete result of policy-making. (The Planning Act, 2007, p. 2)

¹ The reformation of the municipal system in Denmark is briefly explained in the ministerial book on spatial planning as follows: ‘The reform abolished the counties and created five popularly elected regional councils. The former 271 municipalities have amalgamated into 98 municipalities responsible for nearly all social welfare tasks as the main gateway to the public sector for citizens and companies.’ (Spatial Planning, 2007)

One may also notice that there is a search for sustainability for the vision set for the life to be lived ‘now and in the future’, leaving no place for compromise of existing resources in favour of temporary needs of ‘now’. Besides, there is a search for preservation of values/qualities of the past to be sustained for the future service/experience of the future generations. Finally, as stated in the very beginning of the quote, such consciousness is maintained ‘to form the surroundings of daily life’ to be experienced by the ‘people’.

The approach requires a clarification of fundamental means of implementation for the visions set for the act. It is the ‘purpose’ of the act which presents the following set of concrete targets:

- 1) appropriate development in the whole country and in the individual administrative regions and municipalities, based on overall planning and economic considerations;
- 2) creating and conserving valuable buildings, settlements, urban environments and landscapes;
- 3) that the open coasts shall continue to comprise an important natural and landscape resource;
- 4) preventing pollution of air, water and soil and noise nuisance; and
- 5) involving the public in the planning process as much as possible. (The Ministry of the Environment, 2007, p. 5)

Regarding the context of the current study, it may be noted that the second and the fifth items of the targets above deserve special attention for one to realize the ground upon which implementations of social housing development, of its construction and transformation, and related spatial planning decisions built. That is, on one hand, ‘creation and conservation’ of ‘valuable spaces’ are secured right in the beginning of the Planning Act. On the other hand, the act also discloses the emphasis put on ‘the participation of public’ by presenting it among its five basic targets.

Moreover, the Planning act not only ‘decentralizes responsibility’ by sharing it 98 municipalities of the country, but also requires ‘public participation’ for all steps of planning process, ‘stipulating the minimum rules’ and letting the planning agents to decide on the best means within its locality. This process applies in local, municipal, regional, and national levels together with a vertical ‘dialogue and cooperation’ between authorities reserving the right to ‘veto’ to the relatively superior authority in case of an inappropriateness with upper scale plans or policies. (Spatial Planning, 2007, pp. 6-7) A chart provided by Østergård and Witt briefly describes the basic scheme of Denmark’s planning system. (Table 5-1)

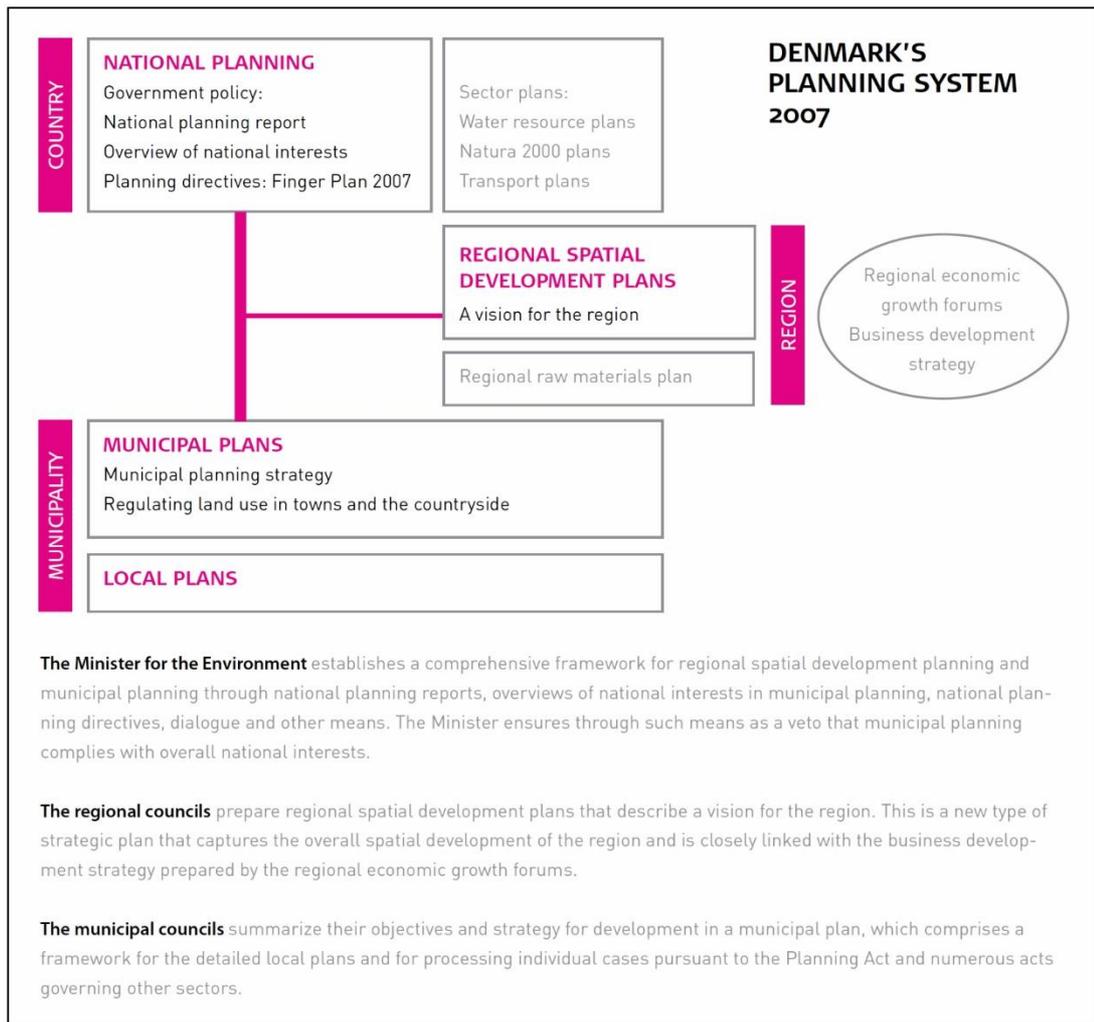


Figure 5-1: 'Denmark's Planning System' Source: *Spatial Planning in Denmark* (2007, p. 9)

5.2.1. 'National Planning'

National planning in Denmark, was first outlined by the rules introduced in 1974, and has been fundamentally reformed and reinforced in 2007. The Ministry of the Environment is responsible for preparing a report following each parliamentary election which is 'traditionally' debated in the parliament. It is noted that municipal planning implementations are overviewed in terms of national interests and published in the form of a report by the minister in every fourth year. (Spatial Planning, 2007, p. 8) The report published in 2006 national planning report targets the following five items:

1. Rural and urban areas should be distinct.
2. Development should benefit all of Denmark.
3. Spatial planning should be based on respect for the identity of cities and towns, nature, the environment and the landscape and townscape.
4. Spatial planning and investment in infrastructure should be closely integrated.
5. Spatial planning should be comprehensive. (Spatial Planning, 2007, p. 10)

5.2.2. 'Regional Spatial Development Planning'

Regional spatial development plans are developed by newly introduced regional councils as a result of the reforms in 2007. The plans intend to set visionary perspectives for future implementations of the municipalities in the lower scale in line with the national policies. They are prepared by a co-work of 'municipals councils, businesses, the regional council, and other relevant participating actors.' The plans targets are set regarding the regions' 'nature and the environment, including recreation; business, including tourism; employment; education and training; and culture.' (Spatial Planning, 2007, p. 16)

'Planning in Greater Copenhagen'

As been stressed by Østergård and Witt, Greater Copenhagen area has a distinct position within the planning system of Denmark that it has specified rules for its planning. To be more specific, while the Danish Planning Act sets 'overall principles' for the area, the Minister of the Environment prepares a 'directive' to define the basis of implementation of those. It is because the area 'comprises one cohesive housing and labour market with common regional semi-natural areas and green spaces that overlap between municipal borders.' The basic planning scheme for the city of Copenhagen is 'the Finger Plan' which dates back to 1947. The plan is based on placement of settlements along transportation corridors growing from the centre to outside of the city, while 'the core urban region (palm of the hand)' is reserved for major 'urban development and regeneration' activities. (Spatial Planning, 2007, pp. 14-15)

Basically a municipal plan covers ‘a general structure with overall objectives for development and land use in the municipality; guidelines for land use; and a framework for the content of local plans for the specific parts of the municipality.’ (Spatial Planning, 2007, p. 19) A municipal plan proposal to be adopted as a municipal plan should be debated publicly, be in line with national and regional sector plans, and not conflict with national interests. (Spatial Planning, 2007, pp. 20-21)

5.2.4. ‘Local Planning’

Local plans are tools of direct intervention to the development of cities utilized by municipalities. Thus, for Østergård and Witt, they are regarded to underpin the entire planning system of Denmark. National and local strategies and related targets are solidified by the implementation of those. The property owners should abide by the guidelines drawn by the local plans to avoid legal sanctions. (Østergård & Witt, 2007, p. 23)

Contents and scales of local plans may vary from land-use regulations, to new urban developments, from parcelling-out of a new district to singular regulations of signs or building facades. In any case, they are consisted of maps, provisions, and reports -to explain its relation with upper-scale municipal plans and possibly other related local plans-. Not only the public has the legal right to comment on to the proposals for a minimum period of 8 weeks before adoption, but also state authorities may veto the proposals in case of any conflict with national interests of the country. Following the adoption, finalized local plans are obliged to be published through online planning system of the country. (Østergård & Witt, 2007, p. 24) While local plans are designated to regulate various subjects (Østergård & Witt, 2007, p. 25) following possible regulations are selected for being much related with the current study: ‘use of land and buildings’; ‘size and extent of properties’; ‘roads and paths’; ‘location and size of buildings’; ‘building density and design’; ‘landscape features’; ‘connection with common facilities’; ‘conservation of buildings’; ‘combining existing flats’.

‘Rural Zone Administration and Environmental Impact Assessment’

Urban zones, summer cottage areas, and rural zones are three basic zones indicated in the Planning Act of Denmark. For the rural zones, where agriculture and forestry

comprise the major sources of economy, there exist specific rules for protection against ‘sprawling and unplanned development’. By a strict separation of rural and urban zones, green zones to be utilized for recreation and economic activity such as agriculture are preserved within specified guidelines for each. (Østergård & Witt, 2007, p. 26) In Denmark, ‘environmental impact assessment’ is established in line with EU directives. The related rules foresee assessment of development projects in advance before their attaining of permission. (Østergård & Witt, 2007, p. 28)

In summary, the planning system in Denmark bears four major scales of plans each of which should be consistent with the upper scale plans and guide the implementations in the lower scales, and around which apply a comprehensive mechanisms of participation and strict supervision. Therefore, any architectural or urban project implemented is assumed to be in line with all those upper-scale plans and policies of varying decision-making authorities.

5.3. Danish Policies for Architecture: Quality, Housing, Heritage

According to Christiansen (2014), years between 2000 and 2010 have been the times when the city of Copenhagen attracted many national and international investments, and a high quality of architectural and urban production have been maintained within the city. A year ago the Danish Ministry of Culture have published its updated architectural policy, ‘Putting People First’ (Ministry of Culture, Architectural Policy - AP-, 2014) replacing the existing one, ‘A Nation of Architecture’. (Ministry of Culture, Architectural Policy -AP-, 2007) Not completely overwriting the previous policy, it continues from the point where the previous one left.

According to the policy published in 2007 it is ‘the first comprehensive architectural policy’ in Denmark which was ‘prepared with the co-operation of several ministries’ in collaboration with agencies and organizations. (DAP, 2007) Nonetheless, it is not the very first publication of an architectural policy by the Danish Ministries. Two earlier policies were published in 1994 and 1996, despite not being as comprehensive as their successors published after 2007 and having been created by participation of limited number of ministries. The one in 1994, especially focused on ‘architectural quality’ and suggested by ministries of Culture, Environment, and Finance. Within the

policy setting architectural competitions for public projects was promoted. The next programme appeared two years after the previous one with the name '*Arkitektur 1996*'. This one upgraded the proposal of the previous and presented the method of architectural competition both for public and private sectors' provisions, specifically asking for the participation of younger architects. (Kazemian & Rönn, 2009)

To be in line with the current study, architectural policies governing the years 2003 and 2011 are relevant to understand the approach within Danish context. As mentioned, the policies published in before 2007 were not comprehensive ones. Therefore, in this part, the policy of 2007 is focused for being a product of a co-work and approach which set in 2000s, clarifying the understanding of governmental authorities of the time, and setting goals for following years. It may be noted that the contextual framework set in the policy provides a background for all levels of planning, architecture, and more specifically social housing together with social welfare system of the country.

Architecture Policy in 2007: 'A Nation of Architecture'

According to the government's foreword to the Architectural Policy 2007, the reason of setting an architectural policy of a large scope lies in the perception that regards architecture as a 'setting for life and growth in Denmark' and for the country's 'welfare'. Thus, the policy is claimed to be a product of a seek for architectural quality which is believed to be the culture's major way of communication. The government considers the policy set not only as a long-lasting 'dynamic framework' which helps internalization of a high quality architecture by the Danish welfare society, but also as a global indicator of all those mentioned. It is also declared to set guidelines of consciousness for architectural quality not only for the central governmental institutions and also for the local and regional authorities. (DAP, 2007, p. 4) Following quote presents the ambitious perspective of the authorities for the quality sought by architecture:

Wherever we are, our physical environment is the setting of our lives. Once it is planned and designed at its best in buildings, developments, cities, gardens, parks, landscapes and infrastructure, architecture gives us all an opportunity to be active, participate and enjoy.

In brief: increased quality of life. (DAP, 2007, p. 6)

Correspondent with the search for a quality settings of life, growth, and prosperity, the policy discloses its targets as follows:

01. Greater architectural quality in public construction and development
 02. Promoting private demand for architectural quality
 03. Architectural quality and efficient construction must go hand in hand
 04. Innovative architecture must create healthy, accessible and sustainable buildings
 05. Greater architectural quality in subsidised housing
 06. High priority on architectural quality in planning
 07. The architectural heritage must be maintained and developed
 08. Better conditions for exports of Danish architecture
 09. Danish architecture must have a strong growth layer
 10. Danish architectural studies must be among the best in the world.
- (DAP, 2007, p. 11)

Among the goals set for the architectural policy in Denmark, especially those focusing architectural quality in public works, subsidized housing, and architectural heritage match with the focus of the current study. Below, the intentions of the goals set for those will be highlighted for a through contextual comprehension.

Quality of Architecture in Public Works

According to the policy, buildings as being unique physical components of cities should be considered as long-run investments for the society, thus should not be seen as sole constructions. Therefore, it is logical to invest in ‘high quality architecture’ for being the most economical option when its ‘long-term market value’ is considered also paving the way for satisfaction of their inhabitants and contracting authorities. Besides, such a way of handling by the public authorities sets an example for the provisions of private sector. Thus, it is considered as way of promoting architectural quality through the architecture itself. (DAP, 2007, pp. 12-13)

It is inferred that the first target has not only been set for the buildings to be owned and utilized by public institutions, but also for those which are intended to serve public. Therefore, subsidized housing as the unique quarter of Danish social housing system supported by series of public authorities can be considered within ‘public works’.

Quality of Architecture in Subsidized housing

Inclusion of such a specific subject within the architectural policy of a country implies the importance attributed to it. It is also emphasized within the text that:

The housing and urban policy is designed to support social coherence, welfare and growth in society and ensure well-functioning cities and urban areas so that they are attractive to live and work in. (DAP, 2007, p. 28)

This quote reveals the awareness of the governmental authority about the link between ‘well-functioning’ space -through architecture and urban design- and the welfare of the country.

Supported with a brief historical background and updated quantitative figures, the policy underlines the trend of urban renewal by the support of governmental authorities started in 1990s and has gradually developed and focused on extensive clearance of slums. It is also highlighted that the recent renewals cover not only restoration of unique buildings or housing settlements, but also the care of social problems through renewal of related urban infrastructure and inclusion of social and cultural activities. (DAP, 2007, pp. 28-29) The policy, furthermore, underlines existing legal structure governing urban renewal. Local councils have the right to specify certain architectural qualities to provide their conditional supports to projects. Correspondingly, they may also provide extensive supports for ‘buildings that are worthy of preservation’ and for ‘protected buildings in order to preserve architectural heritage and the original expressions of the properties.’ (DAP, 2007, p. 29)

It is not only the individual buildings but also the cityscapes -with its common areas, squares, and spaces of interaction- which is regarded as supporting elements of urban life and development by the policy. Thus, it requires local councils to be aware of this and to maximize possibilities of interaction between investing and local parties. Besides, it attaches responsibility of creating remarkable townscapes to public authorities, developers, and owners. (DAP, 2007, p. 29)

Moreover, the policy encourages innovative implementations for the renewal of residential areas, claiming the essence of them for the ‘quality, efficiency, and productivity.’ Presenting a set of financial assets to be allocated for the innovative schemes within social housing, the policy argues that ‘innovative thinking and experience-gathering’ should be maintained to carry the power of architecture to an upper level. (DAP, 2007, p. 30)

Maintenance and Development of Architectural heritage

The policy expresses governmental will to maintain and develop ‘architectural

heritage', the preservation of which is crucial for the overall architectural quality. Calling for strengthening expertise within the area through education, research, and strong archival studies, it underlines the avoidance of unsuccessful conversions/renovations damaging originality of the inherited values. The policy also stresses on preservation of 'original architectural expression' for its 'value as a witness to cultural and architectural history' (DAP, 2007, p. 36) which reminds one the handling of the project in Gyldenrisparken.

Favouring Invited Architectural Competitions

The policy regards architectural competitions as 'a precondition for growth and development' for being in line with its primary targets. It also expresses them as the tool of supporting and expanding 'the growth layer'-basically the newly established firms with young talents- of the Danish economy. As a result of such approach, the policy states its preference for invited competitions, rather than general and open ones. The policy favours invited competitions for not only considering it as a chance for young firms with restricted economies, but also limiting resources -time, labour, money- to be consumed by the organizing authorities and the competitors. (Kazemian & Rönn, 2009, p. 3; DAP, 2007, p. 45)

Highlights from Architectural Policy 2014

The brand new architectural policy in Denmark has been published not more than two years ago. Thus, it may have been irrelevant to examine it in detail within context of the current study. However, some of its basic features will be included here to state the continuity of policies to which the acquisition of previous ones and related experiences provide feedback.

The architectural policy of 2014 takes the human-beings in the centre and express this in the heading of its publication: 'Putting people first'. Also the publication begins its foreword by stating that 'Architecture is for people'. The foreword sets forth characteristics of architecture as being an 'artform' which artistically interprets the meaning of being a human being and as also being a solution for fundamental needs of humanity. Thus, the major goal of the policy is put forward as 'to give all, especially children and young people, access to experiencing the architecture's creative world and gain insight into how architecture affects us as human beings.' (DAP, 2014)

Following such a motto, the policy addresses four conceptual grounds to describe its concerns. Therefore, the first one focuses the governmental objective of introduction of architecture to people of different age groups, from childhood to adulthood to attract them towards the field and to encourage them for democratically participating in public projects. Seeking a similar goal, the second ground presents tools for maintaining a connection between ‘architecture and democracy’. The related chapter presents means for integrating architectural policies to municipal plans and encourages citizen participation in local decisions. The third ground is set to introduce the critical relation between architecture and sustainability with its environmental, social, and cultural aspects. The policy presents this critical relation from a liveability perspective. Finally, the last ground emphasizes contribution of the country’s architectural industry to Danish and International economies. It primarily focuses on ‘quality, innovation, and international potential’. (DAP, 2014)

5.4. Housing in Denmark

For a thorough comprehension of Gyldenrisparken, a social housing settlement originally built in 1960s, a contextual knowledge on the general housing system in Denmark is essential. Thus, how people regard their houses for themselves, how regulations are held, how laws are organized in Denmark, should be examined in-depth. Before disclosing related information on the history and typologies of housing in Denmark, it is convenient to recognize the ‘social’ idea behind the housing policy. According to the report on social policy in Denmark crucial points of considerations regarding housing policy are summarized in three fundamental points:

- The housing and urban policies ensure social cohesion, welfare and growth in society
- All groups in the Danish society have a possibility to find modern habitations that are appropriate given their needs and economic resources
- A well-functioning and varied housing market.
(SM - Ministry of Social Affairs and Integration, 2011, p. 26)

Below, a brief history of Danish housing is presented to provide a perspective focusing on the past experiences of the country and to grasp the alternative types of housing solutions provided. The source of all related information is ‘Housing in Denmark’¹ (2007, pp. 7-17) unless indicated otherwise.

5.4.1. History of Housing in Denmark

First step of understanding the rental social housing provision model in Denmark, one should first be aware of the larger framework of housing. Prior to the Second World War, housing was one of critical subjects of Danish politics. After the war the problem of housing became a predominant factor in parallel with the ideals of a welfare state in Denmark. Although, ministry of housing was founded in 1947, the major improvements took place after 1960s. Subsidies were supplied for not only owner-occupied housing but also for the rental settlements. ‘Low-interest government loans’, ‘right to deduct interest paid on housing loans from taxable income’, ‘relatively low taxation’ were among subsidies provided for owner occupied housing following the war. In the same way, a general subsidisation had been applied for the construction of rented social housing. Moreover, direct subsidies, namely housing benefits, supported dwellers in social housing, mostly those with low income, and those retired, seriously ill, or handicapped. It should be noted that taxation has become the major source of those subsidies, which may basically be regarded as the locomotive of Danish Welfare society.

In Denmark, housing conditions have been a few steps further than most of the countries. For instance, average area per resident of each residence is the largest in

¹ The publication of ‘Housing in Denmark’ by Centre for Housing and Welfare in 2007 supplies an ample source of ideas for beginning our research. What makes the work interesting and valuable is that it digs into the sociological and political roots of the housing phenomena in Denmark and provides a coherent framework from the very beginning of the work. ‘Danes love their homes. Danes talk a lot about their homes. And Danes spend a large proportion of their income on their homes.’ tells the author in the very beginning of introductory section, which apparently discloses a sociological approach (Kristensen,2007:7). The study displays a brief history of housing approach in Danish territories, consisting both governmental-political approaches, and social attitudes of Danes. Throughout the book it introduces the housing types -owner-occupied, detached and semi-detached single-family houses, social housing, rented private-sector housing, cooperative housing, freehold flats, housing for the elderly- and issues and perspectives regarding housing in Denmark -current issues in the Danish housing debate; general problems in the Danish housing market; housing and planning: changing roles for central and local government- (Kristensen,2007). The study is an introductory source to grasp a general picture of housing sector in Denmark.

European Union countries. Besides, 63% of Danish citizens lives in their own homes. Furthermore, although its long and cold winters necessitate extremely high levels of heating, and the cost of heating is quite high, nearly all Danish households have the ability to pay for the amount. It may be noted that this is ensured by both the well-working welfare system and high standards of insulation and efficient heating provided within general housing system. The last critical and the most remarkable matter is that in Denmark not only well-to-do residents but also the poorest ones can embrace the highest housing conditions. This is an obvious disclosure of success of the housing policy of the welfare state.

The Danish state considered certain ways of provision of housing for the people in need during the last century. 'Building and housing associations', 'special schemes to support the construction of housing for families with many children', subsidized social housing', and 'council housing for particularly vulnerable groups' became the basic means to meet the need. By the mass effect of the Second World War all kinds of housing including both the rental and private owner-based dwellings took the attention of public authorities. Therefore, legal basis for taxes, ways of funding, and new policies for the society and housing was adopted to manage and catalyse the provision of housing.

Denmark's economy was dependent on agriculture right after the war, thus almost half of the population were consisted of farmer settlers living in the rural. Beginning from the second half of the century, a strong trend of industrialization has gained velocity resulting in a parallel appearance of urbanization which took place in the country until 1980s. Through those years, during which many housing estates were built and suburban areas with single-family houses flourished, there was a noticeable improvement in general housing conditions. Following those period of construction major urban regeneration was realized for the amendment and re-utilization of aged residential buildings.

In the five-years period of the World War 2, there was considerable housing shortage paving the way for noticeably high prices. Because the municipalities could not meet the demand through social housing in central parts of country, housing associations were gathered to overcome the problem. According to the estimation of Ministry of Interior Affairs nearly 60 thousand dwellings were needed to be built to work out the missing quantity in 1945. Consequent establishment of the Ministry of Housing –

Boligministeriet- was a critical strategical and political move towards the solution. Besides, the Housing Subsidy Act (1946) and the Rent Act (1951) were among the other supplementary steps forward. Offering loans for all of the housing types in the market, the Housing Subsidy Act contributed significantly to the operations of social housing associations and companies. On the other hand, the act of 1951 provided further regulations on rental properties and ‘giving tenancy notice’ was banned in the entire housing stock.

In accordance with the growing economy, increasing wages and growing wealth of the society, people became eager to buy their own houses in the 1960s. Thus, many single-family houses were constructed in line with the demand in the society. Under these circumstances, it was hard to find tenants to inhabit existing social housing settlements. Furthermore, it became advantageous for one to buy his own house rather than living in a rental property. Such trend canalized investments of many residents towards home ownership. However, it was the recession in the Danish economy resulted by the first oil crisis in 1973, which not only resulted in a serious unemployment but also stopped the tendency of housing investments.

Actually, Denmark got rid of the deficit of housing until 1970s to a larger extent. Next problem was much about prices and subsidies in the housing system. In 1966, ‘privately owned rental dwellings’ were allowed to be sold as ‘freehold flats’ by an housing agreement. The aim was to provide tenants with the possibility of buying their homes. Nonetheless, the agreement could not foresee the resulting price increase which became more advantageous for the owners rather than tenants, thus, the individual sale of flats was ceased in 1972.

Denmark had never seen such rate of dwelling construction per year until the ten year period between 1966 and 1975, during which not only ‘private, owner-occupied buildings’, but also many social housing estates were built. In fact, ‘the largest and best-equipped social housing units ever built’ were constructed mostly ‘on the outskirts of the towns and cities’ during those years.¹ However, people mostly middle-class workers with their families preferred to dwell in ‘single-family houses’, for which large areas of many Danish towns and cities were specifically planned and

¹ Although the subjected housing units of those implementation were based on rental properties, the approach reminds one the provision of TOKİ after 2004, mostly adapted around larger cities of Turkey.

reserved despite having faced vast criticism.

The next housing agreement in 1975 was passed for building of 40 thousand of new houses, one fifth of which were to be provided as social housing. It also provided a 'pre-emptive right' for the residents of rental housing of private sector to purchase their flats in case of a tendency of owners to sell the properties. Together with an additional regulation in the beginning of 1980s cooperative housing associations grew in number.

Approach of renewal in Denmark until 1980s, involved demolitions and re-building. Constructions of new buildings followed large-scale demolitions of city districts which caused discontent in the society. Thus, by 1980s the attitude of renewal through demolition left its place to the movement of urban regeneration which was legally enacted in 1983, and the first implementations of which took place in outer part of the capital city until 1995.

As mentioned previously, most people did not prefer to dwell in social housing estates which were built during 1960s and beginning of 1970s. As a result, settlements with many unoccupied flats faced serious 'building damage, physical decay and social problems.' Whereas the most critical result was visible segregation of the society. While low income groups mostly consisted of immigrants, refugees, socially marginalized people dominated the social housing estates, middle-class and mostly nuclear families relocated to 'single-family' dwellings. In order to overcome the problematic conditions, physical and economical amendments were set off as an initial attempt. However, those could not put an end to the major social problems, deprivation, and the segregation. Therefore, 'the City Committee' composed of various ministerial representatives published a comprehensive 'action plan' in 1993. Although the plan aimed to fight against the problems in social housing settlements in five years' time, it could not stop the ongoing problems. By the way, even though the property prices in the housing market fell down after measures taken in 1987, decreasing interest rates in 1993 caused an upwards dynamism in the market.

In the beginning of the new millennia there was no definite path to follow in the housing policy for the Danish politicians. As subsidies were argued to be impracticable regardless of housing types, private financial support was called for 'urban regeneration projects' by the governing Social Democrat's party. Nevertheless, newly elected government of liberals and conservatives abolished 'the Ministry of Housing

and Urban Affairs'¹ in 2001, and made a regulation that enabled flats in social housing sold as either 'freehold flats' or units to be a part of 'cooperative housing'. However, this could only be implemented limitedly for a two-years period.

In the middle of 2000s, while construction activity in the housing market continued with a rising trend, prices of dwellings extremely increased. Presumably, the reason was the 'continuous worsening of social and ethnical segregation problems in the social housing sector' and the resulting 'demand for owner occupied dwellings.' Hans Skifter Andersen (H.I.D., 2007, p. 17) foresees that the trend would not sustain for a long time. He expects local authorities will take up urban developments and new policies for the housing market will take place.

5.4.2. Types of Housing in Danish Housing System

According to the classification of Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs types of housing offered within the Danish market four main groups would be mentioned. (MBBL - The Danish Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs, 2014) Those are:

- Owner Occupied Housing –*Ejerboliger*-
- Social Housing –*Almeneboliger*-
- Cooperative Housing –*Andelsboliger*-
- Privately Rented Housing -*Private udlejningsboliger*-

Consisting 51% of the total housing stock, owner-occupied housing comprises categories of two physical forms. Accordingly, two thirds of owner occupied housing are detached houses, while the rest are composed of freehold flats within larger blocks. The two subcategories have both been included in the five-point list of types of housing put forwards by Kristensen. (H.I.D., 2007) Thus, freehold flats were considered as the fifth type of housing in the market, while owner occupied housing was only based on 'detached or semidetached family houses'.

Social Housing is the second major type providing 22% of the total share in Danish

¹ In 2011, the ministerial authority has been established for housing and spatial planning issues with the name of 'Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs' -*Ministeriet for By, Bolig og Landdistrikter*-. Whereas in 2015 the ministry has been closed down after the government's shift, and its missions has been moved to other authorities.

housing sector and being many direct and indirect governmental subsidization. The category offers options for families, young, and elderly people. Thirdly, the cooperative housing is based on a collective/shared ownership within which mutual decisions are taken democratically. Currently, this type consists only 7% of the existing stock. It is the ‘in-between’ alternative in the market other than ownership-based and rental properties. The last type, privately rented housing consists nearly the same stock percentage (%20) with social housing. Related law defines a framework for the rents of the properties.

In Realdania’s review a hybrid categorization method is followed by considering both the ‘type of ownership’ and ‘physical form of dwellings.’ (H.I.D., 2007, p. 24) It should be noted that there are two different sets of statistics from 2007 and 2014 regarding the shares of housing types in the housing market represents distribution of the types. The values from 2007 may shed light on the period where the renewal activity in Gyldenrisparken was just started. Thus, a comparative perspective of the trends Danish housing market presented in the table below can be helpful to clarify the picture. (Table 5-1) As it is clear there is no tangible difference between the percentages.

Below brief information about the types of housing in the market is supported to clarify the logic behind and methods of operation within the typologies.

Table 5-1 Comparison of respective ratios of types of housing between 2007 and 2014.

	REALDANIA 2007	Ministry of Housing 2014 October
Owner Occupied	50% [%42 (Detached/Semi-detached) + %8 (Freehold flats)]	51%
Social Housing	21%	22%
Cooperatives	7%	7%
Privately Rented	17%	20%

Cooperative Housing –Andelsboliger-

The first appearance of the cooperative housing was in the end of 1800s when they were considered as a means of social housing. During the next century, it was adopted both as means of social housing and private provision of dwellings although it was not prevalent as others types. According to the system, basically, a group of people saves

their money in a housing association until a certain amount of money is gathered to start construction. Afterwards, members of the group take up the dwellings based on a 'collective ownership scheme', and continue to pay instalments of the loans as a kind of 'rent' which also includes costs for maintenance and operation. Later on the members would sell their shares to others. The share of the property must be paid by new resident. After taking up the property, the new owner begins to pay the 'rent' of the cooperative housing unit. (H.I.D., 2007, pp. 46-48)

Owner Occupied Housing –Ejerboliger-

More than two out of five dwellings are single family houses¹, which can basically be defined as 'a building for a family surrounded by a garden'. (H.I.D., 2007, p. 26) According to 2007 values there are 1.1 million of them in the whole country housing 2.5 million of the total residents in Denmark. For Kristensen, single-family houses will continue to be mostly desired type of housing for the Danes in the future. People consider this type of dwellings where they feel free most and have the freedom of total customization. (H.I.D., 2007, pp. 26-28)

Following the housing agreement in 1966, it became possible to sell and purchase flats in multi-storey housing blocks. Thus, there appeared a novel type of dwelling: freehold flats. These are actually a type owner-occupied dwelling units within apartment blocks. Today many of these blocks are/have been constructed to be sold as freehold flats in the market. (H.I.D., 2007, p. 50) Since the beginning of the millennium the number of freehold flats most of which are attracting affluent groups in the society has been rising in a visible upwards trend. It is because freehold flats are mostly considered as a better chance 'to climb the property ladder' faster and also it is 'open housing market' with less formalities. (H.I.D., 2007, p. 51)

Privately Rented Housing -Private udlejningsboliger-

Today one fifth of the total stock is comprised of privately rented housing, and there is also an upwards trend for much of the last decade.² Moreover, the share of the sector

¹ The category consists of owner occupied, detached or semi-detached single family houses

² Note that in 2007 the share of rented private-sector was 17%, as Gyldenrisparken's renovation process had just begun –2006-.

is nearly 30% in central Copenhagen and Frederiksberg regions.¹ Because over 50% of the dwellings in the sector was built before 1940, it is possible to come across variable architectural styles. On the other hand, three out of four rented private housing are multi-storey buildings, while the rest is generally consisted of ‘single-family and terraced houses.’ (H.I.D., 2007, p. 41)

Nearly three fifths of the residents in the rented private-sector are employed. This share is almost the same with those living in cooperative housing and only a little more than those in social housing. Nevertheless, the rented private-sector’s residents have similar income with those of social housing sector, and a little higher income than those in cooperative housing, but they earn far less than those living in owner-occupied housing. (H.I.D., 2007, p. 41)

The average resident pays 71.000DKK in a year for an average privately rented dwelling. This value is considerably higher than average yearly cost in social housing which is around 46.000DKK per year for the average size dwelling -note that the average size of housing units in both sectors are nearly the same-. () Nonetheless, one may find the cheapest dwelling in the market in rented private-sector, because it offers apartments with the smallest size. Whereas, one also can find the most expensive rental flats within the market, because of the newly built or renovated buildings appeared in the recent years. (H.I.D., 2007, pp. 41-42)

Rented private sector housing does only compete with ‘non-profit social housing’ or ‘cooperative housing’ because of similarity in demand profile of possible residents. Nonetheless, for Kristensen, social housing cannot be ‘a serious competitor’ for the sector because of its disrepute stemming from social, ethnical, and psychological problems, thus, many people prefer to pay much to live away from such annoying conditions. (H.I.D., 2007, p. 42)

¹ The rented private-sector has little share in suburban areas of the capital city, where social housing sector has the top-most share since 1960s.

Table 5-2 Average area and cost for the sectors in the Danish Housing Market based on 2007 values.
Source: *Housing in Denmark, 2007*

	Social housing	Rented-private housing	Cooperative housing	Ownership-based housing
Average area per unit	77m ²	87m ²	81m ²	139m ² (single-family) 79m ² (freehold flat)
Average yearly cost to live in per unit	46.000 DKK	71.000 DKK	40-60.000DKK + (Initial payment for membership share)	190.000 DKK (single-family) 185.000 DKK (freehold flat)

5.5. Social Housing in Denmark: History and the Concept

The Contextual Definition

Social housing in Denmark simply denotes ‘housing for rent provided at cost prices by not for profit housing associations’. (Housing Europe, 2015) According to the Federation of Social Housing Organizations in Denmark -BL- being a major component of the Danish welfare state policies, social housing offers accommodation for residents with various needs. Dwellings are present for families, the young, the disabled, and the elderly. The legal definition of sector’s target is ‘affordable and decent housing for all in need hereof, and to give tenant a legal and decisive right to influence their own living conditions.’ For BL, this statement puts forwards the aim of the sector as ‘a non-profit sector that aims at being both financially, physically and socially sustainable and well-functioning.’ (BL-The Federation of Social Housing Organizations in Denmark, 2014)

On the other hand, there are rigid rules controlling the sector. Regulations are effective on many issues such as management of their economies, physical dimensions of units, constructions, and activities organized by associations. Besides, local authorities have the right to decide over letting of one out of every four units. Also, in urban planning scale, local authorities are liable from decisions about need of and placing social housing within the cities. Thus, for BL, social housing may be regarded a critical component of urban development plans. (BL, Social Housing Sector, 2014)

Following section consists summary of historical background of social housing in Denmark. Source of all information is ‘Housing in Denmark’. (2007, pp. 32-35)

5.5.1. History of Non-profit Social Housing

The very first idea of providing non-profit social housing for the vulnerable classes in Denmark appeared in the second half of the nineteenth century. In those years, ‘poor housing and sanitary conditions’ had paved way for the cholera epidemics. They were philanthropic societies who initially took over a social role to help those in need. Estates were developed by this initiative ‘low and open housing estates’ were constructed contrary to the ‘high and dense estates’ of the private sector.¹ Through the world war years social housing was solely held by ‘building associations, cooperative societies, and philanthropic societies.’ However, the Danish government contributed to them by ‘the first Danish act on subsidies for non-profit housing associations’ in search of a provision of decent accommodation for low-income groups.

It is possible to say that today’s system of social housing in Denmark has its roots in the period after the World War II, when policies seriously focused on the issue of housing towards a welfare state. General legal basis for the subsidies and organizations –not much different than the framework today - were established in 1946. This crucial step created a legal base for a solution towards increasing need of housing in the coming years. Especially, during the two decades between 1960 and 1980 the construction of social housing settlements reached its topmost speed in the history. Throughout the period 10.000 dwellings were built every year, reaching a sum of nearly 200.000 units in twenty years’ time. The units built in that time had the highest standards of all times in terms of floor areas, mechanical systems, functional planning, and equipment. However, housing estates of that time was so large that they caused formation of social accumulation nodes within the cities. Consequently, it turned out to be a handicap which resulted in social segregation and related social and ethnical problems within the geography after years.

Organization

The social housing sector is basically consisted of housing estates -departments-. In this context, the ‘housing estate/department’ means a settlement with a certain number of dwelling units - in the form of either detached/semi-detached or multi-storey

¹ During the same time, some trade unions and employers also initiated housing associations ‘open and low-rise’ housing for their members.

buildings or both. The residents of each estate elect a ‘residents’ board’. Thus, there is a strictly working tenant democracy. The boards are liable from the organization of their settlements and operates their estate according to the decisions taken by the residents. On the other hand, it is not easy and possible for an elected board of residents is elected for a limited period to carry on administrative works or economical managements. Thus, there are professional companies managing the heavy work load for the estates. They are called ‘housing associations/organizations’. Each association manages many of those estates according to their capacity. Fundamentally, they collect rents from the tenants, do the financial management, arrange the accountancy, and follow up the operational, physical problems within the settlements, blocks, or apartments, bridge between local or public authorities and the residents –and their board-.

In fact, in relation to the rest of the housing stock, social housing has a ‘short’ history in Denmark. Only one out of fifty units of social housing was constructed before the Second World War. Moreover, over 50% of the existing stock has been constructed in the last fifty years. Today, there exists around 7500 social housing estates and 700 housing associations. (Table 5-3)

Table 5-3 The number of housing estates/departments based on information from three sources.

The social housing sector	Realdania 2007	BL - 2013	Ministry of Housing, Urban and Rural Affairs - 2014
Housing estates/departments	7.909	7.000	7.500
Housing associations	771	550	700

What Comes Hereafter in Social Housing

Especially after the World War II, Danish policy has seriously undertaken provision of social housing and treated it gently keeping under detailed control. Hence, the sector is not only directly subsidized and gets governmental -both local and central- support for paying ‘interest of mortgage loans’, but also is under indirect subsidization through rental benefits provided for its residents most of which are of low-income population. The government which took over the portfolio of the previous one in 2001, decided to sell some of social housing to their residents. It was partly because of the ideology

they follow, and partly for the sake of maintaining a ‘social mix’ of rental and ownership-based units. Nonetheless, this tendency remained within a limited extent upon harsh objections from the sector and local authorities. After that, a report published by the ministry proposed three ways of organization and funding for the sector in the coming years. The two of proposals foreseeing a total governmental control and an overall control of market forces has been eliminated. Rather than these the third scenario has been approved:

A target- and agreement- governed social housing sector in which the local authorities determines objectives and frameworks in consultation with the social housing associations. (H.I.D., 2007, p. 35)

However, as Kristensen puts forward housing policy is not the only leading factor for future of such a complex sector. There remains market forces and choices of people. For instance, because of sector’s disrepute for social/ethnic problems, there are many people -mostly families with children- despite being low-income intend to buy houses of their own. Thus, some estates cannot rent out many unoccupied dwellings within.

Nevertheless, this is not the case in Copenhagen and Aarhus. Even the flats with highest rents can be let, because the rents in private sector are even more higher. Besides, it is too difficult to find cheaper places in cooperative housing, and too much expensive to buy a house in those central regions. However, even under those circumstances people are eager to have their own house, once they have enough economy because of sector’s negative image. For Kristensen, to this ‘general attitudes of our day and age’ and will ‘to celebrate individuality’ has been added.

The social housing sector has been trying to overcome this ‘bad image’ by developing its standards to better levels to compete in the market. Consequently, the sector has begun to undergo ‘a massive renovation and conversion programme’ to be implemented ‘to make the housing units in the sector suitable for future use’ -although it faced a governmental rejection for funding.

5.5.2. Present state of Danish Social Housing

Denmark has the fifth social housing share in EU with its 5.5 million population following Netherlands, Austria, United Kingdom, and Czech Republic. There is no restriction for citizens to be registered in waiting lists of housing organizations to ‘avoid segregation’ and ‘public dwellings are accessible to all segments of the society’,

and specific rules are applied to ensure social variety. Only Sweden and UK follows this unique principle. (EU Social Housing Report, 2013, p. 9) Besides, Denmark follows a ‘universalistic approach’, which regards housing as a fundamental responsibility of the public authorities, and therefore, seeks for ‘decent quality housing at an affordable price’ for all of the citizens.

Together with that of Netherlands, Denmark’s system is based on a non-profit sector. Whereas, in Sweden, municipal housing companies are in charge. It is noted that such systems preserve themselves, by ensuring access to ‘quality and affordable housing’ for all, while the sectors’ rental control mechanisms prevent speculative price fluctuations in the market. (EU Social Housing Report, 2013, pp. 10-13)

Basic Financial and Legal Framework

The social housing sector in Denmark serving one fifth of total residents is based on a ‘non-profit’ system. The sector is open for anyone, disregarding his/her economic or social status. (KAB, 2008) No further component other than ‘operating, maintenance, and capital costs’ is included in rents. In addition to this, strict regulations on the system ensures elimination of possible speculations. It should be noted that governmental subsidies which are provided for constructional expenses exclude costs for maintenance and management. Thus, this is the basic outline of ‘financial model.’ (BL-The Federation of Social Housing Organizations in Denmark, 2014; 2015)

Acquisition and Finance

As mentioned before, the social housing has started as a philanthropic model, but in years the finance of it developed into a model funded by a collaboration of the state, the local authorities, and the tenants. Although shares of the contributing parties have changed within the time, from the year 2008 on, the scheme below has normally been applied. (Ministry of Housing-Fact Sheet -MHFS-, 2014, p. 5)

- Tenants’ lease premiums: 2 %
- Municipal basic capital: 14 %
- Mortgage loans: 84 %

The settlements are constructed and run by the social housing organizations. (MBBL, Fact Sheet, 2014, p. 2) Municipalities not only transfer direct grant for basic capital,

but also provides subsidies for the loan re-payments. 'Lease premiums' are paid by the residents after they moved in. The 'basic capital' is provided in the form of loans by the municipality is 'interest-free' and 'amortisation-free'. 'Mortgage loans' constitutes the fundamental share of the construction cost, and defined by collaboration of ministers of social affairs and economics. As a rule, state subsidizes the difference between 'the residents' payments and the total payments'. Because there is no direct co-relation between the payments, if the total amount exceeds the total debt for the loans before 40 years, the extra amount is transferred to another fund to construct new housing (*Nybyggerifonden*). The loans mature in the 30th year. Thus, until the 40th year the excess money accumulates in the fund. After the 40th year, National Building Fund (*Landsbyggefonden*), Disposition Fund, and the *Nybyggerifonden* start to get the extra money in pre-defined ratios. (MBBL, Fact Sheet, 2014, p. 6)

New Construction

The new constructions of social housing are supported by liable municipalities. Therefore, they have the right to decide the number of new estates within their authority areas. There is a maximum acquisition cost -introduced in 2004- in order to keep the expenses within reasonable levels, also, the rents as well. (MBBL, Fact Sheet, 2014, p. 6)

The Public Funding

Basically, collected money from the social housing estates is distributed to various public funds to balance the finance and development of the social housing sector and prevent any possible problems beforehand. The first fund is called as *the Disposition Fund*, within which each social housing organization have its own account, and utilize it for immediate financial necessities. The second fund of public funding systems is, the Building Defects Fund -*Byggeskadefonden*-, which comprises not only social housing but also 'privately owned cooperative housing' started operation after 1986. 1% of each housing scheme have been accumulated for this fund, it works as a kind of 'insurance scheme'. (MBBL, Fact Sheet, 2014, pp. 8-10)

The National Building Fund -*Landsbyggefonden*- (LBF) is the third funding mechanism which utilizes three financial agents to transfer those resources to the sector back. First of all, each housing organization has the right to be granted by 60%

of its ‘compulsory contributions’. This is called as ‘Drawing rights’, which can be utilized in case of ‘construction, conversion, extension, modernising, etc. of the housing.’ The second fund is the Housing Construction Fund -Nybyggerifonden-. This mechanism has been working since 1998. The third funding mechanism under LBF is *Landsdispositionsfonden*, the central disposition fund, which is formed by the remaining 40% of the ‘compulsory contributions’ of the LBF. The fund is allocated for ‘grants for renovations’, ‘social and preventive measures’, ‘funding for demolitions’, ‘changes to infrastructure’, ‘support towards running expenses’, and ‘new construction grants’. (MBBL, Fact Sheet, 2014, p. 9) The grants ‘social and preventive measures’ are allocated under the following conditions:

In an effort to reverse the trend in socially vulnerable housing areas and to prevent the emergence of such areas in the future, the Landsbyggefonden was able to provide grants to social and preventive measures of up to DKK 400 million between 2007 and 2010... The subsidised effort must be part of a unified plan, approved by the municipality. Furthermore, the effort must be coordinated and evaluated locally in the community to which the housing division belongs. (MBBL, Fact Sheet, 2014, p. 9)

Here, it should be noted those grants from *Landsdispositionsfonden* have been utilized in Gyldenrisparken’s regeneration process for the adaptation of its social master plan.

Sale, Demolition, and Ownership in Social Housing

Sale of units of housing estates are bound to joint application of the municipal council and the housing organization to the Ministry for City, Housing and Landscape and the ministries eventual approval. (§ 75a) (Salgsvejledningen, 2006) Whereas the final approval is given by the housing estate’s board meeting. (§ 75c) The sale of housing estates can be made in the condition that majority of dwellings has served as social housing -or housed some specified functions- within the recent 15 years. (§ 75e) The net revenue obtained from the sale is paid to *Landsbyggefonden*. (§ 75k) It is noted that the *Landsbyggefonden* is an independent foundation which provides and supervises the self-finance of the Danish social housing system. A social housing building belonging to a housing organization would only be demolished as a result of decision by the residents’ board and housing organizations’ board of directors, and approval of local council and the Ministry. (§ 75k-Stk.2.)

It is possible to say that social housing estates in Denmark are publicly-owned properties. That is, both governmental authorities and residents have certain rights over

the properties. The residents have their democratic rights in terms of deciding for any future operation, within their individual estates, be it physical or economical. For instance, the residents' council has the right to decide about renovations, sale, or demolition of housing units -being conditional to municipal and central governmental approval-. Nonetheless, it should be kept in mind that the housing estates are regarded as public property and the residents only maintain their rights as soon as they pay their rents. Thus, as mentioned before, the total revenue is transferred to *Landsbyggefonden* to be returned to the sector through various financial channels. Consequently, the democratic rights of residents for decisions related to their state is ensured by the law, however, this condition do not provide them with the right to have any economical profit as they are also a part of the 'non-profit' sector. (See APPENDIX K for an interview, covering a detailed discussion on related issues, conducted with business manager of the housing association, *Lejerbo*.)

5.5.3. Profile of Residents

The sector houses over 900.000 residents and in each dwelling lives nearly 2 to people -1.9 people in average-, which does not differ much from general average household number in the country -2.2 people-. While more than half of the residents in social housing single and do not have children, one out of ten residents are single but have kids. Nonetheless, although one out of every three households are couples, more than 50% of these couples do not have kids. The critical social and statistical fact is that 'family patterns' of Danish society has changed since 1970s. Fifty years ago only 28% of total number of residents were single, but in 2007 the number grow to 44%¹. Besides social housing has attracted many of those single people, whilst many couples with children moved into 'single-family' dwellings which they bought. (H.I.D., 2007, p. 33)

On the other hand, slightly less than half of residents are not active in the labour market and many of the dwellers are elderly people. Besides, most of the households are either immigrants or relatives of them, and percentage of them within the whole sector is

¹ Note that the renovation process in Gyldenrisparken has started in 2006.

nearly three times of the country average. However, it should be noted that this is not a value based on a homogenized distribution. Especially, those estates from 1960s and 1970s period has been housing many of immigrant families and their relatives.¹ For BL, ‘social selection’ developed in the market is the reason behind concentration of ‘unemployed, living on transfer income, or have retired from the labour market’ people. (H.I.D., 2007, p. 34)

When the average rent paid per square meter in a year by a social housing dweller is compared to the same value paid by the average tenant in private rental housing, it seems that the latter pays more than one third of the former. In fact, because the average area of private rental dwellings is larger than of social housing units, the average rent of the former is nearly 1.5 times higher than the latter. (Table 5-4) Nevertheless, attraction of social housing is not proportional to the values. Two basic reasons behind this are mentioned by Kristensen as follows:

- ‘The bad image of Social housing’ as housing for ‘immigrants and social losers’,
- ‘The cheapest units do exist in the private market -despite units with smaller sizes and there are also many very expensive offers-. (HID pg.34)

Table 5-4 Comparison of Social and Private Rental Housing based on 2007 values in ‘Housing in Denmark.’

	Average dwelling area	Average rent per sqm per year	Annual Housing Cost	Total number of residents	Number of Units / Share in Whole System
Social Housing	77m ²	600 DKK / m ² / year	46.000 DKK	914.000 people	540.000 / 21%
Rented Private Sector Housing	87m ²	820 DKK / m ² / year	71.000 DKK	760.000 people	454.000 / 17%

Each and every estate has a waiting list, which is based on an initial registration for the applicants. For the registration, there is no pre-condition, which contributes to maintain a social mix within the settlements. Nonetheless, it is not always so much

¹ Many immigrants moved to Denmark in 1960s and 1970s, especially from Turkey. In the following years many of their close relatives -wives, children, fathers, and mothers- also moved from their countries. They had housing either in same or close settlements of social housing. Thus, this continuous flow has been the basic reason behind this densification of immigrant population in certain estates.

easy to maintain a balanced mix of residents from diverse income levels. The social housing sector in Denmark is mostly associated with people of low income, unemployed, who are generally single, or single parents. It is mostly because of they have the right to precede, but also construction budgets of social housing are limited and dwellings are smaller in-size when compared to other major types of housing. For BL, the model of social housing in Denmark allows the housing associations and local authorities to limit social segregation because of its principle of maintaining social mix while letting dwellings. This is ‘social responsibility’ of the sector. However, today it is not possible to say that the sector has totally eliminated the segregation in Denmark, in fact ways of overcoming this major problem are still searched. Hence the concept of ‘social mix’ is the state-of-art phenomenon as indicated by researchers and specialists. (BL, The Residents, 2015)

5.5.4. ‘Tenants’ Democracy’

In terms of management, ‘tenant democracy’ stays in the core of the system. Each estate votes for a board every year, to conduct the overall management of the estate. Furthermore, the board of each estate come together and elect another board which is a kind of ‘assembly of representatives’. However, it should be noted that there are also representatives from municipalities but still the tenants have more seats in the assembly. (BL, Social Housing Sector, 2014; BL, ABFA, 2015; H.I.D., 2007)

5.5.5. Co-working Authorities and Organizations

Housing Organizations

The housing estates execute financial and operational management works to housing associations. In Denmark there exist over 500 housing associations, with a range of varying scales -the largest ones may manage hundreds of estates-. (BL, Social Housing Sector, 2014) A social housing organization is a housing organization which has been approved by the municipal council to practice as a social housing company or some specified sets of housing companies approved to act on the basis of non-profit-making housing organizations. (§ 1) (Law on Social Housing, 2013) Accordingly, social family houses are basically houses supported by public authority by the commitment

of municipal councils. (§ 3) The purpose of the social housing organizations is defined as providing appropriate housing with reasonable rent and suitable living conditions for everyone in need. (§ 5 b) Consequently, a social housing organization should ensure well and modern social, economic, and physical standards for the dwellings it manages; work for achieving the best quality for either construction or renovation of social housing by the public funding support; work to promote ‘a well-functioning occupants’ democracy’. (§ 6) The organizations’ acquisition or disposal of properties require approval of the municipal council. (§ 26-27)

Depending on legal basis, housing organizations in Denmark are liable from social activities in the estates. That is, the associations are not only responsible from the physical subjects regarding the departments. Additionally, the European Commission ‘urges member states to focus on growth and social cohesion.’ Especially in its social investment package it underlines ‘ensuring that social protection systems respond to people's needs’, ‘simplified and better targeted social policies’, ‘upgrading active inclusion strategies in the member states.’ (European Commission, 2013) For BL, activities designed for ‘children and youth’, ‘education and employment’, ‘health’, and ‘residential activities’ conducted not only for they are indicated to do so by EU, but also because they are considered as means of ‘breaking negative social cycles’. Moreover, conducting organizations for the activities together with local authorities is also a means for including the overall perspective of local policies into lives of settlements. Hence, other than provision of accommodation, social housing triggers synergy among local engagements, thus ensuring a total ‘social investment’ for all: (BL, Social Housing Sector, 2014)

‘...socially challenging housing areas are often entrepreneurial hubs of positive activity’ with many local resources (e.g. the residents, volunteers, local schools, job centers, local sport clubs and different municipal instances) ‘working together for the benefit of the entire local community. In this way social housing becomes a social investment in society’. (BL, Social Housing Sector, 2014)

The Municipalities - The Local Council

In case of construction of a new social housing settlement, it is the local council of the involved municipality which commits subsidizing the housing divisions -estates-. Housing organizations govern their individual divisions. Both an housing organization and its divisions in several districts are individually supervised by the municipalities of each district. The local councils are liable from each division’s or organization’s

working within local legal frameworks. (MBBL, Fact Sheet, 2014, p. 10)

The National Building Fund -Landsbyggefonden -LBF-

The LBF is not only a fund, but also is the name of the most effective funding institution in the sector established in 1967. The LBF not only financially supports the sector, but also provides high-quality of guidance for the organizations inside it. The fund itself accumulates financial resources in the form of ‘compulsory contributions’ from certain estates and ‘payments after repaid mortgage loans’. (MBBL, Fact Sheet, 2014, p. 8)

5.5.6. Architectural Transformation in Ghettoised Social Housing

Ghetto: Definitions and Context-dependent Facts

Although definition for the term ‘ghetto’ varies and is not been preferred by Danish authorities, it needs attention to be paid. The term ‘Ghetto’ comes from post war definition as ‘a street, or quarter, of a city set apart as a legally enforced residence area for Jews’ in its primary sense. (Encyclopædia Britannica, 2015a) Nonetheless, it has evolved to a term of a more general sense: ‘an impoverished, neglected, or otherwise disadvantaged residential area of a city, usually troubled by a disproportionately large amount of crime.’ (Urban Dictionary, 2010) In ‘Fact Sheet on the Danish Housing Sector’ published by Ministry of Housing, Urban, and Rural Affairs while defining extent of ‘Danish Ghetto Policy’ the explanation of such areas are made as follows:

...large, typically social, housing estates, which are characterized by massive unemployment, a worryingly large number of children and a severe overrepresentation of ethnic minorities. (MBBL, Fact Sheet, 2014, p. 4)

The Danish government’s strategic document attributes the ghettoization problem to ‘development of areas, which are physically, culturally, socially, and economically segregated from the other parts of the society’. (MFII - Ministeriet for Flygtninge, Indvandrere og Integration / Ministry of Immigrants and Integration, 2004)

In Denmark, ‘ghettos’ or ‘ghetto-like areas’ recently imply certain urban environments of certain size residents of which are unemployed and mostly consisted of immigrants and their descendants. Ratio of adults who are ‘inactive in the labour market’ determines the category of a settlement. Accordingly, a housing settlement with the

ratio over 50% is called a 'ghetto', while a minimum ratio of 40% with minimum 40% of immigrant population 'from non-western countries' designate a 'ghetto-like' area. Besides, for Kristensen, 'industrialized multi-story housing estates built between 1965 and 1979' has widely been considered as ghettos due to their 'socially and financially weak' and mostly immigrant residents. (HID pg.66) The housing sector has been trying to take social and economic precautions, and renovation within larger urban transformation projects has been applied. These amendments, however would only stop the existing disadvantageous process, not caused a positive orientation. To do so, for Kristensen, investments should be larger and focus more on education and job opportunities for those are in question. (HID pg.66) According to the Danish Ministry of Social Affairs, (SM, Social Policy in Denmark, 2011) the problematic conditions are tried to be solved by various instruments by national government. Cooperation of local governments and housing associations are sought for tackling the problems. Rules to govern 'socially deprived areas' include specific regulations for tenancy, 'financial support', 'improvement of building stock and surrounding areas as part of an integrated urban regeneration strategy.' (MFII, Regeringens Strategi mod Ghettoisering, 2004; PB-Programbestyrelsen, 2005)

Vulnerable Settlements: Causes and Attempts to Transform

For Holek and Bjorn, their study together with a group of Danish researchers on selected international experiences within transformations of social housing reveals that physical intervention supports regeneration of neighbourhoods and provide them with a new life. Moreover, they underline that neither pure physical intervention nor sole social effort would suffice in the absence of the other. It is, thus, inferred that a transformation of an urban area would only sustain if physical and social changes are woven together. (Bjørn, 2008, p. 4)

Co-relation between Social Problems and Certain Building types

In Denmark the vulnerable housing areas are mostly be found in two different types of buildings: first - older city quarters in larger cities and second -social housing from 1960s and 70s. (Bjørn, 2008, p. 8)

The statement above claiming a direct co-relation between social problems and housing settlement built in a certain period is justified by official statistics. According to the report of Ministry of Social Affairs, 85% of all vulnerable housing settlements

were built in between the period 1965-1979. For Holek and Bjorn, there lies fundamentally the search for high quantity of housing units following the urgent demand following the Second World War and the resulting construction system based on production of pre-fabricated building blocks -*industrialiseret montagebyggeri*- behind this interesting correlation. The possibility of constructing building blocks out of ready-made concrete wall-blocks gave the possibility to the constructors to build blocks drawn by engineers rather than individual architects. The planning organization of the sites followed principles born out of similar chase of practicality. Thus, building blocks were arranged basically in rows leaving certain area for greenery in between and separated areas for parking and shopping facilities. (Bjørn, 2008, pp. 10-11) It should be noted that Danish Ministry of Housing first issued the law, '*montagecirkulære*', requiring the use of prefabricated components for the housing settlements to be eligible for monetary support. By introducing this necessity, government targeted to achieve a number of 7.500 housing units to be established through the so-called montage system. (Bech-Danielsen, et al., 2011, p. 16)

Accordingly, 17 out of 20 vulnerable settlements in Denmark were constructed out of these principles, and furthermore, similar principles were applied in the largest ghettoized housing settlement around the world including, France, USA, Netherlands, and England. (Bjørn, 2008, p. 11)

Effects of Novel Construction Habits and Influence of Architectural Ideals

For Holek and Bjorn, two basic factors lies behind the fact that many vulnerable housing settlements have similar appearance all around the world, in many cities. The first reason is the development of industrialized construction technologies following the world wars, the second one is the widespread implementation of a certain architectural ideological practice around the world. (Bjørn, 2008, p. 11)

That is, on one hand, following the world war the resulting high demand for housing, especially in Europe, caused exploration of practical technologies which enabled shortened periods for overall constructions. Thus, many large-scale social housing settlements which targeted fundamentally the low-income groups of the societies turned into the places where the socially vulnerable people were concentrated.

On the other hand, it was not only the novel technologies of the time, but also, perhaps the more effective than the former, the on-going fundamental architectural ideologies

which had been developed prior to the Second World War -WWII-. The rational principles of modernism, which has its roots in the CIAM congress in 1933 pioneered majorly by well-known architect, Le Corbusier, had encouraged a movement towards the zoning of the cities through which functional zoning -separation of zones for work, traffic, housing etc.- had been introduced aiming mechanically 'well-working' urban settlements. The fourth congress held the Athens Charter in 1933 presented the utopia of modernism as providing healthy housing outside city centres to ensure basically fresh air and decreased level of noise. The building blocks were recommended to be arranged to enable optimum light and air inside the dwellings, besides providing green areas between/among the blocks. All of those proposals had been targeted to obtain the space of freedom and free-time for the society. Consequently, many housing programmes worldwide -including the Danish ones- were effected from those ideas and concretized accordingly for about thirty-years following the WWII. (Bjørn, 2008, pp. 11-16)

In fact, the programmes intended both utilizing the advantage of newly-explored high-speed construction techniques and solving major social problems by transferring the people from run-down central urban areas to suburbs of light and air. However, the reality which began to appear after a few years was much different than the ideal picture. The venues followed the principles began to turn into socially problematic areas, where ratio of unemployment and criminal cases were extremely higher than the surrounding areas. (Bjørn, 2008, pp. 16-17)

Failure of Previous Renovation Attempts

In Denmark, series of renovation took place from 1980s to the beginning of 2000s where no concrete result would have been achieved. According to Bech-Danielsen (2011), the reason behind this is that no effective analysis was made to understand the discourse of architectural and plan-based grounds of those problems. Instead, pure physical transformations were adopted for renovation including, amendment of concrete damages, thermal insulation problems, colouring of building exteriors, and adding glass-panels to balconies. (Bjørn, 2008, p. 17)

Necessity for Unique Analyses for Effective Transformation

The researchers observed that same type of problems are observed in similar urban

areas worldwide. Nonetheless, for the author a universal solution cannot be appropriate for all, because of many dynamic and context-dependent components of each unique case. However, for Holek and Bjorn, the common ground for solutions lies in ‘the careful analysis of how the housing settlements really function.’ (Bjørn, 2008, p. 18)

5.6. European Legislation for Public Procurement

For better comprehension of reasons ensuring quality of provision in a best practice case - Gyldenrisparken- in Danish context, one should also dig into the framework of legislations regarding architectural procurement methods. Within the European Union, series of legal frameworks and directives has been introduced to ensure the quality of construction in the member countries. ‘Directive 2004/18/EC of The European Parliament and of the Council of EU’ (Directive 2004/18/EC, 2004) -a document organizing public works, supply, and service contracts had been put in practice right before Gyldenrisparken’s regeneration project was initiated in Copenhagen in 2004.¹ The architectural competition set for the transformation of the settlement was in line with the EU directive for involving a public investment and subsidization over a certain limit defined by related legal framework. (See APPENDIX G for a summary of the directive)

Second parties published auxiliary documents to clarify concepts and alternating procedures within the directives through the years. Crown Commercial Service (CCS) has been one of the most updated one of those, despite not being a comprehensive one. (Crown Commercial Service, 2015) Nonetheless, Architects’ Council of Europe’s² publication (ACE, 2005) helps one to grasp the detailed and extremely comprehensive

¹ Despite we are not totally sure about the exact directive the Municipality of Copenhagen took in consideration at that time, Directive 2004/18/EC is the most probable legal basis to be set as the guideline published in the Official Journal L 134 on the 30th of April in 2004. It is also stated that it remains in force until 18th of April in 2016. The most recent version of the directive is 2014/24/EU which has been published on the 26th of February of 2014 in the Official Journal of EU L 94/65. (European Parliament, Council of the European Union, 2014)

² The informative quote may help one to understand position and extent of The Architects’ Council of Europe: ‘(ACE) is an organisation, based in Brussels, whose Membership consists of the professional representative organisations of all twenty-five European Union Member States and the three Accession States as well as Switzerland and Norway. As such it is an organisation that represents the interests of about 450,000 architects from Europe.’

directive of EP. According to ACE, the public procurement directives introduced in 2004 by EU replaced the existing directives with a simpler and a modern one. Basically, public contracts above a certain value are required to be held through 'EU-wide competitive tendering', 'transparency', and 'equal treatment of all tenderers' in order to ensure 'a contract is awarded to the tender offering best value for money'. For ACE, such a method is advantageous for procurement of architectural services which needs ensuring of quality aspects. (ACE, 2005, p. 3) New procedures and instruments are offered for the awarding of public contracts within the directives. Procedures of 'competitive dialogue' and 'electronic auctions'; instruments of 'framework agreements' and 'dynamic purchasing systems'; and the model of 'architectural design contest' are the fundamental possibilities. (ACE, 2005, p. 4)

Financial Threshold to Hold a Design Contest

According to the Article 67 of the Directive 2004/18/EC design contests are required to be organized by all contracting authorities for projects of 'equal to or greater than EUR 249.000'. The value is set for specific central governmental projects defined within annexes of directives. Thus, it is deduced that the project of regeneration of Gyldenrisparken, which costed EUR 100.000.000¹ as a subsidized social housing transformation organized by subsidized by local government and public funding in Denmark, is required for an architectural contest.

Jury: Composition and Decision

Jury should be composed of independent natural persons a third of which should be qualified for specific profession in case the contract necessitates a certain qualification from the attendees. It should be autonomous, examine the projects only with regard to the pre-published criteria, prepare a report showing a relative standing of projects, and may invite candidates to clarify specific points in the condition that all the conversations are noted down. (Articles 73-74)

¹ The total renovation of the projects expected to cost 750 million Danish Kroner, according to the KUBEN Management's evaluation document on Gyldenrisparken in 2015.

Shortlisting of Competitors

Article 72 of the directive states that authorities would prefer contests with limited number of competitors. Thus, they have the right to do so as soon as they set objective criteria to shortlist an adequate number of participants to eliminate discrimination.

'Particular Rules on Subsidized Housing Schemes'

The directive has the specific article 34 covering 'design and construction works of a subsidized housing scheme' because of its bearing large scale and complex solutions. Thus, as the most critical necessity, according to the directive, is establishment of a team composed of 'representatives of the contracting authorities, experts, and the contractor' to close collaboration and contact among the parties. Furthermore, it is proposed that the contractor may be selected according to its adaptability of a teamwork.

The selection of the contractors is bounded to a set of 'criteria for qualitative selection' listed in detail between 45th and 52nd articles of the directive. Accordingly, on one hand, the candidates are required to prove 'personal situation', suitability to pursue the professional activity', 'economic and financial standing', 'technical and/or professional ability' suit to the set of criteria indicated in the directive. (Article 45-48) On the other hand, they should meet the required 'quality assurance standards' (Article 49) and 'environmental management standards' approved by EU regulations.

Further Notes on Procurement of Architectural Projects

According to ACE, the instrument of 'design contest' should be supported with a 'negotiated procedure' to ensure the most qualified and economically advantageous contracts for the public authorities. (ACE, 2005, p. 5) Article 30 defines cases where 'negotiated procedure' would be suitable to be applied. For instance, in case the nature of the project does not allow 'overall pricing' before the work is fully accomplished; or in case the service in question bears intellectual services -involving design- that there is no ground of specifying a price for the project before the tender with best quality is determined; there arouses need for 'negotiated procedure'. Furthermore, ACE developed a group of recommendations on the architectural procurement procedures. The following items are concluded out of its evaluations by the members:

- the award of contracts for architectural services must focus on the quality of the service and of the technical offer and not on the price of the service,
- architectural design competitions are the best method of achieving quality,
- the architect must be in a position to act as an independent trustee of the contracting authority. (ACE, 2005, p. 6)

Consequently, ACE proposes a set of guidelines for ‘best practice’ model for architectural competition. As the first step, the project should be well-defined in the form of a brief by the possible contribution of experts. The definition of selection criteria is the next step which should focus on ‘the performance of the architect’. For ACE, it should specify experience and references for projects of certain requirements; care for selection of candidates by ‘independent and qualified committees’; avoid discrimination of candidates while limiting the maximum attendance. Besides, evaluation criteria should be understandable and awarding criteria should be designed to support the ‘*Economically Most Advantageous Tender (EMAT)*.’ For architectural procurements, the offer must justify its quality by its ‘aesthetic, economic, functional and environmental characteristics, operating and life cycle costs, cost effectiveness and integration into the built environment including social and infrastructural aspects’ to ensure ‘the best results for public planning and building.’ For the ACE, a double-phased design contest bearing ‘negotiated procedure’ is the most appropriate means of procuring architectural services. (ACE, 2005, pp. 6-8)

CHAPTER 6

AN ALTERNATIVE PRACTICE: GYLDENRISPARKEN



Figure 6-1: Gyldenrisparken: after transformation. source: SEIER+SEIER

"...I have lived here since 1987, and my wife has lived here since she was a child..."

Henrik Jørgensen - Residents Coordinator during the Renovation

[Arkitekt Foreningen's webpage, (2011)]

In this chapter the regeneration process of ‘Gyldenrisparken’ is disclosed in detail by following a sequential, analytical, and systematic structure to explain details of the process with contributing subjects and effected objects. The chapter presents the information collected from the interviews and other primary documents into a structuralized knowledge. Please note in citing the interviews an abbreviation, [PI], is used to refer to personal interviews summarized in the appendices at the end of study.

6.1. Introduction: Gyldenrisparken

Gyldenrisparken is one of non-profit social housing settlements in Denmark, initially constructed between 1965 and 1969, during a period of industrialized production of social housing. In the beginning of 2000s, it was decided to be renovated because of severe physical decay and worn-out elements. Following a series of idea development processes, a master plan was adopted in 2004. To concretize the decisions made a tender process including an architectural competition was established. It has been regenerated between 2007 and 2014 as a result of collaborative decision-making, master planning, architectural design, and construction phases all of which has involved close contact of decision-makers and democratic participation of stakeholders. As a result, Gyldenrisparken is currently regarded as one of best regeneration projects of social housing in Denmark. (Table 6-1; Figure 6-1) (Also see sections 3.3.2 and 3.4 for further information on selection of the case.)

Gyldenrisparken, as all other estates within Danish social housing system, is basically financed by the rents of its residents -the tenants-. It has been managed by a housing association -*Lejerbo, København*-, which is one of the largest of its type in Denmark serving around 750 estates. (Lejerbo - Website, 2015) The settlement is centrally located in the district, *Sundbyvester, Amager*, within borderlines of the Municipality of Copenhagen –*Kobenhavns Kommune*-.

Table 6-1: Basic Information on Gyldenrisparken

Gyldenrisparken: A Non-profit Rental Social Housing Estate	
Address	Amagerbrodage 262'-268; Gyldenrisvej 6-152 Store Krog 6-152; 2300 København S
Owner	Lejerbo, Copenhagen: Department 128
Ground Area	85.945 m ²
Total Floor Area	43.410 m ²

6.1.1. Spatial Background

Country and City

Denmark has a grand surface area of 43.000 km² -16.680 mi²- with its 443 islands and a total of 7300km -4.536mi- of coastline. The country has a population of 5.6 million and nearly 2 million of it lives in capital city of Copenhagen¹. Besides, one third of the total population lives in “larger provincial towns” and the other one third lives in rural districts. Within the country, there are 98 municipalities -*Kommuner*- and 5 regions.

Gyldenrisparken settlement is located in *Amager*, a neighbourhood within capital region of Copenhagen. It takes around nineteen minutes of bike ride (5.7km) to *Radhuspladsen*, the central square of the city. (Figure 6-2) When Gyldenrisparken was first built as a social housing in 1964 (Beck-Danielsen, 2011), in Sundbyvester, *Amager* was an outskirts region of Copenhagen, thus by erection of the settlement on the plot, the neighbourhood was also provided with many functions. It was planned to be a setting serving for various needs ‘from cradle to grave’, thus also comprised a nursing home, a child care centre, a small shopping centre, a rental shop for daily needs. (Lejerbo - Kuben Management, 2015, p. 10)

Local Context

The settlement is situated in between intersection of four main streets: Amagerbrogade, Store Krog, and Gyldenrisvej. Four housing blocks are aligned across Store Krog on the north and northwest, while six blocks are located vertically parallel to Gyldenrisvej on the south edge. (Figure 6-4) Among the blocks there are green landscapes together with a kindergarten and a nursing home located to define small inner green squares with walking and cycling paths. Parking for motor vehicles are provided along Store Krog and Gyldenrisvej. In the east of the settlement, there are small shops, service offices, and institutions.

¹ The most up-to-date information on Copenhagen`s population is 1.992.114. (1st of January, 2015)

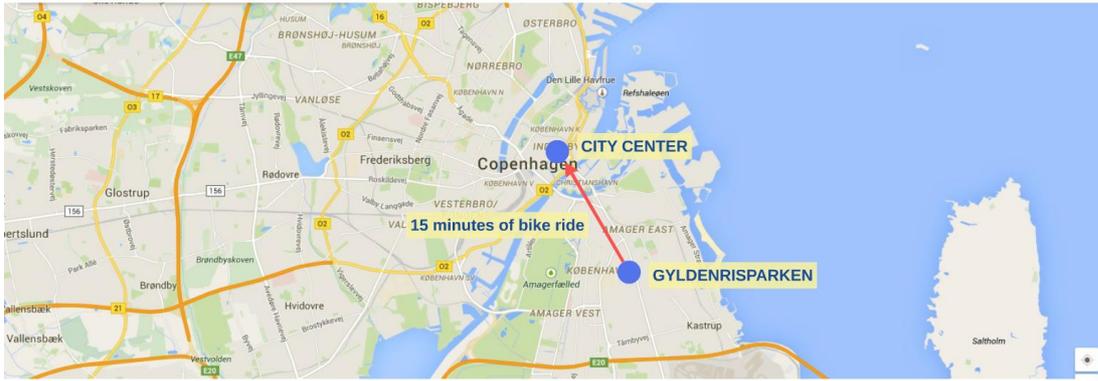


Figure 6-2: Gyldenrisparken in Copenhagen. 15 minutes of biking distance to the city centre. Illustrated by the author on Google maps image.



Figure 6-3: Aerial photo taken in June 2003. Source: Local Plan 2004 - JW Luftfoto.



Figure 6-4: Plan of Gyldenrisparken and its vicinity, 2015. Source: kort.plansystem.dk

Before the renovation, the housing blocks, which were first built in 1964, were in the same place they are today, however there were a series of temporary barracks for municipal institutions and some facilities for the elderly. Through the renovation, those have been demolished and a double-floored kindergarten and a ‘twisting’ nursing home have been added together with three single-floor facilities for social and local management needs. Furthermore, a nursing house was established in the high building on the east across Amagerbrogade previously built for the Red Cross -*Røde Kors*-.

Architectural Context/Background

There exist varying attributions on the very first architectural design of the settlement. According to an article in *Arkitektur DK* it was established in the mid 1960’s by *Svend Fournair*, who designed several other housing projects including many post-war industrial housing in Denmark. (Keiding, 2011) Whereas, for the SBI’s -Danish Building Institute- publication focusing renovations in post-war social housing, the settlement was designed by architect, Ole Buhl.¹ (Bech-Danielsen, et al., 2011) We may also note that Christiansen ([PI], 2014) argues/guesses that the initial design was probably made by an anonymous architect of the semi-public organization of KBI.²

Architecturally speaking, it is a typical of 60’s horizontal brutalist products. (Figure 6-5) In 1964, the settlement was basically consisted of prefabricated apartment blocks of four floors together with facilities for social needs. Gyldenrisparken was planned as a product of idealistic modernist principles together with a target for providing housing units of quality in ‘most effective and fastest’ means of building, namely the industrialized pre-cast concrete system. (Lejerbo - Kuben Management, 2015, p. 10)

The settlement was created to influence the working class families towards suburbs, and thus taking them out of the slums within central city by providing them modern living conditions. The private apartments in Gyldenrisparken were designed to provide a healthier environment for cheap price with more light in apartments, also including

¹ According to a *Wikipedia* entry on Ole Buhl, there exists ‘a nursing house and a retired pensioners’ housing on Gyldenrisvej among his works despite no indication of time. Source: https://da.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ole_Buhl ; last retrieved in November, 2015.

² According to Christiansen (2014), a public institute called KBI, a semi socialistic institute, owned by housing companies. KBI, an office of nearly 200 employees built many of similar social housing in Copenhagen –f.e. Ishøj, Amager, etc.- and liable from constructions.

private baths, kitchens, balconies oriented towards south or west, green areas opposed to those counterparts in the slums. Therefore, in a really short time it became a popular place to move in, consequently it had relatively long waiting lists until the end of 1990's. (Lejerbo - Kuben Management, 2015, p. 10)

While the blocks on the north along the street, Store Krog, were consisted of one or two roomed apartments, the other blocks along Gyldenrisvej were consisted of "family residences". (Lejerbo - Kuben Management, 2015, p. 10) All the housing blocks have west or south facing balconies. Besides, all the blocks, apart from those two in the north edge which have horizontal balcony entrance in each floor, have more traditional single entrances with stairs from the ground floor. (Bech-Danielsen, et al., 2011)

At the end of 1990s, the buildings lacked proper insulation and most of structural concrete had been damaged. Balconies were narrow, and windows lacked airtightness, and both had worn-out elements. The green area in the middle of the settlement was dense and neglected. Crowded series of trees with many branches, heavy bushes were the landscape elements. (Figure 6-8)

Main entrance doors of building blocks were not provided with shelters against precipitation, wind, or sun, also lacking an architectural 'introduction' of the entry for the outsiders. (Figure 6-8) The social facility buildings were consisted of prefabricated pavilions among the blocks, crowded greeneries. (Mortensen, 2013, p. 14) (Figure 6-7, Figure 6-8, Figure 6-9)

During the recent transformation process apartment interiors, housing blocks, and free space in between were renovated, and new facilities for social services were introduced replacing the temporary barracks. (Figure 6-10)



Figure 6-5: Housing blocks before the renovation. Source: Arkitektur DK 1:2011, Pg.24



Figure 6-6: No shelter against precipitation for building entrances. Source: Nina Stockolm's archive.



Figure 6-7: Old institution buildings in Gyldenrisparken, 2003. Source: Vandkunsten's archive.



Figure 6-8: Gyldenrisparken around 1990-2000. Source: Vandkunsten's archive.



Figure 6-9: Gyldenrisparken: Buildings and common areas before the renovation. Source: KUBEN-LEJERBO Evaluation Material



Figure 6-10: Gyldenrisparken: Aerial view after renovation (2011) source: www.arcello.com

6.1.2. Social Background

About 900 residents have been living in the settlement which houses 432 apartments within 10 building blocks. The residents are mostly consisted of single people, or families with single parents. Within the community ratio of young population is lower than the average in Copenhagen. Almost half of the residents are either immigrants or their descendants –including people from Middle East, Asia, Africa, and Eastern Europe-. Before the transformation, while an average Gyldenrisparken resident's gross income per year was 179,000 DK, the corresponding amount for a Copenhagener was 256,000 DK per year. On the other hand, the rate of unemployment was 40% within the estate.^{1 2}

¹ Researchers of Sound Settlements note that the unemployment value decreased to 30% after the recent renovation, however it is impossible to clearly state that it is a concrete fact flourished as a direct or sole consequence of spatial change-

² Sound Settlements, pg.14

According to a social worker who took part in Gyldenrisparken's social amendment during the process, the settlement is argued to be 'a village in København', because most of the residents have been living there for many years. Young married or unmarried people came to this area in the 1960s and never left the settlement for a long time. In fact, they and their descendants still continue their life in Gyldenrisparken. The fact not only applies only to immigrants in the area, but also to the Danish originated people. Their common point is they are all low income people. In the beginning of the last decade, there were many elderly people, people from many ethnicities, people living alone, mentally ill people, and drunk people were common in the area.¹ (Stockholm, Personal Interview [PI], 2014; Stockholm & Francis, [PI], 2014; Ötekayaka, [PI], 2014)

Mette also notes that residents of Oxford Have beside Gyldenrisparken was afraid of the problematic neighbours across the street. They were among those who waited for a positive result. (Stockholm & Francis, [PI], 2014)

Need and 'Chase' for 'Social Mix'

According to Jan Christiansen, the city architect of Copenhagen between 2000 and 2010, all social housing areas have certain types and levels of social problems. In order to provide accommodation for low income families with their children, the municipality cooperates with housing companies.² Many low income -mostly foreigner- families are placed in these settlements.³ Nonetheless, all those areas slowly turn into 'ghettos', where social problems grow. For Christiansen 'renovation' would be a means of inviting middle income families into this area, thus a cause of a 'social mix,' that is paving a way for 'diversity in the social balance in the areas.' Moving of the middle income towards such settlements 'depend on the quality of architecture.' Consequent result of 'social mix' gradually ensures elimination of segregation.

¹ Sevgi Ötekayaka, a member of 'Residents' Board' in Gyldenrisparken for long time, disclosed that she did not leave her kids to play outside before the process started as many other residents.

² In 2001, the Municipality of Copenhagen experimented a program to maintain social mix within housing settlements by introducing the obligation of 'building one low income apartment in order to have the right to build one high income apartment.' However, they would only continue such practice until 2003. Such practice is today applied in Manhattan, by the New York City municipality and willing interest of private sector investors. The practice is believed to be a means towards total sustainability maintaining mix down in the city. (Christiansen, 2014)

³ The City Architect, Jan Christiansen notes that, in Vienna, municipality owns 120.000 apartments. Whereas in Copenhagen, the municipality, has no apartments.

'Social Problems'

Gyldenrisparken was among the list of vulnerable housing settlements -'ghetto-list'- of the government before the regeneration, although not being one of the worst settlements. People using drugs, collecting garbage in the apartments; those who do not know how to behave within a community thus disturbing others; people carrying guns; elderly residents who do not feel safe existed in the settlement together with some other typical neighbour conflicts. (West, [PI], 2014; Ötekayaka, [PI], 2014; Stockholm, [PI], 2014; Stockholm & Francis, [PI], 2014)¹

6.1.3. Economic Background

According to Steffen Boel Jørgensen, business manager in *Lejerbo*², the municipal authorities and the association considered tearing the whole settlement down and building a new one as an alternatives method in the very beginning. However, the idea turned out to be uneconomic and irrational, because it necessitated taking all the residents out and finding alternative places for them until the housing get ready. Thus, renovation was decided to be the most reliable solution. (Jørgensen, [PI], 2014)

During the transformation, *Landsbyggefonden* has been the major funding agent for Gyldenrisparken. Normally, *Landsbyggefonden* is not allowed to support all types of construction. It is only allowed to support certain changes or renovations when needed because of a better quality, such as, reinforcing concrete, reducing energy-loss and so on. Nonetheless, for financing the social housing there are other minor exterior sources other than *Landsbyggefonden*. (Christiansen, [PI], 2014)

The funding state organization was not officially and permanently represented within the committees, but it was a must to satisfy their representatives and ensure their backing up the project to be sure that the project stays 'in the right track'. (Andersen & Vestergaard, [PI], 2014) Another note for LBF was it only deal with the social housing part not the rest content of program such as nursery, or day-care institutions. LBF has a main policy that may be summarized as 'how much is spent for what.'

¹ Our interview with Sevgi Öteyaka, a lady in the 'Residents' Board" and a resident in Gyldenrisparken for long time, disclosed that she had not left her kids to play outside before the process started.

² Steffen Boel Jørgensen formerly worked as deputy director in Technical and Building Department of the Municipality of Copenhagen before 2005, right in the beginning of Gyldenrisparken process.

However, it allows for some flexibilities in a certain level. That is, if a change that can be justified by positive values for the project comes front on the way, LBF should be contacted and its specialist should be persuaded for its validity. (Andersen & Vestergaard, [PI], 2014)

The renovation for each apartment unit cost one million Danish Kroner – approximately \$170.000 or €135.000 according to 2014 values-. While Landsbyggefonden¹ funded most of the renovation and related expenses, the residents paid 500 to 1000 Danish Kroner for a certain period of time.²

Recent Investments to Copenhagen Canalized for Spatial Quality

City of Copenhagen attracted many investments between 2000 and 2010. Among those were pension funds, funds from Landsbyggefonden, international investments. At that time Municipality of Copenhagen had the right to benefit all from those. Moreover, around the year 2005 the municipality were preparing a ‘city plan’ of architecture for politicians, to enable elimination of attempts to ‘bad architecture’, also to set another force of foster for the city. During the first years of Jan Christiansen’s post as the city architect, the municipality asked for more than fifty competitions in a year, whereas this number was around five per year before 2000. (Christiansen, [PI], 2014)

6.1.4. Result of the Contextual Conditions

As a result of many physical and social problems accumulated, Gyldenrisparken had come to lose its attraction as could solidly be understood by the fall in waiting times. Thus, the housing organization, Lejerbo’s cooperation with the Municipality of Copenhagen became the initial step of regeneration. Afterwards, a series of other contacts among stakeholders resulted in a decision to preserve the settlement instead of demolishing it. A comprehensive, multi-actor, participatory, professional process

¹ The funding semi-private organization was mainly outside the committees but it was a must to satisfy them and ensure their backing up the project to be sure that the project stays ‘in the right track’. (Lisbeth) Another note for them was they only deal with the social housing part not the rest content of program such as nursery, or day-care institutions. Landsbyggefonden has a main policy that may be summarized as how much is spent for what. However, they are flexible in a certain level. That is, if a change that can be justified by positive values for the project comes front on the way, a contact with its officers would ensure a further support from LBF.

² Sound Settlements, pg.14

has been developed to end up with satisfaction for all and finally secure the future of the settlement. It is noted that, Gyldenrisparken's regeneration has become a product of 'the first real master planned' renovation in social housing sector in Denmark. (Lejerbo - Kuben Management, 2015, p. 11) The story of decision-making process will be deciphered in the following sub-sections.

6.2. Spatial Decision-Making: Actors, Grounds, and Process

Within the study, the spatial decision-making process bears various clues of decisions to plan and design not only the physical settlement but also the future experience of the stakeholders. Thus, the analysis of the process would set components of a multi-layered decision-making framework and its various contributors. The case study intends to decompose the regeneration process into its components. Thus, it provides details on,

- how it was initiated;
- what the architectural, environmental, social, economic problems were prior to the transformation:
- whether it was 'top-down' order to change or developed from a concrete need of settlement and the inhabitants,
- who/which institution first discovered a need of physical change,
- who the major decision-makers were: people, organisations, teams etc.
- how a decision of architectural competition was given,
- how criteria for the competition were developed,
- how architectural firms were shortlisted,
- how implementation process -the construction- was conducted,
- what the role of residents was in the decision-making during the whole process.

Therefore, within the following sub-headings, first the actors and the grounds on which they come together will be briefly presented. Then, the process will be disclosed in a chronological order while cornerstones of the decision-making process is being disclosed. This part aims both to highlight modes of participations and details of

planning process which rendered the regeneration a forerunner in Danish context and to decipher various tangible and intangible factors which set quality of the final product paving the way for a sustainable future.

6.2.1. Actors / Stakeholders / Subgroups

People and organizations actively participated and contributed to the decisions before and during the regeneration process of Gyldenrisparken settlement are regarded as ‘actors’ in the study. Within Danish social housing system, residents are ‘owners’ of their estate. Although this is not an ‘ownership’ based on a deed document, they have the right to decide about any disposition concerning their settlement. The residents have a contract with their housing association to manage economy and administration of the estate. Basically, these are professional organizations mostly manage more than one estate at the same time. The social housing estates and their residents are legally liable to regulations of a local government within the borders of which they are located.

Thus, major decision-making actors in Gyldenrisparken’s transformation are,

- Residents of Gyldenrisparken,
- Residents’ board in Gyldenrisparken
- Housing organization, *Lejerbo*, -basically its department in Copenhagen-
- Local government, Municipality of Copenhagen -*Københavns Kommune*-,
- Consultant company -to the housing association-, *Kuben Management/ Byfornyelse København*¹,
- Consortium of consultants, contracting architectural and engineering companies,

(Architecture: Vandkunsten Arkitekter², Witraz Arkitekter, Engineering:

¹ The previous name of the company is *Byfornyelse København*.

² Vandkunsten is an office working on social housing since 1970s. For more than forty years, 8% of their projects were on social housing mostly in Denmark. In 1971 they won a competition about ‘the future of housing’ in the country proposing a very high dense project consisted of row houses. The success in the project revealed itself when many of social housing in Denmark were really built in low dense manner in 1980s and 1990s. It was a reaction to the manufacture of same structure, same type, same quality, and same way of building all over the country in the previous decades. (Albrechtsen, 2014)

Wissenberg A/S¹ (WVW)²; Landscape Architects: Algren og Brun).

Besides, there were other secondary stakeholders,

- Directors and employees of the institutions
- Shop keepers.

On the other hand, other actors engaged to catalyse the process of regeneration:

- Social workers employed by municipality or housing organization.

(See APPENDIX A for notes on active real people in Gyldenrisparken's regeneration process)

6.2.1.1 Subgroups/Committees for Executing the Process

During the long transformation process actors came together under various subgroups to solve the various problems on the way of transformation. Those groups consisted representatives of participating public or private stakeholders in each step. Task Force (*Styrregruppe*) (2003 - 2006), Subcommittee Under Task Force / Secretary to the Task Force (*Arbejdssekretariatet*) (2003-2014), Building Committee (*Byggeudvalget*) (2006-2014) were the major subgroups of which details will be explained in rest of the paper. (Jorgensen, [PI], 2014; Andersen & Vestergaard, [PI], 2014; Lejerbo - Kuben Management, 2015; Lejerbo - Byfornyelse København, 2004)

Task Force (Styregruppe) 2003 - 2006

The task force worked to decide on the strategies to steer implementation of the master plan. Its organization layout was first described in the master plan document (Lejerbo - Byfornyelse København, 2004) and re-described in Lejerbo's evaluation document (Lejerbo - Kuben Management, 2015; Jorgensen, [PI], 2014; Andersen & Vestergaard, [PI], 2014; Lejerbo - Kuben Management, 2015)

¹ The engineering company Wissenberg A/S had been the construction consultant to Lejerbo, in the very beginning of the process to examine structural problems of buildings in Gyldenrisparken.

² The winning consortium of Vandkunsten Arkitekter, Witraz Arkitekter; Engineering: Wissenberg A/S will be abbreviated as WVW in the study.

- **The municipality**
Københavns Kommune (3 members¹ to represent its administrations of economy; health; education and youth; family and labour market; construction and technics for planning and architecture (Local P. 378-1, 2006, p. 24) –
Project Leader: Steffen Boel Jorgensen
- **The residents' board**
(2 members; chairman, and deputy chairman) Bjarne West
- **The housing organization**
LEJERBO (4 members; 2 from board of the organization, 2 from Lejerbo's central administration)²
- **The institute supporting funding**
Landsbyggefonden: (1 member, joins in case of need): Birger Kristensen
- **Secretariat / External Consultant**
Byfornyelse København / KUBEN Management: Lisbeth Vestergaard, Klaus Andersen³
- **The city architect**
(not a direct member, but advising): Jan Christiansen

*Subcommittee Under Task Force / Secretary to the Task Force (Arbejdssekretariatet)
2003 - 2014*

The secretary came together 2 times a months and published newsletters. It also worked for preparation of the specification list for final architectural competition.

- Project leader in the Municipality of Copenhagen: Jan Kendzior
- Head of department of construction in LEJERBO: Carsten Bai
- Head of Residents Board (Bjarne West joined later)
- Representative of Technical Consultants: WVV (the winning consortium joined after the tender in 2005)
- Secretariat from Byfornyelse København / KUBEN Management: Lisbeth Vestergaard, Architect.

¹ The initial master plan foresaw 6 members to represent each member of the municipality.

² Carsten Bai was project manager in Lejerbo.

³ Niels Andersen, from talked about him. (Andersen & Vestergaard, 2014)

Building Committee (Byggeudvalget) 2006 - 2014

The committee coordinated the handling of the two master plans -social and physical- and on-going construction activities with possible changes on the way.

- The renovation coordinator:
One of residents: Henrik Jørgensen
- The Housing organization
LEJERBO: Department of Operations: Frank Højer; Department of Construction: Carsten Bai
- Residents board (*Afdelingsbestyrelsen*)
- Technical consultants:
VWV Consorsium: Per Zwinge, (Witraz, Architectural Company); Jesper Schat-Holm (Wissenberg Engineering)
- Social Workers recruited by the Housing organization
- Secretariat assistant: KUBEN Man., Lisbeth Vestergaard

6.2.2. Exploration of Problems and the First Initiatives

2000: The Housing company discovers physical problems and gets in contact with the Municipality of Copenhagen

Actually, the physical problems were first discovered by the municipal officers in the beginning of 1990s. However, because no realistic way of solution appeared, a proper intervention had not been put into practice.¹ Just before 2000, there were some visible physical problems especially in housing units of Gyldenrisparken settlement. (Jørgensen, [PI], 2014)

Lejerbo applied to Landsbyggefonden in 1999 to get support to amend physical problems for the first time. Despite its positive approach for a renovation, LBF asked Lejerbo to get professional consultancy and to work with a master plan to secure the future *-fremtidssikring-* of the settlement before a possible process. Lejerbo had to

¹ Demolition was among possible choices, but it was eliminated because providing an alternative accommodation for the residents during such a time-dependending ‘demolishing and re-building’ process was considered as irrational. (Jørgensen, 2014)

document those before its next application. (Lejerbo - Kuben Management, 2015, p. 20)

In 2000, officers of housing association, *Lejerbo*, took up this issue. It got Wissenberg Engineering prepare a detailed technical assessment of the buildings in the settlement. After examining the results of the assessment, the next year, Lejerbo sent a request to Landsbyggefonden to get funding for a renovation. (Lejerbo - Kuben Management, 2015)

After getting an initial approval from LBF, they prepared a brief (Jorgensen, [PI], 2014; Andersen & Vestergaard, [PI], 2014) and got in touch with the Municipality of Copenhagen, which is –due to the law- obliged to supervise social housing within its boundaries (Jorgensen, [PI], 2014), to do counselling and provide financial support. *Lejerbo* declared them that the settlement had enough financial resources to be used through LBF. (Christiansen, [PI], 2014)

2001 November: Site Visit by Municipal Officers for inspection

After the municipal officers' first contact with *Lejerbo*, they had a site visit to Gyldenrisparken in November of 2001. In the visit Stephen Boel Jorgensen and city Architect, Jan Christiansen, represented the municipality. (Jorgensen, [PI], 2014) It was during this visit when the city architect realized 'the architectural potential' of the buildings despite many their physical deficiencies -energy loss, decay of iron and concrete elements-. For him, the housing settlement should be regarded as one of the last well-maintained social housing, and a cultural heritage from 1960's 'rush of social housing development.' Therefore, the municipal officers proposed the housing association minimizing physical intervention to conserve the 'brutalist/minimalist modernism' of the settlement. (Christiansen, [PI], 2014)

Besides, the officers also knew about the recent social problems i the settlement. At that time, there were on-going 'ghetto' problems within most of social housing venues, including Gyldenrisparken, even though it was not among topmost problematic settlements. Therefore, they also advised the housing organization to continue with a project of wide perspective covering urban design, architectural renewal, and social amendment. It was noted that renovation of the housing units was considered as a dependable solution because of its possibility to keep the residents in their residences and not to send them away. (Christiansen, [PI], 2014; Jorgensen, [PI], 2014)

2002: Municipality proposes the Housing Association. to find a professional consultant

Consequently, the municipal officers proposed the housing association to get professional consultancy for the renewal and constructions to be applied in the site. Therefore, in 2002, *Lejerbo* began working with consultancy company, *Byfornyelse København / Kuben Management*, which is experienced in not only social housing projects but also many other types of large scale construction work. (KUBEN Management, 2015)

2002: The Consultant Company Outlines Three Key Issues

After the first touch with the consultant company, *Kuben*, outlined three key issues to continue with:

- For the architecture a very pure design should be maintained –as advised by the city architect-,
- The residents should be asked for satisfaction goals
- An architect/architectural company who respects existing architectural qualities and has the capability to develop a project of this size involving demands of the residents should be employed. (Andersen & Vestergaard, [PI], 2014)

2003: Formation of a ‘Task Force – Styregruppe’

Gathering the ideas of all parties to arrive in the optimal solutions was considered vital for the project. In one hand, there were seven different departments of the Municipality of Copenhagen to be satisfied. Besides, all the stakeholders had the right to say their ideas during the decision making. Thus, the consultant company proposed introduction of a committee ‘to steer’ the Gyldenrisparken project, that is to develop the task in their hands. Therefore, it was called as ‘*Styregruppe*’ –Task Force-¹ in which all authorities were represented. (See heading 6.2.1.1)

¹ Styre Group would also be translated from Danish into English as ‘Steering Group’. It has been pronounced as ‘Task Force’ with our meeting with Steffen Boel Jorgensen. Therefore, we will continue with this English phrase within the text.

It is noted that the city architect was not a permanent member of the Task Force, but the chairman coordinated the process keeping a close contact with him. The ‘task force’ held meetings and related discussions to decide on the essentials of a master plan.¹ (Jorgensen, [PI], 2014)

6.2.3. Ideas Development and a Physical Master Plan

2003 October: An Idea market and an Idea workshop

In October 2003 Lejerbo, Byfornyelse Danmark, and the residents’ board of Gyldenrisparken organized an idea market *-idébutik-* and an idea workshop *-idéværksted-* for the residents of Gyldenrisparken as a means of active participation to develop primary ideas for the future physical changes in Gyldenrisparken. (Figure 6-11) Two newly established architectural companies, NORD and PARC, were invited to steer the organizations. (Idékatalog, 2003; Nyhedsbrev 02, 2003)

The idea market took three days in a room of communal barracks in the settlement. A series of wall-plates and models of Gyldenrisparken indicating major physical problems were placed in the room. The visiting residents were asked to share their ideas and comments either by writing or sketching. (Nyhedsbrev 02, 2003)

A week later another three days-long idea workshop followed the idea market in a larger room of the free-time club. The models and cardboards from the idea market were placed in the room. Here residents joined to a more active collaboration around three boards to brainstorm for ideas by the coordination of architects and planners of the two companies. Conceptual models and drawings were produced for numerous alternatives developed for each sub-phase of the future renovation. Means of combining apartments, renovation of facades, re-design of balconies, re-arrangement of free areas in between buildings, forms of new institutions were among the main focuses. (Idékatalog, 2003; Nyhedsbrev 02, 2003)

¹ According to Steffen Boel Jorgensen, So, harsh discussions were made, for instance, on how to handle the green area, because representatives of the residents’ board were very fond of keeping ‘the green’ area in Gyldenrisparken as much as possible.



Figure 6-11: The idea workshop -idébutik- Source: Idékatalog, 2003, Lejerbo

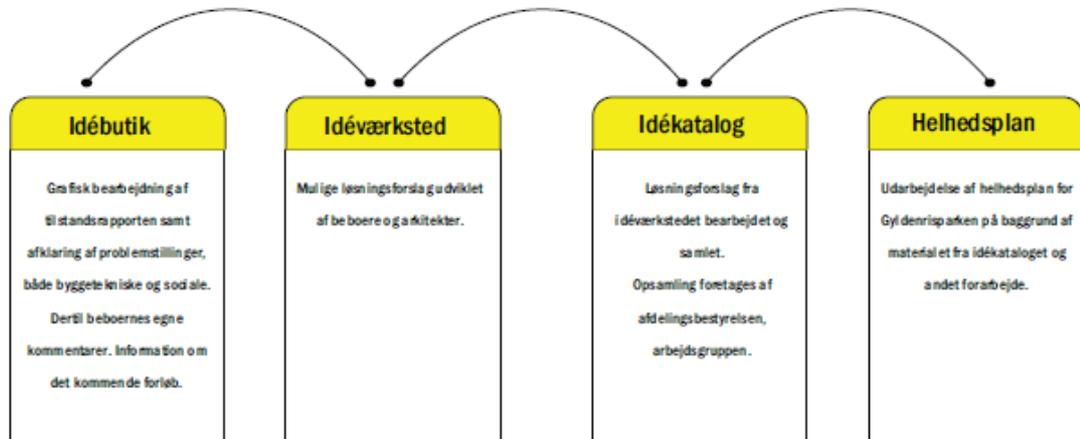


Figure 6-12: 'From idea market to master plan'. Source: Idékatalog 2003, Lejerbo.

2003 November: An Idea Catalogue - Idékatalog

The ideas and visions collected within the idea market and the idea workshop were gathered in a catalogue of ideas -*idékatalog*- by the organizing parties. The idea catalogue presented itself as a solid means of transferring ideas developed to a master plan. (Figure 6-12) Following that Lejerbo published a newsletter (Nyhedsbrev 02, 2003) summarizing this idea building process with selected details of the discussions and the plans for the future with residents. The residents were also informed that they

can borrow copies of it from the management for further examination.

2004 January: The Master Plan

Lejerbo got the consultant company, Byfornyelse København, prepare a master plan for the process of physical renovation. The reasons of working with a master plan is explained as,

- to secure the economic investments,
- to maintain a respectful attitude for residents, and thus, to keep them informed on the problems and possibilities
- to avoid worsening of existing physical problems, and thus,
- to define methods and schedules of handling. (Helhedsplan, 2004, p. 5)

Besides, it stated that there are various parties to be involved -residents, Lejerbo, the municipality, and Landsbyggefonden-, thus, the plan also targets to keep their relations pre-informed and organized. It also noted that the plan only drew a foresight of the future. Nevertheless, residents would be informed as the renovation-plans were developed through collaboration of them, the residents' boards, and the technical consultants. (Helhedsplan, 2004, p. 5) The plan presents a 'cooperation agreement' established between the residents' board, Lejerbo København, and the municipality. (Helhedsplan, 2004, p. 16)



Figure 6-13: Axonometric plan in 2004. Source: Master Plan, Lejerbo

The master plan included detailed information on the settlements existing properties in 2004 -architectural character, constructional and technical problems, and function of its physical components-. Besides it presented detailed statistical data about the characteristics households and the methods of participation and organization for the implementation process of the project. Following this background information, the master plan basically introduced ‘framework plans -rammeplaner-’ for specific components of the renovation project the details of which were published in the idea catalogue. The components were consisted of ‘family apartments’, ‘small apartments’, ‘open spaces and common facilities’, ‘the high building and the central area’, and ‘the institutions’. Each ‘framework plan’ consisted of existing situation of the component, the renovation program proposed for it, possible ideas -developed in the previous process-, and a framework budget. At the end the master plan provided diagrams to illustrate ‘project organization’, handling of ‘process’, and scheduling. (Helhedsplan, 2004)

It is also indicated that the masterplan has its ‘core values’ proposed by the residents’ board and the Municipality of Copenhagen. Among those, one can notice the values set for ‘keeping architectural heritage and originality’, and ‘maintaining quality production while renovating for contemporary needs’. (Helhedsplan, 2004, pp. 14-15)

It should be noted that in February 2004, the residents voted for and approved the overall framework of the master plan regarding their settlement. The physical master plan was concretized and had its final approval from the residents in 2005 after consultant companies were selected, joined, and re-shaped their project. (Lejerbo - Kuben Management, 2015)

6.2.4. The Architectural Competition

2003: The Decision ‘to continue with an architectural competition’

Jan Christiansen, the city architect, -also a professor of architecture in the Danish Royal Academy of Fine Arts-, proposed the director of building issues in the Municipality of Copenhagen -at that time, Steffen Boel Jorgensen- to organize a competition being in line with the recently introduced EU regulations. It was considered as a solid way to achieve a regeneration project of ‘high architectural

ambition’, and consequently to ensure the best result for architectural quality and spatial solution and consequently for the people in Gyldenrisparken. The director agreed on the proposal and shared the idea with the housing association (Jorgensen, 2014). At the end of a mutual agreement of the municipality and the housing association, *Lejerbo*, contacted with the consultant company.

The consultancy company, *Kuben*, supported *Lejerbo* for preparation of the competition process in 2004. The experts in *Kuben* prioritized three main issues for the competition:

- Experience and excellence in social housing and renovation projects - architectural portfolio-,
- Economic strength to overcome time-depending, long process;
- Obligation of continuous contact with residents in the settlement to ensure participation and future satisfaction. (Andersen & Vestergaard, [PI], 2014)

It should be underlined that those items listed by *Kuben* has also been introduced within the EU regulations we explained in detail under section 5.6.

2004: The Architectural Competition -within Total Consultancy-

For *Kuben*’s project director, Niels Andersen, the most remarkable issue should be the choice of ‘architect’ before price of construction. They aimed to determine a company who was best in understanding the ‘language’/’soul’ of the housing area. Therefore, keeping the city architect’s proposal in mind, they followed an untraditional process for architectural project not only to ensure architectural quality, but also to pave a cheaper way for attending companies when compared to usual competition processes. They asked applicants ‘not to design new facades’, but ‘sketch their ideas for renewal of facades’. So, rather than an open public competition in which all attendees were asked to come up with a project of ‘full-detail’, a ‘pre-qualification based’ two-step competition was organized. (Andersen & Vestergaard, [PI], 2014) Note that EU regulations mentioned in 0 does match the way of handling.

2004: First Step - Shortlisting Architectural Companies

In the first step, the attendees were shortlisted according to the measures indicated below:

- economical solidity (documenting bank accounts, previous tax payments) to secure financial continuity of the project and to shortlist those who has the enough monetary capability
- Architectural references (Experience in social housing and renovation of social housing) to ensure the architectural quality,
- Former experience in working with residents (The attendees were asked to tell exactly how their vision for Gyldenrisparken area) because they are supposed to be the primary stakeholders to be satisfied.

This process was hold by *Kuben* in a dialogue with the city architect, Jan Christiansen. (Andersen & Vestergaard, [PI], 2014)

2004: Second Step - Preparation of Specification List through Workshops

The specification list was prepared by a collaborative work of the task force¹ in a dialogue with the city architect, Jan Christiansen. During this collaborative work, this sub-group organized workshops in the site, met the residents, and inquire about their problems and demands, although at the beginning they did not show much interested in the subject. (Jorgensen, [PI], 2014)

According to such considerations mentioned *Kuben*, the city architect, and participants from *Lejerbo* and the Municipality decided on the specification list. It should be noted that the second step did not aimed ‘to find a project’ but ‘to find an architect with whom solutions will be discussed afterwards’. (Andersen & Vestergaard, [PI], 2014)

2004: Second Step - The Tender and Its Selection Criteria

In 2004, the tender was organized based on EU regulations for ‘total technical advice’ including a ‘limited’ architectural competition. (Lejerbo - Kuben Management, 2015) The document defined the job as ‘realizing the master plan of Gyldenrisparken’ which it explained the targets in two project parts. The first one was ‘the renovation of social housing blocks’ and the other was construction of ‘a new nursing house and new

¹ Members of the task force in that time: The head of task force –Kobenhavns Kommune - Steffen Boel Jorgensen; Kuben Management - Lisbeth Vestergaard, Architect [responsible for secretariat]; and Lejerbo –Carsten Bai, Project Manager-; the city architect, Jan Christiansen.

integrated childcare institute'. The tender document asked the invitees to offer for a total price, describe their vision for quality where they were asked to present their creativity, and their vision for the process of implementation. According to the document, the most advantageous offer in terms of economy was regarded as the primary selection criterion. It had 60% of effect. Besides, the architectural quality was ensured with 30% and the handling of process with the remaining 10%. (Lejerbo: Udbudsbrev, 2005)

Five consortiums out of 30 attendees having met the shortlisting criteria were asked to propose 'sketch projects' for some specified parts of 'new' Gyldenrisparken.

The Architectural Competition: The Jury -Committee of Referees / dommerkomité -

The jury was consisted of an anonymous committee of referees. (Local P. 378-1, 2006, p. 25) According to the Danish law, a jury for architectural competition should include some specialist architects -3 or 4 members, one of them is a landscape architect-, pointed by Architects' Union –*Arkitektforeningen*- chosen among some of the best architects of the country. Nonetheless, in Denmark, there is a majority of 'non-architects' within the jury, including citizens of Copenhagen, politicians, people from the settlement –residents living there-, semi-politicians making a total of seven people.¹² (Christiansen, [PI], 2014)

The Winning Architectural Project

The anonymous jury selected winning proposal for having 'most qualified solution'. (Local P. 378-1, 2006, p. 25) The winning consortium, which was consisted of *Tegnestuen Vandkunsten*, *Witraz Arkitekter* and *Wissenberg A/S*, proposed a project including a masterplan for the buildings, renovation of building envelopes, physical improvements of the apartments, merging of some apartments, new entrances to the buildings, re-planning and renovation of the open spaces, and construction of childcare

¹ Philosophy behind such a rule is the assumption that the architectural professionals should tell and convince the ordinary members about 'what is good and what is bad'. It is believed that theory should be justified by a comprehensible explanation. (Christiansen, 2014)

² The city architect is not a member of the jury because civil servants should be neutral and may only be an advisor to the jury. This is the general rule that applies to all the architectural competition processes in Copenhagen. (Christiansen, 2014)

centre and nursery with care homes. (Bech-Danielsen, et al., 2011, p. 105)

Their proposal handled the renovation through a primary consideration of the 1960's modernist legacy, and kept the qualities inherited from those times, but solved the task in a contemporary, functional, accessible, and sustainable sense. The project provided the basis for local plan proposal of the Municipality of Copenhagen. (Local P. 378-1, 2006, p. 25)

In 2005, the residents voted in favour of concretization of the masterplan which included construction of the new facilities. (Lejerbo - Kuben Management, 2015) (Figure 6-14)

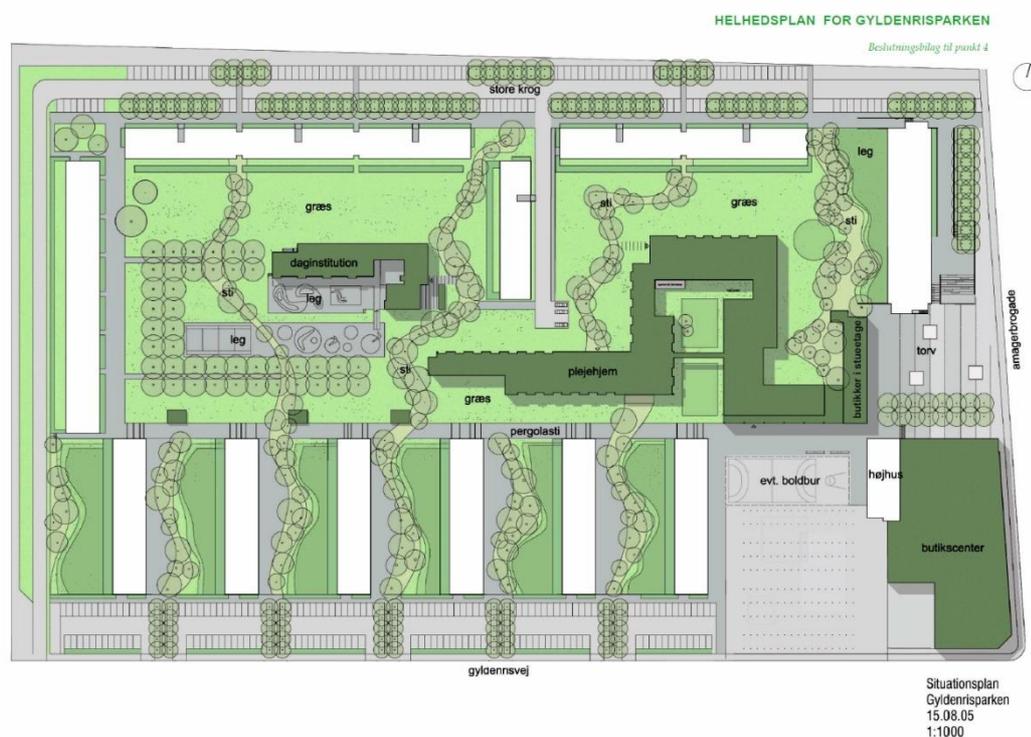


Figure 6-14: Site layout from the finalized physical master plan in August 2005. Source: Lejerbo

6.2.5. The Municipal Local Plan

Municipality of Copenhagen -*Københavns Kommune*- publishes local plans before handling nodal changes within the city as given in detail in Chapter 2 under 'Spatial Planning in Denmark' -5-. The Local Plan 378 - 'Irlandsvej' -LP 378, including the fundamental planning decisions regarding Gyldenrisparken was passed 'citizen representation' on the 9th of June in 2004, announced on the 29th of June, and finally

registered on the 7th of April in 2005. LP 378 was accompanied by an addendum including a comprehensively detailed scheme regarding the area was registered on the 27th of October in 2006, following a similar representation and announcement phases in April and May of 2006. (Local P. 378-1, 2006) (Figure 6-15)

The main purpose of the local plan was stated as to supply '145 row-houses together with a children's institution' and to provide an 'overriding setting' for renovation of Gyldenrisparken housing settlement.' Besides, the plan foresaw 'a high architectural quality and a better greenery within the area to be preserved and supplemented.' Moreover, it underlined that specified street connections should be preserved during the renovation process. (Local P. 378, 2005)

The local plan has been mainly based on the winning proposal of the architectural competition. It explains the targets of the winning 'sketch project' by getting use of the visuals from the proposal. Besides, it presents foresights for the settlement and its vicinity. The possible consequences for traffic, assessment of 'urban architectural impact' of the new plan, its 'impact on environment', 'traffic noise', 'local business' to annoy the area, 'subsurface contamination', 'infiltration of rainwater', 'environmental construction', 'district heating' has been the fundamental concerns of the local plan.

Furthermore, the local plan also included 'shadow diagrams' representing shadow effect within the settlement on certain critical times of a year. (Figure 6-16)

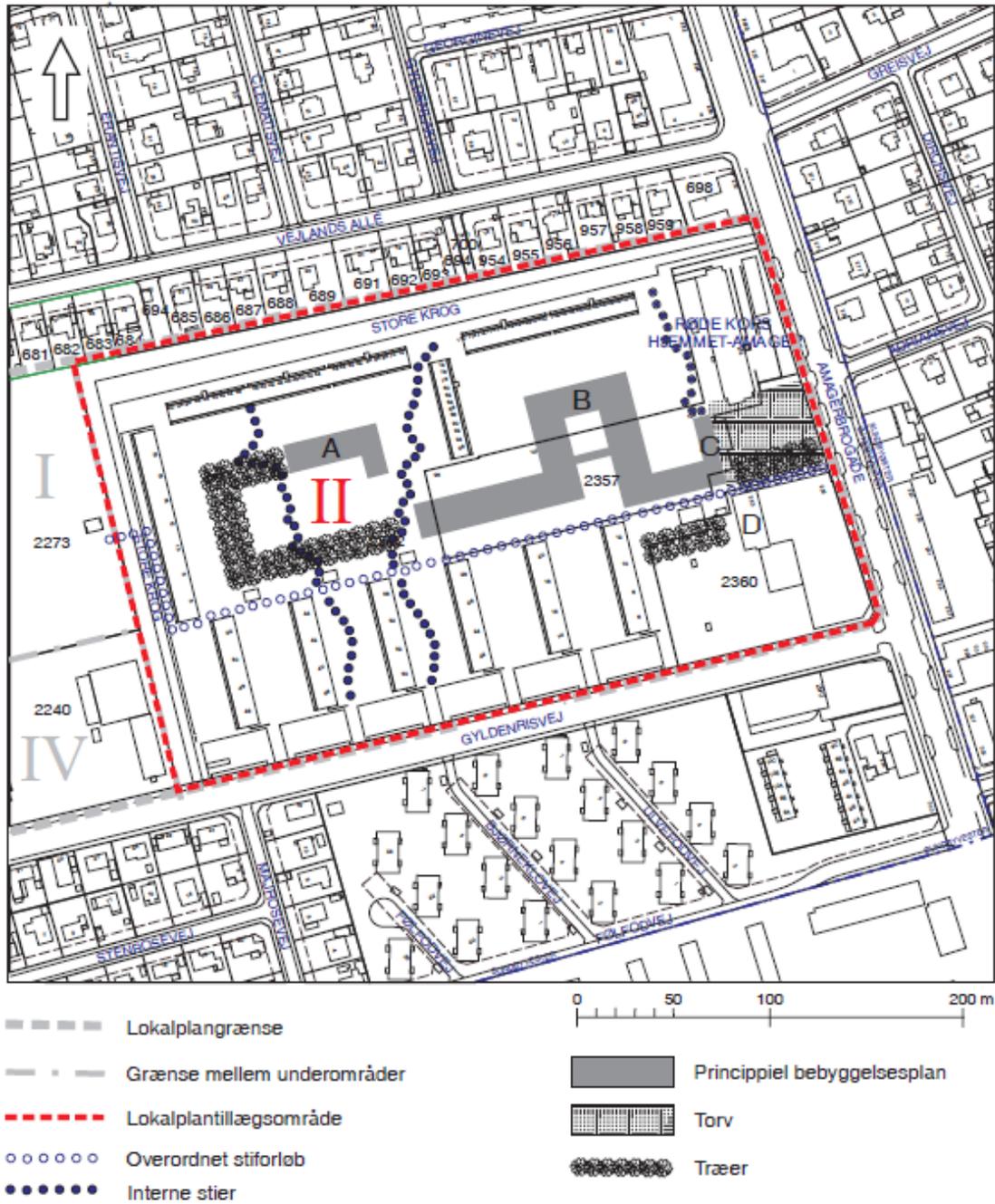
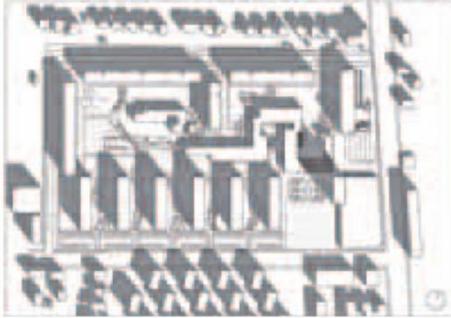
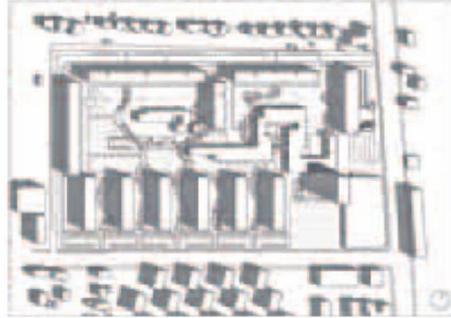


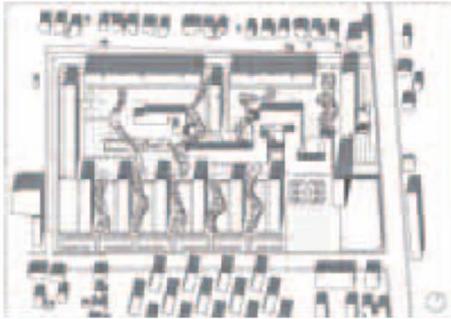
Figure 6-15: Local Site Plan of the Municipality. source: The Local Plan nr.378 in 2006.



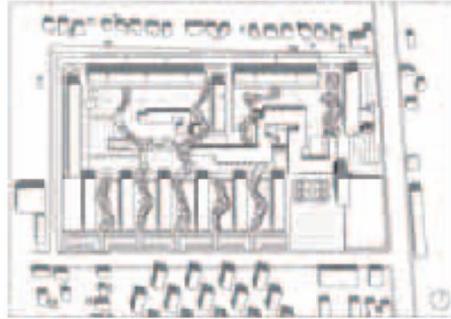
21. marts kl. 9.00



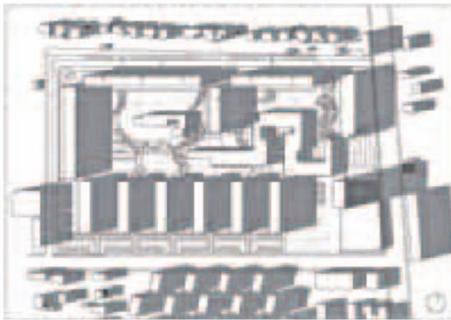
21. juni kl. 9.00



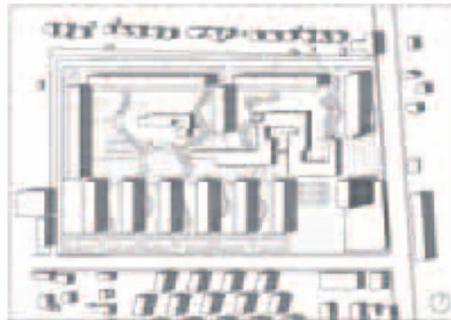
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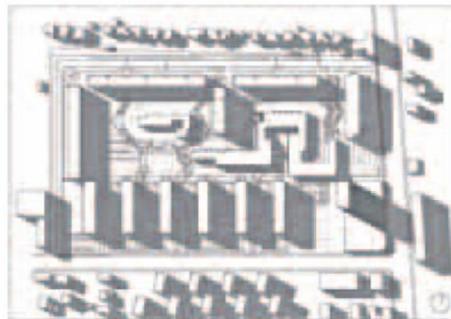
21. juni kl. 12.00



21. marts kl. 16.00



21.juni kl. 16.00



21. juni kl. 19.00

Figure 6-16: Shadow Diagrams. source: *The Local Plan nr.378 in 2006.*

6.2.6. Handling of the Implementation Period

Forming a Building Committee - Byggeudvalget -

The Building Committee was formed in 2006 for the final building solutions as ‘a small sized steering group’. It was consisted of ‘project manager’ from the housing organization, ‘project architect’ from the municipality, ‘secretariat’ from the consultant company, and representatives of architectural consortium. Within the group a dialogue among those public and private authorities, signing architects, social workers, and residents was maintained to execute both of the physical and social master plans together so as to satisfy all of the stakeholders.

Secretary to the Task Force (*Arbejdssekretariatet*) worked for coordination

The secretary held 86 meetings during the process the proceedings of which were documented by a representative of Kuben, Lisbeth Vestergaard. The committee worked together until the end of the project. The ongoing works and decisions were noted down, published in a ‘newsletter’ format –every two months-, and shared by the residents to let them know what is going on. (Jorgensen, [PI], 2014; Andersen & Vestergaard, [PI], 2014; Stockholm & Francis, [PI], 2014)

Communication Strategies

A comprehensive renovation of physical environment in a housing settlement, together with a social amendment program take considerable time. In Gyldenrisparken, the housing organization was aware that the re-generation process would require considerable time that resident should be aware of the future problems during the renovation. Living for years in a construction site, or waiting for weeks while one’s house is being renovated were of those possible problems. Therefore, the main idea was sharing knowledge regarding finished, on-going, and planned processes as much as possible to maintain patience of the residents and while channelling their contribution to the project. (Lejerbo - Kuben Management, 2015, pp. 30-31)

In parallel to this, Lejerbo, as the ‘owner’ of the project, had a more comprehensive “communication strategy for implementation” phase covering the years between 2008 and 2012. The goals of the strategy were set as,

- preventing misunderstandings and keeping the residents feeling safe and informed;
- maintaining a basis to create a feeling of appropriation;
- clarifying the residents' boundaries of influence in the process;
- to establish a common understanding about the framework of the process;
- to support strategies for renewal;
- to ensure a process where all the stakeholders were kept informed;
- to explain Gyldenrisparken's wisdom, dynamism, and modernity to the outside world. (Lejerbo, 2008)

Through the strategy, the organization target to inform firstly the residents, then, the other stakeholders -constructors, consultants, contractors, shops, and institutions in the vicinity- and the outside environment -press, neighbours around, the future residents. The forms of the contact with the residents were newsletters, orientation folders, newsletters, site signs, banners on buildings, information on local-tv, exhibitions, physical marks and others. Moreover, information meetings, coordination meetings, guided tours, and guided ceremonies were among activities designed to communicate. Besides, press releases, web sites, articles in local magazines were actively used to keep the outside world aware of the process in Gyldenrisparken. (Lejerbo, 2008)

Meetings and Workshops with Residents

Many meetings and workshops with the residents in the site followed the competition process. The task force organized those not only to share information with the residents and the representatives of the local institutions but also ask for their comments and ideas. There held four meetings to which some popular people in Copenhagen – 'superstars' - were invited. A well-known Danish actor -Jesper Klein-; the lord mayor of Copenhagen; the city architect -Jan Christiansen- were among those well-known people. Representatives of the consortium made presentations to the local people to tell what was planned to do and asked for their further proposals and approval. Per Zwinge -*Witraz*- and Jesper Schat -*Wissenberg*- were the major actors actively joining the process of construction.

This assumed to be a method to evoke awareness among local people about the renovation and prepare them to engage to give decisions about their surroundings. (Christiansen, [PI], 2014) As a result, nearly 200 people joined the meetings and

discussions held on ‘preservation-deserving qualities of Gyldenrisparken’s value for cultural heritage’, ‘how the new life in Gyldenrisparken will be’, ‘how new background, new facades, new free spaces will be organized.’ (Figure 6-17)

The residents asked mostly to change of practical details of the flats, such as, narrow balconies, old kitchens, and bathrooms. The basic idea was maintained as to preserve the ‘soul of old Gyldenrisparken’, and ‘make it much better’. (Jorgensen, [PI], 2014)



Figure 6-17.: Residents participated in workshops in Gyldenrisparken. Source: Lejerbo Evaluation Doc. 2015

Mock-up in 1:1 Scale

It is noted that residents’ ideas steered the project, and plenty of the details were changed accordingly. (Jorgensen, [PI], 2014)¹ As soon as a general approval was developed, one of the apartments was renovated as a ‘mock-up in 1:1 scale’ to present future appearance of finished work on December 2006. (Lejerbo - Kuben Management, 2015) (Figure 6-18) The details of trial work is published in the Lejerbo’s newsletter before. The Afterwards residents were asked for their comments to integrate their supplementary ideas about the project. (Bai & Eriksen, [PI], 2014; Andersen & Vestergaard, [PI], 2014; Albrechtsen, [PI], 2014)

¹ As Bjarne West, the head of residents’ board, told that the type of playground furniture were asked to the children in Gyldenrisparken. (Rasmussen, 2011)



Prøvefeltet for karnappen vil blive revideret.



Altanen er udformet, så lysforholdene og møbleringsmulighederne forbedres.



Figure 6-18: Test Model /'Mock-up' for renovation of an apartment. Source: Lejerbo Newsletter 12: 13th February 2007

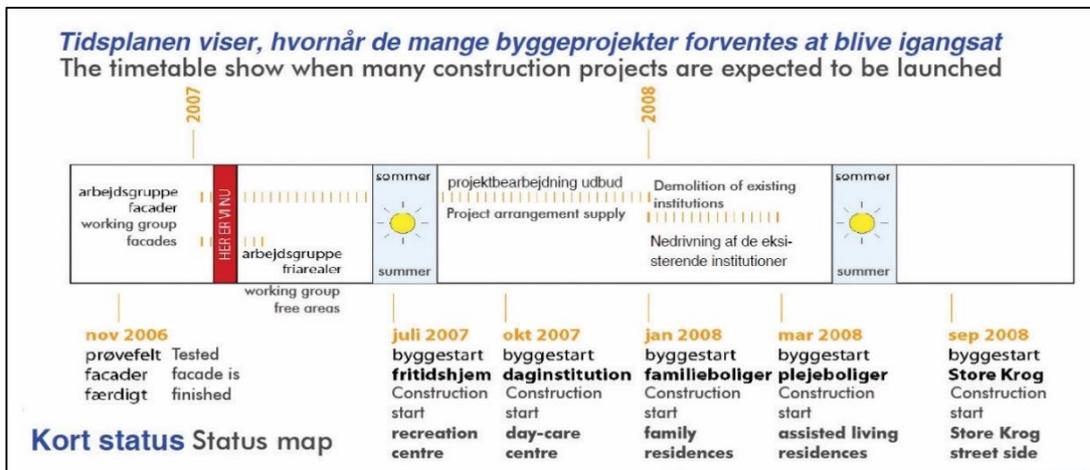


Figure 6-19: One of the first timetables for the renovation to inform residents. Source: Lejerbo Nw.13, February 2007

Newsletters

The secretary to the task force *-arbejdssekretariatet-* had begun to publish newsletters in June 2003, were utilized to inform the residents about the details of construction process. Despite being more frequent in the beginning of the project, as the process developed the publication intervals of the newsletters became dependent on the necessity. The newsletters included,

- explanation about on-going and expected implementations in the near future,
- alternative temporary spatial solutions to serve in place of those under construction,
- details about residents' meetings,
- social activities and meetings,
- statistics regarding residents' choices,
- photographs, illustrations, images, and many other information.

(See APPENDIX H for a selected newsletter; See APPENDIX I for selected news from the newsletters)

It should be noted that each newsletter¹ included a timetable illustration telling the establishments done and plans for the short and middle term works. (Figure 6-19)

6.2.7. The Social Master Plan

In fact, both master plans have mutually supported each other in Gyldenrisparken's regeneration. Nevertheless, the implementation period of the renovation project, which is a solid reflection of the physical master plan, also involves application period of the social master plan. Therefore, because the two plans have been implemented simultaneously, our study allocates a specific heading for the social master plan to highlight its vitality for the whole process without disrupting overall flow of headings.

¹ Fifteen of the newsletters (12-26) published between November 2006 and June 2013 can be downloaded from Lejerbo's website in the following link:

<http://afd128-0.lejerbo.dk/Nyheder/Gyldenrisparken%20Renovering>

The Social Masterplan 2008-2011: Description and Targets

Lejerbo introduced a 'social master plan' in June 2007 to be implemented between 2008 and 2011, and executed by a group of social workers when the renovation process was in its busiest days. The housing company was aware of the on-going social and ghettoish problems, thus, of possible challenges. Thus, approaching renovation process was regarded as an opportunity to attract the outsiders and influence existing vulnerable residents to communal participation. (Lejerbo, 2007)

Maintaining a variety of social mix of resident was one of the fundamental ideals for Gyldenrisparken. While proportion of young population was considerably lower than the other existing departments of Lejerbo, 35% of residents were pensioners, 40% had foreign backgrounds, 12% were getting direct wage-support, and 63% were getting other types of social-economic support. Among recent social problems in the estate there were 'poor dialogue between different ethnicities', 'low level of participation in tenants' democracy by those with different background', 'feeling of insecurity', 'vandalism', 'lack of integration between resourceful and vulnerable resident groups', 'loneliness', 'a general image of bad community'.

However, the masterplan took the advantage of existing 'social network' within the community, 'the collaboration between residents' consultancy arrangements' and the 'resourceful board' of the community, and set up the following vision:

To create a connected estate with an attractive social life for all resident groups,
To create security and well-being
To render the renovation a positive experience for all and to utilize it as a tool to restore social development in the estate. (Lejerbo, 2007, p. 8)

Following the vision set above the master plan introduced a social project, 'Change and Communities - *Forandring og Fællesskaber*' which has two dimensions. The dimension of 'Change' was described to involve aspects regarding the approaching physical renovation phases. Whereas, as a parallel set of activities to resolve social problems and attract participation by getting use of the ongoing social and physical processes were defined to explain the dimension of 'Communities'. (Lejerbo, 2007)

The purposes of the first dimension focusing the renovation process were 'ensuring the vulnerable groups get the best service'; maximizing 'residents' involvement' to maintain feeling of possession/ownership; 'reducing vandalism'; increasing 'democratic participation to residents' to municipal and local decision-making processes;

‘increasing attraction value of Gyldenrisparken both to keep the existing and to attract the new resourceful residents.’ To establish those ‘information courses’ and ‘social housing consultancy’ services were planned. (Lejerbo, 2007)

Furthermore, the second dimension targeted to ‘develop social life and networks in the estate’, ‘retaining the young in danger and integrate them to the community providing work and education opportunities’, ‘encouraging the residents to join the labour market and provide them with health services.’ (Lejerbo, 2007)

Handling of the Social Master Plan

The physical restoration process was taken as a chance for a social amendment within the area also by preserving the existing community. (Stockholm, [PI], 2014) The fund for Gyldenrisparken project was supplied both for physical change and community amendment. In fact, the social masterplan for Gyldenrisparken was done seeking ‘future proofing - *fremtidssikring*’, asked to be guaranteed before a considerable sum of fund was given by Landsbyggefonden as being responsible for funding and controlling the handling of the investment. (Lejerbo - Kuben Management, 2015, p. 20) It may also be interpreted that what LBF targeted to invest in a sustainable solution to ensure the liveability in the settlement, thus keeping the public money and property secure.

Handling of the physical and social masterplans were also advantageous in terms of economy by ‘avoiding delays and enforcement proceedings’ which were likely to appear because of residents’ unwillingness or inability to cooperate. (Stockholm, 2011, p. 7) Especially, socially vulnerable groups, who consisted 20% of residents, needed special support during the renovation. Among those were old people with physical handicaps, people with mental problems, people who did not know Danish. Meeting and special activities were arranged to inform and integrate residents of varying age and social backgrounds. (Stockholm, 2011, pp. 8-10) (Figure 6-20)



Figure 6-20: 'Meetings and events for both adults and children'. Source: (Stockholm, 2011)

For the handling of social master plan the residents board, the construction committee, social workers, activity workers, housing advisors, renovation coordinator, and other municipal actors cooperated. (Stockholm, 2011, pp. 14-17)

Among the challenges were diverging that involved various methods to come up with. Those were related to 'closed playing grounds and free areas', 'notification forms', 'unwillingness to share 'apartment keys', 'clearing basements', 'living with temporary dust-walls during renovation', 'emptying the balconies', 'moving in a temporary re-settlement', 'conflicts among residents themselves or with professionals', 'linguistic challenges'. (Stockholm, 2011, pp. 18-24)

At the beginning it was hard to connect a mainly physical work with a social restoration project. (Stockholm & Francis, 2014) *Lejerbo* hired a coordinator to deal with social issues in Gyldenrisparken project.¹ For a certain period they coordinated social issues together with the consultancy firm, *Kuben*. As the project developed, and grew to a larger scale, the coordinator employed a social worker to set up the process in the site in order to omit disadvantages of being in a distance and to understand what

¹ We interviewed Mette Francis Johansen from *Lejerbo*, who worked in that position between November 2003 and October 2005.

people really need.¹ Beginning from 2008, a secretariat of three workers was assigned to struggle with social problems within the site. (Stockholm, [PI], 2014; Stockholm & Francis, [PI], 2014) The main aim with the social restoration process was to maintain ‘win-win’ conditions both in social amendment and construction processes.²

6.3. Implementation of Spatial Decisions: The Architectural Project

Project of Gyldenrisparken had a series of different and hard-to-tackle components each of which necessitate individual specializations to overcome. That is why winning consortium consisted of two outstanding architectural offices, an engineering company, and a landscape architects’ office.³

It was mainly Vandkunsten Arkitekter which developed the key ideas for the masterplan and new buildings in the project. (Albrechtsen, [PI], 2014) The following sub-sections below -5.5.1 to 5.5.3- are based mainly on the interview conducted with Jan Albrechtsen, partner of Vandkunsten Arkitekter. Thus, the information below is referred to Albrechtsen, if an alternative reference is not provided. We have also got use of SBI’s publication ‘Renovering af Efterkrigstidens Almene Boliger’ (Bech-Danielsen, et al., 2011) to clarify certain details. Danielsen’s essay is based on interviews with Per Zwinge and Pia Wiberg, from Witraz Arkitekter; Carsten Bai, from Lejerbo; and Bo Christensen, from Wissenberg.

6.3.1. Site Plan

The main idea of winning competition proposal was to create totally new spaces and mere narrow spaces to generate diverse activities within a low dense -two floor- neighbourhood. The basic strategy in the site plan was taking the scale down from high apartment blocks of five floors to a more ‘human scale’ environments, enabling the residents having access to the ground level where a social space of activities was

¹ Nina Stockholm was employed as a social worker for Gyldenrisparken on November, 2013.

² At first, they started with the most problematic block.

³ In the very beginning, architectural company, Witraz, which had experience in renovation works, got in contact with the other architectural company, Vandkunsten, which has a well-known reputation in Denmark for its experience in housing and especially social housing projects, to cooperate for the architectural competition of Gyldenrisparken. (Albrechtsen, 2014)

generated. (Albrechtsen, [PI], 2014) (Figure 6-21) Besides, the *pergolastien* -the long continuous path in the east-west direction across the whole site with a pergola over- contributes to perception of 'spatial hierarchy'. It basically separates/binds housing blocks placed along Gyldenrisvej and the common open areas. (Bech-Danielsen, et al., 2011, p. 107)

The major changes in the scale of site may be summarized as follows:

- The old temporary barracks -old childcare institution and old centre for the elderly- were demolished,
- A new block for elderly –nursing house- has been built, the 'snake-shaped' two-floor structure
- A new building integrated childcare institute was built as a 'green' sustainable building.
- Addition of new residences and specified facilities on specified roofs.
- Renovation of housing blocks; the old nursing home -and its conversion to a facilities centre for the young-; shopping centre; and common areas.

Topographic Arrangements and Landscaping

Green space in front of flats on the ground floors of building blocks have direct access to ground level gardens. Previously, the gardens of ground level had been 1.5 meters above the 'zero' level. Together with a new landscape project interaction in between inside and outside of flats has been increased. By introducing a sloped soil filling between the two levels a gradient relation has been maintained. That is, a more efficient physical access between flats and common areas were established paving the way for extra possibilities of interaction within the space. On the other hand, some options for the ground level dwellers were presented. Three types of garden designs – 'English', 'Italian,' -, of which planting and landscaping strategies differ, were offered, and residents were asked to choose among in case they are willing to change.¹ Furthermore, playground toys were also asked to the residents, and their decision has played role in the choice.

¹ Most of the residents preferred keeping their old gardens.

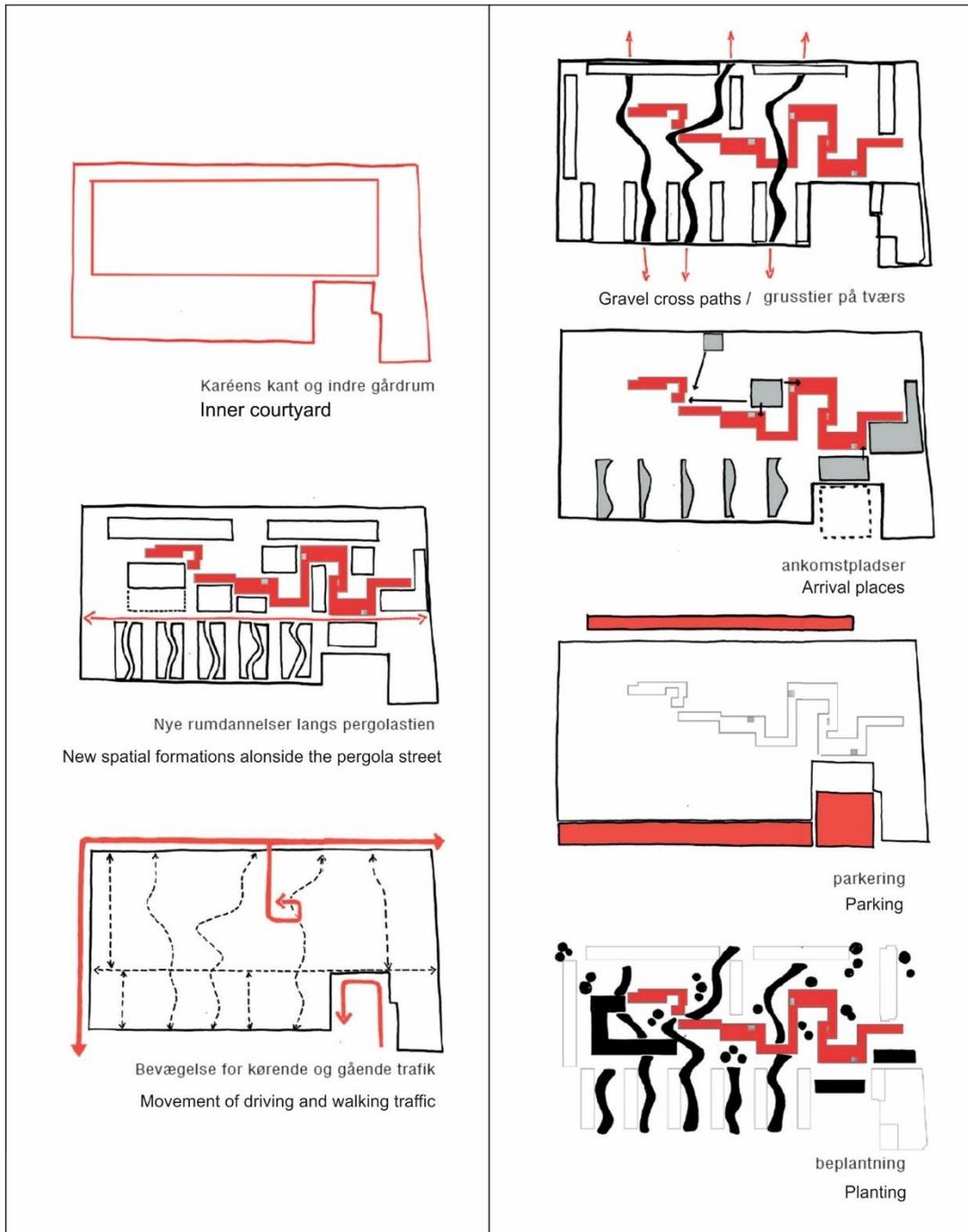


Figure 6-21: Competition proposal of WW: 'The Structural Idea'-the left column- and 'The Green Plan'-on the right column-



Figure 6-22: Section for new landscape handling. Source: Competition submission by WW



Figure 6-23: New topographic-landscape between parallel blocks. Photo: N.Burak Bican, May 2014



Figure 6-24: New landscaping. Photo: Karen Zwinge Steen/ Photoboks/ Inspirationskatalog.dk



Figure 6-25: Children playing on the new landscape between parallel blocks. Photo: N.Burak Bican, May 2014

6.3.2. Building Blocks

Renovation: Residential Blocks of Social Housing

The fundamental architectural strategy was ‘preserving the buildings and maintain them as they are’ -as a ‘respect’ to the legacy of 1960s-. For Albrechtsen, there took place many other renovation projects conducted at the same period in Denmark, but adopted a ‘contemporary make-ups’ for similar settlements.

Nevertheless, in Gyldenrisparken, for instance, horizontality of facades has been conserved, to maintain the ‘modernist horizontal expression’ of housing blocks. Whereas, old concrete railings were changed with glass sheets to keep the enlarged balconies light in weight and to get more light inside flats. (Figure 6-29) Plastic or artificial materials were avoided to keep the authenticity. That is also why the architects chose ‘fibre concrete plates’ as the new façade coating. The plates with horizontal reliefs were carefully selected so as to maintain the horizontality and keep

the original appearance of the blocks seen from distance. (Albrechtsen, [PI], 2014; Bech-Danielsen, et al., 2011, p. 41) For Danielsen, the only drawback of using this cladding is its need for extra maintenance due to accumulating dust and dirt. (Bech-Danielsen, et al., 2011, p. 109)

In order to provide the blocks with better thermal insulation, the roofs have been elevated to provide enough distance and the elevated parts are cladded with aluminium. (Bech-Danielsen, et al., 2011, p. 105)

Bay windows were introduced on the façades of housing blocks with ‘strip – horizontal- lines of windows’. Some bay windows were also added at the short edge of the blocks to some of the flats in certain floors. This change improved the daylight caught in the flats -especially those in the edges of blocks-, increased eye contact between inside and outside, between flats and the green courtyards. Regarding the decision of placement of ‘bay windows’, a democratic handling method was followed. Optimizing outer appearance of the blocks and availability of room layout of the apartments, all flats were supported with almost the same opportunities with all. For example, if architectural layout did not provide appropriate space to place a bay window in the front façade in a certain flat in the edge of the block, a bay window was added to another room facing the courtyard –to the short edge of the building block. Such application ensured equity of possibilities for all. (Albrechtsen, [PI], 2014)

It should also be noted that because the bay windows affect overall layout of facades and this final placement of them is of architect’s decision, tenants were not asked to pay extra for the bay windows in their houses.

The provision of bay windows did not only target pure visual contact or aesthetical improvement, but also, perhaps most crucially, appeared as a product of a search for increasing security via ‘surveillance’. The design provided the settlement with improved visibility, removing the ‘dead spots’.

Little canopies together with a horizontal support below including mail boxes and a seat/desk ‘to rest’ or ‘place a bag’ were attached the building entrances right to the front doors. (Figure 6-32) Thus, the entrances previously ‘un-identified’ and unprotected against sun and precipitation transformed into spaces for short talks and spontaneous meetings between neighbours. The new canopies also provide an identifiable appearance for the outsiders to notice the entrances to the blocks. (Figure 6-33) It should be noted that normally, each housing block consist of multiple self-working sections of eight apartments. Each section has its own entrance through the facades of blocks. According to Danielsen, the addition of the canopies over the entrances and the related arrangements, provided each section with a unique identity, eliminating the ‘boring and monotonous’ appearance of systematized building approach of 60’s (Bech-Danielsen, et al., 2011, p. 20).



Figure 6-26: Before the renovation. Source: Karen Zwinge Steen/Photoboks



Figure 6-27: Before the renovation. Source: Karen Zwinge Steen/Photoboks



Figure 6-28: After the renovation [From same node as the previous photo in Figure 6-27] Source: Lejerbo Evaluation Document 2015.



Figure 6-29: A renovated housing block: the facade with balconies. Source: N.Burak Bican, May 2014



Figure 6-30: Horizontal transparent divisions of facades of housing blocks after renovation.. Source: N. Burak Bican May 2015



Figure 6-31: Concrete cladding plates on facades to keep authenticity. Bay windows in the narrow facades facing the pergola street. Photo: N. Burak Bican May 2014



Figure 6-32: Building entrances: Protected space provided with seats and post-boxes. Photo: N. Burak Bican May 2014



Figure 6-33: Building entrances: to be easily identified. Photo: N. Burak Bican May 2014



Figure 6-34: The new Children's House after Renovation. FOTO: N. Burak Bican, May 2014

Renovation: The Old Nursing House to Children's House

The four-floored old nursing house - *plejehjem*- building has been converted into a children's house - *børnehus*-, consisted of a day-care centre, a free-time house, and a youth club. A comprehensive façade and indoors renovation ended up with re-organization of the rooftop with outdoor activities. (Lejerbo, 2012; 2013) (Figure 6-34)

New Construction: Nursery House

Being a basic idea of the competition proposal a 'green' strategy transforming the outdoor spaces in the ground floor has been applied. Besides, the competition program had asked for a five-story nursing house. However, there was no concrete information about how to deal with the 'scale'. It was the proposal of architects to end up with a 'snake-shaped' double-floored building sprawling on the ground after discussing with the municipality and the housing association. (Figure 6-35; Figure 6-36; Figure 6-37) The buildings fundamental black cladding softened with the use of wooden elements in the façade help and its relatively lower height helped to separate itself from the 'white, cubic, concrete blocks' of the housing structures. Besides, the green roof structures provide the residents occupying the upper floors of building blocks with a better view than before. (Bech-Danielsen, et al., 2011)

New Construction: Integrated Childcare Institution

An integrated childcare institution has been built in front of the blocks in Store Krog, after demolition of the barracks on the east, housing previous childcare and nursery facilities. The institution was planned together with its out-space including, its own garden with urban furniture and toys for children. The building's façade has been designed in a full transparent manner which provides visibility from the residents around, as an architectural solution to rising 'cases of child-abuse' in Denmark. (Albrechtsen, [PI], 2014)

Besides Architectural design of the new institution has fully been handled as an environmentally sustainable, 'zero-energy' building. The building has been constructed as a demonstration project in connection with 'COP 15-meeting in Bella Centre in 2009.' (Lejerbo - Kuben Management, 2015, p. 57)

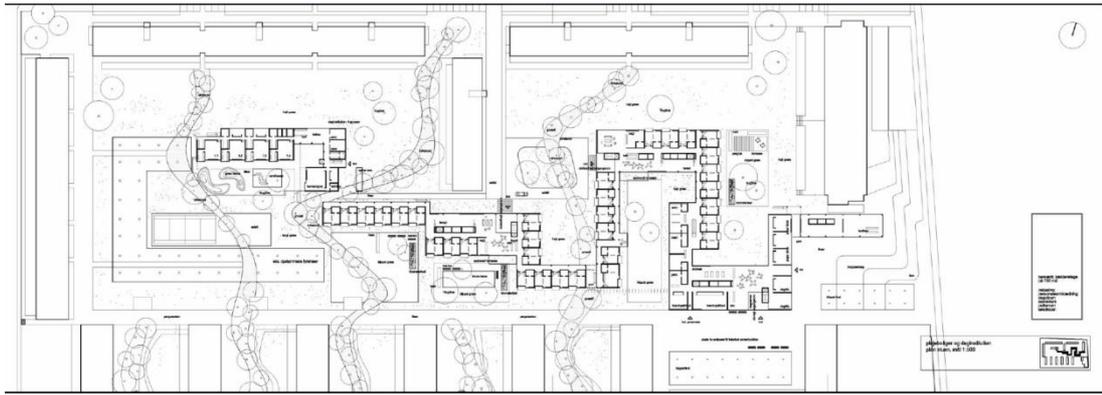


Figure 6-35: Proposed 'snake-shaped' nursing house: plan view source: WVV Proposal Doc.



Figure 6-36: Proposed 'snake-shaped' nursing house: perspective. Source: WVV Proposal Doc



Figure 6-37: Photo: The nursing house. Source: N. Burak Bican, May 2014



Figure 6-38: Photo: The nursing house. Source: N. Burak Bican, December 2013



Figure 6-39: New Integrated Childcare Institution. Photo: N.Burak Bican May 2014



Figure 6-40: New Integrated Childcare Institution. Photo: N.Burak Bican December 2013

6.3.3. Apartments

Introduction of Mixed Plan Types

One of the housing blocks was consisted of small-sized one or two room flats reserved for young residents causing a segregation problem among families and young singles. So, reducing number of these flats and creating some additional family residences instead became a strategy to maintain ‘social-mix’ within the block. (Albrechtsen, [PI], 2014) Therefore, both small and large flats were planned for those blocks within the renovation scheme. Consequently, some of the small-sized apartments are merged to have more family houses, targeting to secure a mix of residents and eliminate concentration of social problems. (Bech-Danielsen, et al., 2011, p. 105) While merging two apartments, challenge has been about kitchen’s and one of living room’s sharing same room, but living room has direct eye-contact with outside world through kitchen window. The architects solved the problem simply putting a low cupboard in between. (Bech-Danielsen, et al., 2011, p. 108)

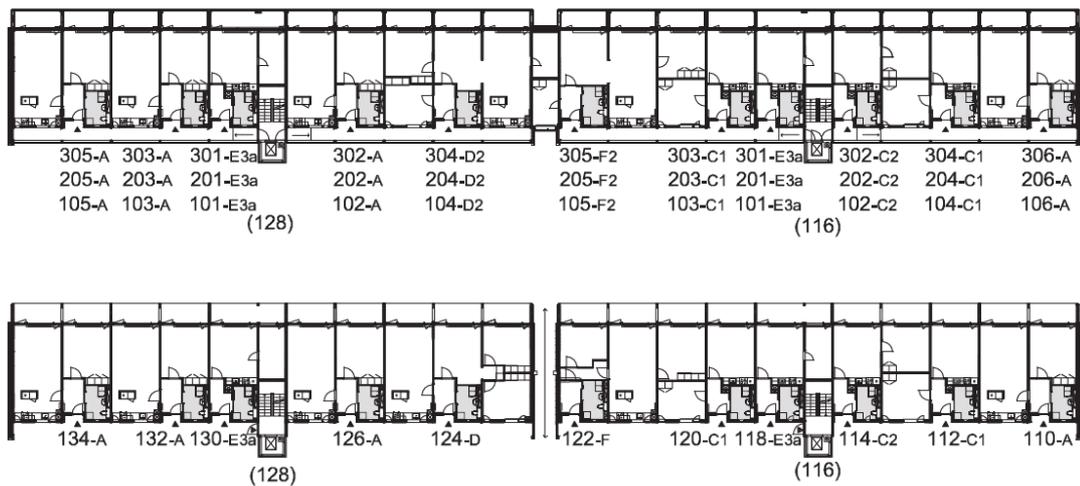


Figure 6-41: Plan Layout of Blok 23 of Family Apartments. Source: Lejerbo Brochure for Renting/Udlejningsbrochure-13-09-11

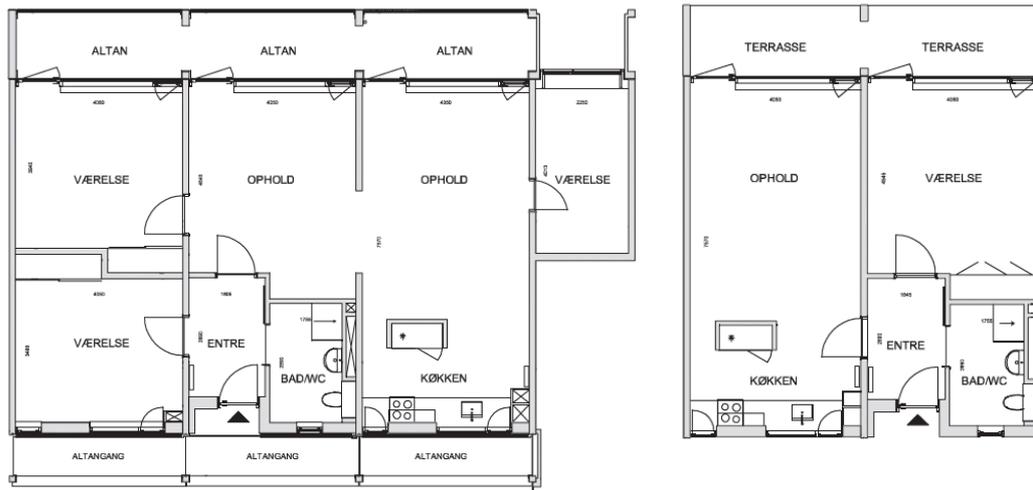


Figure 6-42: Selected Plan Layouts from Blok 23. Source: Lejerbo Rental Brochure / Udlejningsbrochure-13-09-11

Balconies

The residents mostly asked for enlarging the balconies of the apartments for not being able ‘to put a table and chair inside.’ The architects managed not only to increase the depth of balconies and provide the appropriate depth for this demand,¹ but also did a series of other changes to improve the amount and quality daylight in flats. To improve sunlight penetration into flats which lost certain degree of daylight because balconies were enlarged in depth, the walls between the balconies and interior space of flats were demolished. This surface in-between was designed in a more transparent manner - through addition of more glass surface-. Besides, the concrete parapets were changed with semi-transparent glass ones to maximize the daylight. (Albrechtsen, [PI], 2014)

The total transformation of balconies has not only affected the individual apartment units but also transformed the overall appearance of facades of the blocks. Furthermore, larger balconies would encourage households to longer occupation, thus pave the way for more eye-contact with outside environment and more ‘natural surveillance’, and consequently more ‘security for the settlement’. (Figure 6-29; Figure 6-45; Figure 6-46; Figure 6-43)

¹ It is noted that *Landsbyggedonden* did not subsidized this improvement. (Bech-Danielsen, et al., 2011, p. 108)



Figure 6-43: Balconies: Before and after. Source: Lejerbo Evaluation Doc. of Gyldenrisparken- 2015

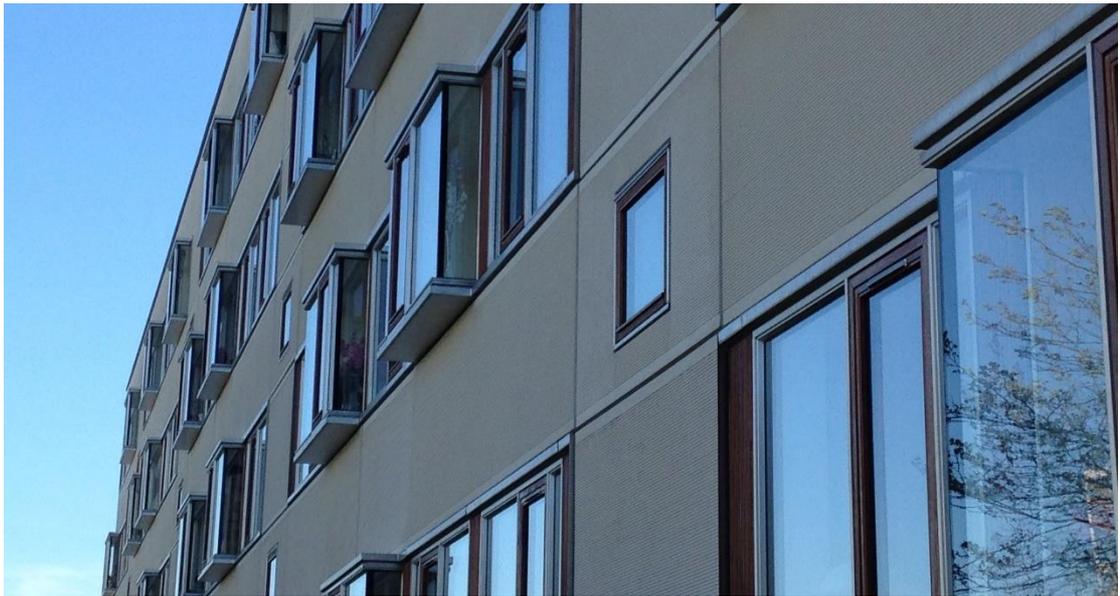


Figure 6-44: The Bay Windows. Photo: N.Burak Bican May 2014



Figure 6-45: New balconies integrated with interiors. Photo: Karen Zwinge Steen/ Photoboks/ Inspirationskatalog.dk

Accessibility Improvements

Accessibility have been taken as a critical consideration through renovation of apartments not only for the physically-handicapped, but also the elderly, pregnant women, people with babies, or ordinary people to carry loads in varying occasions. Thus, elevators have been installed (Figure 6-48); the hallways, main-door entrances, balcony doorways, and bathrooms are arranged so as to maximize accessibility.

Providing stairless entrances has been a major concern. Many of entrances to individual apartments has been arranged so as to adapt equal levels of ground on both sides. This adaptation took place, especially, at the 'public balcony entrances' to each apartment in *Store Krog*. (Figure 6-48; Figure 6-50) Besides, level differences at entrances/exits between the residents and their private balconies were removed and smooth entries were arranged. (Bech-Danielsen, et al., 2011, p. 108;113)

Moreover, as told before the apartments on the ground levels in the blocks located along Gyldenrisvej has direct access to their private gardens. They have been provided with 'level-fri' connection with '0' level of the settlement through provision of long ramps, with a slope of 1:40, integrated into the new landscape project. (Bech-Danielsen, et al., 2011, p. 114) (Figure 6-47)

Merging of some of the apartments provided spaciousness for better movement particularly for the wheelchairs. Besides introduction of sliding doors for some of critical places, f.e. bathroom doors opening to hallways, together with certain ground adaptations contributed to accessible circulation solutions. However, for Bech-Danielsen kitchen and bathroom re-arrangement would be criticized for not providing enough space for full rotation of wheelchairs. Nevertheless, the arrangements are satisfactory use of rollators. (Bech-Danielsen, et al., 2011, p. 115) (Figure 6-49)



Figure 6-46: Children playing on the raised ground. Photo: N. Burak Bican, May 2014



Figure 6-47: Ramps adapted within new landscape. Gyldenrisvej. Photo: N.Burak Bican, 12.2013



Figure 6-48: Elevator shafts to public balconies. Store Krog. Photo: N.Burak Bican, 12. 2013

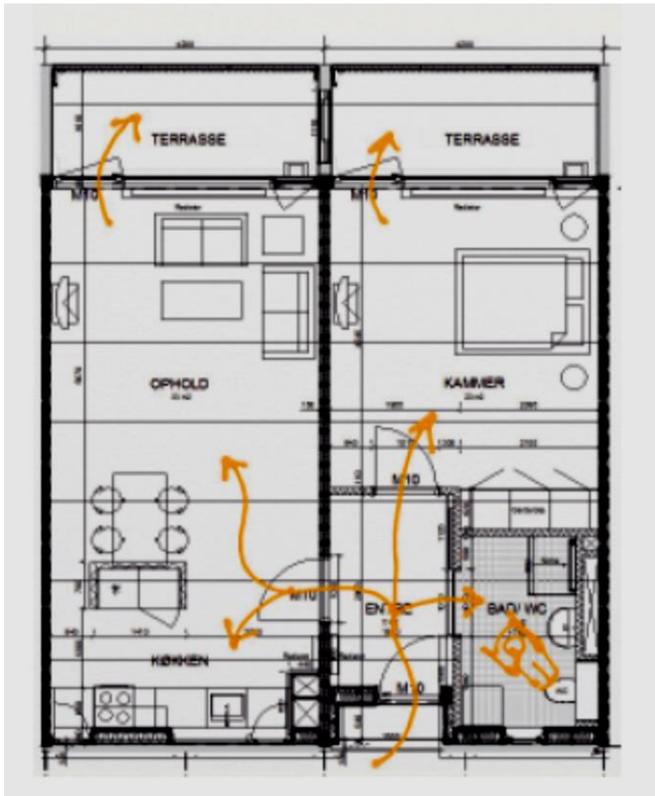


Figure 6-49: Interior arrangements for accessibility in plan. Source: Bech-Danielsen, et al. 2011

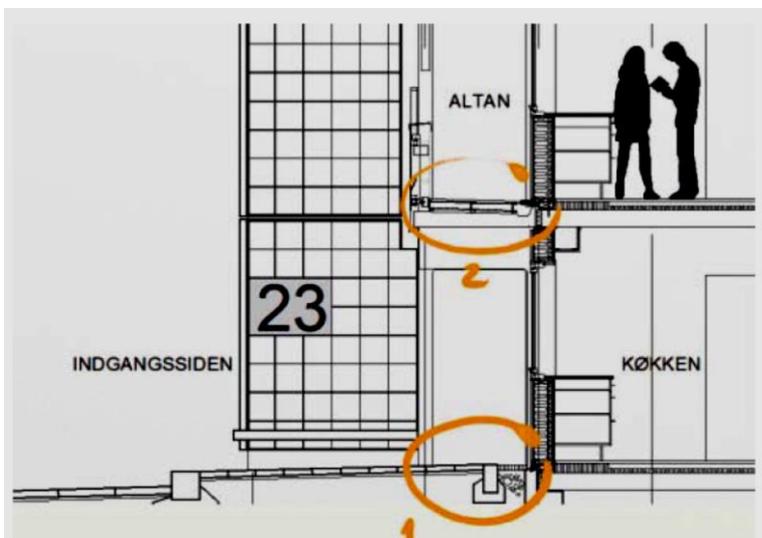


Figure 6-50: Section. Level-free access to apartments. Source: Bech-Danielsen, et al. 2011

6.4. Reflections of the Regeneration

Due to the renovation and the improved image of Gyldenrisparken the waiting list is extending. Before the renovation you could get a flat in the unit after waiting only 4-6 months. Currently, you would have to wait 4-6 years to be given an apartment even if you fulfil the flexible letting criteria. Moving rates has lowered, which means the residents are now more content and satisfied with the housing area compared to the situation before the renovation. (Lejerbo Press Material 2012)

Feedbacks - Learning from the Process

All of the actors who were interviewed with expressed their satisfaction about final result of the process of the regeneration of Gyldenrisparken in terms of their own perspectives. According to Lejerbo's report disclosing the company's experience in the re-generation of Gyldenrisparken, the organization of the process by employing groups to manage specified tasks in specified periods came up to be working. It enabled the municipality and the housing organization join actively to the whole process. Thus, both parties have begun to adopt similar methods in projects of similar sizes. For Lejerbo, a 'cross organization' can also be adopted by other housing organizations working with a masterplan of large size. Such collaboration would contribute to achieve mutually beneficial ending for all the stakeholders by its '*smidig*' - fluid - structure. (Lejerbo - Kuben Management, 2015, p. 27)

The municipality's direct engagement to the secretariat of the task force, by a project leader, converted its position as the 'authority' over the project to the 'facilitator' of the project. The project leader's engagement to the process ensured working continuously and preventing possible interruptions in case of malfunctions on the way. Besides, as the project moved on Lejerbo saw that its directors for construction and economy should co-work to manage conflicts needing common consideration. Therefore, the company re-organized the departments' structure to work in cooperation. (Lejerbo - Kuben Management, 2015, p. 29)

Nonetheless, Jorgensen states that, ([PI], 2014), a basic experience of Lejerbo. For him, the social and constructional setups had to be coordinated much earlier. Also, construction process depends a neat handling. Having somebody to communicate closely with the site may reduce problems in a large amount.

On the 22nd of September in 2014, a group of experts¹ joined to a panel established following a ‘walk-shop’ in Gyldenrisparken, together with a group of representatives of decision-making parties in the process². One of the proposals come forth is to ensure connection of housing quarters with the surrounding city, the outside world, both by mental and physical connections. Those connections were claimed to be critical to avoid isolation, to encourage communication, and to sustain the life within. ‘The pergola street’ passing along the settlement from end to end, also connecting districts and thus their residents together, was praised for establishing such a role. (Lejerbo - Kuben Management, 2015, pp. 40-41;48-49)

Moreover, according to experts, common outdoor spaces and the greeneries of social housing settlements plays a crucial role and constitutes a competitive parameter compared to the alternative provision models in the market. In Gyldenrisparken, keeping solutions against ‘criminal prevention’ in mind, the green areas have both been ‘preserved and trimmed’. Together with the trimming, a controlled densification is supplied within the site. Consequently, more useable spaces have been created within the outdoor spaces securing the settlement against vandalism and criminal events. Besides, according to Peter Lundsgaard Hansen, in Gyldenrisparken, the rise of spatial quality came with a controlled reduction of the greeneries, which also paved the way for ‘better social climate and better landscape’. (Lejerbo - Kuben Management, 2015, p. 51)

Social Reflections

Until the regeneration Gyldenrisparken was officially regarded one of the problematic areas -vulnerable housing settings, or so called ‘ghetto list’- in Copenhagen, despite nor being one of the worst. After the renovation Gyldenrisparken has ‘permanently’ got rid of that ‘list’. (Jorgensen, [PI], 2014) Furthermore, while the settlement was being supported by Landsbyggefonden and the Municipality of Copenhagen for social

¹ Nicolai Carlberg, Ethnolog; Heidi Svenningsen Kajita, Arkitekt MAA, Ph.d. stu.; Maj Green, Cand.scient.sociologist; Nikolaj Avlund, Geographer; leif Tøiberg, Head of Operations in Landsbyggefonden; Martin Dam Wied, Environment and Energy planner; Peter Lundsgaard Hansen, Landscape architect.

² The head of the residents’ board, head of Children’s House, development and construction chief of Lejerbo, chairman of Lejerbo Kobenhavn, project leader in Lejerbo, the architect, and representatives from consultant companies.

problems until a few years ago, at the end, it gets no help from any social program. (Jorgensen, [PI], 2014)

Besides, it is argued that rate of unemployment within the area decreased from %40 to 30% following the process. (Sound Settlements, 2013) It is also declared that people feel much safer than before. They leave their children alone outside to play with other peers and many wants to get an apartment on the ground floor with gardens. (Ötekayaka, [PI], 2014)

Table 6-2: List of Rents to compare apartments within/outside Gyldenrisparken. Source: Websites of Lejerbo and Vildtbanegaard.

Gyldenrisparken, Copenhagen V					
Family Apartments					
Type	Number	Area (m²)	Rent (kr.)	Deposit (kr.)	Waiting time
<i>1 rooms</i>	35	42,8	3.165	10.290	10 - 20 years
2 rooms	107	53,1-87,55	3.896-7.664	11.748-18.911	10 - 20 years
<i>3 rooms</i>	120	74,1-109,73	4.982-9.543	14.840-23.702	10 - 20 years
4 rooms	126	85,9-127,35	5.774-11.076	17.180-27.508	10 - 20 years
5 rooms	3	136,92	11.908	29.575	10 - 20 years
Youth Apartments in Gyldenrisparken					
<i>1 rooms</i>	21	42,8	3.165	10.290	Not applicable
2 rooms	20	53,1-54,7	3.771-4.010	12.680-13.050	Not applicable
A Comperative Case: Vildtbanegaard II- Ishøj					
Social housing settlement renovated in 2000s; 20 km away from central Copenhagen					
Selected Apartments					
<i>1 rooms</i>	24	38	2.928	8.012	6 m.ths - 1 year
<i>3 rooms</i>	222	82	5.583	15.376	6 m.ths - 1 year
Note: 1000 DKK equals to 134 Euros and 407 Turkish Liras in August 2015.					

Economic Reflections

Now, in Gyldenrisparken rents per apartments are quite cheaper when compared to other corresponding apartments in other housing settlements in Copenhagen. Family apartments *-familiebolig-* with four rooms can be rented out for between 5.774DKK and 11.076DKK with areas of 74m² to 110m². Nonetheless, the waiting time for such an apartment in Gyldenrisparken changes between 10 to 20 years, unless the candidate is not supported by the municipality quota or unless he has ‘seniority’ for being a previous resident of the settlement. (Lejerbo, 2015) (Stockhom, [PI], , 2014) It should be noted that apartments with similar floor area outside the central region cost similar amounts. However, waiting times for Gyldenrisparken is much higher. (Table 6-2)

6.5. Conclusion of the Case Analysis

In this chapter the case of regeneration in Gyldenrisparken has been analytically examined and presented by highlighting the milestones for spatial decision-making. Decisions securing architectural quality and cultural heritage, methods for stakeholders’ participation, specific architectural design elements to ensure sustainability, and the social efforts supporting both the physical renovation process and the communal living have been underlined and described making use of personal interviews and diverse primary sources. (See Figures Figure 7-2 and Figure 7-3 for a graphic scheme of the entire process, and APPENDIX J for a detailed chronology)

Beginning with a brief introduction about the history and existing situation of the settlement, the chapter has disclosed findings gathered during the pre-investigation period of stud. Then, the spatial, social, and economic background information has been revealed to set a contextual knowledge consisted of pre-conditions, facts, and pre-experiences in the very beginning of the process.

In the next step, the total mechanism of spatial decision-making undertaken in Gyldenrisparken has been resolved into its components and explained primarily following a chronological order. Therefore, an introduction of the major actors and stakeholders followed a narrative of primary exploration of problems and the first steps taken forward. Afterwards primary elements of idea development phases which included a comprehensive participation of the residents in the settlement have been mentioned. This phase has been underlined for setting the fundamental background for

the physical master plan basic content of which has also been unfolded within.

Despite being an element of the tender process which came after the development of the master plan, the architectural competition has been examined in a particular section. It has been an intentional preference of the study, because it has regarded the competition as a solid representation of a search for quality. The competition was comprised of critical criteria and implementation structure securing quality and solutions to ensure sustainability in advance.

Moreover, the implementation period of the project has been revealed by paying special attention to methods of handling. Formation of a new committee for the implementation phase, communication strategies developed to steer the process, and the modes of residents' involvement to decide on the final physical interventions have been highlighted for their being crucial factors to enhance participation and secure control over construction period. Despite being a simultaneous component of this process, the social master plan, comprising targets to support the renovation and maintain the sense of community *-fællesskab-*, has been presented under the following heading.

At the end of the chronologically presented process of the regeneration, the architectural decisions applied throughout the renovation and construction process have been unfolded under a scale-based categorization. In doing this, series of individual decisions which intended to contribute sustainability of the settlement are specifically highlighted and described by the help of provided images.

Finally, the study has disclosed a set of reflections from the actors of the process. The reflections covered both feedbacks for future implementations, and social and economic outputs which comprised concrete elaboration of the 'image' of Gyldenrisparken, by getting rid of physical and social decay.

6.5.1. Intangible Factors Securing the Quality

What makes Gyldenrisparken considered as 'best practice' is the elevation of spatial quality provided by a regenerative process appropriated not only by its residents, but also by all of its stakeholders and neutral observers, including academic researchers. Current study reveals that the quality of space maintained in Gyldenrisparken is not coincidental one, on the contrary, series of spatial decisions, each of which was fed

from the previous and referred to the next, secured it gradually. (See Appendix I for a detailed chronology)

Quality as a Pre-condition of Funding Support

Current study has revealed that the prerequisite to maintain a high quality renovation work was determined by Landsbyggefonden, which set strict rules to supply funding for needs of housing associations. Thus, its setting pre-conditions to Lejerbo to ‘work with a competent professional consultancy company’ and ‘to establish a master plan’ in order to ‘secure the future of the settlement’ have been critical steps initiating the search for ‘quality’.

Municipal Supervision

The next step has been Lejerbo’s being supervised by the Municipality of Copenhagen, getting support of guidance of the city architect. In Denmark, housing association have legal right to receive municipal supervision in case of pre-defined occasions. Thus, it also became possible for the association to realize that Gyldenrisparken was one of the last preserved examples of the ‘1960s rush for industrialised social housing’ and had ‘the potential to be better’ if could be preserved as an ‘architectural heritage’.

Close Contact of the Stakeholders

Besides, a strong and close contact among the stakeholders contributed to the process as a means of securing the parties’ satisfaction beforehand. Such contact was provided by gathering the ‘task force’ to steer the process in deciding on the main strategies, and the ‘building committee’ to control the construction phase by its technical proficiency. The two committees provided the ground for actors of diverse organizations to regularly meet and discuss on the on-going process and to provide offers and feedbacks to each other.

The Participation of the Residents

Not only the close contact of authorities, but also the participation of the residents to the decision-making processes has contributed to end up with an overall satisfaction within the settlement. Besides getting advantage of the built-in’ ‘tenants’ democracy’ of Danish non-profit social housing system, additional case-specific methods were

developed to canalize the residents' participation into the process. The idea market and workshop organized before the master planning ensured their ideas to be included in the spatial decisions taken for their future. The professional support in organizing these processes has also contributed much for simplifying complex architectural and technical details to be comprehended by the ordinary people. Moreover, the meetings and workshops organized after the tender process rendered the final physical master plan and the architectural details to be in line with actual demand of the residents.

Architectural Competition and Its Structure

On the other hand, it has been the architectural competition and its structure which maintained a predictable schedule and a pre-selection of qualified competitors. It should also be noted the tender document specified 'quality' as a selection criterion to be assessed by an anonymous jury -committee of referees- consisted of high-profiled specialists. On the other hand, the structure of the jury, the pre-selection criteria, and the assurance of quality within the tender document has been regulated by the EU law, details of which has been presented under the section 5.6 of our study.

The Master Planning

It has already been noted that the regeneration of Gyldenrisparken has been the first one to be implemented through a master plan in Denmark. The physical master plan ensured ideas developed by the residents, the stakeholders, and the technical consultants -architects, engineers, etc. to be recorded and to constitute the basis of implementations. Furthermore, its foresights have also been a base for the local plan of the municipality. That is, the decisions have also been secured by the legal authority. It should also be noted that the construction process was also supported with the social master plan adopted for three years. It has not only provided support for an improved contact with the vulnerable residents, but also established the feeling of community within the settlement to secure the future of the life within.

Organized Communication Strategy

Finally, the communication tactics and strategies has also contributed to perform accurately and keep up with the schedule through the construction period. The secretary to the Task Force kept the residents informed both about the work established

and to be realized through regularly published newsletters. Besides, Lejerbo's official 'communication strategy' published during the construction phased helped much to keep residents and stakeholders feel safe and informed, to maintain appropriation within the community, and to connect with agents outside of the settlements.

6.5.2. Spatial Decisions towards Sustainability

A system should reproduce 'the productive forces' and 'existing relations of production' to be alive. (Althusser, 1970) This proposal is regarded as a formula to maintain existence and independent continuity of a given system. It may, thus, be argued to be an implied definition of sustainability for social constructs. Therefore, within such a formulation spatial design and planning -spatial decision-making- correspond to 'the productive forces', while the governing policies, regulations, and the pre-set planning and design criteria would be considered as 'existing relations of production'. Consequently, spatial decision-making would be regarded as a pre-condition securing continuity of a social housing settlement, that is, its sustainability.

Kural (2009) underlines the factor of 'man' and his social relations as being the centre of life while developing 'parameters of sustainability' for housing settlements. Chiu's review of the literature on social sustainability has also revealed that the 'people-oriented' perspective is one of three common trends 'focusing well-being of people living today and their future generations'. (Chiu R. L., 2003)

Varying intangible features of social sustainability have been defined by McKenzie (2004) as follows: equity of access; equity between generations, a system of cultural relations, participation of citizens, sense of community, mechanisms for communal collectivism, and communal action. (See heading 4.1.2 for details) Accordingly, it is apparent that the regeneration process in Gyldenrisparken placed 'the man', namely, the residents and the stakeholders, in the centre of project. Provision of close contact of the stakeholders, numerous means developed to engage citizens in decision-making processes, building up a master plan based on the ideas created by the residents themselves, and communication strategies to catalyse them all are tangible reflections of such an approach.

In Gyldenrisparken, many spatial decisions have been solidified through rigorous design and planning to secure the sustainability of the settlement in advance. Our

proposed ‘Sustainability-Scale Matrix for Spatial Decisions’ in Table 4-6, thus, provided a framework for an analysis of sustainability through categorization of individual spatial decisions. In Table 6-3, we have adopted the matrix for Gyldenrisparken. The table reveals that the regeneration process of Gyldenrisparken have provided inputs for almost all individual tri-partite intersection comprised of a ‘sustainability component’, ‘scale of intervention’, and a ‘space-making concept’. As a result, it would be stated that Gyldenrisparken has established a tangible achievement not only in quality but also in sustainability, both of which are intended to secure the future of the settlement ensuring a liveable space for the inhabitants.

For Bech-Danielsen, the renovation in Gyldenrisparken maintained the qualities of architectural heritage, while providing the settlement with contemporary appearance and ease of use for in various scales. In other words, it has not sacrificed architectural quality, but on the contrary, enhanced the settlement’s ‘experiential’ value. Therefore, the quality and the ‘successful result’ of the renovation project would fundamentally be attributed to the ‘conscious management of the architecture’. (Bech-Danielsen, et al., 2011, pp. 107-108;110) Besides, according to Bjarne West ([PI], 2014), the head of residents’ board in Gyldenrisparken, there is no more criminal activities, vandalism, or ‘graffiti’ paintings on the walls; on the contrary there are many residents joining cooperative social activities for the first time. (Ötekayaka, [PI], 2014)

It is argued that Gyldenrisparken has made visible progress in achieving better levels in ‘identity, landscape, resources, density, and diversity’, which has been utilized as tools to detect ‘best practices’ of social housing in Europe within Sound Settlements study (Mortensen, 2013). The experience along the transformation process of settlement uncovers a meticulous co-working of all participants for a satisfactory and sustainable end-up. Considerable increase of waiting times for the rental apartments - from 3-5 years to 10 to 20 years- in the estate reflects the satisfaction of residents and increasing will to stay, and besides, rising external demand to take a residence in Gyldenrisparken.

Table 6-3: 'Sustainability-Scale Matrix for Spatial Decisions' adopted for Gyldenrisparken

	SETTLEMENT		BLOCK		APARTMENT	
SOCIAL / EQUITY	PRG	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New open spaces for communal activities 	PRG	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Two blocks were converted to family blocks. 	PRG	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Redesign of layouts of apartment provides solutions for varying household types
	DIV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Renovation of social facilities and re-organization of blocks for social mix 	DIV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conversion of young residences to family apartments ensures a better social mix. 	DIV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bay windows provided for almost every unit; also provided those living in the edge with equal right to get light inside.
	ACC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to transport, shopping, and healthcare have been preserved The new layout of nursing house and childcare facility allows equity of access for generations. 	ACC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Elevators are renovated providing better access for all. Ground floors of blocks in Gyldenrisvej are provided with direct access to zero level of site. 	ACC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Doorways, balconies, kitchens, and bathrooms are re-organized according to universal design principles.
CULTURAL	LAN	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New landscaping among blocks provides greenery of quality for each block with equity of access. 			LAN	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Renovation of private gardens provides the elderly or families with small children to access green immediately.
	IDE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Basic layout of the settlement has been preserved. 	IDE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Horizontality and light colour of housing blocks have been preserved. Plastic or artificial materials are avoided for façade and balcony renovations. 	IDE	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Wooden floorings have been preserved
ENVIRONMENTAL		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Block layout preserved for ensuring optimum daylight-use for interiors and open spaces. Renovation of blocks means 're-use' of existing infra- and superstructure. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Green roofs provide for new blocks to balance energy use. The new childcare institution designed to be a 'zero-energy' building. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased depth of balconies has been balanced increased transparency by resizing glazing on façade, thus improving better daylight for interiors. Natural materials have been preferred for interiors. Windows were changed to secure better thermal insulation.
	PRO	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New facilities and organization matching with actual demand secure investments. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Renovation is a cheaper investment than demolition and construction. 		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Renovation elongates service life of apartments.
ECONOMIC						

	SETTLEMENT	BLOCK	APARTMENT
DIV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Change of household mix provides attraction for the settlement. Varying functions maintained in the site, secures a larger demand circle. 		ACC <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Accessible solutions for interiors encourages demand to waiting lists.
PRG	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New site planning has sought to maintain natural surveillance, thus, a more secure environment. New lighting to parking lots ensures security, minimizes robbery and seizure Secure environment for children and adults for 24 hours. 	PRG <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Reorganization of public and private areas with multiple scales, by introduction of new facilities. New communal facilities Block entrances provided with canopies. A balance mix of housing types ensures alternative set of selection. 	PRG <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Interior quality of units has been enhanced. Depths of balconies increased for better utilization. Households' ideas were followed for new unified apartments.
DIV	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Open spaces planned to facilitate diverse communal activities and recreation. 	DIV <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Bay windows introduced to break dull appearance, to provide tenants with more view, and security to the settl. 	DIV <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Flexibility is provided for new units to be utilized for work/life purposes.
DEN	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Densified layout by new facilities 		
ACC	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New accessible pedestrian routes to enhance walkability within. Traffic separation has been preserved. Walking routes designed to provide better access to parking lots. 	ACC <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ramps provided to access gardens of ground floor apartments in Gyldenrisvej. 	ACC <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Universal design principles secures accessibility. Daylight is maximized within rooms.
LAN	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Trees have been pruned over eye-level to secure eye-contact in the open spaces New topographic arrangements in Gyldenrisvej provides extra utilization. 	LAN <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Roof gardens provides residents living upper floors with better view. 	LAN <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Garden renovations are provided in 4 alternative ways to secure satisfaction.
SCA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The 2-floor new nursing unit and childcare facility maintains 'human scale'. 	SCA <ul style="list-style-type: none"> The 2-floor new nursing unit and childcare facility maintains 'human scale'. 	
::ABBREVIATIONS OF SPATIAL CONCEPTS:: PRO: Program; DIV: Diversity; DEN: Density; ACC: Access; LAN: Landscape; IDE: Identity; SCA: Scale			

Table 6-3:: Continued from previous page.

CHAPTER 7

CONCLUSION

This study has conducted an in-depth analysis of spatial decisions made in a ‘best practiced’ social housing regeneration in Denmark. Both case-specific/local factors and exterior contextual factors have been examined to maintain an understanding of a broad perspective regarding the process. This approach provided the means of building extensive knowledge about not only the planning, design, and implementation phases of the regeneration, but also the background parameters consisting of Danish policies, planning habits, and social housing system together with the related regulations of the European Union. It has been highlighted by this study that problems encountered before the regeneration have been solved by a series of tangible and intangible factors, showing that the satisfactory result is not a coincidence. On the contrary, it is a product of a consistent and harmonious integration of policy, planning and design approaches, national/international legal regulations securing sustainability, and the meticulous organization of the participation channels and the implementation phase. This practice is also worthwhile because it has preserved the built environment and the related cultural legacy, and at the same time, satisfied both the individuals and the community. Consequently, it guaranteed a sustainable and liveable settlement. Before presenting the concluding remarks of the study, a step will be taken back to set a larger perspective, and present key points, details of which were clarified throughout the study.

Securing Future through
Spatial Decision-making (Planning & Design)
GYLDENRISPARKEN/COPENHAGEN

Case-specific Factors

Quality > Liveability > Sustainability

■ **Intangible Factors**

Strict Control of the Funding Agent
Qualified Supervision by the Municipality
Qualified Consultancy
Close Contact of Stakeholders
Ensured Participation of residents
Collaborative Idea Building Process
Tender Structure :: Quality concern
Master Planning :: Social / Physical
Organized Communication Strategy
Secured Architectural Quality
Appropriation of the Project by Residents

■ **Tangible Factors**

Implementations of quality
In Spatial Design and Planning
securing
sustainability and liveability

Contextual (Exterior) Factors

■ **Strict Supervision by law**

Funding System - Landsbyggefonden
Participation
Tenants' Democracy

The Non-profit Rental
Social Housing System
in Denmark

■ **Architectural Quality
Sustainability
Architectural heritage**

Special regulations for Social Housing

National and Local
Architectural Policies
in Denmark

■ **'The Planning Act'**

'...based on visions of how to live
now and in the future...'
Decentralized responsibility
Local Planning, participation, conservation

Spatial Planning System
of Denmark

■ **Universalism - equal rights for all
Public Responsibility**

Active Social Measures
Local Community Approach
User influence

Social Welfare System
in Denmark

■ **Regulation for Public Provisions of EU**

Quality Concern
Definition of Architectural Competition
Local Agenda 21 of UN on sustainable devel.

Guidance of
International Regulations
by EU and UN

SOURCE: The current thesis study. Schematized by N.Burak Bican.

Figure 7-1: Scheme of decision-making in the case of Gyldenrisparken. Schematized by the author. Source: The current thesis study.

7.1. Epilogue

Contextual -Exterior- Factors

This study has revealed the implicit components of multiple systems and policies regulating spatial decision-making regarding social housing implementations in Denmark. The systems and policies provide a background to define many tangible and intangible methods for varying implementation mechanisms, among which are participation, conservation, planning, and architectural design. The systems and policies emphasized in this study are listed below:

- Social Welfare System
- Spatial Planning System
- National and Local Architectural Policies
- Non-profit Rental Social Housing System
- International Regulations of EU and UN

(See Chapter 5 for detailed information)

Figure 7-1 schematizes conceptual correlations among those systems. However, it should be noted that there is not a strict ‘top-down’ order where the upper system governs all others below. On the contrary, the systems reciprocally effect, refer, provide feedback to each other. It should be noted that the scheme purposefully highlights the regulations which contain specific content on spatial quality and sustainability.

A brief summary of these systems and policies may be helpful to set a clear vision of the correlation between them. First of all, the social welfare system in Denmark is based on ‘universalism’ which means ‘equal rights for all’. The system sets the ground for many substructures including housing, education, health, labour, and social security. Besides, on the one hand, it provides visions for the social housing system, spatial planning system, and architectural policies and stipulates public responsibility for the social services. On the other hand, its principles of ‘active social measures’ which means continuous updating of measures according to changing demand of society; ‘local community approach’ which underlines importance of communal life and duties of local governments; and ‘user influence’ which secures participatory operations provide direct inputs for the social housing system of the country.

Secondly, the national and local architectural policies also prioritize the provision of decent social housing through new constructions or renovations. It is noteworthy that the Danish national architectural policy, which appeared first in 1990s and revised in 2007, has framed a vision for quality of architectural productions in both public and private sectors. Additionally, within this policy it is possible to realize the high level of significance attributed to conservation of ‘architectural heritage’ and ‘sustainability’ by the central government.

Thirdly, the Spatial Planning System, which was brought into force in 2007, has provided a hierarchy of planning mechanisms which bears a strong revision and control mechanism. The system is based on an understanding of ‘decentralized responsibility’ which regards municipal and local planning as the basis of the whole system. Spatial Planning System is based on the philosophy of the welfare state; therefore, it gives high priority to participation. Furthermore, it encourages conservation of historical sites and buildings in line with the architectural policies. Consequently, it accords with the Planning Act 2007, which provides the framework of the system and is based on ‘visions of how to live now and in the future’ setting the ground also for sustainable provisions.

In Denmark the ‘non-profit rental social housing system’ has been supported by strict local and governmental supervision by law. A complex, but self-supporting funding system, the basic actor of which is the National Building Fund -*Landsbyggefonden*-, constitutes the core of its financial durability. Its most prominent property, compared to its international counterparts, is the ‘tenants’ democracy’. This mechanism provides the tangible foundation for participation and the system’s overall sustainability. It should be noted that tenants have the majority in the assembly of housing organizations. Thus, the residents have democratic power in decision-making related to their settlements, despite not being completely free because the system is controlled by external strict local and central mechanisms.

International regulations can be regarded as forming the outmost circle around the systems providing guidance for many implementations within the country. Two specific regulations of European Union and United Nations have been focused in the current study. On the one hand, the Local Agenda 21 of the UN provides a basic outline for sustainable development. Its contains specified points which promote ‘sustainable regional and urban development and regeneration’, public involvement, and

‘interaction between decisions in numerous sectors’. On the other hand, European Union’s ‘Directive 2004/18/EC’ sets rules for ‘public provisions’ undertaken in member countries. It covers articles concerning ‘architectural quality’ and ‘architectural competition’, together with detailed methods of maintaining and organizing them. It may be stated that the directive has provided a strong basis for the practice in Gyldenrisparken.

In summary, there exists a series of systems and political mechanisms regulating the provisions and implementations in social housing sector in Denmark. However, although those systems and mechanisms govern the sector, they cannot always guarantee ‘best practices’. There are ‘case-specific factors’ which play important roles to secure quality and consequent liveability and sustainability.

Case-specific Factors

In Gyldenrisparken, various tangible and intangible factors have come together to ensure quality of production and sustainability of the settlement. The intangible factors may be summarized as follows:

- *Strict Control of Funding Agent* (Implemented by *Landsbyggefonden*, requiring housing organizations to ‘secure the future’ *-fremtidssikring-* of settlements as a precondition of getting the state’s support for finance)
- *Qualified Supervision by the Municipality* (participation of the Municipality of Copenhagen with representatives of all of its departments; and external consultancy of the city architect of the period, by his experience and visionary proposals.)
- *Qualified Consultancy* (Experience and competency of Kuben Management in social housing, urban renewal, technical issues, and organization)
- *Preservation of architectural heritage* (Keeping the cultural inheritance of 1960s’ industrialized social housing alive together with the ‘collective memory’ accumulated in years)
- *Close Contact of Stakeholders* (Provision of alternative grounds for all stakeholders to participate and actively contribute to spatial decisions)
- *Ensured Participation of residents* (The built-in ‘tenants’ democracy of the overall social housing system; exploration and implementation of active means of participation for the residents)

- *Collaborative Idea Building Process* (Development of an alternative pre-design period to secure creative, economic, and demand-oriented solutions)
- *Tender Structure: Quality concern* (A two-step competition organized to secure the most competent, experienced -both in social housing and participatory processes-, and economically strong consortium and consequently guaranteeing the quality of the architectural project)
- *Master Planning: Social / Physical* (Implementing the first master plan for a social housing regeneration in the country; developing two master plans to secure physical quality and communal well-being)
- *Organized Communication Strategy* (Building up and getting use of a specific framework to ensure better contact among stakeholders; avoiding misunderstandings, keeping in schedule; and maintaining healthy information flow inside and outside the settlement during the renovation/construction period)
- *Secured Architectural Quality* (Combining factors of ‘preservation of architectural heritage’, a creative ‘idea building process’, a ‘tender structure: with solid concern of quality, and a comprehensive physical master planning)
- *Appropriation of the Project by Residents* (Establishing a sense of community -*fællesskab*- by encouraging participation, developing a communication strategy to build awareness and embrace the on-going process, and an extensive social master plan to integrate the vulnerable, the elderly, and the ones with immigrant background to the community)

The intangible factors mentioned have provided a ground for implementation of tangible factors which consist of solid spatial design and planning decisions implemented through the regeneration process. These spatial decisions have been solidified in three scales: ‘settlement’, ‘building/block’, and ‘apartment unit’, and have contributed to develop spatial attributes of quality: ‘density’, ‘diversity’, ‘program’, ‘identity’, ‘scale’, ‘landscape’, and ‘access’. At the end, those decisions have secured various dimensions of sustainability and liveability within the settlement. (See Table 6-3) In summary, the initial initiative taken for physical renovation of Gyldenrisparken in the beginning of 2000s, ended up with a ‘best practiced’ regeneration of the settlement at the end of 2014, owing to the comprehensive collaborative work targeted well-being of individuals and the community, and carried out through participatory

means, resulted in a built environment of quality, thus securing the future of Gyldenrisparken as a self-standing social housing. The figures Figure 7-2 and Figure 7-3 schematizes the complex spatial decision-making process behind the regeneration practice of Gyldenrisparken. The process sets an explicit contrasting attitude with the contemporary counterparts held in Turkey. (Re-consider figures Figure 1-1; Figure 1-2; and Figure 1-3)

Scheme of Spatial Decision-making in

URBAN REGENERATION - GYLDENRISARKEN/COPENHAGEN

1/2

- A non-profit rental housing estate of 1960's industrialized production in Denmark

2000

Housing Association/Lejerbo (HA) + National Building Fund/Landsbyggefonden (LBF) + Municipality of Copenhagen/Københavns Kommune (KK)

Other actors

- >Residents
- >Board of Residents (BR)
- >Other Stakeholders
- >Consultant Company to HA (Kuben Management) (CC)
- >Consortium for Total Consultancy of Architecture and Engineering (WVW)

PREPARATION PHASE

1999

Physical Problems discovered by HA ■ **Initial contact with LBF** to ask support
LBF demanded HA to work with a professional consultant and prepare a master plan to **secure the future** of the settlement

2000

Approval from LBF - **Cooperation** with KK

- HA sent an official request to LBF after getting an **assessment from a professional consultancy**
- HA got in touch with KK | **Due to Law**, Danish municipalities are obliged to supervise social housing associations

2001

«**Preserving the heritage**» advises City Architect

- **The City Architect** joined the municipal visit, and pointed to the «**architectural potential**» of the settlement
- **A cultural heritage** from «the rush of social housing development» of 1960s

2001

KK advises **HA to get consultancy**

- HA got in agreement with CC for support in renovation and constructions

2002

Three key issues outlined by CC ■ A simple architectural design (as proposed by the city architect)
■ Satisfaction of the residents
■ Architects to respect cultural heritage, financially and professionally capable

2003

A Task Force was formed

- Representatives: KK, HA, BR, CC, and LBF

Newsletters for updated information

- HA starts to publish regular newsletters to provide information flow to residents

Proposal for Architectural Competition

- City Architect proposes + EU Regulations

Idea Market and Idea Workshop

A method of integrating the residents in initial decision-making

- Representatives: HA, CC, BR + 2 architectural companies to steer
- Conceptual models and drawings were produced

Idea Katalog published

The catalog included a detailed narrative of the idea market and workshop

SOURCE: Chapter 6 of current study. Schematized by N.Burak Bican.

Figure 7-2: Scheme of Spatial Decision-making Process in Regeneration of Gyldenrisparken (1/2). Source: Chapter 6 of the current study. Schematized by the author, N. Burak Bican

2004

The Master Plan

- CC prepared it for HA
 - > to secure the investment
 - > to maintain respectful attitude to residents
 - > to avoid worsening of problems
 - > to define methods and schedule

Determination of **Architectural Project and Team of Consultants**

1st Step

Shortlisting of Candidates

- **Economic** Solidity
- **Architectural references:** Experience and excellence in **social housing and renovation**
- **Former experience and vision** of working with residents to ensure **participation and satisfaction** of residents

2nd Step

Tender «*Total Technical Consultancy*»

- >Based on EU regulations
- >Limited architectural competition included

- **Economy** - 60%
Bid for total budget
- **Architecture** - 30%
sketch projects for specified parts
- **Process-handling** proposal - 10%

The Jury

An Anonymous Committee

- > Non-architects (Politicians, residents, etc.)
- > Specialized and Experienced Architects proposed by their union

- **2004 The Winning Consortium** was announced: WVV
- **2005 Residents voted** for in favour of the winning project
- **2006 Lokal Plan is revised** by KK based on the winning project

IMPLEMENTATION PHASE

2006

Building Committee was organized

- It consisted of Renovation Coordinator, Representatives of HA and BR, Technical Consultants (WVV), Social Workers, and Secretariat (CC).

Workshops with Residents

- Residents ideas steered the project
- Well-known people were invited to encourage them for engagement

A Mock-up in 1:1 Scale

- Many of details were decided collaborately
- Personalized physical features were planned (front gardens, playgrounds, interiors etc.)

2014 Renovation is over...

2007

Social Master Plan

Social and physical development was carried out by two distinct master plans

- A connected estate/attractive social life
Security/well-being
Convert renovation to a positive experience

2008

A Communication Strategy

- HA developed and introduced a strategy to communicate with the residents, stakeholders, and the outside world.

Newsletters published continuously

SOURCE: Chapter 6 of current study. Schematized by N.Burak Bican.

Figure 7-3: Scheme of Spatial Decision-making Process in Regeneration of Gyldenrisparken (2/2). Source: Chapter 6 of the current study. Schematized by the author, N. Burak Bican

7.2. Learning from the Alternative Practice

For about fifteen years, an unprecedented mass-housing construction program has been implemented in Turkey by the empowered governmental actor, TOKİ, claiming to put an end to the long-lasting problem of ‘housing shortage’. (Uşaklıgil, 2014; Tekeli, 2010; TMMOB Mimarlar Odası, 2008; Duyguler, 2009) The program has been presented as a ‘social housing provision’ -based on property sale- ‘for those who cannot afford to buy a house through existing market mechanisms’. (TOKİ Due Diligence Document, 2013; TOKİ, 2013)

The housing model in question has also been utilized to provide new supply for residents to be transferred to alternative permanent settlements within recent urban transformation processes. However, it has been argued that the residents suffer not only from financial burden of the new construction, through ‘dispossession’, but also physical -‘displacement’- and social ones -‘social exclusion’-. (Uşaklıgil, 2014; Türkün, 2014) It should also be underlined that this would not only be considered as individual problems of those residents and but a larger problem of their communities and the rest of the society which are prone to face ‘social amnesia’¹ (Bican, 2010) through loss of spaces of ‘collective memories’. (Boyer, 1994)

Elimination of participatory methods constitutes risks for leaving public opinion and social facts aside. Thus, future economic, environmental, and spatial losses become unavoidable because what is supplied does not match actual ‘demand’ of communities. (Uşaklıgil, 2014; Ataöv, 2013) Consequently, fundamental planning, urban design, and architectural stages are either ignored or skipped for the sake of constructing a certain ‘quantity’ of units within shortest overall period, and mostly, ready-made “context-free” prototypical plans are implemented. As a result, the aspect of ‘quality’ has to be cast aside for rapid production. (See Figure 1-1; Figure 1-2; Figure 1-3 and Figure 2-2) It should be underlined that such method of implementation not only results in pure ‘aesthetical failure’, but indeed, sacrifices liveability and sustainability of the settlements. Furthermore, housing settlements that are developed, designed, and

¹ Bican borrows the term from Russerl Jacoby and utilizes the phrase in his unpublished essay to denote a loss of memories developed, accumulated, and stored in a certain space by demolition or a heavy transformation. For Bican, “A person who suffers from such disorder can have new memories, know the people he met in past times or the spaces that his previous memories took space: however, he cannot match them correctly.” Thus, he argues that, societies losing their binds of ‘collective memories’ with their urban space are prone to suffer from similar disorders.

located based on affordability of intended residents would result in income-based classification of social housing venues, setting the urban land for an eventual segregation. This is a shortcoming of ownership-based provision model.

The state authority established more than a half-millions of housing units through the model during the last decade. The government aims to build another half million dwellings in the near future. Moreover, governmental officers also pronounce their ambition of a total transformation of the housing stock within the country against 'disaster risk'. This potentially consists demolition of nearly seven millions of units claimed to be 'risk-bearing' in case of a possible earthquake. Nonetheless, there is need to have a paradigm shift to 'secure the future' of those new undertakings concerning one third of the existing housing stock. In case of elimination or poor handling of quality concerns and participatory processes within such an extensive project, high level of sustainability risks may arise. Consequently, it would result in not only an unrecoverable economic and environmental burden but also a heavy social unrest.

There is a parallel in the way of handling between Danish government's subsidizing policy for 'industrialized construction' of social housing in 1960s, and the Turkish authority's prioritization of ready-made plan types designed for 'tunnel-form' system in 2000s. Despite having considerable retrospective and contextual differences between the two countries' housing policies, in both cases there is a quantitative target to be achieved in a limited period.¹ However, although both of the processes targeted to provide housing for the low and middle income, the Danish model has been based on a rental, whereas the Turkish model bears an ownership model. It should also be reminded that in 1960s Danish social housing was built on the principles of modernism, thus, despite being dull in appearance, it sought for healthy environments outside the central areas, providing effective light and air inside of the apartments, avoiding car traffic in-between settlements, and providing immediate access to common areas with greenery.

¹ Both in Danish social housing in 1960s and Turkish model in 2000s, settlements have been preferred to be located outside the urban centres. While the former one has sought modernist principles to achieve clear air and healthiness, the latter one has sought 'cheap' or 'free plots'-plots belonging to central treasury of the state- to build the settlements on.

7.2.1. Suggestions for the Turkish Context

Today, provision of social housing in Turkey is primarily criticized for overlooking quality, residents' participation, actual demands of inhabitants, and concerns for sustainability and liveability in related spatial decision-making processes. However, social housing should be utilized as a tool of sustainable development by setting the ground for social cohesion - 'social mix', 'spatial inclusion', 'tenants' democracy'-. (UNECE, 2003) It should provide 'diversity'/flexibility of tenure for changing needs, 'ability to relocate', 'inclusiveness', and 'affordability' for all income ranges. (Burke, 2005) Elimination of spatial segregation, and instead maintaining of mix of social groups within settlements calls for liveable environments and spontaneous sustainability. (Scanlon & Vestergaard, 2007; Pittini et al., 2015)

The points of criticism should be eliminated to secure the future of both existing and future implementations. This study suggests consideration of,

- the series of systems and policies in Denmark providing the background for spatial implementation in the lower scales,
- the traits of Danish rental non-profit social housing model bearing a rental scheme, eliminating speculative prices, centralizing participation, targeting quality and sustainability of the built environment to maintain that of the whole system,
- the mechanism of spatial decision-making adopted within the regeneration process of Gyldenrisparken which consists specific grounds for decision-making, alternative modes of participation, prioritized spatial quality to secure the future of the settlement and the sense of community.

Re-consideration of Systems and Policies

Not only the Danish social housing system itself, but also the systems and policies setting the background and the regeneration practice in Gyldenrisparken deserves careful consideration. The embedded underpinnings of sustainability within the spatial decision-making processes set an example for other housing practices.

The systems and policies both feeding and referring to each other seamlessly channel top-most decisions towards each individual spatial implementation of finest detail. Therefore, primarily the comprehension of social welfare and related policies need to

be reconsidered to centralize actual demands of 'human' and 'society'. A comprehensive architecture policy should be defined to secure quality of production, sustainability of built environment, and preservation of architectural heritage by encouraging participation of stakeholders and contribution of residents within communities.

It may also be noted that decentralization of central authorities should also be considered to concentrate on local demand and shortening the distance between authorities and individuals in decision-making processes to end-up with long-lasting satisfactory results. Lastly, it should also be underlined that specific international regulations -specifically of EU- need to be integrated within existing regulatory mechanisms of spatial decisions and definition of future legal frameworks. (See heading 5.6)

A Rental Non-profit Social Housing Model

A non-profit rental social housing system would provide a ground for such advantages:

- An alternative for citizens who cannot afford buying a house or renting out quality housing in private rental sector,
- a flexibility of choice of dwelling in varying locations of cities,
- accordingly, alternative dwelling opportunities to support citizens with changing education or work places, or economic conditions of household members,
- flexibility for choice of units of varying areas and rooms as the demographic of families changes -birth or death of a family member, marriage or divorce of couples, young members leaving home, or older parents moving in etc.-
- possibility of maintaining 'social mix' within housing venues, because of its inclusive capacity for varying economic, social, or cultural groups [note that this is the state-of-art phenomenon within current Danish housing system to avoid 'ghettos' and 'social segregation']
- increased liveability through spatial solutions ensuring urban and architectural design qualities by inclusion of participatory processes and specialists, and competent professional consultants,
- longer utilization periods for having state support, professional administration -primarily through housing administrations-, and eliminating division of

property rights and inheritance problems,

- longer life through renovations to maintain residents inside and continuity of accumulation of public money through rents, thus supporting economic sustainability,
- an enhanced search for quality by the housing organizations, which have to maintain sustainability and liveability to secure continuous demand for the sector,
- Finally, sustainable housing settlements ensuring physical, economic, environmental, and social continuity of life and public space; and thus, sustainability of the whole housing system.

This study suggests consideration of the rental non-profit social housing model in Denmark as an alternative HSF for social housing provision. It has been practiced since the post-war times in the country and today most of the settlements provided within are in use and their life-cycles have been elongated through renovations. Although the current work does not primarily focus on the model, it would provide a framework of a model for similar rental housing settlements to be introduced by governmental support. (See heading 5.5 and APPENDIX K)

As an initial step, formation of non-profit housing associations can be encouraged by providing public land, or incentive credits to set a base for the system. The plots of such rental settlements have a better opportunity to be connected to existing infrastructure of urbanized areas. Alternatively, settlements should be provided within inner city to match demand from citizens who study or work downtown or who do not own personal transportation opportunities. Moreover, public financial benefits - preferably by local governments- should be supplied for the low-income and the poor. Rental payments and methods of letting should be independent from speculation, and local governments should have a reserved right to rent out units for economically or socially vulnerable groups. Furthermore, the municipalities should be provided with a large set of authorization regarding local policies and planning decisions (See heading 5.2), in order to shorten distances between implementations and elected authorities; and consequently setting a practical ground for democratic participation for citizens and other local public/private organizations.

It should be underlined that to secure not only sustainability of the settlements created and but also of the system introduced,

- transparency of processes,
- participatory methods to ensure the supply matching with actual demands,
- and quality of production to maintain liveability should first be assured.

Furthermore, following alternatives can be suggested as solid methods to initiate rental social housing within the country:

- Appropriate squatter housing settlements within urban areas would be transformed into rental housing venues, first residents of which would be the existing dwellers,
- Public rental housing for the civil servants *-kamu kurumu lojmanları-* within cities would be preserved to be non-profit rental housing,
- New rental settlements can be organized on condition that equitable access to everyday public services are provided as soon as new residents settle in.

Alternative Mechanisms of Spatial Decision-making

The Gyldenrisparken experience in Denmark has revealed series of tangible and intangible factors which were utilized for a regeneration process including not only a physical amendment but also a social recovery as a result of a successful master planning. The extensive participatory process has ensured all the actors -including municipality, housing association, consultant companies, architectural and implementing companies, and the residents- to embrace the project and obtain a final result satisfying all of the stakeholders. The sum of all these methods contributed to the spatial decision-making in the regeneration securing a liveable space for all, social well-being of the community, preservation of architectural heritage and its cultural value, and sustainable use of economic and environmental resources.

The series of methods utilized in the regeneration of Gyldenrisparken has influenced other implementations in the country's housing sector. The process can also set guidelines for other contexts outside Denmark which seek for sustainable and liveable built environments, that is, securing the future of those. The principles may well be employed for the resilience of future vulnerable settlements, transformation processes, and implementation of new social housing provisions independent of ownership types as soon as actual social needs of residents are prioritized. A revision of the mechanisms of spatial decision-making should be considered to ensure quality of productions,

enhance participation of stakeholders, and consequently, sustainability of settlements even within the existing ownership-based model.

Recent practices of urban renewal and squatter transformations in Turkey, schematized in the problem definition of the current study, have revealed that residents of the areas have extremely limited sets of choice in decision-making processes regarding the future of their living environments. Their participation is primarily limited with accepting or refusing the alternative purchasing options offered by the public authorities. Once they accept they are bound with their economic incomes while choosing among the alternatives. Thus, they mostly end-up with units either of limited space and quality or of challenging economic burden. (See Figure 1-2 and Figure 1-3)

Furthermore, in ‘administrative implementations’ of the central housing authority, primary decision makers are the public authorities who decide on location, spatial layouts/equipment, urban planning, and dwelling areas of the housing settlements. The demand of potential residents may only be a parameter to decide on the quantity of units to be constructed. The candidates who buy the units may choose among the units classified according to income levels of potential dwellers. It should again be noted that the spatial qualities and dwelling areas of those social housing units are proportionate to income levels of the intended buyers. (See Figure 1-1)

The case in Gyldenrisparken is a regeneration of a rental social housing settlement. One can learn a variety of things from different viewpoints of the practice. First and foremost, the practice has the potential to provide inputs for urban transformation processes in Turkey; or may shed light as an alternative model which makes it possible for the inhabitants to stay inside while a thorough renovation is under construction within the settlement.

Recent public housing policies prioritize suburban or periphery areas to construct the settlements on, and reserve central areas for ‘profitable’ projects. Accordingly, squatters, deprived historical districts, public plots in the central cities are regarded as potential areas to ‘harvest’ rent/profit from. However, the case study displays that the opposite of such an approach is also possible. Demolition and building an alternative settlement has not been an option for Gyldenrisparken. The land has been regarded as a cultural heritage of 1960s and home of a thousand people with potential qualities of liveability and sustainability. This principal decision reflects the embracing of priorities of the welfare state rather than those of neo-liberal policies.

On the other hand, due to structure of the non-profit rental system, there are financial tools of renovations and constructions of varying scales in housing estates. That is, the fundamental framework of this HSF has foreseen such demands to arise beforehand, and has created the mechanisms to overcome the problems. Whereas, the Turkish counterpart designates the quantity-based demand, produces the corresponding number of units, sells them to right owners, and retreats from the process.

Participation and Competition

Participation of the residents has been the key factor in bridging the real demand with the end practice throughout the whole process of the spatial decision-making in Gyldenrisparken. Almost in every step of decision-making either the residents themselves or their board contributed to the development of spatial decisions. This approach has not only secured the investments and safeguarded the environmental resources, but also, and most critically, provided a foreseeable satisfaction of the households, which may be interpreted as a reflection of social sustainability.

Social housing provision which has been realized in large sums in Turkey has been affecting the lives of many people and shaping the urban settlements. Thus, policies, planning regulations, and spatial design processes should develop, integrate and encourage the local and case-specific participatory processes to create built environments where the residents are willing to stay for years. Especially, in transformation or renewal projects, participation can both integrate grassroots demand of existing communities and contribute to the securing of the collective memory of those accumulated in their everyday environments.

Although there is various means to attain urban and architectural implementations of quality, competitive organizations are critical to encourage many qualified professionals to brain-storm and collectively arrive at the best reliable solution for a given setting. This method should especially be a part of large-scale spatial interventions when future lives of many people and their immediate environments are in question and about to be effected from irrevocable changes. Indeed, this is the main reason behind EU's setting regulations to require competitions for projects involving more than a pre-defined amount of investment especially when the public money is involved.

One can remind that TOKİ experienced a few architectural competitions in its history,

in the third and fourth phases of Eryaman housing settlement in Ankara in 1990s, and recently in Kayabaşı settlement in İstanbul. Nonetheless, it is not a wide-spread means of implementation of the administration, but there is plenty of reasons to consider such method in its future practices. Housing provision of TOKİ bear potential for people and the cities. It produces the largest share of the total housing stock. Therefore, any improvement in its development and implementation of its housing projects would cause a nation-wide effect and resonate much deeper than other individual attempts.

Emerging Mode of Urban Transformation and Potentials for the Future

It may be noted that in the second decade of 2000s, TOKİ's provision is not the sole tool for urban transformation in Turkey. Today, the largest cities of the country have been transforming economically, socially, and spatially. Especially, central urban districts of İstanbul and Ankara have been hosting an emerging HSF, through which aging housing blocks in individual plots are leaving their places to higher ones with mix-use facilities and contemporary 'make-up's. The extent of such mode of transformation cannot not be underestimated for the demand is growing and entrepreneurs are ceaselessly developing projects for the potential areas. There grows a new mode of participation within which the entrepreneurs are obliged to persuade all households of a certain block, and the residents negotiate with each other for the common benefit of themselves.

Indeed, this new HSF bears both positive and negative potentials. First of all, existing practices of this form of provision centralize transformation of individual blocks in same plots, sacrificing authentic scale and character of neighbourhoods for the sake of rent and better functions meeting contemporary demands. This is the source of negative potential which would possibly lead to migration of existing communities leaving their places to social groups of different income and ages. Thus, such condition calls for loss of spatial authenticity, collective memory, and social sustainability.

On the other hand, there is a set of positive potentials which may be implemented through this new HSF. Indeed, even today it may be argued to be a fruitful chance for realization of projects of a most-prominent architects through "transformative" projects. A series of housing blocks emerging in Bağdat Street, Fenerbahçe; Göztepe; and Kağıthane in İstanbul are of those implementations which imply the possibility of

a positive end-result.¹ The necessity to participate and negotiate for the good of owners of individual apartments constitutes another advantageous potential. However, there is still need to re-consider the planning arrangements to allow and encourage better urban solutions not only for the households but also for the rest of the neighbourhoods and the cities. Therefore, transformation should be handled by developing local solutions, considering its effects on the larger scales, and allowing larger stakeholder participation. Competitive project development should be reminded once again as a means to secure architectural quality, and consequent liveability of settlements to be transformed.

This study began with an urge to fill in the research gap within Turkish academic sources on the problematic spatial decision mechanisms of the recent housing provision of the central authority and alternative methods for its mass-housing practices. Thus, a comprehensive research work was established on a ‘best-practice’ of regeneration in a European social housing settlement. The recent practice exhibits an unconventional approach not only for Turkish context but also within the Danish social housing environment. The process which took more than ten years from the very first initiative to the last phase of the implementation has prevented many flaws beforehand and ensured the satisfaction of all parties at the end of the day. It has revealed that a fifty-year-old housing settlement can be extensively renovated and regenerated without causing ‘dispossession’ or ‘displacement’ of the residents or sacrificing the cultural heritage. Moreover, it can provide social mix and inclusion securing a liveable built environment of architectural quality and attract more inhabitants and visitors than before.

The housing history of Turkey implies that the country has the potential of flexibility to modify its existing HSFs in case they do not suffice or ‘bottle-necks’ appear on the course of time. Alternatively, it develops new HSFs if the modifications do not suffice or new capacities grow in the housing market. An interdisciplinary research is needed to develop a rental housing system that fits best to the Turkish context keeping its

¹ One can find a selected group of such housing projects which have recently been realized through the aforementioned HSF in the book, *Vitra Contemporary Architecture Series: Houses and Residential Buildings* (2016).

social and economic realities in mind. The Gyldenrisparken experience, which evoked international awareness, could set guidance for resolving shortcomings of HSFs of social housing, based on ownership. Moreover, possible ways of resilience for settlements which would not sustain themselves in the future, and also guidance for 'not-built-yet' housing settlements could be found within the lines of this study.

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APPENDIX A

NOTES ON ACTIVE PEOPLE IN GYLDENRISPARKEN PROCESS

During our research we were able to interview with some of 'key actors' who involved during and prior to the process of renovation, as an agent of pre-mentioned actors.

Head of Residents' Board of Gyldenrisparken, Bjarne West: Together with being the current chairman of the board, he participated to the whole process.

A member of Residents Board of Gyldenrisparken, Sevgi Öteyaka: She has been elected as a member of the board in 2012. However, she has experienced the whole process as a resident in Gyldenrisparken.

Housing Association, LEJERBO, Mette Francis Johansen: Social Housing Worker, Consultants for Residents

Housing Association, LEJERBO, Administrative Boss / Business Manager Steffen Boel Jorgensen: (Former Vice Director / Deputy Manager of Kobenhavns Kommune in Technical and Building Department also responsible for economy of social housing, between 2000 - 2005)

Housing Association, LEJERBO, Nina Stockholm: Project Manager on the social master plan (Currently, social works in KBH for Lejerbo)

Housing Association, LEJERBO, Carsten Bai: Project manager responsible for Gyldenrisparken

Housing Association, LEJERBO, Line Eriksen: (Former employee in Witraz Arkitekter)

Consultant Company, KUBEN Management, Lisbeth Vestergaard: Chef Adviser, Architect

Consultant Company, KUBEN Management, Niels Andersen: Project Director (Economy Education + 12 years of Social Housing + Urban Renewal in Ministry of Housing until 1986, after 1986 CEO of a large revenue company in Vesterbro of Kobenhavn)

Consultant Company, KUBEN Management, Signe Sloth Hansen, Hvilfred Hvid, Astred

Le: They prepared the document of experience for Lejerbo.

Local government, Municipality of Copenhagen, Jan Christiansen: He was the former city architect (2001-2010) during the whole planning phase for Gyldenrisparken. He met Gyldenrisparken during the early period of his career as city architect.

Local government, Municipality of Copenhagen, Jan Kendzior: (cannot be contacted)

National Building Fund, Landsbyggefunden, Sune Skovgaard: (contacted phone call, and e-mail conversation)

Danish Institute of Statistics, Tina Jensen:

Architectural Company, Vandkunsten: Jan Albrechtsen (partner in the company)

Architectural Company, Vandkunsten: Per Zwinge (partner in the company; contacted by phone call, and e-mail conversation)

Engineering Company, Wissenberg: Jesper Schat-Holm (cannot be contacted)

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW NOTES: GYLDENRISPARKEN ACTORS

Please note that all the following interviews are conducted by the author.



Summary of Interview with The Head of the Residents' Board of Gyldenrisparken

Date: 11th of April, 2014

Interviewee: Bjarne West

Place: Gyldenrisparken, Barrack for Residents' Board, Amager, Copenhagen

I have been living here for 14 years. In 1999. Just before the renovation process. I am a banker. The residents' board is elected for two years, but I am chairman for seven years now. I am a chairman for the whole community -not always the head of the residents' board- we have some clubs for example, I take care of everything. There is a group of people we do work together. (he arranges their roles).

People were living inside when the renovation took place, people left their keys for the renovation workers to operate inside. Most of the people have been living here for twenty-thirty years. Most of the people have lived here during the renovation; only one person had to move, because he was handicapped. She just had to move another apartment over here, when workers were busy with the stairs near there.

Clubs for kids after school, club for elderly people -those over sixty years meet once

a week, to do exercise etc.-, dinner club for men -they learn to cook-.

We started in 1999 due to concrete problems. Lejerbo, LBF, and KK sit together and thought on whether to tear down everything or to make a renovation. It was Lejerbo at the end who proposed the renovation, not the residents themselves.

(On the social problems) Until fifteen years ago, there were young people making too much noise, with motorbikes etc., not criminals, but did not fit in the society. Police came and asked their parents to look after them. We had social and physical renovation at the same time. We had four people to take care and make arrangements for people, or people were allowed to speak with them if they had any social problems -f.e. if your son do not go to school, you can come and ask to them-. They started work during the renovation.

(On the relation of the residents and Lejerbo -the housing association) Lejerbo owns all the buildings, but as the residents we have a lot of influence, a democratic process; we have general meeting once a year; and we decide what to do. Normally, they do our decisions, but if they do not do that, and we still want it to be done, we could go to city of Copenhagen (KK) and can say that 'we want this.' KK have some rules.

(On the competition) Lejerbo, KK, and LBF sit together and decided on the competition, but I don't know how many competitors have been invited to that. It was Witraz, Vandkunsten, Wissenberg won the comp. In August 2005, they came here, meet the people, and asked the people who lives here 'what they want'. They had a proposal in their hands, but they asked for approval and suggestions. It was a democratic process. It was a general meeting where all the people here joined.

(Q: Who decided on the specification list of the competition?)

It was Lejerbo and the city of Copenhagen. LBF was in that as well. They have to pay for it, and they have some rules. But in the end, if the people live here had said 'no', it was 'no'. Indeed, architects came with a whole project, so there were some minor things. For instance, In the project balconies were smaller, people asked for larger balconies. But it was not included in the project budget supplied by LBF, thus, people had to pay for it extra. Balconies were enlarged 50 cm. It meant some raise in the rents for the housing. 90dkk per sqm. In every apartment.

We are happy with the renovation. There was a small forest in the middle of the settlement. Today it was cut off from bottom of trees; so you can see all around today;

and all of the bushes. One cannot hide anywhere. (A security issue) Also the windows in the short edges, added during the renovation has the same role. You can see along the street here. (A natural surveillance) One can see their kids playing in the garden.

Besides, during the renovation, types of the playgrounds were decided by the children. Small kids can play between apartments. Tina Saaby, the city architect of Copenhagen now, was an architect employed by Witraz during renovation and liable from the playgrounds. Jesper Schat was the most active employee of the consortium. (Wissenberg) He supervised the details here. Per Zwinge was the main leader of the Witraz and now works for Ramboll.

Lejerbo has a department 'Building Society', Carsten Bai, is the head of it. He is the project manager. He is one of the most important people. They take care of everything. (Provides phone number for Carsten, Jesper, and Per).

Today, people are happy with the environment. They take care of the settlement more. You cannot see any graffiti today. People warn those who do not obey such rules, they want to live here until they die, they don't want to move. It now takes 15-20 years to get a family apartment, if you don't have a subscription to Lejerbo before. Before the renovation -1990s, 2000s- it was 5 to 6 years. Gyldenrisparken is very cheap (850 dkk per sqm per year) in the central Copenhagen. In others it is 1000 dkk.

In one of the buildings there were one or two rooms apartments. Everything inside was demolished inside. They made new apartments with larger layouts. There were fifty apartments not there 30. The idea is getting some more richer people, to maintain a social balance. Not so rich, but those with better income. That was the main reason to do that. But today young, elderly, and families live together.

Lejerbo did some surveys for satisfaction. Palle Andersen (General Manager of Lejerbo) may now the results may be. Mette Francis Johansen may also know more. She works for Lejerbo. She worked from the start as an advisor for the social life here. (He provides a phone number). She was the boss for Nina Stockholm, the social worker. Lejerbo's office is Gammelkoge Langevej 25, in Valby.

(Q: I learned there is a lady with Turkish Background in the residents' board: Sevgi Öteyaka. Do you think I can get in contact with her?)

Yes, she lives in that building. (Shows one of the buildings near around). You are welcome to call me afterwards. You can have some technical details from Carsten Bai.

Summary of Interview with a Member of the Residents' Board of Gyldenrisparken

Date: 17th of April, 2014

Interviewee: Sevgi Öteyaka (member of residents' board, a lady from Turkey)

Place: Gyldenrisparken, Sevgi Öteyaka's apartment

(Interview was conducted in Turkish)

I have been living here for the last 21 years. I was elected to the board last year. I am the first Turkish member in the board. There were 25 other Turkish families, and all of us has experienced the process. We stayed inside. F.i. when they do sth. in the kitchen., or change the balconies, we stayed inside. They enlarged the balconies. They change concrete railings with glass ones. And those who want had glasses to close it all.

The residents' board have monthly meetings and discuss the problems. There is an employee for the estate, works in the everyday mornings, between certain definite hours. (Varmmester) He is responsible for solving all daily technical problems. He gets that information and shares with us. He is paid by Lejerbo, the housing association. In the meeting, our accountant calculates all the spending. (Talks about Bjarne West). I am more responsible for social activities and families. (For instance for Paske/Easter)

The renovation provided many physical alterations and positive outcomes. Renovated glasses, kitchens, indoors, and more.

There was a meeting for the renovation, the renovation was discussed and voted. The majority voted for the favour, then it was accepted.

Previously, it was too cold inside. Now there is a central heating system, which adjusted itself automatically. Glasses are better now. The new buildings (kindergartens, nurseries, and planning changes) were decided afterwards.

The finance was provided by our account in LBF (7 milllion DKK). But we pay for 200 dkk more for renovation of kitchens. But more money was borrowed from LBF and KK. However, they investigated for a year, to understand whether it worths or not. (KK has the right to rent a specified number of apartments, thus has the right to say

sth. for investments)

Now, almost everyone is satisfied. There are only some minor lacks. Now carparks will be re-organized.

Previously, there were a forest-like places in between. I did not leave my kids outside. There were alcoholic people, rapers hiding there. Now, I can see where my kids are playing now. Now, here is more organized and a secure place.

Normally, people are not attending the meetings regularly. There are many ethnics, they do not join the meetings. But for the kitchens, I persuaded many to join the meeting.

[Q: Do you think people will be willing to join a satisfaction survey?]

May be I can help you if you provide a form to be filled in.

Last month there was a meeting, where the new glass fittings were discussed for being peeled out. I guess they will be renovated once again.

I know that there are still thieves, and burglaries. But I do not know whether the statistically it has been lowered after the renovation or not. However, I know that they put some extra lighting in the car parks, thus, it has been lowered now. I witnessed them a few times previously, and called the policemen. Some cars were fired out, stolen. After the lightings, there is no anymore.

I guess they will do a football pitch on top of this buildings. The building with coiffeur, and markets. (She shows on the map). There is a kids club, and youth club in this building. (The high building in the front) On the top there is a playground. There is also another new building for kindergarten building.

Also, open spaces and green areas were maximized. Children can play safely.

The new kindergarten building has transparent facades, so it eliminates potential for 'paedophilia'.

Also one of the block has been converted from youth block to family blocks. This maintained a better mix of groups. And those problematic conditions were eliminated (noise, etc.) But the young people still stays here, and the most problematic young people moved away.

Previously, policemen were keeping guard here. Now, it is over. But the problems -

burglary etc.- moved to the neighbouring plots.

Here, I guess perhaps because of the transparency, there is no more problem.

(After balconies were enlarged people now stay in the balconies. This helped much for the security.)

They added some canopies in front of main doors. But they did not put a ring bell system, they did not accept.

Now I wait for a ground floor apartment with garden. They have beautiful gardens. But I am in the waiting list. You can also enter inside in both sides. I would like to grow flowers also. Now, everyone prefers ground floors if it has a garden.



Summary of Interview with LEJERBO Employees

Date: 30th of April, 2014

Interviewees:

Mette Francis Johansen [MFJ] (Social Housing Worker/Consultant for residents; worked for the project for 2,5 years between 2003 and 2005)

Nina Stockholm [NS] (Social Worker)

Steffen Boel Jorgensen [SBJ] (Business Manager, Director in Lejerbo, in charge of 10.000 dwellings in 100 estates/departments/*afdelinger* in the capital region of Copenhagen; former deputy director in the Municipality of Copenhagen of Technical and Building Department)

Place: Lejerbo Head Office, Copenhagen

MFJ: I was employed for the project in cooperation with the municipality of Copenhagen (KK). I was sitting with the people who were planning the construction (Steffen, was working for KK at that time, and Lisbeth Vestergaard from KUBEN Management). It was very difficult in the beginning, but citizens trusted me. It was hard to connect something physical with something social. Funds were raised for physical and communal changes.

I currently work for Copenhagen department of Lejerbo, where 55 small/big estates with around 5000 residences. There are 55.000 residences of Lejerbo in the whole country.

If you stay distant from the settlement, it becomes difficult to understand what the people really want. So, I employed Nina (Stockholm). It was a big project. Lisbeth (KUBEN) prepared newsletters in every two months.

NS: During the process, there were indeed two newsletters. One made in Lejerbo's own office (she shows)

KUBEN took care of physical issues. Lisbeth sit in building board. She worked as a secretary to that. Residents' board was always in dialogue with them.

MFJ: Before Nina's joining we made social things with KUBEN.

NS: KUBEN made some little books in the beginning of the process. I started in 2008 June with a little secretariat of 3 people. 1. Activity workers, to create community network, organizing social activities in GYL. 2. One focusing in social problematic matters: noisy, dirty, messy people. We organized residents by cooperation with KK. Meetings with KK were organized to get information about social problems in the future.

MFC: All these social processes pave the way for a better construction process. So, there is a win-win situation.

[Question: Can you explain roles of Lejerbo, KK, and LBF, and their relations?]

NS: LBF follows and controls the whole thing, and they are very interested; thus, they came now and then. Also politicians and administrators from KK were very interested. All 7 mayors were there.

MFC: KK has 7 departments. SBJ knows more about it.

[Why were they so interested?]

MFC: Because 'ghettoes' were bad and had introduced many problems. (We don't like the word 'ghetto' indeed.) However, GYL was not as bad as other places. Lejerbo and KK thought that 'we can change it.'

The city architect (Jan Christiansen) thought that the architecture cane be maintained. Steffen had a walk to GYL with J.C.

NS: Apart from curing the damage of concrete, there was a cradle to grave approach (sustainability) to preserve the community. There were kindergartens, elderly housing, supermarkets. Everyone actually live there.

[Q: What was the first problem the residents come to you with?]

There were typical neighbour problems. People using drugs, collecting garbage in some apartments, some people who don't know how to live, elderly people who don't feel safe. You had to be active to find out.

MFJ: It took ten years before I was employed. Chairman of the residents' board asked for the change, I guess. You may check it with Steffen.

NS: GYL is special because people have been there for many years: 'A village in Copenhagen' since 1966. They came here as young married people, then have kids. They still live here. Danish residents have the same situation. Low income were they.

MFJ: elderly people, people of varying ethnicities lonely people, mentally ill, alcoholics. It was a special mix with no so many kids.

[Q: What were social/economic/physical problems?]

MFJ: low income people, conflicts between residents...

NS: Mentally ill people leaves garbage around. People get angry...

MFJ: We started with the most problematic block at first.

NS: We organized a cooking/eating project where people joined by meals from their own countries. There was an old lady who could not cook anything, cooked potatoes. We helped them to be a part of the community. The problem was they did not believe anything will be better.

Indeed, GYL is quite cheap area. A flat with 4 rooms can be rented for only 5000 DKK. Now there is 25 years of waiting time, if you are not offered a flat by the municipality or not a previous resident of Lejerbo.

[Q: Who were the key players in the project for you; would you give specific names?]

NS: WVV's Per Zvinge was an important person, who worked with residents during the whole process. Lejerbo's project manager, Carsten Bai, (Nina's chef). Wissenberg's Jesper Schat (WVV) was an actor who worked in direct contact/dialogue with residents.

Neighbours from Oxford Have (the neighbour plot) were afraid of people coming in. So, they had been waiting for positive results.

[Q: who decided for the architectural competition]

It was the styrre gruppe.

NS: Tina Jensen, from SFI - Social Science Research Institute, conducted Satisfaction analysis. I can also make a presentation for you about the experience in the process.

Steffen Boel Jorgensen joins the meeting....

SBJ: Lejerbo came to KK in 2000 to find a solution, because there were serious physical problems -concrete damage, rusting etc.) Until 2002 there was no solution. Tearing it down was a realistic solution until then, because we could not find a solution we can afford.

The city architect, Jan Christiansen, has been a very important person in GYL's history. We closely worked together.

In November 2001, we had a walk to GYL with him. I really couldn't see anything good about it, but he could. He said 'the housing has problems, but it has a potential. Instead tearing down all the concrete elements, we could do something for inside and wrap the facing.'

Thus, we went to Lejerbo and we said 'we have an idea and it is realistic. We want a promise from you, too. This has to be the best, this has potential; this is not just a renovation.'

Housing from 1960's has similar problems. Mette worked for these issues in 1990s. Late 1990s, people with no job, even Danish ones. There were a lot of social problems. Tearing down was an option, but there were about 400 apartments. You could not find a solution for them. You cannot build homes for them in a summer. It may be a problem to take out so many people.

[Q: So, a renovation is a change to keep them inside and not to send them away?]

SBJ: Exactly. The residents and their boards, are the main source for Lejerbo to understand what's going on. They are our customers. They came and say, we want this and this.

I cannot say exactly which was the 'first flame'. I was in KK between 2001-2002. Lejerbo had seen a constructive problem alongside with social problems. But they couldn't find a realistic economic solution to solve both. They made 'a brief' which

was presented to the KK, because KK has the obligation for supervising housing associations due to the law.

So, it is a kind of good administrative praxis to tell the municipality. So, in 2002, KK and Lejerbo came together and created a Styrre Gruppe, a kind of Task force - a kind of board for this special case-, where I was the chairman. There were representatives of central and local boards of Lejerbo, of KK -of its 7 departments-, and a lot of advisors. The task force was set up to decide what to do in the process. Note that city architect was not a permanent member of it, but I coordinated working very close to him. He put the soul into the task force. Jan C.'s idea was to make an architectural competition. I got this idea and went to Lejerbo and shared this idea with the chairman. (2002) And explained the high architectural ambition for the area.

[How was the architectural competition organized? / Specification list? / Jury Members?]

SBJ: A sub-committee under the task force was organized in cooperation with the city architect and Lejerbo. We made a specification list for the architectural competition. Basically, we went out and asked residents 'what would you like? what is your problems/wishes?' Their wishes differed very much. Interesting thing was initially people did not show much interest in architecture. What they really interested was 'extension of the balconies'. But today if you ask them there, it is the 'architecture' they are proud of. It was not many more expensive indeed, it was just ambitious.

Regarding specifications, they asked for practical details. Inside flats: kitchens, larger balconies. The secretary of the task force wrote down the items (Lisbeth). KUBEN was present in all the meetings, made the summary of meetings.

The old wooden buildings in the central area were in very bad condition. The residents had to give up some of the green areas between the blocks.

The central idea of the architectural competition was to carry on the existing soul of architecture in the new GYL. We asked candidates note to make sth. completely different, but make it much better / 'the best'. Also specification list included many practical details.

(He does not know enough about the invited competition - the first step-. Advises to talk with Jan Christiansen. Also, suggests to speak with KUBEN's Lisbeth Vestergaard, New city architect Tina Saaby, and KK's centre for Bydesign for details

about the competition: proposals, candidates, structure etc.)

Improving security was a part of the specification list.

[Q: What changed in GYL; are there measurable statistical data reflecting the overall improvement?]

SBJ: There is so-called 'ghetto list' of the government. There are some criteria defining them. (Udsaette boligomrader). Gyldenrisparken has been out of that list permanently after this regeneration. (Mette has information on that list, he says)

Besides, right now, GYL gets no help from any social program. Until last 4-5 years it got support from LBF and KK for social problems. (Nina and Mette knows more)

They moved away from social problematic situations. Bjarne West (the head of residents' board) takes care of GYL very good.

We do not have much statistics.

[Q: What have you learned from GYL experience? Is there a feedback mechanism?]

Nothing systematic. A lot of people come to visit from all over the world. (Even Prince Charles of UK). One thing we learned, as the basic experience, social and constructional setups had to be coordinated much earlier. We are going to apply this in other settlements. The construction process is extremely tiresome. A lot of tedious details, just getting the keys to get in an apartment, for instance. Having somebody to communicate with the context may reduce the problems 50%.

The engineers/practitioners on the site has to get a close companion who can see and solve those problems beforehand.

Now people feel safe and want to get apartment in the ground floor with gardens. (Sevgi Öteyaka, a member of residents' board, says she was unable to find such for one year.)



Summary of Interview with Former Social Worker in Lejerbo

Date: 7th of May, 2014

Interviewees: Nina Stockholm

Place: KADK, Copenhagen

Nina Stockholm has made a presentation on details of social works handled in line with physical renovation and construction works during 2008 and 2011.

Summary of Interview with KUBEN Management Employees

Date: 9th of May, 2014

Interviewees: Vilfred Hvid, Consultant; Astrid Le, Assistant

Place: Kuben Management Office, Copenhagen

We are part of a small group to make the evaluation of the renovation process in Gyldenrisparken. Indeed, we do the similar interviews as you do. You can get more detailed information about the process from Lisbeth Vestergaard. She was in this project in the very beginning.

We evaluate the project in three parts. Evaluation of the product: the finished physical renovation.

We made some interviews with residents of Gyldenrisparken to get their ideas. (6-8 portraits) We did seven interviews with main actors. (Lisbeth V., Niels Andersen, Per Zwinge, Carsten B., Jan Kendzior -KK-, Bjarne West). Jan was the professional in the municipality side and involved deeply in the project.

(Astrid Le shares a list of critical names and contact information with me.)

Our document will be published later. Not before August.

We invited a group of external experts by a walk in GYL. Thus, they did their judgements. We want to learn something which other professionals would learn from this project later. This project was a huge project and there are many things to learn from it. All parties involved were forced to organize themselves to manage this huge project.

Indeed, Lejerbo asked Kuben to conduct an evaluation project and make a product of such research. Because, people in this project did not know anything about such a huge project, but now, there is a plenty of experiences in this project. There is, now, many similar projects throughout the country and people to do those projects may get use of this experience to do better works. That is why we do this project. It is a kind of learning process. It will be a publication of thirty-forty pages.



Summary of Interview with the City Architect, who was in charge during Gyldenrisparken's Renovation

Date: 13th of May, 2014

Name: Jan Christiansen (Former City Architect of Copenhagen (2001-2010), Emeritus Professor in KADK)

Place: KADK, Copenhagen (Peder Duelund Mortensen also joined to the meeting, as the co-supervisor of the study)

(He met Gyldenrisparken in the very early stage of his career as the city architect of Copenhagen.)

During the 9 years' time, city of Copenhagen has attracted many investments and funds. Pension funds, Landsbyggefonden (LBF), finance from all over the world; and the Kommune had the right to use them.

Before, I did many housing projects similar to Gyldenrisparken as an architect. I searched for architectural quality. Between 1970s and 1990s, there was a search for the type of architecture to be implemented in housing. There was a fight with modernism.

Gyldenrisparken (GYL) is a modernistic project while there were many post-modernist works all around the world (especially in America.)

I have been writing a book (*Det ny Kobenhavn*); one of its sections is devoted to Gyldenrisparken. [He shared a typed copy of it with me after the interview.]

Steffen Boel Jorgensen was the vice director of the municipality in 2001 and responsible for economy of social housing.

Around 2001-2002, housing association, Lejerbo, came to the municipality and said that they would like to start a renovation process in GYL and they have plenty of money accumulated in their account in LBF.

My idea was to create the best type of transformation / renovation. (So, did Steffen and the politicians in the municipality.)

At that time GYL had major physical problems of energy loss, concrete (decay), iron, and sustainability. However, in my point. GYL was a beautiful example of this building type, may be the last one in Copenhagen, from 70s and 80s.

[question: who was the very first architect of GYL]

J.C: I think it was an institutional architect, KBI (Kooperativ Bygning Industri) which was a semi-socialistic office owned by housing companies, with more than 200 employees. The company designed many of social housing in those years (inc. those in Ishoj).

In the first meeting in 2001 I said to Steffen ‘the target must be to conserve the minimalistic modernism.’ It was so fantastic. Only very small add-ons had been done.

Every kind of this social housing areas has social problems. It is hard to house many low-income families with children. Lejerbo, in 2001, was aware of both the physical and social problems.

The municipality use housing companies to get apartments for those low-income families mostly with foreign background. Therefore, these areas slowly turn into ghettos. So there appears the social problem. To renovate them is also a means to invite middle-income families to those areas. It is a means to have social mix, diversity, and social balance in those areas. I am not saying it is all succeeded, but it is a kind of trial. Some of the municipalities succeeded this aim in some areas. But, it always depends on the quality of architecture. The middle income come to these areas for architectural quality. Indeed, this is a big social problem all over the world.

We made a program in Copenhagen, which said ‘to build a high income apartment, one should build a low-income together with it.’ But it did not work too long. In New York there is a similar special agreement between the municipality and the private investors. The private investors are also interested in this mixing, because otherwise there will be no children in the city and no life, no city life so on. Besides, artists living

in in NYC love this mixture of the city. (Artists seek for fertility, adds Peder Duelund)
So, this is a way of sustainability, maintaining the mix in the city.

The period around 2005 was the period while we were planning the architectural plan of the city (for politics.) In that way we had the possibility to say 'no' to bad architecture. (Furthermore) Because I had the political majority -in the first five years- I would have said 'no' for many projects on my desk.

Having architectural competition does not come from a law but it was a praxis I started. Before I was a city architect, there was 5 competitions per year in CPH. After 2001 this number increased to 50 per year. Today, there is a crisis. So, the number decreases now. However, this type of social housing (Gyldenrisparken), should be done by competition because of EU Law.

Peder: It is because it is supported by the public money. However, in private sector it is not a requirement to be in line with the EU regulation.

Jan Christiansen (J.C): It was a 'semi-official' procedure previously. But it is a normal procedure for social housing now. With Steffen, in GYL, we had 2 competitions. 1st one was not invited, but an open competition to select the 5 firms to join the second step of the completion. It was much related with the quality of portfolio, and price. 2nd was an invited competition based on the first stage, to determine who is going to be the architect.

[question: What were criteria for shortlisting the competitors? What were criteria of the specification list?]

In the first round we asked: 'What have you done before?' and 'What are your qualities as an architectural/engineering office?'. CVs, philosophy, and talents. Indeed, old firms have experience, and the young ones have new ideas.

You may talk with Tina Saaby -today's city architect in Copenhagen- and Sune Skovgaard to get information about the criteria for the 1st stage and the specification list for the second. Sune does not work for the municipality anymore, but for LBF. Thus, he may help you to look up the archives of LBF.

Peder: Because they have the developing body, always stay by the end of the table, because they pay at the end.

J.C: The national organization of social housing in DK is a kind of semi-private. It's

under a government law.

[Question: How the jury was organized for the architectural competition?]

J.C: For the second stage, we have rules in Denmark for how to do that. There would be some architectural specialists / good architects. (Some of the best architects of DK, pointed by architects' union. 3-4 of them. Also a landscape architect. However, in Denmark we have a majority of 'non-architects': citizens of Copenhagen, politicians, people from GYL -living there, semi-politicians. May be 7 people. Philosophy (behind) is 'architects should explain normal people what is bad, what is good.' It is a part of DK's political policy. So, as architects, if we cannot explain ourselves, we have a problem. I think it's very good thing. But, before the competition, we have a long process, approx.. a year, where we were preparing the competition in the area. You know, there was a lot of meetings out there with 'super-stars'. There were four meetings. I was one of the 'super-stars' in one of the meetings, as the city architect. Fantastic, isn't it? There was a well-known Danish Actor, Jesper Klein; a lord mayor. Fantastic meetings, a lot of workshops. In these meetings, we were preparing the wishes on 'what's going to be here?'. 200 people joined the meetings. We talked how they are going to live there in the future. New background, new facades, etc.

Peder: to prepare locals to engage to give decisions.

J.C: Just before the competition, in 2003, a task force has been gathered (and a subcommittee for preparing the specification-list).

I was not a member of the jury. Civil servants should not be a member of the jury. Civil service should always be advisors to the jury. It was the same in every competition in Copenhagen. I was never a part of a jury. Because, it could be difficult for me to go to a politician afterwards. I was a neutral civil servant, but of course had sth. to say with the jury. But in DK, it is a secret.

Peder: So, you first of all servicing political forces.

[Question: Who were the other jury members?]

J.C: Sune and Union of architects may help you to find out.

[Question: Did the specification list addressed social problems to be solved by physical changes?]

J.C: You cannot solve social problems by physical things. You can say getting the best

result of architectural quality, the combination of parking lots, landscape etc. getting quality there you can have a base for solving social problems.

Q: Were the 'bay windows', 'increasing transparency', or having 'smaller areas' (for natural surveillance' indicated in the specification list or it is a proposal of the winners?

J.C: No, they have to be free. Jury chose the best solution. Spec. list. Asked for 'architectural quality of balconies.

Peder: How the architectural diversity/complexity has been maintained, while accepting the quality of modernism at the same time?

J.C: My main aim was to preserve modernism, and add new functional qualities into this. In the facades, we were focusing, existing qualities, an increase of the qualities in the best way we can do that. In line with the economy, of course.

[Question: Did you ask to maintain the modernist values in the specification list?]

J.C: Not really, but we may have written little about the existing quality, but also, as a part of competition, you could add some qualities as on the roof tops - showing the photograph-.

But, I remember writing this "...in respect to the existing architecture...", because this was the time, we preserve the typology from the 70s. It was a controlled transformation.

Peder: LBF is not allowed to support everything. They are only allowed to support changes, renovations, when needed, because last of a better quality like heating, fixing the concrete, energy loss from the windows, and this might be the reason why windows are pointed out as possible targets for solving wishful qualities functionally and a new architectural expression within the modern framework. Note that, LBF is not the only source, and there are also other minor sources of finance.



Summary of Interview with KUBEN Management's Key Actors in the Process

Date: 15th of May, 2014

Interviewees: Lisbeth Vestergaard (Architect, Chief Advisor at KUBEN Management, worked as coordinating secretary for the sub-groups in the regeneration process)

Niels Andersen (Economist, Manager at KUBEN Management)

Place: KUBEN Management, Copenhagen Office

[After a brief information on the thesis study, Niels begins to talk...]

Indeed, what you do in Turkey is what we have done in 1970s; just concentrated on volume, less interest in architectural quality, but we had rather good functional apartments.

Niels Andersen got education of economy until 1986 and worked in ministry of housing on social housing and urban renewal. Then, he worked as a CEO of large company (as the responsible for Vesterbro of Copenhagen).

Kuben as a consultant company works on social housing renewal (its design and technical details) and arranging citizens' involvement and how to organize it. We, as advisors, work with housing companies.

In Gyldenrisparken (GYL)...

First, Lejerbo had prepared a project, but the municipality was not satisfied, and suggested them to 'go to somebody who can manage this'. Then, Lejerbo came to KUBEN and asked us 'to manage the project, to advise them -using our experience- and to guide them in 2001.

In 2002, we made a plan for the whole process. A very pure design for architecture. We underline 3 key issues: 1) To find an architect who respects qualities of ‘concrete’ housing, involving residents, and organizing process.

There was need to organize kindergartens, clubs for young people, and housing for the elderly. But the municipality had also said that ‘if you change more, you might have to pay extra’ (even though it was more than 30 years old settlement).

In the municipality, there was need to satisfy 6-7 departments. The very first issue was planning how to organize this work. Thus, we proposed a ‘steering committee’ in which all the related authorities were represented.

Lisbeth Vestergaard:

(An architect working for KUBEN for twenty years, not only for social housing, but also other kinds of renewal projects.)

In GYL I have been one of the people who started work in the very beginning and thus knows many things about the project. KUBEN advised planning, building, finishing, and economy; supported to find architects to design the project, to organize the competitions, and program for competition.

N.A: Once we are responsible for a building, we advise them how they should behave; we are not designing or building. And see that necessary decisions on the road to finish the project and suggesting which decisions should be taken trying to maintain a common decision. In GYL, we said ‘architect is important’ , it is not the price. Thus, we asked the architects to design/sketch not new facades, but renewal of facades; and picked the architects who are the best in understanding the language of this housing area.

In other places, we just find an architect for volume-price, but here all best for working with the residents. We propose to the builder (the project owner) and to the municipality.

KUBEN proposed an architectural process not a traditional one, (in which architects pay more to win) but a cheap way for the architects. So, they had time and resources to participate in a cheap way. A lot of discussions were made on the way, to decide how to get the best results.

The task force /steering committee was organized, because one of the issues was to

coordinate the municipality with its department. Within this there were 6 municipal representatives (inc. Steffen Boel Jorgensen), KUBEN (Lisbeth and Niels), two repr. of Lejerbo, and two repr. of the residents' board. Here Lisbeth, as the secretary to the committee conducted all the paper work.

N.A: Before the renovation, a pre-evaluation was made to define progress program; and design the process for each housing, shopping facilities, and the tall building. Lisbeth took also a role in the bidding process.

Lisbeth: In the master plan process, a lot of discussions were made. After the architect was found, it was more or less an ordinary project after 2006. Bidding process, 1st sketching competition to determine 'who can understand this area in the right spirit.' Not only facades and how to put new buildings and how to handle the green areas. Planning of the greeneries was one of the elements in the competition.

N.A: We had two options: first one, a big public competition, inviting everyone. Second one, a pre-qualification based competition, through which companies were asked to document; experience in this specific topic, understand this area architecturally, having reference of previously working with residents. This level was not a prize competition. 30 companies applied. We got through.

(KUBEN shortlisted this group of companies.) We had a dialogue with Jan Christiansen -the city architect-. We proposed (in dialogue) to do this and this. It was about 2004. Shortlisting criteria were: Economic solidity - last bank account to document it and their paying taxes regularly; if you are in an economic mess, you won't manage this-; references - (good/not good; experience suitable for this task or not), how do they secure the architectural quality; plan to manage the future task - to explain how to work with resident, how they manage the whole process based their past experiences-.

Finally, 5 companies were picked up, and were asked to come up with a price and a sketch design for critical changes. The outline of the renovation was solving the problem of concrete, new institution for children, design of the free space, nursery for the elderly people. The preliminary budget for the renovation and how much is their fee to do that job (payment for architectural project/design).

When we evaluate, the price will be %40. We also have a quality annotation which secure architectural quality: 10%. We asked them to tell us exactly how their vision

about working with residents is - not references, but to talk about this specified area-; where they see themselves in relation to the architecture we want to preserve.

Lisbeth, Jan Christiansen, Carsten Bai -from Lejerbo-and some others prepared the specification list, and later did the judgement of the projects according to a point list. Maintaining classical architecture of 1960's was Jan Christiansen's idea.

The aim of the competition was not to find a solution, but to find the architect, with whom we can discuss the solutions afterwards.

Arbejdes Gruppe/secrerariet (a small scale steering group) was organized to write down. (Architects -WVW's Per Zwinge-, The municipal representatives, Kuben Man., Lejerbo. This provided a dialogue between decision-makers (signing architects and others). But at the end of the day, housing association says 'we want this solution'.

LBF was outside the organization, but we needed to be sure that they backed up the project on the way to secure we were in the right track. Thus, there were meetings with LBF all the way, but they only pay for the social housing issues, not for nursery f.e.

Architects come up with a proposal. This might/might not be approved by the project owner.

WVW (Witraz, Vandkunsten, Wissenberg Consortium) attended architectural competition together with other companies just in the beginning, from the initial step.

Styrre Gruppe was organized about 2001-2002 and worked until the end of decision-making for the specification list. Building committee was organized in 2003. Arbejdes gruppe was organized in 2006.

Lisbeth has many documents from the meetings of Arbejdes gruppe. (86 meetings) Steering committee had a critical role. It helped to coordinate all parts of KK (the municipality).

We secured residents had a good experience.

LBF have a strict policy for how much money is spent, but they have some flexibilities. If you prove that you will do a good thing, thus, you should stay in contact with them.

Niels know Sune Skovgaard, worked as a representative of KK, and helped/worked with Jan Christiansen. Now works for LBF.



Summary of Interview with One of Partners of one of Architectural Companies in the Winning Consortium

Date: 15th of May, 2014

Interviewee: Jan Albrechtsen (Partner in Vandkunsten)

Place: Vandkunsten Office

Vandkunsten is an Office working on social housing for many years since 1970's. 8% of the projects of the company has been social housing. In 1972, we won a competition about the future of social housing projects. Our proposal with a very high density project with row house turned out to be very successful. It was Tinggarden -consisted of small wooden houses- and may be achieved through a special edition of Arkitektur magazine.

In 1980's and 1990's many of social housing was built in low dense manner. We have never done such housing projects. They did not work: manufacture of same structure, type, quality, and way of building all over the country.

In the competition for Gyldenrisparken, which was a huge project with a lot of different things, we collaborated with Witraz and Wissenberg. It was Witraz professionals who has first about it. They knew Lejerbo very well. They have expertise in renovation and searched for a companion who is good at new design and social housing.

Vandkunsten managed the idea level (conceptual design principles) of the project.

After the competition there was a lot of communication. We joined a lot of presentations for residents as the consortium. But Witraz's Per Zwinge can tell you a lot. For many years there were monthly meetings with the Residents and their board. Thus, residents' idea effected project, and changed some details of the project. We made a one to one mock-up for an apartment, and asked for comments of all and integrated then in the projects. This was a kind of testing and sought for happiness of inhabitants.

We maintain physical-security by increasing depth of balconies, but this was actually asked by the inhabitants. We proposed changing windows with 'bay windows'. Thus, we improved the amount of light in flats. 'Much more possibility to be seen' increased security. Besides, this provided more quality inside; eye contact between inside and outside. Besides, we sought a democratic attitude. That is, all the apartments should be provided with equal opportunities. Giving all the apartments almost equal (not same) but equity of opportunities.

The old Elderly house was to be demolished and new elderly housing and kindergartens with green space in between was designed. Snake-like building (nursing flats), centre for elderly, nursing flats for elderly were designed with an idea of a low-dense settlement (2 floors). Nurses and doctors works in the facility but one also have a flat in. There are also possibilities of food, therapist, haircut etc.

Previously there were green spaces which had never been used. Our idea was to create totally new spaces: mere narrow spaces to generate different to activities in human-scale. The green strategy was to transform the outdoor spaces. Taking down the scale from high floors. Our basic strategy was creating a different way of making site plan, generating a social space for possible activities, instead of just having an open space.

We made a new landscape project to provide interaction with space. (providing sloped access to ground floors by special topography arrangement through landscape design) The never had this before. New activity grounds for children are provided. We provided much more able to view, work in kitchen and see your kids' playing outside.

We increased quality of ground floors. The program asked for a 5 storey nursing house. But it did not say any new thing about the scale. It was just adding one more building in the same scale, but we insisted on the '2-storey solution'. Basic idea was to generate more floating scale in the area and we had many discussions with Kobenhavns

Kommune and Lejerbo. Thus, these are arrangements for horizontal and vertical scale. Transforming gardens: We proposes keeping old gardens or having a new garden as alternatives. Residents had the right to choose between some types of gardens; English, Italian, etc. with alternatives of planting and landscape arrangements. Most of them preferred their old gardens.

One of the blocks was consisted of very small flats for young residents. There were problems of drugs, fight, and guns. One of the ideas, thus, became to reduce the number of these flats and creating more family residents. Idea was creating diversity, because there had not been diversity. Families and young were segregated: this used to be a basic problem.

Transformation provided mix of flat types, both small and large flats in two of the blocks. Some of the bearing walls were demolished in collaboration with engineers (Wissenberg)

It's a project what they are proud of.

We haven't demolished the old structure. At that period there were many renovation projects. Most projects changed facades with new windows or modernizing architecture. One cannot see what was there before, after such kind of renovation.

Our strategy is 'respect the buildings as they were'. Balconies stay still horizontal, but materials are changed from concrete to glass; lighter balconies; getting more light inside was prioritized, but the basic layout did not change. Feelings stayed same. Residents are aware that their apartments were renovated, but they are still living in the same building and they have got a new building. When a visiting family comes, they can recognize that this is the same building. (not plastic or strange materials that are not part of the history.)

That's why we also have chosen these concrete plates for façade materials: We respected to the history.

Building entrances are provided with little roofs and mail boxes. There were no identity for entrances. New arrangements generated spaced for occasional meetings. You could sit on reading a paper and a neighbour comes. Many other scenarios may occur. One may put his backpack and check his mails.



Summary of Interview with Project Manager in Lejerbo

Date: 20th of May, 2014

Interviewees: Carsten Bai (Project Manager) + Line Eriksen (Consultant)

Place: Lejerbo Head Office, Copenhagen

(Carsten Bai has been working as the project manager for Gyldenrisparken in Lejerbo.)

Lejerbo discovered the damages in concrete structure of the blocks first in 1999. It started as a master plan - oriented towards physical and social transformation.

(Line Eriksen had been employed by Witraz at that time, thus worked with the companies partner, Per Zwinge. She has recently joined Lejerbo -3 months ago. Before than she had worked 1.5 years in the municipality of Copenhagen)

As the project manager in Lejerbo, Bai contacts all people in the project: financial institutes, consultants, residents. He defines his position as ‘the spider’ in the middle of the web. He coordinated both economic, physical, and architectural aspects.

The task force (styrre gruppe) was consisted of Steffen B. Jorgensen, Carsten Bai (Klaus Andersen had worked in that position), Lisbeth Vestergaard.

Sub-committee under the Task Force organized the empowerment process through lots of workshops.

Competition was organized in two phases in 2005 and 2007. 88 apartments were converted into 42 new apartments as family residences.

Most challenging problems were ‘time management’ and ‘financial model’.

Line E. says that *Landsbyggefonden* (LBF) was the major organization for the financing of the project. Lejerbo applied them for renovation. She notes that new housing and day care institution was funded by the municipality. Renovation was financed by LBF. For the loans from LBF was to be paid back, a limited period of rent increase was designated. There is a very complex structure indeed.

LBF have several different categories for loans. It finances 'building damage', 'social environment', 'playgrounds', 'accessibility', 're-building' etc. LBF judge the projects. For each project a special economic model is developed. This helps to limit the rent increase for the residents. Sometimes they pay grant money. A balanced way for re-payment is sought, but the associations cannot get it extend for too long.

LBF was represented in the task force and joined almost all the meetings. (Birger Kristensen was the representative of LBF, usually involved in financing projects) They did not joined meetings of the subcommittee or *arbejdes gruppe*.

LBF does an initial agreement with the housing association. Afterwards, they do not involve in architectural decisions.

The procedure is basically consisted of A. Budget B.Price C.Account (report it back to LBF). The payments during the process is provided by bank loans for paying advisors and other builders etc. When everything is over, LBF pays for the loans to the bank. Also there are some other special additional ways to support the financing. F.E. subsidize from the municipality.

In Gyldenrisparken there were social problems as 'poor-integrated foreigners', 'people without / with limited education', 'mentally ill people'. The settlement was not one of the worst, but was going down.

All of the residents stayed in their house except from those in the youth block. (Because it was converted into family houses) The young people were asked to join the construction works and a couple of them joined.

Normally 10-15% of people regularly moved out regularly every year. So, some of the apartments were reserved for the young people from the youth block. (Project of the existing blocks can be achieved from Witraz's Per Zwinge or Vandkunsten)

What is the feedback of the process? What has Lejerbo learned from the process?

It was learning by doing, learned a lot of things about giving an extended service. It is

a great advantage to have the municipality involved in the process, and collaboration with different parties is crucial.

Line Eriksen says that it was an integration of social and physical master plans. There were people in charge of implementing the social master plan: Nina Stockholm was the major actor as the social worker. It was advantage to have her. Residents felt secure, when everything was changing. They were illuminated by getting information.

KUBEN Management was advised to Lejerbo to join by the municipality. Their specialists worked as a kind of secretary; provided consultancy for some budget works, and orienting everyone in the process. KUBEN made newsletters. Besides, the social workers prepared other newsletters.

APPENDIX C

INTERVIEW WITH TOKİ PROJECT DEPARTMENT OFFICIAL

Summary of interview an urban planner in TOKİ Project Department, held in 19th of June, 2012. Interviewers: Nezh Burak Bican, Neris Parlak

There are four basic modes of implementation to provide housing for those in need. Besides TOKİ utilizes a fifth type of implementation -revenue sharing- to grow finance to invest in social housing projects. The modes of implementations are briefly explained below.

Squatter Housing -Gecekonu- Transformation Projects

In this types of projects TOKİ begins work by signing a contract with a partner -may it be a municipality-. The settlement is determined by the municipality beforehand together with a pre-investigation of the number houses to be demolished and constructed. A public empty plot outside the settlement is determined to build the first phase of the project consisted of 'housing types' asked by the squatter residents. At the end of construction those dwellings -usually apartments- are transferred to the 'right holders'.

It is strictly noted the quantity of the units should always exceed the demand in order to compensate the investment. The extra dwellings are sold by either TOKİ or the partner according to the initial protocol. The 'right holders' receive dwellings the number of which corresponds to the monetary value of the squatter housing transferred to the administration.

Disaster Housing

This type of housing is produced according to the demand of the Public Directorate of

Disaster and Emergency Management¹. Quantities, types, location, and area of dwellings are completely determined by the directorate.

Demand Organization

This type of projects is implemented on demand of legal entities, such as municipalities or district governorships, in town centres with a population under 40.000. Sometimes, TOKİ conducts some tests to explore the demand. The legal entity, whereas, determines location -the plot-, housing type, and quantity; and demands the transfer of ownership. Following a calculation of an average cost, an 'album of projects' -consisting ready-made plan types of dwellings- is prepared. Afterwards, participants asked to pay down. In case less than a hundred participant do their down payment, the project is cancelled. the number of dwellings to be constructed would be more than initial plan, if down payments exceeds a certain total -or vice versa-.

It is also noted that the legal entities prefer to cooperate with TOKİ instead of private cooperatives or contractors; because TOKİ sells the dwellings through long-run instalments -up to 20 years-, and there is support/assurance of the state behind. Moreover, the construction to be implemented is assumed to be 'strong and earthquake-proof.'

Administrative Implementations

This is the most common type of implementation in urban areas. In general, TOKİ determines public plots -around 90% of which belong to the national treasury- to eliminate speculations. Alternatively, municipalities apply TOKİ with suggestions to develop on other plots. A pre-investigation is conducted to determine if a plot is appropriate to construct on, and consequent permissions of public authorities concerned -Ministry of Forestry, State Hydraulic Works, etc.- are provided. Therefore, ownership transfers are conducted subsequently.

TOKİ determines quantities and types of the dwellings, which are selected from a limited group of pre-established projects. It is noted that 'working with alternative projects is not considered as economic' and targeted groups have limited financial resources.

¹ Original name is 'Afet ve Acil Durum Yönetimi Başkanlığı'.

TOKI may initiate a tender, comprising construction of housing blocks, types and quantities of which are pre-defined and preliminary projects of which are already drawn. Accordingly, TOKI signs up with the winning contractor who is assumed to cooperate with 'a project office' to finalize application drawings also including those of static, electric, and mechanic projects. The contractor has the right to revise the projects -both site plans and block plans-, because of further limitation during the process. This method of 'tender initiated with preliminary project' is a formulation developed to eliminate time to be allocated for project design and planning. According to the interviewee, alternative modes to buy project service are being examined in other types of projects - for instance, hospital projects-.

Revenue-sharing Implementations

In this mode of production, TOKI signs up a contract with an investing partner to establish a project -mostly mix-used and high profile- based on mutual profit. The investing company does or buys a service to prepare conceptual projects which are to be approved by TOKI. TOKI, which is not supported by national budget unlike ministries, gains a profit of certain ratio pre-defined in the agreement. It is noted that the administration uses the revenue of those implementations to invest in social housing. Alternatively, it sells plots -either bought or received as grant- to private investors to maximize its profit.

APPENDIX D

NOTES FROM OFFICIALS IN HOUSING CONVENTION 2011

Many senior executives attending the conference express the significance of “urban transformation” and “social housing” provision. Below are selected expressions from governmental officials.

Urban Transformation and TOKİ Model

TOKİ President, Erdoğan Bayraktar focuses his speech on urban transformation through elimination of slums and unregistered housing. He also explains provision of ‘ownership-based’ housing for the poor and low classes, and critical role of TOKİ’s provision model for the construction sector and Turkish economy. Providing a satisfactory definition of urban transformation, the president underlines the importance of stakeholder participation, understanding of ‘social state’, stance against unearned income *-rant-*, and further legal regulations within a comprehensive state policy. (Housing Convention, 2012, pp. 12-15)

Social Facilities / Necessity of Urban Transformation

Mayor of Istanbul, Kadir Topbaş, remarks critical role of ‘social facilities’ within cities fulfilling the missing parts within space after dwellings, transportation routes, working areas and other facilities. For him, Istanbul inherited an ‘uncontrolled and irregular urbanization’ has taken place as a result of industrialization process and migration flows since 1950s. Considered together with the high risk of earthquakes in the future, urban transformation is both a must and a potential to renovate the city. Thus, the municipality¹ has been cooperating with TOKİ to build up ‘quality’ housing with

¹ The municipality executes the cooperation through its joint company KİPTAŞ - Istanbul Residence Development Plan Industry and Trade Inc.- since 1994.

many alternatives through multi-nodal urban transformation implementations. (Housing Convention, 2012, pp. 20-23)

Numerical Data to indicate success / targets for future: transformation

Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, in his speech where he referred a series of numerical data regarding recent housing production during his ruling, strictly pointed out the provision of 500 thousand housing units in less than ten years-time. He stated that TOKİ's formulation for housing provision helped much to keep the global economic crisis of 2008 away from the country, moreover a new half million units will be the target for the next ten years-time. According to Erdoğan, for the coming years 'urban transformation' and 'earthquake preparation' have been set as priorities of the country. He underlines the importance of healthy urbanization as a means of overcoming hazardous causes 'crime against cities' as a result of increasing population, global, and local problems. (Housing Convention, 2012, pp. 30-37)

Official Background of Policies-DPT-

Reminding the decisions taken in both international and national levels since 1992, Sema Bayazıt¹ frameworks the background of existing policies about 'sustainable development and environment.' According to Bayazıt, the most recent programme of State Planning Organization contains 'enhancement of standards of life within cities; ensuring sustainable urban development; formation of habitable spaces; preservation of the environment, development of programmes for settlements in need of reinforcement and transformation.' For her, an approach based on data and analysis should be implemented by TOKİ for housing provision. Besides, she highlights 'participatory processes', 'socialization of disadvantaged groups', 'continuous updating of planning, design, and building standards', 'social facility areas to eliminate health problems and isolation', 'preservation of historical and local values', and 'resistance against disaster risks'. (Housing Convention, 2012, pp. 50-53)

¹ Chief of Environment and Sustainable Development Department of State Planning Organization - *Devlet Planlama Teşkilatı*-.

APPENDIX E

DEFINITIONS OF SOCIAL HOUSING IN MAJOR EU COUNTRIES¹

Table 8-1: Definitions of Social Housing in Major EU Countries

Country	Definition social housing	%
Austria	No official definition of social housing. Municipal housing (or public housing) is rental housing provided by municipalities. Limited profit housing is rental and owner-occupied housing provided on a non-profit basis by investors, which are regulated by the Non-Profit-Housing-Act and have access to public subsidies (Limited Profit Housing Associations).	23%
Belgium	<p>Social housing provision in Belgium is meant to offer adequate housing, i.e. qualitatively suitable to ensure hygienic standards and sound living conditions, but still affordable and with a certain security of tenure for households on a low income.</p> <p>Most of the time, those municipalities are also shareholders of the provider. More specifically, "public housing" is a generic definition including all dwellings managed and let either by a public or by a private body, and financed by public authorities. Within this category there are dwellings managed and let by public service housing societies, which include social and intermediate housing. "Social" dwellings are for people in difficult social and financial conditions, while "intermediate" dwellings are for people whose situation is less precarious.</p> <p>Social housing in Belgium is provided both for rent and for sale, but tenures vary across the three regions. Sale of social housing is forbidden in the Brussels region but not in the other two regions.</p>	7%
Czech Republic	No official common definition of social housing in the Czech Republic. Regulated rents are applied regardless of the social and economic status of tenants. Only some new municipal rental flats, subsidized by the state and let at non-profit rents, are socially targeted: beneficiaries of this type of housing assistance are households with defined incomes and persons disadvantaged due to health, social, and other reasons. Municipalities are currently the only providers of social rental housing.	17% (Municipal Flats)
Denmark	<p>Housing for rent provided at cost prices by not for profit housing associations. A specific feature of the Danish social housing model is the principle of tenants' democracy, which is basically a way to organise the running of each housing estate based on the central role played by residents.</p> <p>Name within context: <i>Almene Boliger</i>; Public Housing/Non-profit housing</p>	20%

¹ Definitions and percentages (%) -of social housing in the total stock- provided within the chart is taken from the website of Housing Europe under 'Country Profiles'. The section is based information developed in Brussels on the 27th of March in 2010. More information can be found in the website under the section of Resources.

Country	Definition social housing	%
Finland	Dwellings subsidised with loans with interest subsidies from the Housing Finance and Development Centre of Finland (ARA), rented at cost-based rents, to tenants selected on the basis of social and financial needs.	16%
France	Social housing provision in France is housing provided by 'HLM' organisations, <i>-Habitation à Loyer Modéré</i> / organisations providing housing at moderated rents. The provision of social housing includes construction, development, allocation, and management of rented social housing as well as of dwellings for social home ownership.	17%
Germany	Rarely uses in legal texts: 'publicly subsidised housing' or 'housing promotion'. Today public intervention in housing policy in Germany is not linked to specific providers, but entails public subsidy of any kind of housing providers in exchange for the use of a dwelling for social purposes (enforcing income ceilings and lower rents) on a temporary basis.	5%
Ireland	The main purpose of social housing provision is to provide appropriate and decent housing via defined providers for lower income and social disadvantaged population groups, at an affordable cost, with adequate standards as regards size, design and specifications, and also to ensure fairness in the relationship between landlords and tenants.	
Italy	Social housing consists mainly of dwellings rented on a permanent basis; also to be considered as social housing are dwellings built or rehabilitated through public and private contribution or the use of public funding, rented for at least eight years and also sold at affordable price, with the goal of achieving social mix. Social housing in Italy has a mission of general interest in 'safeguarding social cohesion, to reduce the housing problems of disadvantaged people and families who are unable to access housing in the open market'.	4%
Netherlands	There is not a single definition of social housing in the Netherlands, although The Dutch Constitution states (Article 22) that the promotion of adequate housing is the object of the care of public authorities and the Dutch Housing Act of 1901 offers a legal framework for the way the provision of social housing is organised.	
Romania	Official definition: 'public dwellings with subsidized lease, allocated to individuals or families whose financial position would not otherwise allow them access to tenements leased on the market'	2.3 %
Spain	The right to housing is guaranteed by the Spanish Constitution. <i>Vivienda de Proteccion Publica</i> (publicly protected housing). ...housing provided almost entirely for owner-occupation. Only a small proportion of this housing is offered for rent.	2%
Sweden	The term 'social housing' is not used. This sector consists of rental dwellings, owned by municipal housing companies that are organized as joint-stock companies (limited companies). In most cases the local authorities hold all the shares. These housing companies have a general interest objective to promote the provision of housing in their municipality but operate on business-like principles. Name within context: ' <i>allmännyttig</i> ' / 'public utility' or 'for the benefit of everybody'. / 'public housing'	
United Kingdom	Social housing in the UK is low cost housing allocated on the basis of need. With the exception of Northern Ireland, where it is provided only for rent, in the rest of the United Kingdom social housing includes the provision of rental dwellings, affordable home ownership as well as shared ownership schemes. Social housing is targeted to vulnerable groups within the population and priority is generally given by law to certain categories, including people who are homeless. England: 17.5%; Scotland: 24%; Northern Ireland: 17%; Wales: 16.4%	

APPENDIX F

MATRIX OF PLACE BY NERKIS KURAL

Table 8-2: Matrix of Place. Adapted from Kural (2009)

Dimensions of Place	Eco. Sus.	Soc. Sus.	Env. Sus.	Indicators of Sustainability	Strategies for Urban Design
Historical, Geographical Materialist Condition				Resources, employment, land tenure, production, consumption, income per capita, self-sufficiency, health and education	Just and optimum land allocation for urban development and nature conservation, social mix.
Place Identity				Meaning, attachment, caring, satisfaction boundaries, uniqueness	Sense of place created through design criteria based on cognitive, symbolic qualities of place, everyday experiences and aesthetic, historic, symbolic meanings of place, public spaces.
Site and Natural Assets				Human scale, environmental quality, environmental consciousness and responsibility, local information, open spaces, natural resources (forests, wetlands, rivers, and seas)	Quality Design of built environment in relation to natural environment, climate, accessibility as site design.

Dimensions of Place	Eco. Sus.	Soc. Sus.	Env. Sus.	Indicators of Sustainability	Strategies for Urban Design
History, Culture, Architecture				Cultural dynamism, historic preservation, architectural heritage.	Cultural activities reflected in spatial organizations, conservation and restoration; quality design of housing and public institutions, public spaces.
Governance and Subsidiarity				Non-governmental organizations and societies, communication, participation, grass root movements, local authority transactions, local autonomy	Balanced and just control of public and private land; public control of urban amenities and possible new urban activities supported through public land rights and policies.
Temporality				Age old buildings and sites, incremental development and change, flexibility in strategic open-ended planning and phasing.	Incremental urban development through stages; historical variety through conservation, renewal, and the modern; enriching and preserving collective memory.

Source: PhD Thesis by Nerkis Kural (2009)

APPENDIX G

SUMMARY OF DIRECTIVE 2004/18/EC OF THE EUROPEAN PARLIAMENT AND OF THE COUNCIL

Rules on public works contracts, public supply contracts and public service contracts, applicable until 2016. This law seeks to ensure an open market for public procurement as well as the fair application of the rules for the award of public works, supplies and services contracts.

ACT

Directive 2004/18/EC of the European Parliament and of the Council of 31 March 2004 on the coordination of procedures for the award of public works contracts, public supply contracts and public service contracts.

SUMMARY

Directive 2004/18/EC lays down European Union (EU) rules for awarding contracts for public works, supplies and services. It aims to ensure that the contracting process is fair and open to bidders from anywhere in the EU.

Scope

The law covers most public contracts other than for utilities (water, transport, energy and postal services), telecommunications, service concessions (such as operating an existing car park) and certain defence and security contracts.

4 types of procedure

- open: any party may submit a bid;
- restricted: any party may ask to participate and the contracting authority decides which parties to invite to submit a bid;
- negotiated: where contracting authorities negotiate directly the terms of a contract;

- in the case of very complex contracts, where the contracting entity discusses requirements and solutions with candidates admitted to a procedure (known as competitive dialogue).

Transparency

This is ensured by the publication of notices on public contracts in the EU's Official Journal and TED database, as well as at national level. All publications must contain identical information so as not to favour any bidder. They contain information such as:

- deadlines for bids,
- language(s) of bid,
- award criteria and their relative weighting,
- certificates/documents to accompany bids to allow the evaluation of candidate's suitability to perform a contract.

Contract award

Contracts are awarded on the basis of:

- the most economically advantageous tender (based on criteria such as quality, price, technical merit, after-sales service); or
- the lowest price.

Thresholds

All public contracts with a value over a given threshold are covered. Thresholds are calculated every 2 years.

As of 1 January 2014, the main thresholds for procurement contracts for public works, public supply and public service as amended by Regulation (EU) No 1336/2013 are as follows:

Central government authorities

- works contracts, works concessions contracts, subsidised works contracts: € 5,186,000;
- all design contests (for architectural plans, for example), all service contracts subsidised by the contracting authorities and all service contracts for services

listed in Annex IIA (except R&D services and certain telecommunications services): € 134,000;

- service contracts for services listed in Annex IIB and for R&D services and certain telecommunications services: € 207,000;
- all supplies contracts awarded by central government authorities not operating in the field of defence: € 134,000.

Supplies contracts awarded by central government authorities operating in the field of defence: (i) for products listed in Annex V: € 134,000; (ii) for other products: € 207,000.

Sub-central contracting authorities

- works contracts, works concessions contracts, subsidised works contracts: € 5,186,000;
- all service contracts, all design contests, subsidised service contracts, all supplies contracts: € 207,000.

Directive 2004/18/EC remains in force until 18.4.2016, the date on which a new Directive replacing it (Directive 2014/24/EU) enters into force.

APPENDIX H

SELECTED NEWSLETTER OF LEJERBO

Selected Newsletter (Nr.14) of the Housing Organization, Lejerbo. Published in May 2007

Nummer 14

Maj 2007



GYLDENRISPARKEN - LEJERBO

Nyhedsbrev

Nyhedsbrevet udgives af afdelingsbestyrelsen i Gyldenrisparken, med afdelingsformanden som ansvarshavende.
Konsulenter fra Køben Byfornyelse Danmark har ydet redaktionel bistand.

Gyldenrisparken renovering

Vi er nu langt i arbejdet med at fylde rammerne i Helhedsplanen for Gyldenrisparken ud.

På informationsmøderne i april havde alle beboere lejlighed til at høre og se resultatet af arbejdet med de mange projekter, der indgår i Helhedsplanen for renoveringen af Gyldenrisparken. Både renoveringen af boligerne og de nye institutionsbygninger, der skal opføres i samarbejde med Københavns Kommune, blev gennemgået af rådgiverne. Og der var rig lejlighed til at få svar på spørgsmål om de mange projekter, som Helhedsplanen indeholder

Nye altaner og flotte facader

Rådgiverne har i samarbejde med arbejdsgruppen færdiggjort oplægget til, hvordan de nye altaner og facader skal se ud. Fra starten var det vores mål at få altaner, der er bedre end dem, vi har i dag. Og det er lykkedes. De bliver større, og der vil også fortsat være et godt lys i lejligheden.

I den kommende tid skal der arbejdes med de sidste detaljer

for udformning af altanerne og facaderne. Det vil ske i samarbejde med kommunen, som skal godkende projektet.

Nye lejligheder i Store Krog

Der arbejdes også med at få afklaret ombygning af Store Krog. Planen er, at der her skal sammenlægges 80 af de mindste boliger til større boliger. Ideen er at få et mere varieret boligudbud, og gerne seniorboliger. Der vil blive holdt et informationsmøde for beboerne i Store Krog om forslaget til nye boliger.

Planlægning af friarealer

På informationsmøderne blev der også præsenteret et forslag til indretning af friarealerne, som rådgiverne og beboerarbejdsgruppen skal arbejde videre med.

I dette nummer af Nyhedsbrevet kan du finde flere oplysninger om de nye altaner og arbejdet med friarealerne.

*Bjarne West,
afdelingsformand*



Godt 160 beboere deltog i informationsmøderne om hvor langt, vi er nået med Helhedsplanen for Gyldenrisparken.

De nye altaner og facader

Storre altan og mere lys

Altaner på alle boligerne bliver større end i dag, så der bliver en god spise- og opholdsplads. Bredden på den nye altan bliver 170 cm. I dag er rækværket lavet af beton. Den nye altan får et rækværk af hærdet glas i en grøn farvetone. Fordelen er, at der kommer lys i lejligheden, og at der samtidig skærmes for indblik.

Økonomisk er der afsat et budget til fornyelsen af altanerne, som er baseret på, at altanen ikke bliver større, end den er i dag. Derfor skal beboerne godkende løsningen med de nye større altaner. Dette vil ske på et ekstraordinært afdelingsmøde, der kan afholdes, når håndværkerprisen for de nye altaner kendes.



Beboerne vil blive informeret om budget og huslejeforhold for de nye altaner efter sommerferien.

Flotte facader



Familieboligene på Gyldenrisvej får nye vinduespartier, som giver en varieret facade og en flot ankomst til opgangene.

Vinduespartiet har et fremspring, der giver et godt lys og udsigt.



Hvad blev der spurgt om på Informationsmøderne ?

- Kommer der støv i min stue?*
- Kan jeg stadig lufte ud?*
- Kigger naboen ind på min altan?*
- Kan jeg pudse vinduer som før?*
- Hvor tæt på min have løber den nye sti?*
- Larmer den nye børnehave?*
- Hvad skal der ske i stuelejlighederne?*



Informationspjece

På informationsmøderne den 24. og 26. april blev der uddelt en Informationsfolder. Hvis du vil have et eksemplar, kan du hente et hos beboerrådgiver Helle Ingstrup på ejendomskontoret.

Svar og spørgsmål

Der vil blive sat en plakat op centrale steder i bebyggelsen. Her kan du se, hvad der skal ske og finde svar på mange af de spørgsmål, der blev stillet på informationsmøderne.

Tidsplanen som den ser ud nu



Tidsplanen viser, hvornår de mange projekter forventes at blive igangsat

Hvad sker hvornår ?

Helhedsplanen blev godkendt på afdelingsmødet i august 2005. Siden er der arbejdet med at få Helhedsplanens mange projekter gjort klar til at føre ud i livet.

De første byggearbejder

Det første byggearbejde - indretning af et nye fritidshjem - går i gang i denne sommer. Fritidshjemmet indrettes i underetagen i Røde Kors Bygningen, hvor det tidligere plejehjem lå.

Byggestart på den nye børneinstitution forventes igangsat i efteråret 2007.

Hvornår går boligerne i gang ?

Inden renoveringen af boligblokkene kan igangsættes, skal der holdes licitation, hvor entreprenøren vælges.

Det er planen, at licitationen holdes i efteråret 2007.

Byggestart for familieboligerne på Gyldenrisvej forventes at blive igangsat i begyndelsen af 2008.

Byggestarten for renoveringen af Store Krog forventes i gang i efteråret 2008.

Ideer til et nyt butikstorv

Lejerbo undersøger forskellige muligheder, bl.a. salg af Højhuset. Der arbejdes også med forskellige ideer for en ny og markant indretning af hele området ud mod Amagerbrogade.

En af ideerne er at placere et boldbur på taget af den lave butiksblok, som både kan benyttes af børn og unge i Gyldenrisparken og fritidshjemmet.

Der er også ideer om at placere nye beboerlokaler på taget.

Så snart der er en afklaring af, om ideerne kan realiseres, vil beboere og butikkerne blive informeret.



Lejerbo undersøger, om det er muligt at få fornyet hele området mod Amagerbrogade.

Friarealerne skal planlægges

Beboerarbejdsgruppen om fornyelse af friarealerne har holdt deres første møder.

Sammen med de tekniske rådgivere skal beboerarbejdsgruppen inden sommerferien udarbejde et oplæg til, hvordan friarealerne skal indrettes, så der bliver opholdssteder for beboere, legepladser for børn og aktiviteter for de unge.

Det endelige oplæg for friarealerne vil blive fremlagt for alle beboere, inden Byggeudvalget træffer den endelige beslutning.

Husk at møde op til moderne om indretning af friarealerne, hvis du ønsker at deltage i planlægning af friarealerne.

Der kommer opslag i opgangene om tid og sted.



Flere oplysninger om Helhedsplanen

Helhedsplanen for renovering af Gyldenrisparken indeholder en lang række projekter.

Hovedparten af projekterne er der truffet beslutning om at gennemføre. Men der arbejdes fortsat med at få detaljerne på plads.

På oversigten kan du se, hvad der gælder for de forskellige projekter.

I "Informationspjecen april 2007" findes en beskrivelse af projekterne i Helhedsplanen. Pjecen kan hentes i ejendomskontoret.

Projekter, der er truffet beslutning om at gennemføre:

Renovering af boligblokkene og friarealer

- Nye altaner og facader
- Fornyelse af friarealer
- Nyt beboerlokale
- Flere større boliger i Store Krog
(Se også projekter, der arbejdes med)

Projekter i samarbejde med Københavns Kommune

- Et nyt plejeboligcenter med 80 boliger
- En ny børneinstitution for 0-6 årige.
- Indretning af et nyt fritidshjem i Røde Kors Bygningen.

Projekter, der arbejdes med:

Lejlighedssammenlægninger i Store Krog

- Rådgiverne er i gang med at undersøge, hvordan nogle af de mindste lejligheder kan sammenlægges til større boliger.
Der vil blive holdt et informationsmøde, når oplægget til indretning af nye boligtyper i Store Krog er færdigt.

Projektforslag, der er under udvikling:

- Salg af Højhuset
- Omdannelse af butikscenter og pladsen mod Amagerbrogade.

APPENDIX I

SELECTED NEWS FROM NEWSLETTERS OF LEJERBO

Selected pieces of Lejerbo Newsletter between 2006 and 2013.

Newsletter 12: November 2006.

Works of sample balconies and facades.

Arbejdet med prøvealtanen og facaderne



Håndværkerne er i gang. Prøvefeltet giver mange erfaringer med byggeriet, som kan bruges, når renoveringen går i gang

Når den øverste kant på betonelementet er skåret af, kan man fornemme, at der kommer meget mere lys ind i boligen



Newsletter 13: February 2007.

Information regarding co-decided free areas in between blocks, which will be planned soon.

Friarealerne skal planlægges

Beboerarbejdsgruppen om fornyelse af friarealerne har holdt deres første møder.

Sammen med de tekniske rådgivere skal beboerarbejdsgruppen i løbet af foråret 2007 udarbejde et oplæg til, hvordan friarealerne skal indrettes, så der bliver opholdssteder for beboere, legepladser for børn og aktiviteter for de unge.

Du kan kontakte Witraz arkitekter tlf. 33 91 33 19 hvis du ønsker at deltage i gruppen.

Arbejdsgruppens oplæg vil blive fremlagt for alle beboere, inden Byggeudvalget træffer den endelige beslutning.



Tegningen viser forslag til indretning af friarealet mellem to boligblokke på Gyldenrisvej

Newsletter 15: September 2007.

'The first construction works have started'

De første byggearbejder er i gang

Indretning af det nye fritidshjem gik i gang denne sommer. Fritidshjemmet indrettes i kælder og stueetage i Røde Kors Bygningen og forventes at være klar til indflytning i starten af 2008.



Newsletter 17: September 2007.

A note for residents: 'Between Fall 2008 and 2013 there will be construction sides in Gyldenrisparken which will give smaller place to stay and play. The area... will be kept free as 'residents' green corner'.



I perioden efteråret 2008 til 2012 vil der være byggepladser i Gyldenrisparken. Det vil give mindre plads til ophold og leg.

Ved Pergolastien ud for familieboligerne i blok 14 - 17 på Gyldenrisvej friholdes et areal til "beboernes grønne hjørne".

Newsletter 18: February 2009.

'The Plans for the residences in Store Krog'

Planerne for boligerne i Store Krog

Blok 21

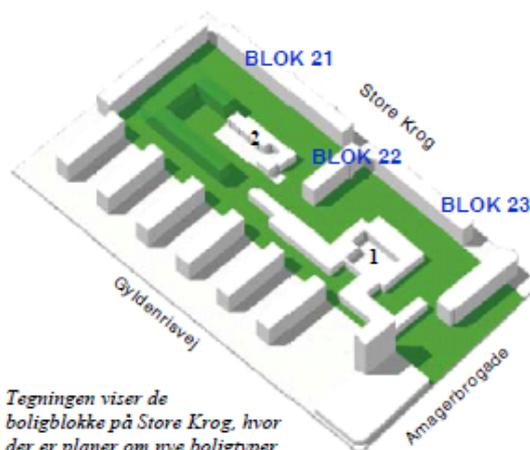
De nuværende små boliger bibeholdes og kan udlejes til ungdomsboliger.

Blok 22

Boligerne omdannes til seniorboliger. Afdelingsbestyrelsen undersøger, om det er muligt at få særlige udlejningsvilkår, som reserverer boligerne til seniorer.

Blok 23

De nuværende små boliger sammenlægges til større familieboliger. Afdelingsbestyrelsen har bedt om, at de nye boliger bliver indrettet, så de bliver handicapegnede og egnede for ældre beboere.

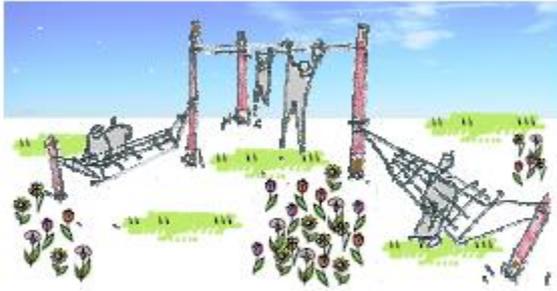


Tegningen viser de boligblokke på Store Krog, hvor der er planer om nye boligtyper.

De hvide bygninger mellem Store Krog og Gyldenrisvej rummer de nye plejeboliger (nr. 1) og den nye børneinstitution (2).

Newsletter 19: June 2009.

Information supported with a hand-drawing telling about alternative playgrounds which will serve during construction in Store Krog.



I løbet af sommeren anlægges midlertidige legepladser for børn på det grønne område langs Store Krog ved blok 17, de skal fungere under byggeperioden. Der bliver også indrettet et opholdsareal for de større børn/unge.

Newsletter 20: December 2009.

3D rendered image of a prototype two-room residence created by connecting to one-room apartments

Prøvebolig i blok 23

Boligerne i blok 23 skal sammenlægges til større familieboliger. For at undersøge alle detaljer i forbindelse med sammenlægningen har Lejerbo besluttet, at der skal etableres en prøvebolig i to sammenlagte boliger. Prøveboligen skal være færdig i foråret 2010. Efter en besigtigelse vil der blive truffet endelig beslutning om udformning af de nye familieboliger.

Prøveboligen bliver udført med nyt køkken, nyt badeværelse og nye vinduer/facader mod altangangen. Boligindretningen er forberedt for kørestolsbrugere, eksempelvis placeres hoveddøren i en niche, så der bliver bedre adgangsforhold.



Newsletter 21: June 2010.

‘New facades’ in Store Krog.



Nye facader

Svalegangene på Store Krog vil blive istandsat med nye vinduer og døre. Adgangen til boligene udformes, så de er egnede for handicappede. Facadearbejderne vil være afsluttet i efteråret 2010.

Elevatortåmene vil blive beklædt med et espalier til klatreplanter.



Newsletter 23: November 2011.

'New facades' in Svalegange and Gyldenrisvej.



Altanfacaderen på de tre boligblokke på Store Krog er færdig og står nu med samme udtryk som familieboligerne på Gyldenrisvej.

Nye facader på Svalegangene

Svalegangene på Store Krog har fået nye vinduer, døre og facader i rødt og sort.

I løbet af de første måneder af 2012 vil svalegangene blive istandsat med nye rækværker i lys fiberbeton som resten af byggeriet i Gyldenrisparken. Foto viser et prøvelfelt på facaden.



Newsletter 23: November 2011.

'The Pergola Street' and three new pavillions -for family parties; birthdays of children, etc.- are done and ready to use.

Pergolastien

I efteråret 2012 blev de nye pavilloner på Pergolastien færdige, og nu kan udearealerne gøres færdig og tages i brug.

I beboerpavillonen er der indrettet et lokale, der kan lejes af beboerne til familiefester, f.eks. børnefødselsdag og familiekomsammen. Fra køkkenet er der adgang til en stor fælles grill og et område med borde og bænke i det fri.

Langs Pergolastien er der opsat bænke og plantekummer.



Billederne ovenfor viser de nyindrettede opholdssteder mellem pavilloner på Pergolastien.

Billedet til venstre viser en af de pergolaer, der er opsat henover stien. Med tiden vil de blive overdækket af grønne planter.

APPENDIX J

CHRONOLOGY OF MAJOR STEPS IN REGENERATION OF GYLDENRISPARKEN

- 1990s Initial notice of heavy physical damage
- 1999 Lejerbo's first application to Landsbyggefonden (LBF) to get funding
LBF sets conditions: professional consultancy, a master plan to secure the future of the settlement
- 2000 Lejerbo gets technical consultancy of Wissenberg A/S for technical assessment
- 2000 BF's initial approval
- 2001 Lejerbo gets in touch with the Municipality of Copenhagen (KK) for supervision -legally defined-
- 2001 November: Municipal officers visit Gyldenrisparken with the city architect.
The city architect signals 'the architectural potential': First discovery of the value of 'architectural heritage'
- 2002 KK proposes Lejerbo to work with a consultant for renewal and new construction.
- 2002 Lejerbo contracts with Kuben Management (Kuben)
- 2003 Formation of the 'Task Force – Styregruppe'
- 2003 KK proposes Lejerbo to continue with an architectural competition by the proposal of city architect.
- 2003 First newsletter is published by Lejerbo. (June)
- 2003 Idea market *-idébutik-* organized by Lejerbo, Kuben, and the residents' board of Gyldenrisparken. (September 30 - October 1-2)

- 2003 Idea workshop - *idéværksted* organized in Gyldenrisparken. (October 7-9)
- 2003 Idea Catalogue -*idé-katalog*- published gathering the ideas from the market and the workshop. (November)
- 2004 Kuben prepares the master plan -physical- for Lejerbo. (January)
- 2004 Residents vote for and approve the master plan. (February)
- 2004 The Architectural Competition: Companies are shortlisted in the first step according to pre-specified criteria.
- 2004 The Architectural Competition: Shortlisted companies attend to tender as the second step. (April 7)
- 2004 Winners announced: The consortium of Tegnestuen Vandkunsten, Witraz Arkitekter and Wissenberg A/S. (WVW)
- 2004 The Local Plan 378 - 'Irlandsvej' is announced (June 29)
- The local plan includes information on Gyldenrisparken's value as architectural heritage.
- 2005 Residents vote for and approve the finalized master plan.
- 2005 The Local Plan 378 - 'Irlandsvej' is registered (April 7)
- 2006 The Local Plan 378-1 - 'Irlandsvej' is registered (October 27)
- Addendum with detailed information on Gyldenrisparken project.
- 2006 Building Committee -Byggeudvalget- is formed to steer the construction and renovation process.
- 2006- Meetings and workshops are organized to finalize the architectural design according to demand of residents.
- 2006 A mock-up renovation of one of apartments in 1:1 scale. (December)
- 2007 Lejerbo introduces social master plan to be implemented in 2008-2011. (June)
- 2007 Renovation starts with the construction of the new nursing house.
- 2008 Lejerbo prepares a 'communication strategy' with WVW. (Juni)
- 2014 Renovation ends.

APPENDIX K

INTERVIEW WITH BUSINESS MANAGER OF LEJERBO

August 10, 2015 + December 18, 2015 + January 4, 2016

Interviewee: Steffen Boel Jorgensen,
*Business manager at Lejerbo Housing Organization since 2005,
Previous vice director in the Municipality of Copenhagen, Building and
Technical Administration [Planning and Architecture]*

Interviewer: Nezih Burak Bican, the author.

Subject: Details of social housing in Denmark.

August 10, 2015

Who makes the very first investment for the construction and the land for a certain social housing settlement?

That will be the Housing Organization buying the land and also have expenses for the early stages of project development. If the project is realized the expenses will be included in the cost, if not, it will be an expense of the Organization. Starting up a project so contains a certain, but limited risk.

Who owns the land and buildings on? (The ownership is the most critical issue for the Turkish context)

That actually has been disputed, but the conclusion is that the organization owns the land and the buildings. I.e. not the government, not the municipality and not the individual settlement (afdelinger – subdivision of the organization – the individual estate)

(To clarify the question above) Let us say all the residents collaboratively decide to sell the property; 1) is it possible? 2)if so, who gets the money? 3) if so, should

the buildings be used for another function rather than housing?

The dispute mentioned above was a law from a former government (something like 15 years ago) making it possible for the individual settlements to agree on selling themselves, if just the municipality agreed. A decision in the High Court however said, that the proper owner was the Organization and if property was to be sold, the Organization had to agree. In short, if property is sold, every received grant has to be paid back as well as some kind of compensation to the Central Building Fund, who will lose future payments from the settlement. If there is a rest, it will go to the Organization. Usually only a small amount is left and especially the Central Building Fund compensation usually makes it marginable to sell. In my opinion this is most regrettable as we thus tend to see our buildings as “buried money” and not as active capital. Usually when a property is sold is for demolishing (in areas where housing is superfluous) but in theory it is possible to sell to other kinds of housing. But again, as the seller usually has very little benefit from selling it rarely happens.

Let us say all the residents collaborately decide to demolish the property; is it possible?

From this follows that even if 100% of the tenants in a given settlement (Afdeling – subdivision) agrees to sell or demolish the property, they only can if the Organization agree (as well as Government and Municipality). The Organization also has a majority of tenants in its board and is a kind of “Federation” of the individual estates (afdelinger).

Is it possible to build a new social housing settlement today? Who finances? Who provides the land: residents or state?

Yes we do all the time. The financing is 2% from deposit from tenants, 10% as a grant from the municipality and the rest with a mortgage. In times with high interest (not now) there is a government substitution of the interest on the mortgage.

December 18, 2015

If a housing company is 'non-profit', and thus, does not seek profit, what does it seek for?

It is supposed to provide good and affordable housing. Not at least the rules about residents' majority at boards at all levels is supposed to support this. Perhaps the biggest threat is the Landsbyggefond set-up however. The Landsbyggefond (LBF) has provided housing of very high standard all over the country, but as the estates can't

lower the rent when the loan is paid back but has to pay a similar amount to LBF, there are very few estates with a rent low enough for the lowest incomes. They are perfect for people with regular incomes in areas with high real estate prices (like in the cities), but it is a good question if it is a public task to financially support such housing. The counter argument could be, that estates with a majority of well-functioning citizens also provide good housing for those less well-functioning – which is again countered by: “if they can afford the rent”

The basic construction of the sector has, however, kept our properties free of speculation, which is of big value. I do also believe, that you could/should make sale more attractive for the housing organization, but be strict on the revenue being used for renovation of existing estates or new construction (keeping rents down).

Why do housing companies, like Lejerbo, establish new estates to grow?

Because that is what we are there for. Anyway, each apartment pays an administration fee (about 3500 kr. Annually) and more estates create volume which again is considered an advantage in effectiveness. There also is a fee for administering the construction.

Do the housing companies only work for paying its own staff, and company-related expense -salaries of staff, rents of offices, expenses for office products, etc.-? And if so, is not a bit risky?

The housing company can/should build up a reserve capital, but it only can be invested inside the company. Lejerbo so has just invested about 60 + million kr. In a new administration IT-system, mainly paid for by the reserve capital.

In case of losing money -f.e. because of miscalculation of expenses- how can the company compensate it, does the state provide support?

If the housing company makes in-excusable mistake resulting in a loss at one of our customers (housing organizations or their estates) the customer should be compensated. In minor cases directly from Lejerbo but in bigger cases were are insured.

Lastly, who invests in such a non-profit sector, and why?

The main “investor” are the municipalities because they hereby are provided good and (relatively) cheap housing in general and they are offered 25% of the apartments for housing citizens who can’t provide housing by themselves (which is a major municipal task). Historically some municipalities have had their own buildings for social housings, but in general the housing companies have been much more effective. The

main municipal “investment” is the “Base capital – grundkapital” currently 10% of the total construction cost. Has been as low as 7% and as high as 14%. They also give a guarantee for the loans in the estate, making these loans relatively cheap. In times with high interest rates the Government also will provide support for paying interest.

I am just asking these questions because for such a system is to be developed in Turkey, there should be a driving power for establishing series of housing organizations in the country.

I think the independent but regulated and supervised housing organization is important but the balance is to be found between giving the housing organization motivation and possibility to be dynamic, but regulated and supervised to focus the dynamic on its task, and “not on growing fat2 (incl. the board members).

January 4, 2016

You say the housing organizations are private investors own the estates; if so, is there a deed -or any specific legal documentation for this-, both for the estate and the land it is built over? (Please note if there is a written legal information, it would be more concrete)

The status as “private” is very theoretical and there actually is a High-Court decision saying that housing organizations are so regulated and subsidized by law already, that their “protection” against the law regulating their property is reduced. And yes, the housing organizations has deeds on the property.

If a housing organization has the right to get the final revenue from the sale of an estate -after paying all depths-, is it already possible to call it as 'non-profit'? or do people call them so, because they only have the right to spend that 'profit' to spend within the sector, not for investments in other sectors?

The right to sell and get the final revenue is quite hypothetical, but anyway as you say, the money has to stay in the sector. In case Turkey consider a housing sector being straight about the ownership is recommended. I would also recommend to place the “centre of gravity” at the organizational level and not the individual housings. In Denmark I believe the “centre of gravity” has been pushed too much in the direction of the individual housings. Originally with best intentions of creating a flat and direct democracy, but in reality it has been more like “herding cats”. I believe the idea of the tenants electing the boards is very good, but if the boards are to be worthy partners to the administrations and municipalities they have to have a certain size and authority.

According to Ministry of Housing-Fact Sheet, 2014, for new estates to be built there are following percentages mentioned to be paid through the following means "Tenants' lease premiums: 2 %; Municipal basic capital: 14 %; Mortgage loans: 84 %". You have mentioned the municipal contribution is 10%. Which one is more updated?

Now it is tenants 2%, municipality basic capital 10% and mortgage 88%. Basic capital has over time varied from 7% to 14% and the mortgage has varied accordingly. Tenants share has been constant.

In new building of housing estates, does Landsbyggefonden or any other state authority support funding for either buying land or construction spending? When do the future tenants -who pay premiums- engage in process: before or after construction? Do tenants engage in decision-making regarding architecture, planning, or other? and if so, when?

Landsbyggefonden or any other state or municipal authority does not support buying land. In case of very high interest rates the government will subsidize interest payment. The construction is decided by the board of the housing organization (who are tenants elected by the representatives of the tenants in the housing organization). Inside 6 months from a new housing being taken into use a local board has to be elected among the tenants of that housing.

I noted that you mentioned Gyldenrisparken was in 'ghetto-list' of the government -despite not being one of the worst ones-. I checked some governmental sources, the government has been publishing a list of 'udsatte boligområder' -vulnerable housing areas- and also another list for those estates who have recovered from their vulnerabilities. However, I have never come across Gyldenrisparken's name within both lists published within web sources. Do you know there is a legal documentation of it? Such documentation would be a solid justification for success of the recent regeneration? Do you have alternative methods of solid justifications?

What we now call the "ghetto-list" is a relatively new thing, but Gyldenrisparken was among the housings found in need for a special social effort (boligsocial indsats) supported by Landsbyggefonden. Today Gyldenrisparken has however improved much and for some years (IIRC 3 or 4 years) has been without special social effort. In many ways Gyldenrisparken is a success where a focused effort, both social and renovation, improved the area into being attractive today.

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Bican, N. B. (2012). Rant Morfolojisi. In G. A. Sargın (Ed.), *Ankara Kent Atlası*. Ankara: TMMOB Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi.
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