

COLLABORATION OF STAKEHOLDERS
IN SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS RENEWAL PROJECTS
IN TURKEY

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IN TURKEY**

**A THESIS
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MASTER OF BUSINESS ADMINISTRATION**

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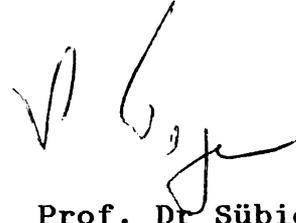
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ABSTRACT

COLLABORATION OF STAKEHOLDERS

IN SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS RENEWAL PROJECTS IN TURKEY

By

Aslı Tokatlı

Supervisor: Doç. Dr. Oğuz Babüroğlu

This study examines in detail the application of the concepts such as "participatory democracy" and "collaboration", that have been discussed and their propaganda has been made recently in Turkey, in the "gecekondu" - squatter settlements - renewal projects.

Since the 1950s in Europe and the United States, it has become natural and routine to collaborate in urban renewal projects for those who are affected by the project. After the municipal elections of 26 March 1989, the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality started to develop urban renewal projects under the name of "project democracy". This practice inspires much hope from the point of view of bringing to life "participatory democracy".

The objective of this study is to research in detail the realization of participatory democracy and collaboration among stakeholders with sample projects - the Dikmen Valley Renewal Project and the Portakal Çiçeđi Valley Renewal Project- from the Gecekondu areas renewal programs developed by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality.

ÖZET

TÜRKİYE'DE GECEKONDU ALANLARININ YENİLENMESİ PROJELERİNDE

İDDİA SAHİPLERİ İŞBİRLİĞİ

Hazırlayan

Aslı Tokatlı

Tez Yöneticisi : Doç. Dr. Oğuz Babüroğlu

Bu çalışma, son günlerde "katılımlı demokrasi", "işbirliği" gibi kavramların konuşulduğu ve propogandası yapıldığı Türkiye'de, gecekondü alanları yenilenmesi projelerinde uygulanmasını incelemektedir.

Avrupa ve Amerika'da, 1950'li yıllardan beri, kent yenilemesi projelerinde, projeden etkilenenlerin işbirliği yapması doğal ve rutin bir hale gelmiştir. 26 Mart 1989 belediye seçimlerinden sonra, Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi, "proje demokrasisi" adı altında, kent yenilenmesi projeleri geliştirmeye başlamıştır. Bu uygulama "katılımlı demokrasi" nin yaşama geçirilmesi açısından çok ümit verici bulunmaktadır.

Bu alıřmanın amacı, Ankara Bykřehir Belediyesi'nin geliřtirdiđi gecekondular alanları yenilenmesi programlarından rnek projelerle -Dikmen Vadisi Yenilenme Projesi ve Portakal ieđi Vadisi Yenilenme Projesi- katılımlı demokrasinin ve iddia sahipleri arasında iřbirliđinin gerekleřmesinin incelenmesidir.

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I - INTRODUCTION

After the Second World War, with the migrations to the city that resulted in the rapid urbanization experienced in Turkey, the proportion of people living in the cities in the 1990s reached around 70%.

The centralized government and local governments continuously remained behind urbanization in the speed of producing urban services. The population build up that occurred with migrations played a great role in the social, economic and physical changes formed in the urban areas and were the cause of the cities growing like a grease spot.

Despite the fact that the public sector started to take an interest in the housing problem as of the 1930s, not much was done up until the 1960s. While in the planned period that started as of the 1960s, in spite of the fact that programs started to be made concerning housing, they were not successful in the production of housing, and production always remained below the requirements. As a result, a housing shortage appeared with the migrations to the city that started in the 1950s. (Table 1)

This need compelled in particular those with a low income level to find solutions on their own that were not legal. Most of these settled on lands that were publicly or privately owned and created the settlements called "gecekondus".

Up until 1960 in Turkey, even though strict prohibitions and wrecking measures were taken for "gecekondus" by the public sector, it was not very successful and the spreading of "gecekondus" was in parallel with the speed of urbanization.

The "gecekondus", which have formed as a result of the public sector not being able to present sufficient urban services, is constituting in particular, more than half of our large cities. Today in the capital city of Ankara 70% of the urban population lives in "gecekondus". (Table 2)

In Turkey, for the first time after 1960 in the first plan period, the "gecekondus" was not taken up as an "illegal structure" but as "a societal and economic event".

In the first years in Ankara when the "gecekondus" event commenced, the "gecekondus" areas were on the periphery of the urban areas. Today a great majority of them have remained in the middle of the urban development areas and because of these settlements, it has not been possible to benefit from the very valuable characteristics of the Ankara topography - like valleys.

Due to all these reasons, in 1989 programs aimed at preventing, improving and eliminating the "gecekondus" were started by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, under the leadership

of the Ankara Mayor, Murat Karayalçın. The previous municipal governments realized a number of projects on a much smaller scale.

Along with the starting of these programs, an application was developed that ensured the direct participation of the people in decisions under the name of "project democracy" in the society of today in which representative democracy was not sufficient. This application is not only used in the renewal of "gecekondü" areas, but in all the urban renewal projects as well.

These projects are decisions that will be applied after a short period of time and that bring into the open how they will influence the lives of the urban dwellers and that make the policies applied in the city concrete. For this reason, it is the most natural right of those who will be affected by these decisions to participate in the making of the decisions.

It is the objective of the Municipality to have those people who will be influenced by the projects form associations, cooperatives and civilian organizations and to be active in the project by participating with representatives on the "decision committee".

In our world that is changing very rapidly and in which complexities have increased, it has been perceived by the local governments that collaboration and reconciliation are necessary in order to be able to cope with the problems and to bring about solutions that will be able to make everyone pleased. However, the different interpretation of "participatory democracy" - as a means or an objective- that is, to change according to the purposes, is due to the fact that the contents of this concept are undefined.

This study researches with sample projects how the municipality is interpreting and applying collaboration among stakeholders and its success in urban renewal projects.

II - LITERATURE SURVEY

II.1) COLLABORATION

A need for expert decision making has increased as society has developed and become culturally and technologically sophisticated. However, a parallel need for expert decision making has emerged in recent decades. Thus, the growth of participatory democracy and expertise in decision making are advocated in modern society. Collaboration is necessary for the creation of participatory democracy in decision making.¹

Rapid changes and uncertainty in the environment result in turbulence and collaboration is a logical and necessary response to this. It builds a collective capacity to reduce these unintended consequences and offers an antidote to turbulence.²

In addition, it is also a way to find common ground for multiparty problems and describes a process for solving the complex problems that we face as a society.

Gray (1985) has defined collaboration with its three characteristics: 1) to pool appreciations and tangible resources, e.g. information, money, labor, etc., 2) to be composed of two or more stakeholders, and 3) to solve a set of problems which neither can solve individually.

1) Fagence, M., (1977)

2) Gray, B., (19..)

Benefits of Collaboration ¹

- * The quality of solutions are improved by a broad comprehensive analysis of the problem domain.
- * It is possible to have a more diversified response capability.
- * It is effective for resuming deadlocked negotiations.
- * The risk of deadlock is reduced to a minimum.
- * The procedure assures that in any agreement the interests of each stakeholder are considered.
- * The solution remains in the ownership of the parties.
- * Solutions are created by those most familiar with the problem, not their representatives.
- * The acceptance of a solution and willingness to implement it is enhanced by participation.
- * The likelihood of finding original, creative solutions is increased.
- * The stakeholders improve relations among themselves.
- * It circumvents cost associated with other methods.
- * Mechanisms can be established for coordinating future actions among the stakeholders.

II.2) INTERORGANIZATIONAL DOMAINS

Eric Trist (1978), has claimed that the interdependencies, complexities and uncertainties of the contemporary environment resulted in turbulence (term introduced by Trist and Emery, 1967) in the environment.²

1) Gray, B., (19..)

2) Trist, E., (1978)

Turbulence and uncertainties in the environment give rise to **meta-problems** (Chevalier, 1966) or **messes** (Ackoff, 1974) rather than distinct problems. These problems require collaborative decision making in which a number of organizations pool their effort, expertise and resources (Trist 1983). In this situation, the appropriate level of analysis for understanding and solving problems is the interorganizational domain. Interorganizational domains are formed as individuals perceive that mutual problems can be resolved collectively. They can be thought of as set, the set of actors (individuals, groups, and organizations) that become joined by a common problem or interest.

Trist has described the aspects of domain formation in five steps; 1) making a widely shared appreciation of the meta-problem, 2) acquiring an acceptable identity for domain, 3) setting an agreed direction for a development pattern into the future, 4) overall social shaping as regards size of boundaries - what organizations are to be included, heterogeneity, homogeneity, 5) evolving an internal structure from stakeholder accommodation of the conflicting interest - forming a common ground.

This domain formation gives the opportunity to recognize the domain widely and to restructure it especially when collaboration is maintained. Joseph McCann (1983), has defined domain development in a three sequential process - 1) problem setting, 2) direction setting and 3) structuring - which is parallel to Trist's aspects of domain formation.

Barbara Gray (1985) has defined the conditions which facilitate the domain development process presented by McCann:

Problem Setting

Identification of the Stakeholders - All the stakeholders - who will participate? - and their role and position should be well defined. More stakeholders participation will provide a wider understanding of the problem and more effective collaboration.

Stakeholder's Expectations about Outcomes - They must believe that collaboration will bring them positive outcomes and benefits.

Degree of Recognized Interdependence - The most effective collaboration will be maintained and much more benefits will be obtained when stakeholders appreciate the importance of the extent of their interdependence. In addition, at least a minimum consensus is procured by means of appreciating the degree of interdependence.

Legitimacy of the Stakeholders - It is necessary to identify the rights and capacities of the participation of the stakeholders whereby the existing power distribution and historical relationships among stakeholders - e.g. government and citizen - will shape the perception of legitimacy.

Convener Characteristics - Conveners can be effective in the success or failure of the collaboration because they are the legitimate authority which enhances the collaboration.

Direction-Setting

Coincidence in Values Among the Stakeholders - Appreciation of the shared problem will result in shared values for searching for a method of solving the problem. This will facilitate the direction-setting.

Dispersion of Power Among the Stakeholders - In general in the interorganizational field, power among stakeholders is not distributed equally and it is not necessary. However, sufficient power must be distributed to make all stakeholders active during the direction-setting.

Structuring

Degree of Ongoing Interdependence - For the continuity of the collaboration and structuring, stakeholders must be aware of the necessity of the interdependence among them to realize their desires.

External Mandates - External mandates can make effective collaboration in structuring when they are supported by the other conditions such as interdependence of the stakeholders and balance in the distribution of power.

Redistribution of Power - Reallocation of the power and responsibilities may be necessary in structuring, because implementation of the outcomes will need regulation of the resources.

Geographic Factors - Physical proximity of stakeholders while forming collaboration is a positive factor and it facilitates frequency of contact. Geographic dispersion increases the cost of the face to face relation and it can also introduce cultural differences.

Influencing the Contextual Environment - Stakeholders may establish some organizations to formalize the collaborative relationships because of a desire to change or to respond to changes in the contextual environment.

Management of the interdependence, complexities and uncertainties of the contemporary environment by centers -with their bureaucratic, hierarchal and monopolistic structure- have become impossible.

Don Schon (1971) has advanced a thesis called the "center-periphery model" which are complementary to each other. What Schon advocates in his thesis, is the cooperative work of centered and uncentered organizations. Power must be distributed, some resources must be transferred from the center

towards the periphery. The goal of this method is to achieve collaboration rather than competition - participation of all the stakeholders.

Eric Trist (1976) has introduced an organization type called "referent organization" for domain management. This is a term developed from the concept of reference groups. An innovative response capability is required for newly recognized domain. The stakeholders involved in the domain control the referent organization, not persons from the outside. Appropriate leadership must be provided to make the referent organization effective. Trist has developed three classes of referent organization. The first class is already an existing organization in the domain and second class is a new organization created by the members of the domain for domain management purposes. There is already a high degree of recognized interdependence and highly congruent values among the stakeholders in this class so the chances of success are greater. Furthermore, member organizations would like to control the organization rather to be linked to a key organization. However, for the first class to be a successful referent organization a wide cross section of interest groups should be included whereby connections can be established with every key organization in the domain. Networks are the third class, which are unbounded social systems that are non-hierarchical.

Trist has defined the basic functions of the referent organizations as: regulation of present relationships and activities - establishing ground rules and maintaining base values, appreciation of emergent trends and issues - developing a shared image of a desirable future, infrastructure support resources, information sharing, special projects, etc.

. II.3) COLLABORATION IN URBAN RENEWAL

The planning systems and their processes are too conservative and bound by precedent to be innovative or amenable to change and have tended to become conceptually fossilized. These types of planning systems became insufficient to meet the needs of today's turbulent environment.

Goal oriented authority, ability to manage distinct but interrelated programs as relocation, transportation, residential building and commercial development is required for the organization and control of planning for urban renewal projects. Planning systems have needed transformation in order to cope with these kinds of projects.

In the earlier planning literature, the planning has been defined as a technical activity, planners as analysts and methods that planners use as "scientific methods" to explain behavior to the extent possible, but, today's articles talk

about planning as a moral activity and social sciences. Also they describe planners as communicators who use language for working to create of human action. These definitions confront new ideas and new sources for the planning theory such as collaborative planning. ¹

The collaborative approach opens many lines of communications among stakeholders by putting the planner into the role of the facilitator. Social crises and changes are prevented if the planner can serve as a kind of early-warning system. In addition to the traditional planning system, the collaborative approach is concerned with human activities.

Bolan, (1967), has expressed his idea about the collaboration with citizens as a need; "No matter how we improve our substantive knowledge of how cities function, and no matter how we improve our capabilities in information handling, operations research, and prediction, if there is not a corollary development of the community's capacity for improved decision making within the framework of democratic processes, there is the real possibility that heavy investment in the current forms of city planning technique will have been in vain".

1) Hemmens, C.G., (1980)

However, citizen participation, although warnings like Bolan's and the slogan, "Planning is for people", has been a part of the profession for many decades, it has not been thought about seriously.

Huyk and Hornung, (1963), define the role of citizens in urban renewal programs like a "chaperone at a high school dance". Everyone agrees that it is a good thing to have him, but they hope he will stay out of the way. Arnstein, (1969), uses another metaphor for citizen participation; "Eating spinach". No one is against it in principle because it is good. However, politicians might be sensitive to possible criticism, municipalities and local administrations may be jealous of their own prerogatives, and planners do not want to be bothered. Urban renewal is damaged by all these factors as the objective of urban renewal is to form a total environment maximizing the life chances and returns for the citizens.

A total systems approach which include economic, social, and political dimensions is required for the interdependence of urban problems. Despite the fact that urban development agencies are functionally organized, due to their position in the political hierarchy in which they are dependent on the municipality, their authority and power are diffused and the design and implementation of the project can be exposed to

delays, changes of purpose and plans. In urban renewal projects a project management company can be a good solution to these kinds of problems as it presents an existing organizational model that has been used widely and successfully by other sectors of the industry.

Collaboration with a project management company has advantages over traditional renewal efforts because it can allow renewal to be primarily task oriented and provides highly skilled management capable of handling all parts of the system as an integrated whole; dealing with costs, risks and having the flexibility to introduce new technology into the ongoing project. In addition this kind of management, because of its position outside the political hierarchy, can serve effectively the needs of the people. Control would be maintained by the people, while technical and managerial skills would be provided by the firm.

II.3.1) Collaboration Degree in Urban Planning

Collaboration does not mean anything for the powerless without redistribution of power. French university students have reacted to this inequality with posters on which the slogan

written was: ¹
I participate
you participate
he participates
we participate
you participate
they profit

1) Bayazit, N., (1982)

Thus in participation all stakeholders must be considered. There are two main degrees of citizen participation, passive (Manipulation, Informing, Consultation), and active (Collaborative decision making, Delegated power, Citizen control).¹ (Exhibit 1)

Manipulation

Citizens are completely passive here. There is an illusory citizen participation, rather than genuine citizen participation. So participation is distorted into a public relations vehicle by powerholders.

Informing

Informing citizens about their rights, responsibilities, problems, opportunities is the most important and first step to encourage them to collaborate. However at this stage there is no power for negotiation on the part of the citizens. Techniques that are used for the information, are the news media, pamphlets, posters and responses to inquiries.

Consultation

Meeting with citizens can provide an opportunity to discuss their ideas about the project. The ideas discussed should be combined with the other modes of participation to create real participation.

1) Arnstein, S. R., (1969)

The methods used at this stage are attitude surveys, neighborhood meetings, and public hearings.

Collaborative Decision-Making

At this degree, power, responsibility are equally distributed between the citizens and the powerholders.

Delegated Power

At this level, citizens can be dominant in decision making for a particular plan or program while working with the authority.

There can be another delegated power model such as separate and parallel citizen groups and powerholders, with provisions for citizen veto if differences of opinion cannot be resolved through negotiation.

Citizen Power

There is a demand for a community of control which guarantees that citizens can govern a program, be in full charge of policy and managerial aspects, and be able to negotiate the conditions.

II.3.2) Consequences of Collaborative Planning

- * Achievement of a widely shared understanding of the problem and response to it,

- * Maximization of efficiency in planning,
- * Decrease in risks and cost - expropriation costs,
- * Requirement of additional staff for collaborative planning,
- * Difficulty of synthesizing large amounts of complicated activities data,
- * Political nature of collaborative process (planning and politics are inseparable parts of the democratic process of government),
- * Scarcity of time for plan preparation of collaborative work,¹
- * Decrease in coordination due to the increase in the number of organizations.

II.3.3) Collaboration in Urban Planning in Turkey

In Turkey today collaboration is a concept that authorities - local government, city planners - believe in as a necessity and of importance, but they could not practice it in a widespread manner and collaboration concept is uncertain. It is just like eating a banana, its content depends on your reason for eating as Tekeli has observed.

A serious position has not been taken on collaboration in planning in Turkey because the inadequacy in planning prevents the collaboration demand. Planners prefer to use their old planning techniques with some small modifications.

1) Eldredge, H. W., (1967)

In the near future, 20 million more people will be added to the urban population. At the beginning of the twenty-first century, three out of four people will be living in cities. This will necessitate construction of 5 million new housing units. So, this development will be the cause of important changes in standards and style of social life which will be in parallel with the economic and social variations in Turkey.

If urbanization is left to its fate as it was in the past, the economic, social and political costs would be higher, so it is necessary to develop policies - such as, formulate strategies for industrialization and national development, design regional development plans which would affect the reflection of these strategies, negotiate for public services, take precautions to form healthy development areas in cities --to shape the urbanization period.

The method should be democratic while creating the society of the cities in the twenty-first century.

However, unfortunately municipalities collect taxes from people living in the city and in addition they receive financial supports and credits from the central government and from other foundations and provide services in a bureaucratic framework.

In this case, it is difficult to observe **participative democracy**. In Turkey, as decision makers are elected, the functioning of the local administration would not vary much from **representative democracy**.¹

In Turkey, the government has never been in favor of forming civil society and has never been sympathetic towards consensus and collaboration. They have believed in a vertical and hierarchal organization, but the aim of new politics is to solve the problem between the society and government, and to form an autonomous society.

The owners of the city are city dwellers. New policies of collaboration should be developed which would provide new roles for newcomers.² The Mayor of Ankara, Karayalçın, (1991), has presented his ideas about collaboration as follows:

"Developing countries are forced to take preventive measures to be able to endure the costs of urbanization and to be able to ensure societal development.

These preventive measures should be taken by means of the organization of the people living in the cities and by the collaboration that will be realized in various forms and scales by the public government with these

1) Bumin, K., (1987)

2) Karayalçın, M., (1987)

organizations. The collaboration that will be established, will both give an opportunity to use the resources of the society in a more beneficial manner and on the subject of the collaboration that is undertaken, as some of the functions and authorities of the public sector will be shared by the organizations established by the people, it will give to a degree the opportunity of commencing to a stage of direct government.

In other words, in the collaboration that will be undertaken, in whatever form and scale by the public government and the city dwellers, it will both ensure an effectiveness in the use of the city resources and in time it will also develop the vital elements of democracy such as the events of collaboration and self-government. As the products expected by the people who will benefit from the project will be produced in a rapid and inexpensive manner, the people will not be within a fatalistic anticipation and all the necessary mechanisms will be operating."

The reflection of this logic into practice is by means of the City General Meetings, the Project Decision Committees and the Coordination Units that provide the opportunity for organizational or personal participation of the city dwellers.

The first of the **City General Meetings** was assembled in 1989, that was organized in the form of commissions and each one worked on definite special subjects. At this General Meeting very different subjects were debated such as the Ankara of women, children, working people, the elderly and those living in the squatter settlements, and the results of this General Meeting most worthy of attention were the commissions which thought that their functions were limited by the period of the General Meeting and personally gained continuity upon the request of those participating. Thus, the representatives of the societal cross-sections that composed the commissions were able to follow continuously the urban decision making process and were able to participate in this process.¹

The 1990 General Meeting worked on the role of local government on subjects such as sports problems and the protection of consumers and on the subjects of the air pollution and coal policy in Ankara and the reorganization of the local governments according to the urban needs.

It was understood that in the application of the Infrastructure Coordination Center and the Transportation Coordination Center, coordination units remained insufficient in obtaining what was expected of them and they were re-established.

1) Planlama, (1992)

The Metropolitan and County Municipalities, to reduce to a minimum the influences of this inadequacy, formed the Mayor's Committee, that had not been organized by the law, in which the Metropolitan and County Mayors participated. Here common problems and projects were debated and decisions were made for joint investments and services. The principles of assistance from the Metropolitan Municipality to the county municipalities were constituted.

The annual investment and application programs were presented to all the civilian society organization representatives for their opinions; the thoughts of the city dwellers concerning some of the investments were obtained by means of public surveys; moreover, some of the investment decisions were changed in the direction of these opinions. The agenda of the municipal assembly meetings were announced in advance with the objective of ensuring the participation of the concerned parties.

Together with these, the "Project Decision Committees" started to be put into practice ensuring that the citizens of Ankara as a group participated directly in the decision making processes of the projects that were of concern to themselves.

It is requested that those who will be affected by the project organize into an organization, cooperative or civilian group to obtain this relationship for the application of "Project Democracy" that has been started. The representatives of these organizations and the administrators of the municipality who will participate specially for that project are coming together at a platform that is called a "Decision Committee".

The Mayor undertakes the chairmanship of this decision committee. Half of the committee is composed of the people who will be affected and the other half are consisting of the representatives from the municipality.

"Project Democracy" is a theory which the social democrats - political parties - are attempting to develop in Ankara.

There are two benefits of project democracy: With the application of this system, the resources will be used in a more rapid and a more active manner and the local democratic process will be operated.

The people, as they find the opportunity to influence the decision, even if it is at specific limits, regard participation to be useful from the aspect of their own interests. The project democracy concept and the application in Ankara

up until now inspire much hope from the point of view of bringing to life participatory democracy. ¹

The city governments and the city planners, with the concept of project democracy, have developed an interesting means whereby they will be able to benefit from the democratization of the society.

1) Tekeli, f., (1991)

III- METHODOLOGY

This exploratory and descriptive study is designed to assess the collaboration of stakeholders in squatter renewal projects in Turkey and to compare formation and degree of collaboration in sample projects.

III.1) SAMPLE

Two squatter settlement renewal projects are selected as illustrative samples of collaboration of stakeholders. The reason for this is as follows;

1. Examples of collaboration of stakeholders in squatter settlement renewal projects are very few, as it is a concept which has been implemented for four or five years in urban planning in Turkey.
2. The Dikmen Valley renewal project is unique because it is the biggest - time, size, population - urban renewal project in Turkey and it is the first project in which collaboration of stakeholders is at an institutional level. So this project enables one to give ideas about the initiation of the collaboration of stakeholders in Turkey and the success of collaboration in such a big project.
3. The Portakal Çiçeği Valley Renewal Project shows differences regarding its size and its model when it is compared with the Dikmen Valley Project. Studying this project will give the opportunity to compare collabora-

tion of stakeholders and the degree of collaboration according to the size and model of the projects.

III.2) INTERVIEWS

Two kinds of interviews were undertaken; group and individual.

1. Group interviews were carried out to make people discuss the project among themselves. Discussions were developed as follows; Trends which effected the project, evolution of the project, design of the model, pros and cons of the model and their desired model. Group interviews were made between planners and project managers. Groups were formed of 5 people and interviews were created at Metropol İmar A.Ş. and PORTAŞ.

Group interviews undertaken with valley dwellers have had the characteristics of a conversation. It was not possible to have interviews with the Portakal Çiçeği Valley dwellers as they had already moved from the valley before the beginning of this study.

2. Individual interviews were made with the general managers of the companies, members of the municipality and academicians. Content of the questions were about causes and perceptions, problem solving and decision making process and outcomes of the project. (Exhibit 2)

IV - CASE STUDIES

IV.1) CONTEXT

IV.1.1) Urbanization

Urbanization is a particular element which affects, and most of the time, accelerates the social transformation process - the concentration of population in relatively large settlements - as well as being an indicator and a vehicle of industrialization and modernization - development in science and technology, changes in agricultural and non-agricultural production powers and relations.¹

Concentrating people into large settlements causes economical, social and political changes such as an increase in the number and size of the cities, specialization of the labor force, changes in family structure, changes in the political attitudes of urban dwellers and an increase in the number of organizations in the society.

As divergent interests compete for jobs, services and land, urbanization inevitably stirs conflicts. Conflict over use of urban land, costs and the proper role of government in shaping urban development are unending - industrialists seek to develop land without taking into consideration pollution and other environmental effects, housing developers want less governmental interference in their profitable activities and urban newcomers seize land for squatter settlements.

1) Baştuğ, S.S., (1979)

The insufficiency in the provision of services - traffic congestion, water supply, housing - is another conflict of urban growth caused by migration to cities. The tasks of government are complicated by the expectations and demands for education, health facilities, housing, etc. of a growing population. These demands must be met by local administrations and government.

In conclusion, urbanization can be thought of as two facts. The first fact is that urbanization emerges as a consequence of economical, social, political and technological changes. Secondly, urbanization functions as a vehicle which has the power of changing the economical, social and political structure of the society as well as human behavior and attitudes.

IV.1.2) Urbanization in Turkey

Turkey, like the majority of the developing countries, has been experiencing a rapid urbanization since several decades. Between 1950-1985, the urban population grew from 4 million to 20 million. This led to increases in the sizes of the cities faster than their modern economic bases. The rate of urbanization has been extremely high since the Second World War, which resulted in a considerable strain on the capacities of the urban center - over 3.3 million people were added

to the urban population after 1959 - and a multitude of urban problems - such as squatter settlements and unemployment.¹
(Table 3)

IV.1.3) Rural-Urban Migration in Turkey

The main reason for the increase in size of the urban population in Turkey is internal rural-urban migration. The important cause of rural-urban migration is the change in the economy - especially the agricultural economy - and the social structure.

The mechanization of agriculture and the transition from subsistence and local-market oriented agriculture to large scale cash-cropping have been the major cause of the change in the agricultural economy. As a consequence of this change, agricultural methods, patterns of production and the traditional social organizations were restructured.

Mechanization of agriculture caused a reduction in the number of agricultural workers required which has resulted in a strong push toward urban migration. The second factor is the shift to large scale cash-cropping. This shift requires investment in transportation and marketing and in initial outlay for seed, irrigation and equipment. Peasants with 50 hectares of land were not able to support all these invest-

1) Danielson, N.M. & Keleş, R., (1985)

ments and the small plots of land limit the use of modern agricultural techniques. Because of these conditions, productivity and income were so low that some of the peasants lost their land or could not survive.¹

In addition, every Turkish government have given priority to investments for industrial development rather than agricultural development, even though a large proportion of the population has been engaged in farming. Another thing is that the government did not take preventive measures for the migration. It was even encouraged, especially during election time.

Another driving force of urban-rural migration is modernization - rapid expansion of the industrial economy supported by modern communications, transportation and other infrastructure. This rapid transformation has brought more poor people into the city from rural areas. These poor people have marginal jobs and low incomes, live in squatter houses and lack public services. Despite these difficulties, migration has continued because employment opportunities have been better and incomes were higher than in the villages.

1) Tekeli, I., (1982)

IV.1.3) Gecekondu; Squatter Settlements

In Turkey squatter -gecekondu- is defined as housing construction without a building permit on land owned by the builder, as well as dwellings illegally built on land owned by someone else or by the state. In Turkey, as a result of rural-urban migration, the "gecekondu" -which means "built overnight"- began to appear after World War II. (Table 4) People migrating from rural areas, because of the deficiency and high cost of houses in the city centers, tended to build their houses on the empty lots at the periphery of the urban centers and along main roads, where land prices were relatively low. The first choice for invasion was generally the vacant publicly owned land, since it was assumed that it is politically more difficult for public authorities to evict squatters than for a private landowner.

Squatter settlements, because they are created illegally on land belonging to someone else or to the state, (Table 5), are not under official control for meeting the need for public services. Therefore, for many years squatter areas have not been included in the municipality programs for providing physical and social infrastructure and facilities.

As a result, many facilities and services are inadequate in most squatter settlements; streets are unpaved and after a rainfall they become muddy, there is no regular police protection in the gecekondu, schools are often far from the squatter neighborhoods which creates the danger of crossing

busy streets for the children while going to school,¹ public transportation is not adequate because it is not targeted for the gecekondu settlements, parks for children and recreational facilities do not exist in those settlements.

Other constraints for the provision of public services in squatter settlements are the unplanned order and inadequacy of topography on which squatter houses are built because, in general, gecekondu are located on very marginal sites - hillsides, valleys - these factors make provision of public services - the construction of roads, drainage systems, water supply lines, sewerage, electricity - economically expensive and physically impossible.

However, official attitudes toward squatter settlements have been changed and particularly in a pre-election period there has been a tendency for legalization of the squatter dwellings and providing public services to these areas. However as most of the locations of the squatter areas are beyond the municipal boundaries, there were extensive delays in providing basic services and infrastructure.

As a consequence, it is possible to say that gecekondu have two aspects. While the establishment of the gecekondu is essentially a physical action, its growth and development is a

1) Çetiner, A. & Korça, P.

social phenomena, related intimately to the village and nurtured by migration.

IV.1.5) Urban Renewal

Urban Renewal is a process of rehabilitation of city areas and communities to improve themselves by eliminating slums and other substandard and deserted areas, redesigning poorly planned areas, providing choice new land for new development, and where feasible, conserving and upgrading salvageable property and areas.¹

Urban renewal is not a new concept. There has been urban or city renewal throughout the history of the world. In the period before Christ, the ancient city of Troy was renewed nine times. Similarly, in 1853, Baron Haussmann, through a changed the face of Paris from that of a medieval town to a dramatic Baroque city, through a series of monumental improvements. The development of the Rockefeller Center in New York City and the Golden Triangle in Pittsburgh are more recent examples of renewal programs. These examples all represent renewal in the broadest sense, although they differ in scale, financing and the extent of government participation. Renewal includes more than just these changes, such as when a couple of old houses are changed and new office buildings are constructed, or when the urban land of a squatter

1) Gorland, E., (1971)

settlement changes into a business or commercial area, these are all renewal.¹

Renewal is not a simple technical process nor does it entail only a quantified cost/benefit analysis. It merely builds on hidden values. Renewal is the formulation of the models to implement these ideas of production,² and is an active part of the political process. The different interest groups of the multigroup society in the city contend each with their own planning schemes.³ Many disciplines are involved in the administration of urban renewal programs and extensive contacts with a wide range of government agencies, business firms -project management company, construction companies-, organizations, facilitators -planners, architects, entrepreneurs-, and people who will be influenced from the change.⁴

The size and scope of the project, and experience, capacities and responsibilities of the participants are important for the administration of the urban renewal program. There is a general scarcity of experienced personnel required to carry out the activities of an urban renewal program.

The aim of urban renewal is not only physical development and renewal of the city. It can be seen as an opportunity to

1) Greer, S., (1965)
2) Fagence, M., (1977)
3) Eldredge, H.W., (1967)
4) Marris, P., (1962)

tackle the social problems of slum areas, because low quality housing demoralizes its inhabitants. So urban renewal offers the chance to introduce people to a more hopeful environment and a more helpful setting for social welfare.

IV.1.6) Ankara in the Urbanization Process

Ankara, especially after the Second World War, has been transformed by rapid urbanization and its size has increased very quickly. Because of this urban sprawl, the capital could not benefit from its topographic characteristics which would add value to its appearance and atmosphere (Table 6). One of these important topographic characteristics of Ankara are valleys where it is possible to create open air corridors and green belts.

The Dikmen and Portakal Çiçeği Valleys are two of these valleys. Like other valleys, these valleys were occupied by squatters where migrants live (Table 7).

Before 1989, the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, had decided to expropriate the land and to keep these valleys as green areas. However, this project was not realistic. It did not bring any solution to the housing problem of the people living in the squatter settlements. In addition, expropriation of the land and creation of the green belt required great financial resources. All these problems made the creation of the project difficult for the municipality.

IV.2) THE DIKMEN VALLEY RENEWAL PROJECT

The Dikmen Valley's problem was the development of an unplanned and unhealthy squatter settlement - high population, low quality housing, lack of sewerage system, lack of recreational facilities, lack of primary school, poor geological conditions, polluted river, and unpaved streets = at the most important landmark of Ankara. Then, to stop this urban sprawl, at the end of 1989, the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality undertook the Dikmen Valley Renewal Project.

The important characteristic of this project is its uniqueness in Turkey because this project is the biggest squatter settlement renewal project.

An important urban area in Ankara where there are 2 000 squatter dwellings and approximately 10 000 people have lived for 45 years, will be transformed into a commercial, recreational and residential area. The Ankara Metropolitan Municipality has designed an interorganizational collaboration model to bring a solution to this meta-problem, because this problem requires the resources of several stakeholders - those individuals, groups, and organizations who are directly influenced by the actions of others- to achieve a constructive solution. (Exhibit 3)

However, before designing a collaboration model, it is necessary to look at the evolution of the problem as well to be able to understand it.

IV.2.1) Evolution of the Project

1) The Preceding Plans Prepared for Ankara

- * Jansen (1932) Plan
- * Yücel - Uybadin (1957) Plan
- * Ankara 2015 Structural Plan (1986), prepared by the City and Regional Planning Department of the Middle East Technical University

In all these plans, the valleys of Ankara are planned as green areas which create a green belt around Ankara.

2) Implementation Activities of the 1986 Ankara 2015 Structural Plan

- * Decision making for the land expropriation
- * Reaction of the Dikmen Valley dwellers
- * Meeting of the Dikmen Valley dwellers with the prime minister and the mayor of that time
- * Stopping the project activities

3) Local Elections (1989)

- * Murat Karayalçın's (Mayor of Ankara Greater Municipality) election speech and his promises - collaboration in urban renewal projects, transparency, project democracy.

IV.2.2) Collaboration Process Model

A) Problem Setting

Identification of the Stakeholders: Even if all the stakeholders have been concerned during the collaboration process, they have not been activated in every process of the model.

There are three main groups of stakeholders in this domain; the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, the project management company, and the Dikmen Valley dwellers. The Ankara inhabitants can be defined as stakeholders indirectly affected by the change (Exhibit 4).

The Ankara Metropolitan Municipality: The Mayor of Ankara, Murat Karayalçın, during the 1989 local election, took the Dikmen Valley Renewal Project into the municipality's program and at the end of 1989, Karayalçın started to work on this project. Therefore, the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality has been the initiator of the project.

The Project Management Company: Metropol İmar A.Ş. has been established as a project management company by the local government as a jointly owned company in 1986 with the county municipalities. It has a public status. Some of the capital of the company is provided by the local government and it undertakes projects in the name of the municipality. Members of the Board of Directors are mayor of Ankara and the mayors of the counties.

The Dikmen Valley Dwellers: These people are directly affected from the change in the valley. There are four types of groups living in the valley;

- 1) Land and squatter owners
- 2) Squatter owners
- 3) Landowners
- 4) Renters

The Ankara Inhabitants : People living in Ankara who have been complaining about the unhealthy urbanization are indirectly affected by the change.

Expectations of the Stakeholders About the Outcomes:

Expectations of the Municipality and Metropol İmar A.Ş.:

Private land ownership was also extensive in the Dikmen Valley. The cost of transformation of the land from private to public would be very high. In 1986 the municipality tried to form a green belt according to the Ankara 2015 Structural Plan prepared by the City and Regional Planning Department of the Middle East Technical University. However, they could not succeed because of the high expropriation costs of the land. So, their main goal has been to decrease the land expropriation costs so that the project could be created.

Another expectation has been to prove that participation of the public is possible, positive and constructive for urban renewals in Turkey.

A third expectation is to protect the Dikmen Valley dwellers from suffering losses while creating a contemporary and high quality urban environment and residences.

The expectations of Karayalçın, the Mayor of Ankara, by keeping the promises that he has made during the 1989 local elections, is to collect votes for the next local elections and to be elected once again as mayor of Ankara.

Expectations of the Dikmen Valley Dwellers: The Dikmen Valley dwellers have been living there for 45 years. Their expectation is to continue to live there in healthy and planned residences and environment after the project has been created.

Expectations of the Ankara Inhabitants: In this project the creation of an air corridor which will minimize air pollution, and a green belt, will make the Ankara inhabitants happy, who have been complaining about air pollution and lack of green areas in Ankara.

Degree of Recognized Interdependence: Before beginning the project, the municipality was aware of its interdependence on the people living in the valley because as land ownership was extensively private in the valley, the expropriation costs have to be solved with collaboration from among the stakeholders.

Metropol İmar A.Ş. is a project management company which has been established in the structure of the municipality. Already, it is interdependent on the municipality as the director of the board is the mayor of Ankara and it shares the same goals as the municipality does. Metropol İmar A.Ş. is the planner and implementor of the project, so development of the project that the municipality has initiated, is interdependence on Metropol İmar A.Ş.

The Dikmen Valley dwellers want to live in a planned area where all the public services are provided. The project has been undertaken by the local government. Design of the project and its implementation are dependent on the project management company.

Construction firms want to obtain a profit from this project and the local government needs to create the residential buildings and other social and commercial buildings.

In Turkey, other public bodies, such as TEK or ASKi, are the only bodies which provide infrastructure, like electricity and water.

As a result, each stakeholder has a positive outcome from the collaboration and they have recognized the interdependence among themselves.

Legitimacy of Stakeholders: All the stakeholders that have been identified, have received the right to participate in all the processes of the project as they are influenced from this change - directly or indirectly. For example, the Dikmen Valley dwellers are the people who will live in the Dikmen Valley after the project finishes, so they have the right to participate in the project development processes, to make negotiations or to assert their ideas about the area in which they will live. In addition, they possess the resource - land - which is the main input of the project.

On the other hand, the municipality is the only authority that approves these kinds of changes, such as renewal or development, in urban areas.

The project management company has the capacity and experience to design and develop the project. So, it possesses the skill and right to be a legitimate stake.

Convener Characteristics: During the 1989 local elections, the Mayor of Ankara, Karayalçın, had promised to solve the problems of the squatter settlements and to plan renewal programs for these areas which would protect people from suffering losses.

At the end of 1989, the municipality took charge of the Dikmen Valley development project and it initiated the problem solving procedures and acted as a convening authority.

B) Direction Setting

Coincidence in Values Among Stakeholders: As Metropol İmar A.Ş. has been established by the municipality, they have already formed a basis for agreement about the roots and directions for solving the problem.

The problem was the unplanned and unhealthy squatter settlements -high population, lack infrastructure and poor conditions for housing- in the most important landmark in Ankara.

The municipality and Metropol İmar A.Ş. have set the objective as the renewal of this area. They want to create an open air corridor integrated with the green belt that will affect the ecology and microclimate of the city, to design recreational, cultural, commercial and social areas as a landmark which will serve the whole city and to provide housing for

the Dikmen Valley dwellers at a very low cost but with high quality.

In the direction setting process, the dwellers could not participate; they were only able to make some changes in the project which already had been prepared.

Dispersion of Power Among the Stakeholders: Definition and control of the domain have not been totally shared and formulation of the alternatives have been restricted in the Dikmen Valley Development Project and as the public has held greater control for solving problems, - financial and design of the project - the project has been influenced by political decisions and design and implementation of the project has had delays, changes in the plans and programs. For example, the mayor of Ankara has promised to construct new and high quality houses in the Dikmen Valley for the Dikmen Valley dwellers during the 1989 local elections. The Dikmen Valley dwellers have rented houses near the Dikmen Valley and will return when the project is finished. However, evacuation took a long time as they could not find houses to rent in the vicinity of the valley and every month the municipality pays the rents (600 000 TL each) for them. Another political decision, even if it is illegal, was to permit the dwellers to demolish their own squatter houses and to take their wreckages with them. As a result of this permission, one man died

while demolishing his squatter dwelling and the demolishing took more time than the project managers had estimated.

These kinds of changes and delays have created problems for Metropol İmar A.Ş. while developing the project. Thus, sufficient power has not been distributed. Politics have been dominant in the decision making.

C) Structuring

Redistribution of Power: All stakeholders have not been activated with this process although they have been concerned with the problem such as the Dikmen Valley dwellers and the other public and private bodies.

In the structuring process, the municipality has dispersed the power among these stakeholders and it has transferred the project to the project management company because the project has been too complex for the municipality to handle and the municipality would not be able to spend the time required and it would have to employ extra workers. So, the project management company has designed the plans and programs, formed communication channels - brochures which describe the project are being distributed to the valley dwellers and every month they publish a journal to inform about the development of the project. Articles have been published in the well known newspapers such as Hürriyet, Milliyet, Cumhuriyet -, and have

met with the citizens to discuss alternatives - public meetings and community forums in the valley and social relation committees.

The Dikmen Valley dwellers have established cooperatives. Leaders of the cooperatives have been representing the dwellers on decision committees at the municipality. They discuss and make decisions with the members of the municipality, = the mayor of Ankara, the planning authority director - the project managers and planners of Metropol İmar A.Ş., and the public bodies, such as the director of the Technical Department (Fen İşleri) and the Real Estate Expropriation (Emlak İstimlak) about the project and the inhabitants of the valley participate by listening, asking questions and by asserting their ideas about the decisions that already have been made and the problems which they have been facing. For example dwellers have given petitions to the municipality about the underorganization of the institutions during the demolition of the houses.

Power has been redispersed as a consequence of the participation of new stakeholders.

Degree of Ongoing Interdependence:

The municipality and Metropol İmar A.Ş. have already perceived in the problem setting and direction setting processes

that they have been highly interdependent on the dwellers because of the expropriation costs.

However, at the beginning the Dikmen Valley dwellers were not aware that they were interdependent upon all of the stakeholders and they did not want to collaborate. The reason for this was that for 40 years municipalities wanted to remove the people from this valley to create a green area without providing any benefits to them and they have not done anything until now. So this created a lack of confidence among the dwellers towards the municipality.

This culture has created problems in convincing the dwellers of the positive outcomes of collaboration.

As a starting point, the municipality and Metropol İmar A.Ş. have convinced the leaders of the cooperatives for collaboration in the project. So appreciation of the importance of the interdependence of stakeholders has been identified by the leaders, and then the leaders have convinced the dwellers about it.

After all the stakeholders have perceived the importance of the interdependence upon each other to obtain their interests, collaboration has become much more powerful and structuring has occurred.

External Mandates: In the Dikmen Valley Renewal Project, the external mandate is the municipality, as domains are established and structuring has been initiated by this local government.

Geographic Factors: As all the stakeholders live in Ankara, this physical proximity has facilitated frequency of contact during the structuring process. Especially, when the municipality established the social relation committee in the valley, face to face contacts have increased.

Influencing the Contextual Environment: Stakeholders have established organizations to formalize collaborative relationships. The project management company has established social relation committees and the valley dwellers have established cooperatives.

One of the social relation committees has been established at the municipality, the other one in the valley. Both of them enable the flow of information about the development of the project and problems of the valley dwellers during the process.

Each of the cooperatives, formed by dwellers, represents its own district. Leaders of the each cooperative are the headmen of each district.

There is also antidomain which resists change. An inhabitant in the Dikmen Valley has established the Dikmen Solidarity Society to protect their rights. They are against the municipality because of some differences in political views. Even though they say that they want the project to be created, they have never been interested in it and never tried to find a consensus solution. They try to organize renters, - because renters do not have any benefits from the project - to become powerful. They do not want to collaborate and do not appreciate the benefits that the municipality has provided.

VI.2.3) Consequences of Collaboration

In Turkey, squatter dwellers imagine municipalities as a power symbol which threaten people unjustly and rule with fear. For example, for years, in urban renewal areas, the municipalities demolished the squatter houses without providing any benefits or they sent an "evacuation order" due to an urban renewal project and then after a time, they no longer took an interest in it for years. The Dikmen Valley dwellers could not believe that the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality would create the project, because until the 1950s, the municipality was sending an "evacuation order" to them to create a green area. This built up a lack of confidence towards the municipality. When this project was started there was a question mark on the people's mind.

However, this time, the municipality has approached the people in a different way. It has announced that they wanted to create every procedure of the project with them. The municipality has asked them to collaborate. The results of collaboration are as follows:

- * It facilitated the expropriation process of the land in the Dikmen Valley where there is a gift land possession. In Turkey in general the expropriation price is not accepted by the landowner, because they find the prices very low. Then, they apply to court of justice to increase the price. These kinds of lawsuits take years.

At first, the Dikmen Valley people also rejected the expropriation price. However, when the mayor of Ankara, Karayalçın, explained the project and its benefits in the meetings, the people have become aware of the necessity and practicability of change. These meetings have convinced the people that something could be done to save their valley. This gave the opportunity to begin the project as soon as possible.

- * In this change the squatter dwellers are highly rewarded. They have the opportunity to talk about their problems face to face. The municipality gives the opportunity for them to live in the Dikmen Valley in new

three rooms, one living room, bath, toilet and central heating.

As the valley inhabitants left their squatter houses for this transformation, they have rented apartments until the project is completed. Their rents are being paid by the municipality. As the people wanted to rent houses in Dikmen, the municipality made a survey of rents in this district and took the average. This is about 300 000 TL. However, in a meeting the valley dwellers asked to have this price increased to 600 000 TL. They talked about the problems and their needs. After this meeting, Karayalçın decided to increase the rents payment to 600 000 TL.

The Dikmen Valley people have also stipulated that the size of the apartments be increased to 80 m² net from 80 m² gross and to add a balcony to the architecture of the houses. These people have large families and they have some habitual activities because of their culture - e.g they like to cultivate, to drink tea in their garden, to wash in the river, etc.- Murat Karayalçın has realized all these and accepted their wishes.

In addition to these:

- * Collaboration with people in the first category of the project has also facilitated the participation of the people who live in the other categories of the project.
- * Additional staff was required to implement this model.

- * Some difficulties of synthesizing a large amount of complicated activities data have emerged.
- * Due to the increase in the number of organizations, coordination has decreased.
- * Preparation of collaborative work slowed down the project.

IV.3) THE PORTAKAL ÇİÇEĞİ VALLEY RENEWAL PROJECT

The Portakal Çiçeği Valley's problem was the same as the Dikmen Valley's; expansion of squatter houses in the valley which has been designed as a green area in the Ankara 2015 Structural Plan.

The size of the area is 12 hectares. Its population was 250 and there were 67 squatter dwellings in the valley (Exhibit 5). A total of 57% of the land was owned by the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, 38% by individuals, 3% by the İş Bankası Foundation, and 2% by the Treasury.

For a long time, the municipality tried to solve the project on its own, but they were not able to cope with it because the expropriation cost was 300 billion TL.

The mayor of Ankara, Karayalçın, has asked an entrepreneur, Aykut Mutlu, to create a model which would provide collaboration to solve the problem, decrease the expenses and support itself.

IV.3.1) Evolution of the Project

1) The Preceding Plans Prepared for Ankara

- * Jansen Plan (1932)
- * Yücel - Uybadin Plan (1957)

The Portakal Çiçeği Valley has been planned as a part of the Ankara green belt in both of the plans.

2) Transformation of the Land Possession

- * In the 1950s, with new planning decisions, right of construction in the valley was given and urban land was transformed into plots. During the transformation of the land use, private possession increased (by buying land or partition action).

The valley became a squatter settlement area. People coming from rural areas invaded the valley.

3) Retransformation of the Land Possession

- * In 1985, the construction right in this valley was canceled by the planning authority of that time. They decided to retransform the land into public land and to create a green belt as planned in the Ankara 2015 Structural Plan (1986).

However this project could not be realized because of the high cost of the land expropriation and in addition it did not provide any benefits to the people living there.

4) Local Elections (1989)

- * Improvement of the squatter areas was in the election program of the mayor of Ankara and he has advocated the participative democracy concept in urban renewal projects.

IV.3.2) Collaboration Process Model

A) Problem Setting

Identification of the Stakeholders: Stakeholders in this domain are the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, the project management company, the valley dwellers, the Ankara inhabitants. (Exhibit 6)

The Ankara Metropolitan Municipality: As the development of the Portakal Çiçeği Valley has been in the election program of the mayor of Ankara like the Dikmen Valley Development Project, the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality has been the body which has initiated the project.

The Project Management Company: In September 1990, a specific company, called PORTAR - Portakal Çiçeği Valley Project Development and Management Inc. - was established by an entrepreneur, Aykut Mutlu, to work only on this project. Its status is private. Shareholders of the company are the land-

owners of the valley (21%), entrepreneur (49%), and municipality (30%).

The Valley Dwellers: There are two groups of valley dwellers; landowners and squatter dwellers.

Landowners in the valley who are directly influenced by the change, lost the improvement right in 1985. They have been the main group which will determine the fate of the project.

Squatter settlement dwellers were living for many years in this valley. Of those living in 67 squatter houses in the valley, 38 were renters. They had no legal rights, because a great majority of them had built their squatter dwellings on private and public property and after the Development Amnesty Law.

The Ankara inhabitants : They are indirectly influenced by this change. Excavation in the construction site has disturbed people living near there - appearance and noise. However in the future the Ankara inhabitants will profit from the investment made (e.g today the selling price of property for 1.5 million TL/m², that is not within project boundaries, but that has a front on the valley, is the most significant indicator of the current market value in the valley.)

In addition to this, creation of the green belt makes the Ankara inhabitants happy.

Construction Firms: They are private firms (Aydiner Construction Inc. and Yüksel Erim) which will implement the project.

Expectations of the Stakeholders:

Expectations of the Ankara Metropolitan Municipality: The Municipality's expectation has been to minimize the expropriation cost while transferring the land into public land and to create a contemporary recreational center in the valley.

Expectations of PORTAŞ: PORTAŞ has several expectations from this project.

The first one is to create a system which would provide the participation of the people in the realization of the project and benefit all the people living there.

The second is to provide a green area for Ankara with a high urban standard by protecting the natural characteristics of the valley.

The final one is to create a project which can support itself and which would not necessitate financial resources from the municipality and individuals.

The Valley Dwellers: Expectations of the Landowners: Their main expectation is to get benefits from the values that will be created after the project finishes.

Expectations of the Gecekondu Dwellers: They do not want to suffer losses and want to live in a planned and healthy environment.

Expectations of the Construction Firms: Their goal is to complete the project on time and to make a profit from this work (64% of the values that will be created).

Degree of Recognized Interdependence: The Ankara Metropolitan Municipality has needed a project management company to create the Portakal Çiçeği Valley Development Project because the project has been so complex that the municipality could not handle it. Consequently, it has transferred the project to an entrepreneur. Thereby, an interdependence has emerged between the municipality and entrepreneur. The municipality has been the initiator of the project and the project management company has been the developer of the project.

The entrepreneur has believed that this project could be created with consensus, so the project has to be defined and developed by participation of all the stakeholders and also as land expropriation has been a big problem for the creation

of the project, the entrepreneur has perceived the interdependence upon the landowners.

For a long time, landowners wanted gecekondü dwellers to move from their land, however with this project, the gecekondü dwellers would be moved and their land would be revalued.

The bilateral meetings with the landowners organized by the entrepreneur, planners and project managers showed the importance of the collaboration to obtain positive and constructive solutions from the project.

They have become aware that appreciation of these interdependencies has been important and necessary to shape the common visions of the expected and desired future.

As regards the gecekondü dwellers, in fact they had no legal rights in the valley. However, they had lived in this valley for years. So the elimination of these people by an "evacuation order" could not be the method followed by the current municipality.

Because of this, the fate of the gecekondü dwellers has been depending on the other stakeholders.

Legitimacy of Stakeholders: All the stakeholders defined have the right and capacity to participate in the development process of the project, except the gecekondü dwellers as they do not have a legitimate stake - right and capacity - characteristics.

However, as they have been moved from the place where they had lived for a long time, they could not be excluded from this project. Their move was one of the main problems that had to be solved before implementation of the project.

The Ankara Metropolitan Municipality, entrepreneur, planners, project managers and landowners are legitimate stakeholders as they possess resources and skills sufficient to justify their involvement in the collaborative efforts. The municipality is the only public authority which is responsible for the urbanization of the city, the entrepreneur was an investor at the beginning of the project, and he and the planners and project managers possess skills and experience in the development of these kinds of projects. In addition they have become a facilitator between the municipality and the citizens for collaboration.

The landowners possess the land which is the main input for the creation of the project.

Convener Characteristics : For the Portakal Çiçeği Valley Renewal Project, a central umbrella, the municipality, has already existed as an initiator of the project. It served as the convening authority for the domain.

B) Direction-Setting

Coincidence in Values Among Stakeholders: Consensus between the partners of PORTAŞ has been obtained. However it had taken eight months to achieve shared values among the stakeholders. Their main value that they share, is the elimination of the squatters in this valley, and improvement of the quality of the area by creating a contemporary site for Ankara.

Bilateral meetings have been the guide for direction-setting. As a result of these meetings, basic principles have been accepted:

- * Acceptance of the same value of all the lots located within the valley, both from their location and from the point of view of the development rights given in the past, in other words the principle of equality.

- * The reduction by one third of the development rights given within the valley in previous years, and to protect landowners from suffering losses, by creating a contemporary and high quality urban environment and construction standards.

* A minimum of 80% of the valley should be a green area.

Regarding the gecekondü dwellers, even though they had no legal rights in the valley, three significant opportunities were secured for those in the gecekondus.

First of all, land with infrastructure was given to the householders, both to the landowners and the renters, at the Karapürçek Gecekondü Prevention Region, based on Law No. 775. Agreements were signed for lots with a size of approximately 250 m² with 1/10th of the price as a down payment and the remaining to be received in a 10 year period. Its cost, with fixed prices, is a monthly average of around 80,000 TL /m².

Furthermore, sample projects were given to them and the permits were obtained. Today there are people who have settled in their houses at Karapürçek.

The second opportunity provided was the payment of the wreckage costs to the gecekondü owners. Price increase lawsuits were opened by the gecekondü owners at around approximately 10-15 times the costs determined by the Appraisal Commission.

As a result of the agreements reached with the "peace proposal" presented to the Municipal Assembly, these prices were accepted with a 1.0 percent discount and the amounts were paid in cash to the owners.

Thirdly, it was decided to give the wreckages of the gecekondular to the gecekondular owners. The gecekondular owners wrecked their own houses and took the construction materials such as bricks, doors, windows, briquettes and clay roofing tiles to be used in the construction of their new homes.

Dispersion of Power Among Stakeholders: In this project, the entrepreneur and project managers have held greater control over financial resources for solving problems than the other stakeholders do. For example, the investments up until now have been made by the entrepreneur to establish the company. In addition, its role has been as facilitator to coordinate with all the stakeholders, to design the model and plan and discuss alternatives with the other stakeholders.

However, besides this, the model of the project has been based on consensus.

Shares of the Portakal Çiçeği Valley Project Development and Management Company - PORTAŞ - have been divided up among the municipality (49%) , entrepreneur (30%) and landowners (21%).

The property owners are represented on the Board of Directors and the Board of Auditors of PORTAŞ by the people whom they have elected from among themselves. In this way, by means of representatives, the property owners will both participate in the decision process and will also be aware of the decisions made.

C) Structuring

Degree of Ongoing Interdependence: Stakeholders have formed a common ground by the establishment of PORTAŞ. They are the shareholders of the company. The value created by the company will be distributed to the shareholders proportionately with the point system according to the Condominium Law. The basic principle is to recognize priority and freedom of choice, starting with the smallest shareholder.

Citizens have acted as informer, advisor, and participant in meetings and decision making.

The municipality has been looking for collective decision making in this project as a share of PORTAŞ.

The investments in the project will be contracted by PORTAŞ to be completed according to a plan and within a definite time frame, in return for a percentage for the contractor.

In this way, neither the municipality nor the individuals will spend money in any manner for the realization of the project. The expenditures of the projects and the expenses of PORTAŞ will be paid by the companies who undertake the realization of the constructions.

The revenue that will be obtained by the company will meet the operations and project expenditures of the company and the remaining portion will be shared with the company shareholders in proportion to the shares of the company (49% municipality, 21% individuals, 30% entrepreneur).

External Mandates: The external mandate in this domain is the initiator of the project; the municipality. By recognizing the interdependence, it has provided a structural framework for solving the problem.

Redistribution of Power: Power has not been redistributed in the structuring phase.

Geographic Factors: Physical proximity of the stakeholders enhanced the collaboration in the project. All the stakeholders live in Ankara and they share the same culture.

Influencing Contextual Environment : Establishment of a project management company for the project has formalized

the collaborative relationships and their relations have been made stronger by the public meetings and community forums that they have organized to discuss the project.

In addition Decision Committees organized at the municipality under the leadership of the mayor of Ankara has strengthened the information flow.

The cooperative that has been established by the landowners, has enhanced the relationship among landowners and they have obtained the power to assert their ideas and to negotiate with the PORTAŞ partners with their representatives.

Besides these organizations in the domain, there are also antidomains with whom agreement was not procured. They are two large shareholders who still hold about 25% of the area as a result of a negotiation process that lasted for approximately eight months. Both of them have formed a coalition to influence the decisions that have been made about the expropriation price of the land and the equity principle. They have applied to the court of justice to increase the price.

IV.3.3) Consequences of Collaboration

The model of the project has changed the pessimistic and distrustful outlook of the people towards the municipality.

The main issue which encouraged them to collaborate with the municipality, has been the well known name of the entrepreneur and the approach of the managers of **PORTAŞ**. For eight months planners and managers tried to encourage people to collaborate by talking about their dreams.

The success of this model can be apportioned to the small size of the project, the private project management company established for a specific purpose and the widely shared values to create the project.

- * Collaboration in this project has facilitated the expropriation of the land - even the two big landowners who have not participated in the project at the beginning, are now trying to find a way to reach consensus.
- * The rights of the landowners have been protected at the Board of Directors.
- * The squatter dwellers have received gecekondus at a planned area with the infrastructure at a very low cost. They have been highly rewarded.

V - ANALYSIS

Rapid changes in the environment give rise to meta-problems which can be managed by collaboration of the organization's groups - domain level (introduced by Trist) - rather than single organizations.

Gecekondu which have emerged as a result of rapid urbanization, are one of the meta-problems of Turkey. The municipality has understood that the politics that they applied did not bring them any solutions for coping and managing this meta-problem. So, they have started to produce new models which aim at the collaboration of the stakeholders.

The Dikmen Valley and Portakal Çiçeđi Valley Development Projects are the projects where these models have been implemented.

V.1) COLLABORATION PROCESS

In the Dikmen Valley and the Portakal Çiçeđi Valley Projects conditions which facilitate interorganizational collaboration are adopted and discussed.

It is possible to develop some other additional conditions for the collaboration process in urban renewal projects besides Gray's conditions. (Exhibit 7)

One of these is size of the project area. When the size of the area becomes greater, a longer time will be needed for the creation of the project. So this may make it difficult to maintain the continuity of collaboration. The size of the Dikmen Valley is thirteen times greater than the Portakal Çiçeği Valley. Because of this, the project has been divided into five categories and one of these will take five years. This means creation of the project will take a long time such as 25 years. If it is thought that local elections are held every five years, this means that the political authority will change five times during the creation of the project. So different politics may be enhanced in urban renewal projects which can influence the continuity of the collaboration and the values established.

When the size of Portakal Çiçeği Valley is observed, it is only 12 hectares and the project will be finished in a shorter time and a change in political power would not influence the project.

Another condition which can influence the collaboration, is population. When population increases, coordination and the degree of face to face relationships decreases.

The large population of the Dikmen Valley, some 10 000 people, has influenced negatively collaboration formation, be-

cause before the convener invited them, some gossips had already spread rumors about the project which resulted in resistance towards project. In the Portakal Çiçeği Valley Renewal Project, the population was 250. So, before the entrepreneur established the project management company, he was able to encourage people to collaborate by talking about the project in face to face meetings. This means that a smaller population facilitates collaboration.

Of course, status of the project organizations is also important in collaboration formation and its effectiveness, because public project management agencies are influenced by political decisions as in the Dikmen Valley Project. In these kinds of situations a monopolistic structure emerges. Metro-pol İmar A.Ş. is functionally organized but as it is linked to the municipality and it is a public establishment, the design and implementation of the project have had delays, changes in the plans, programs and decisions. However, in the Portakal Çiçeği Valley Renewal Project, the project management company is private. Because of its position outside the political hierarchy, it serves effectively the needs of the people, it provides a higher communication level among the stakeholders, and a higher degree of collaboration. In addition to collaboration, the private project management company provides efficiency during the development of the project.

As another condition which facilitates collaboration, it is possible to talk about establishment purpose of the referent organization. Specifically established organizations for one project are able to concentrate and to spend more time on the project and they increase the relationship degree among stakeholders.

The establishment of PORTAŞ for the development of the Portakal Çiçeği Valley provides a greater communication and a higher degree of communication. However, as Metropol İmar A.Ş. which was established for general purposes, takes on more projects, the time needed could not be spent and a high degree of collaboration could not be maintained.

V.2) TYPE OF REFERENT ORGANIZATION

Besides the conditions which influence interorganizational collaboration, referent organizations, introduced by Trist (1976), are also important in domain development and the collaboration process.

There are two orders of referent organization in both of the projects.

The first order in the projects is the municipality which is already the constituent organization in the domain.

In the Dikmen Valley Renewal Project the municipality is the initiator of the problem. Then it has transferred the project to a project management company which is already an existing organization in the domain, to execute the project. Metropol İmar A.Ş. is the referent organization because it has the capacity to make appreciations of the problem and to identify the desirable future and also to attract members of the key organizations to their organization. (Exhibit 8)

The five cooperatives formed by squatter dwellers and landowners, have been established as suborganizations. Each cooperative has been linked to one key organization - Metropol İmar A.Ş. - and they are represented by their headman in the councils established. In the councils, there are also other representatives of public bodies.

In the Portakal Çiçeği Valley Renewal Project the municipality is also initiator as a first order of the referent organization. With the transfer of the project to the entrepreneur, a new organization, formed by stakeholders who possess legitimate authority and appreciative skills, has been established with the name of PORTAŞ. Shareholders are the entrepreneur (30 %), municipality (49 %) and landowners (21 %). (Exhibit 9) It was successful in obtaining a high degree of collaboration because already a high degree of recognized interdependence and highly congruent interest have been obtained among the stakeholders.

There are two categories of referent organization in both of the projects; initiator and executor. The referent organization type is mandated and representative in the Dikmen Valley Project (Exhibit 10). Its type is mandated, because stakeholders have been forced to collaborate in this project and domain has been established by the referent organization and it is representative because stakeholders are represented by their leaders in the councils. It is also constituent.

The Portakal Çiçeği Valley Project's referent organization type is representative and also emergent (Exhibit 11). Portaş, which is a new organization established for this domain, is shared by the stakeholders. The Board of Directors is composed of the key organizations - the municipality, project executor and cooperative formed by landowners - representatives - the mayor of Ankara, entrepreneur, project manager and cooperative leader.

V.3) COLLABORATION DEGREE

In both of the projects, collaboration has been limited in package models designed by the authorities and collaboration - project democracy - has been a means to create the projects.

In Turkey, as private ownership is high and the increasing value of the land cannot be transferred to the public, the

high cost of urban renewal projects - land expropriation = have been a big problem for the municipality and even prevents the creation of the project - in 1986 it was not possible to change the Dikmen Valley into a green area because of the expropriation cost. Because of this problem, collaboration has been used as a means for this benefit.

The collaboration models are designed differently in these two projects.

In the Dikmen Valley Project, the collaboration degree could not go far from the information flow and public relations. The municipality has been the political decision maker and it has consulted the project management company. The project management company has acted as a designer of the program and plan and it has been the maker of the communication channels. The situation of the citizens has been passive. They have had the ability to complain, participate in meetings and make some negotiations. The Ankara inhabitants have never participated in any process of collaboration. They have only been informed by the media.

However in the Portakal Çiçeği Valley Project, with the active participation of the directly influenced stakeholders = the municipality, project management company, valley dwellers -, collaboration has achieved a degree of collective decision

making. The municipality has been activated as an authority looking for consensus and collective decision. The project managers have discussed the alternatives with stakeholders in bilateral meetings. Citizens have become the shareholders of the project management company, so they have received the power to participate directly in decision making and control the other authorities.

In both of the projects there have been people - deadly enemies (introduced by Churchman, 1979) - who do not want to collaborate because some of them have found the expropriation price low and some of them have been against it because of their political views and personal desires.

As a result of this, it is possible to say that when benefits are in conflict, the collaboration among stakeholders could not be maintained and could not work.

VI - CONCLUSION

The analysis showed that the success of the collaboration of the stakeholders depends on several conditions and collaboration is used as means in the sample projects.

Before discussing the results in detail, limitations must be taken into consideration. In Turkey, the number of urban renewal projects in which collaboration of the stakeholders is created, is very few. This limited the study of the development of collaboration and its application in these kinds of projects. The examples that are studied, are the initial ones, so it was possible to be confronted with problems and wrong decisions and applications.

As a result of the analysis of the projects it is possible to develop a success formula for a high degree of collaboration in urban renewal projects:

- * Recognition of the high degree of interdependence among stakeholders,
- * Clear definition of the interests of each of the stakeholders,
- * Purification of urban renewal projects from political decisions,
- * Comprehensive participation of the stakeholders,

- * Private and specifically established project management company,
- * Small size projects,
- * Referent organization formed by members of the key organizations in the domain,
- * Balance in power distribution among stakeholders,
- * Face to face relationships.

However, this does not mean that in large size projects collaboration cannot be successful or that when a part of the stakeholders participate in a project, a high collaboration degree could not be obtained. These are the conditions which can facilitate achieving a high degree of collaboration.

Collaboration in urban renewal projects in Turkey must become a goal rather than a means. Otherwise, authorities will be cheating people, which is not ethical, to achieve their goals - a decrease in expropriation costs. However, people living in the renewal area will adapt themselves to the solutions, so the understanding of "planning for people" must be kept in mind.

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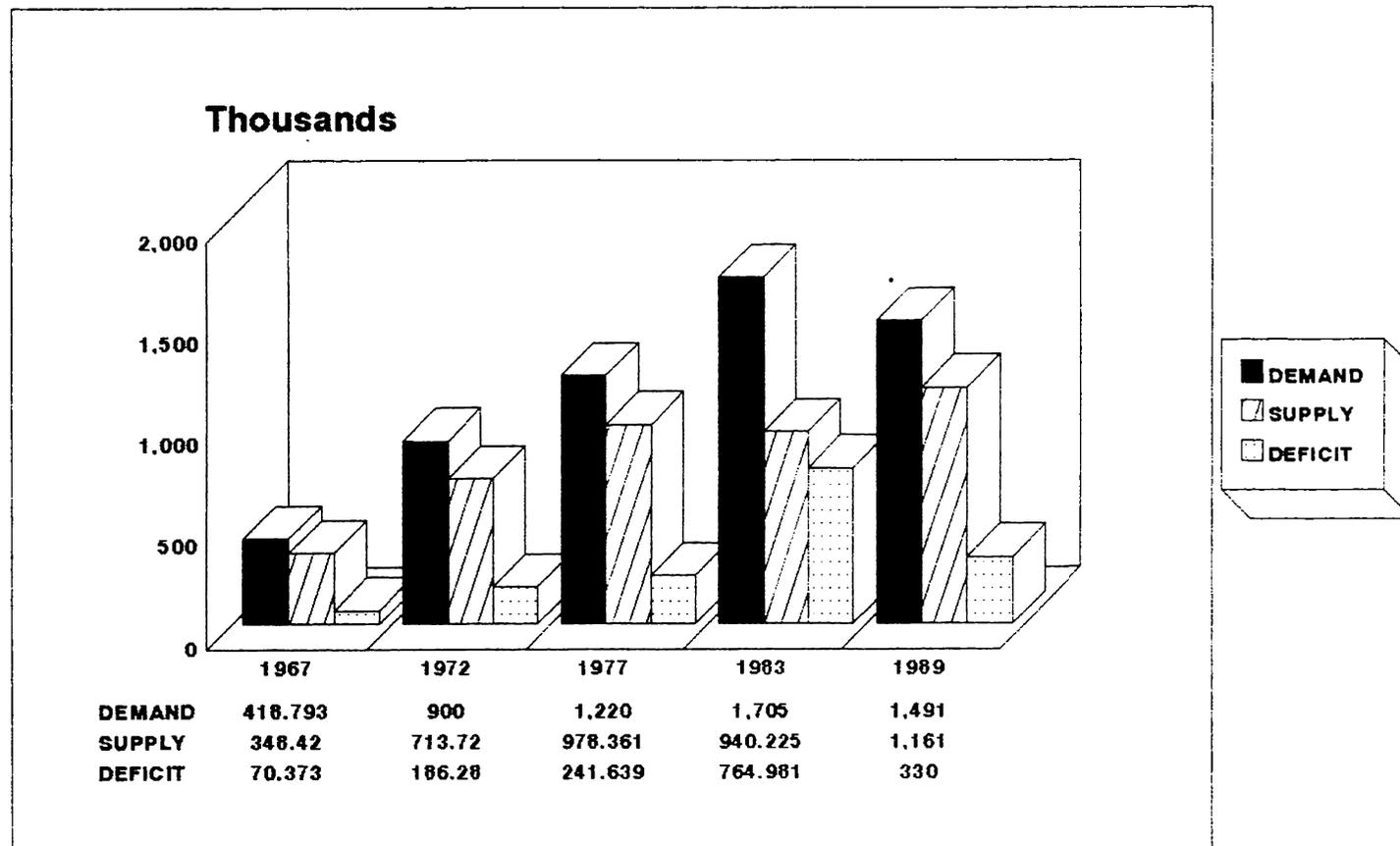
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TABLES

TABLE 1

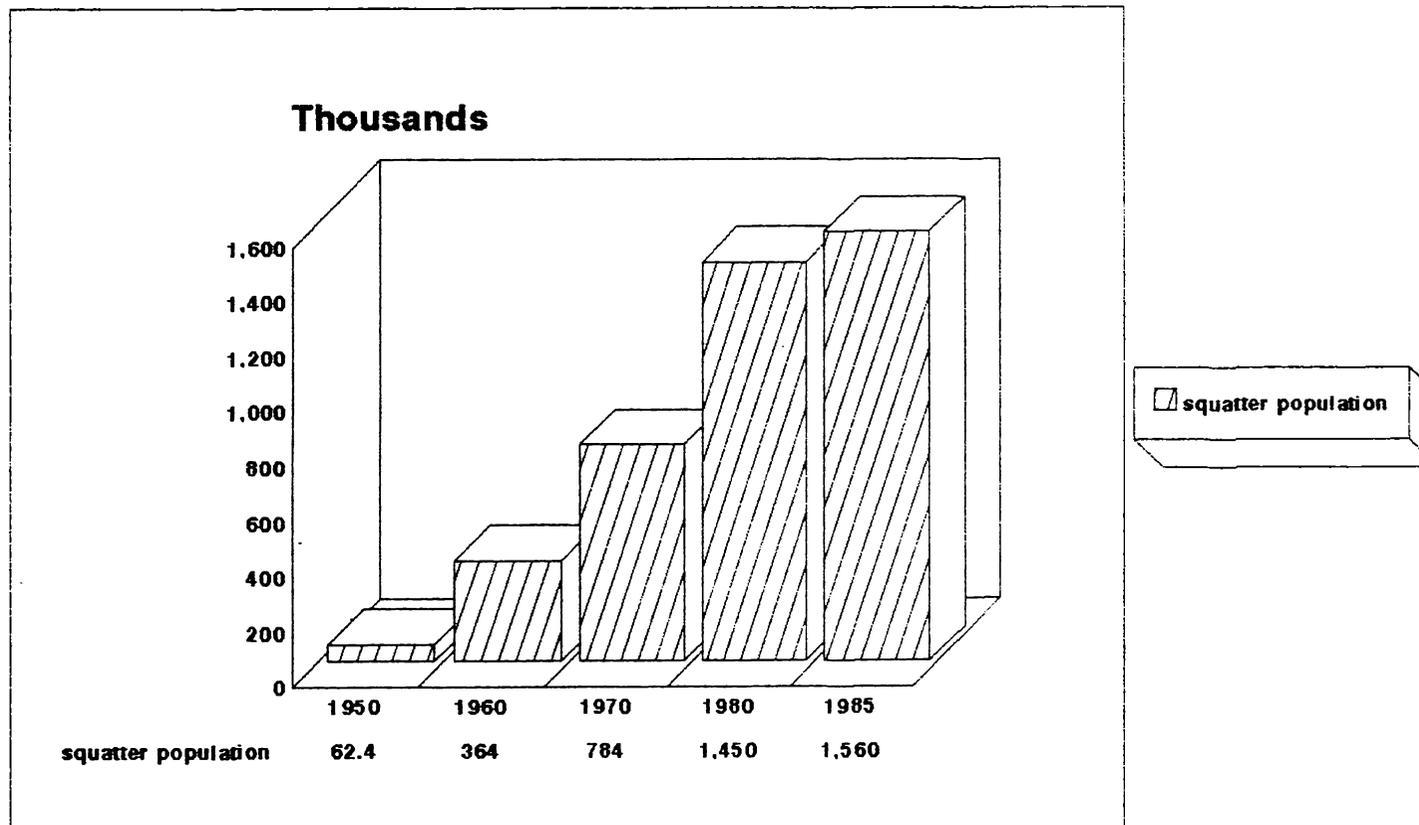
URBAN DWELLINGS



source: DPT & DIE publications

TABLE 2

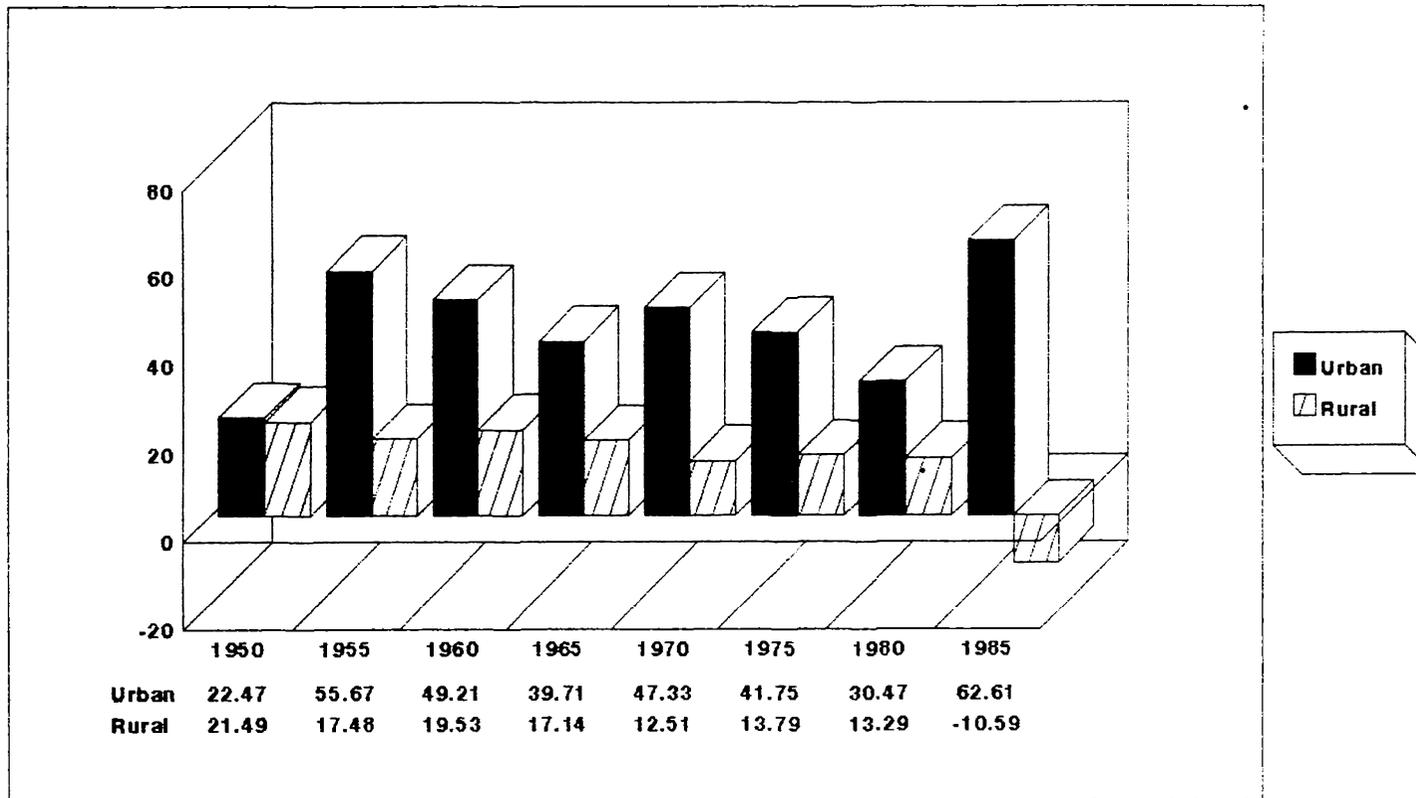
**POPULATION LIVING IN SQUATTERS
IN ANKARA**



source: DPT publications

TABLE 3

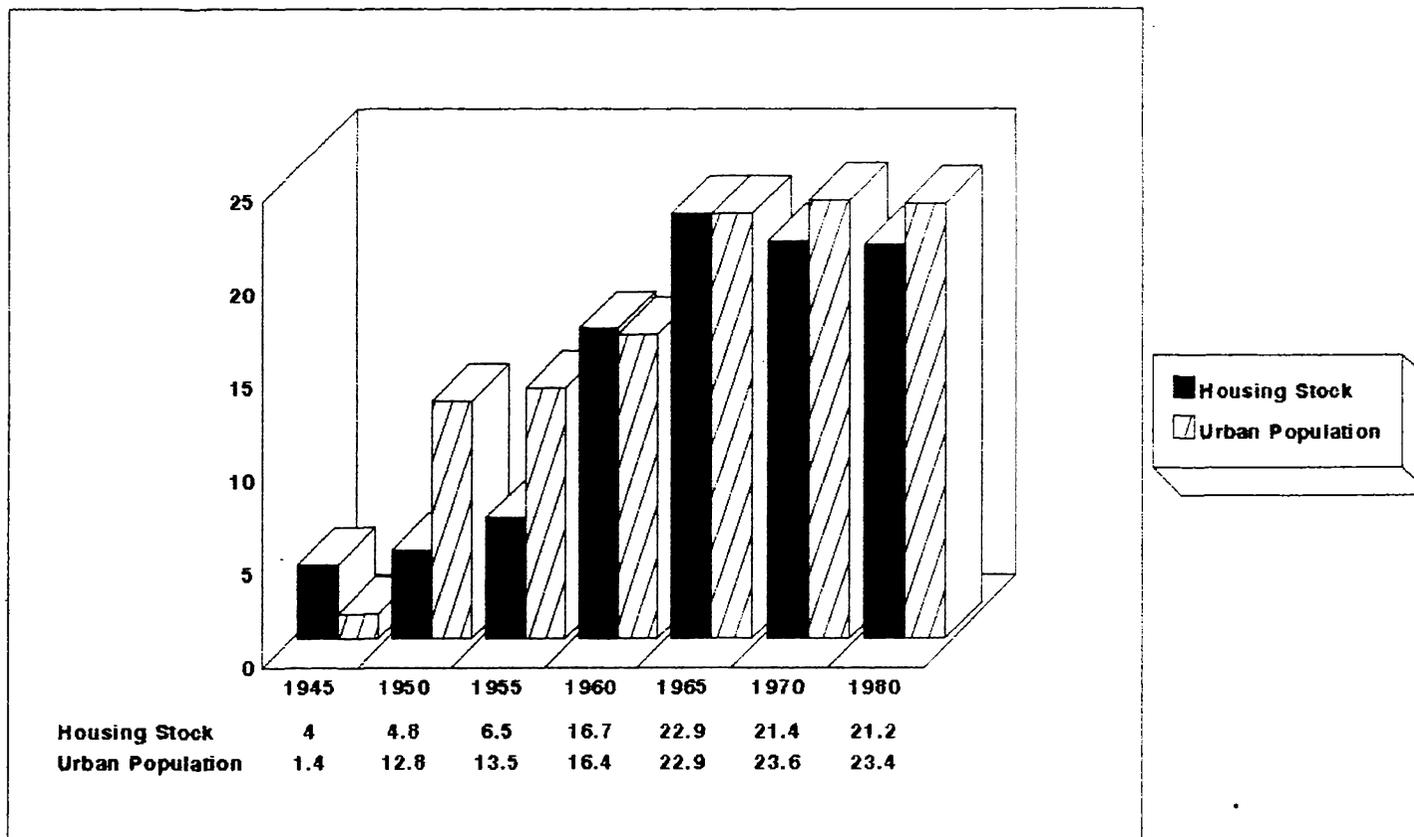
**GROWTH OF RURAL AND URBAN
POPULATION**



percent
source: DIE publications

TABLE 4

HOUSING DEFICIT IN TURKEY



percent

source: DIE publications

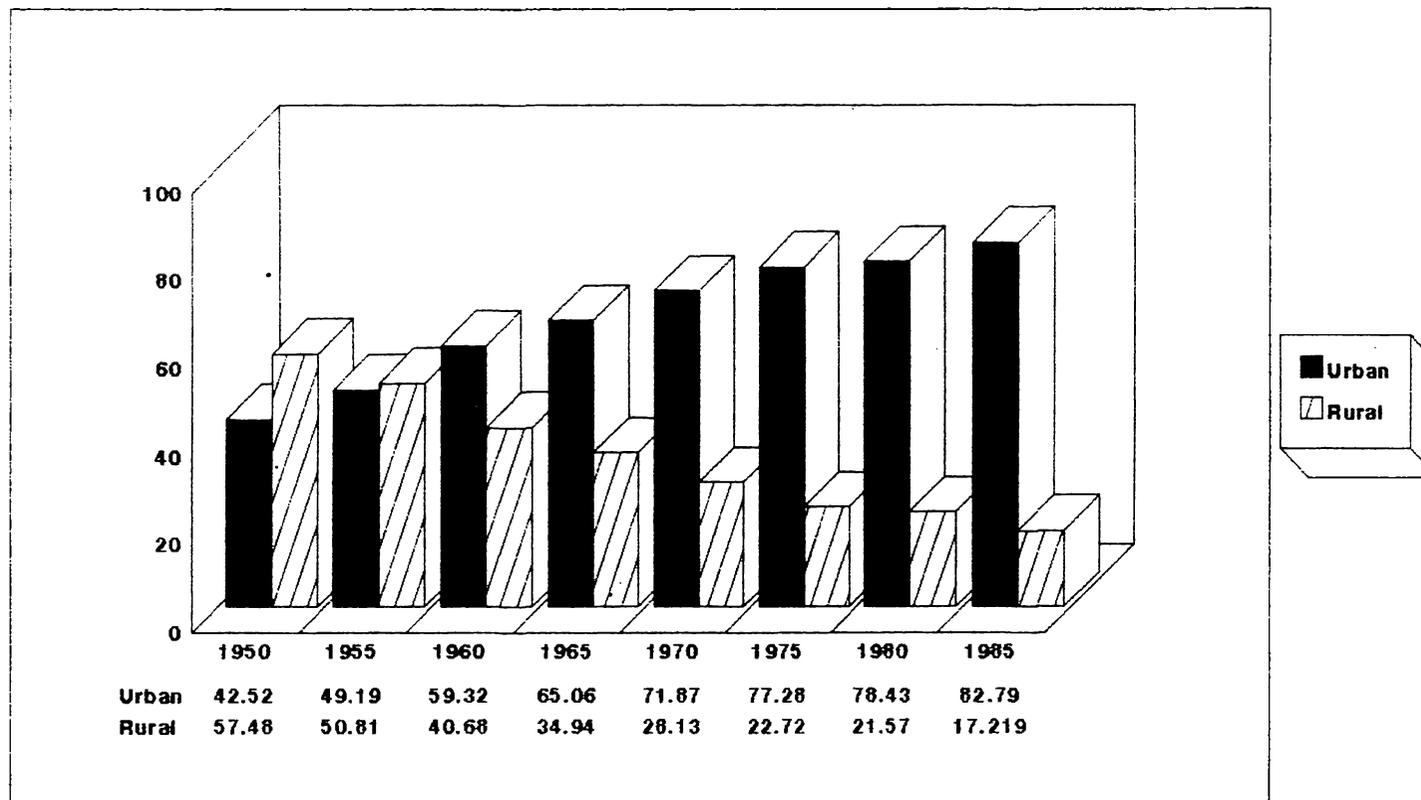
TABLE 5**LAND OWNING CHARACTERISTICS OF
SQUATTER SETTLEMENTS**

Land Characteristics in Squatter Settlement	ISTANBUL	ANKARA	IZMIR
Public Land	75.84%	87.92%	80.76%
Bought from an Agent	19.20%	9.48%	15.45%
Assigned	2.85%	1.58%	0.76%
Bought from the Municipality	0.21%	0.19%	0.15%
Bought with the House	1.69%	0.56%	2.42%

source: DPT publications

TABLE 6

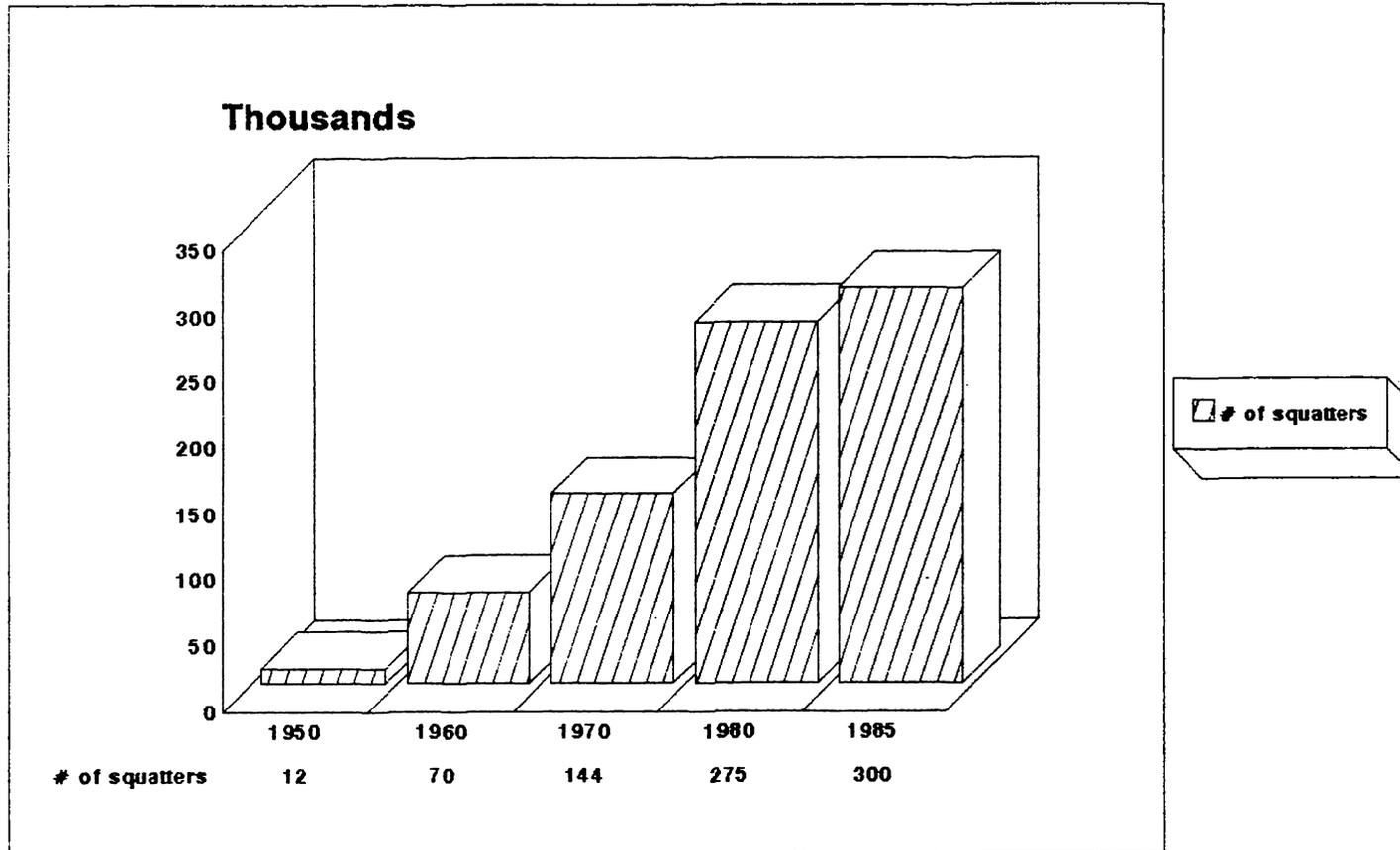
**GROWTH OF RURAL AND URBAN
POPULATION IN ANKARA**



percent
source: DIE publications

TABLE 7

NUMBER OF SQUATTER DWELLINGS IN ANKARA



source: DPT publications

EXHIBITS

EXHIBIT 1

COLLABORATION DEGREE

COLLABORATION DEGREE	CHANGE OF THE ROLE FROM THE AUTHORITY TO THE CITIZEN	AUTHORITY I: MUNICIPALITY	AUTHORITY II: PLANNER (Project Man. Inc.)	CITIZEN USER	
P A S S I V E	Information	MANIPULATION	Administrator, Political Decision Maker & Plan Maker	Determined by the municipality, Local Elit, Implementer	Threatened and Managed, No Decision Making Ability
	Flow	INFORMATION	Administrator, Political Decision Maker & Plan Maker	Plan & Program implementer & Educator	Informed & Educated
		CONSULTATION	Political Decision Maker & Consult Planner	Designer of the program & Plan Former of the Communication Channels	Ability to Complain, Satisfied & Consulted , Participate meetings
A C T I V E	Collaborative	COLLABORATIVE DECISION MAKING	Looking for Collective Decision Making & Consensus	Discuss the Alternatives with Citizens, Form Groups & Meet Leaders and design the project	Meetings During the Project, Cooperation. Informed & Informer, Advisor
	Decision Making	DELEGATED POWER	Controlled, Listener & Low Decision Making Power	Decision Making with Citizens, Controlled	Legal Participation Right, Controller
	Auto Decision Making	CITIZEN CONTROL	Informed, Decision Making Power Low	Guide while defining the Problems & Decision Making, Controlled	Administrator, Directly Participation, Right of Control

EXHIBIT 2

QUESTIONS ASKED IN INTERVIEWS

1. What is the scope of the project ?
2. What are the causes of the project ?
3. Who has initiated this project ?
4. In what way was the creation of the project decided on and implemented ?
5. Was the project accepted / resisted / rejected by the people affected by it ?
6. How did they react ?
7. What are the expectations from the project ?
8. What are the interests among stakeholders ?
9. What is the difference between this renewal project and others which have been created before ?

EXHIBIT 3

DESCRIPTION OF THE DIKMEN VALLEY RENEWAL PROJECT

	The Dikmen Valley Renewal Project
Scope of the Project	Transformation of the squatter settlement area into commercial, housing, recreational and green area
Size of the Area	156 ha
Population	10000
# of the Squatters	2000

EXHIBIT 4

STAKEHOLDERS OF THE DIKMEN VALLEY RENEWAL PROJECT

STAKEHOLDERS	NAME	STATUS	ROLES IN THE PROJECT
CENTRAL AUTHORITY	* Ankara Metropolitan Municipality	* Political power	* Initiator and manager of the project
PROJECT MANAGEMENT COMPANY	* Metropol A.S	* Public (established by municipality to carry out the municipality's projects)	* Planning, Implementation, Supervision, Organization
PEOPLE INFLUENCED BY THE CHANGE	* Directly Influenced: A1) Land & Squatter Owners Squatter Owners * Indirectly Influenced: A2) Ankara Dwellers	* Civil Organizations A1) 5 Cooperatives	* A1) Participate in discussions & decision-making with their leaders

EXHIBIT 5

DESCRIPTION OF THE PORTAKAL ÇIÇEGI VALLEY RENEWAL PROJECT

	The Portakal Çiçegi Valley Renewal Project
Scope of the Project	Transformation of the squatter settlement area into commercial, housing, recreational and green area
Size of the Area	12 ha
Population	250
# of the Squatters	67

EXHIBIT 6

STAKEHOLDERS OF THE PORTAKAL ÇIÇEGI VALLEY URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT

STAKEHOLDERS	NAME	STATUS	ROLES IN THE PROJECT
CENTRAL AUTHORITY	* Ankara Metropolitan Municipality	* Political power	* Initiator of the project
PROJECT MANAGEMENT COMPANY	* Portas A.S	* Private (established by an entrepreneur to carry out this urban renewal project)	* Management, Planning & Implementation of the project
PEOPLE INFLUENCED BY THE CHANGE	* Directly influenced: A1) Landowners B1) Squatter owners * Indirectly influenced A2) Ankara Dwellers	* Civil Organizations A1) Cooperative established by the Landowners	* A1) Partners of Portas & represented on the Board of Directors of Portas B1) Have no legal rights

EXHIBIT 7

COMPARISON OF THE PROJECTS ACCORDING TO THEIR CHARACTERISTICS

	The Dikmen Valley Renewal Project	The Portakal Çiçeği Valley Renewal Project
SIZE		
Population	large	small
Area	large	small
Cost	high	support itself
Time	25 years	5 years
STATUS OF THE PROJECT MANAGEMENT COMPANY	public	private
ESTABLISHMENT PURPOSE OF THE PROJECT MANAGEMENT COMPANY	general purpose	specific project

EXHIBIT 8

TYPE OF REFERENT ORGANIZATION

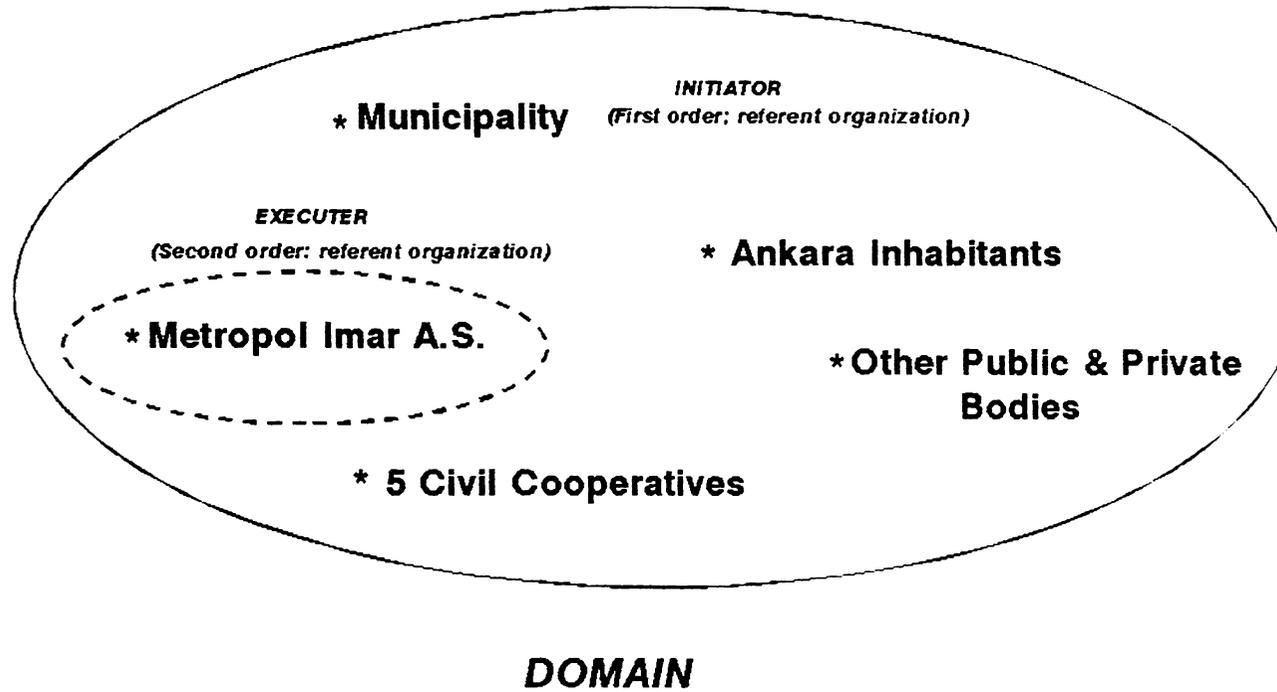


EXHIBIT 9

TYPE OF REFERENT ORGANIZATION

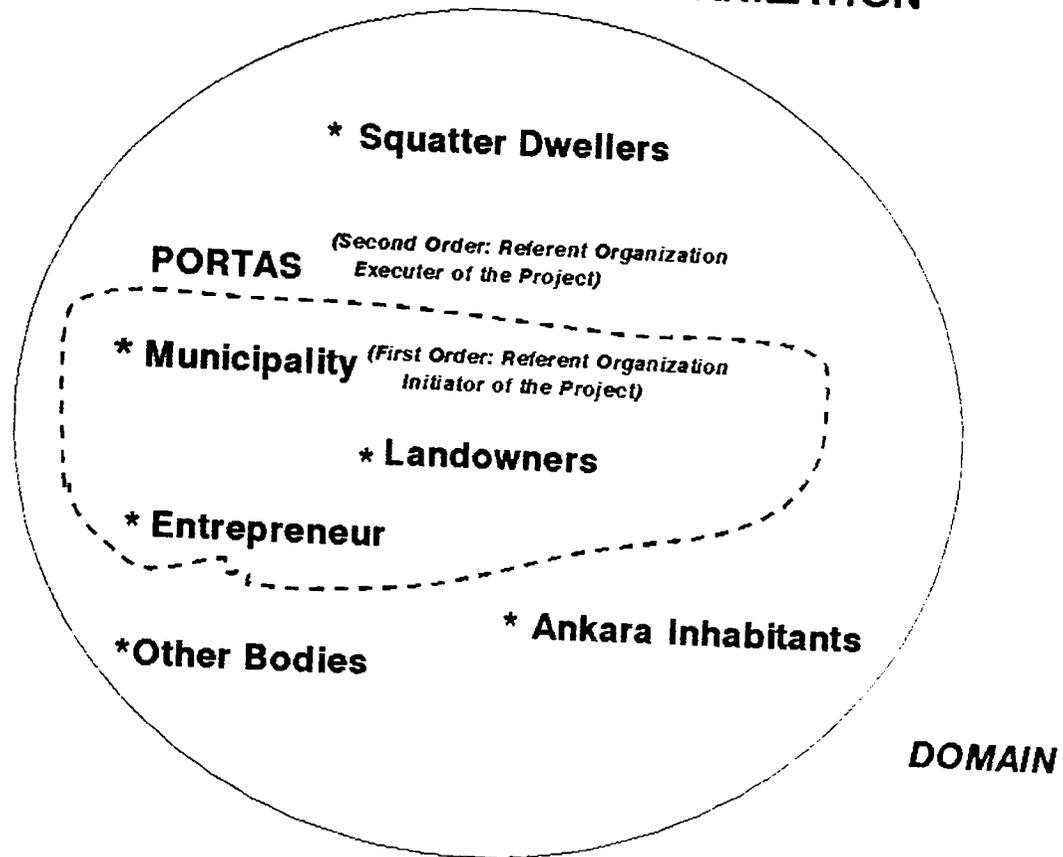


EXHIBIT 10

**ORGANIZATION OF THE DIKMEN VALLEY
RENEWAL PROJECT**

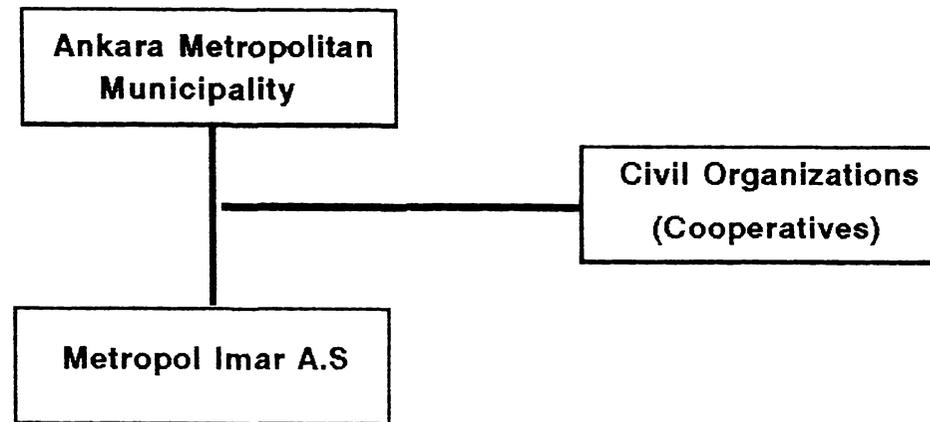


EXHIBIT 11

**ORGANIZATION OF THE PORTAKAL ÇIÇEĞİ
VALLEY RENEWAL PROJECT**

