

CHANGES IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF AN EXISTING  
NEIGHBORHOOD AFTER THE URBAN REGENERATION PROJECT:  
THE CASE OF DİKKEN VALLEY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO  
THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERIOR ARCHITECTURE AND  
ENVIRONMENTAL DESIGN AND THE INSTITUTE OF  
ECONOMICS AND SOCIAL SCIENCES OF  
BİLKENT UNIVERSITY  
IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS  
FOR THE DEGREE OF  
MASTER OF FINE ARTS

By  
FİLİZ KORKUNAZ DİREKÇİ  
August, 1998

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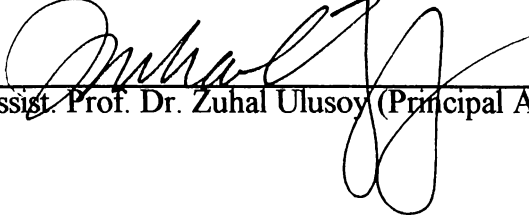
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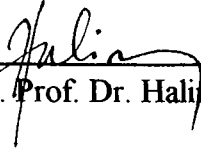
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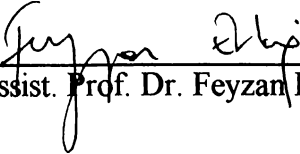
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## **ABSTRACT**

# **CHANGES IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC STRUCTURE OF AN EXISTING NEIGHBORHOOD AFTER THE URBAN REGENERATION PROJECT: THE CASE OF DİKMEN VALLEY**

Filiz Korkmaz Direkçi

M.F.A. in Interior Architecture and Environmental Design

Supervisor: Assist. Prof. Dr. Zuhâl Ulusoy

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In this thesis, the aim is to evaluate the impact of an urban regeneration project on the socio-economic structure of an existing neighborhood based on the hypothesis that urban regeneration generally results in a change in the socio-economic structure of the regenerated neighborhood. Dikmen Valley which is one of the most important urban regeneration projects implemented in a squatter settlement has been chosen as the case. The focus of this study is the socio-economic status of people presently living in the houses constructed for the rightowners during the first phase of the project. Furthermore, variances between people that reside in Dikmen Valley are analyzed in order to affirm the existence of different socio-economic groups in contradiction with the initial of the project. The research question of the nature of the changes are based on the socio-economic profile of the people who preferred to stay and who chose to move in the Valley after the project is completed. The differences between the socio-economic groups are measured in terms of the decision of choosing to stay or move in to the Valley, social networks, interactions in and with the open spaces, the use and evaluation of the environment, and prospects about staying in the Valley or moving out. As a result of this study, it is found that currently two distinct socio-economic groups live in the same environment, as opposed to the homogenous social structure of the Valley prior to the project.

**Keywords:** Urban Regeneration, Socio-economic Structure, Squatter Settlements

## **ÖZET**

### **KENTSEL YENİLEME PROJESİ SONRASI MEVCUT BİR MAHALLENİN**

### **SOSYO-EKONOMİK YAPISINDAKİ DEĞİŞİMLER:**

### **DİKMEN VADİSİ ÖRNEĞİ**

Filiz Korkmaz Direkçi

İç Mimarlık ve Çevre Tasarımı Bölümü

Yüksek Lisans

Tez Yöneticisi: Y. Doç. Dr. Zuhal Ulusoy

Ağustos 1998

Bu tezde, kentsel yenilemenin yenilenmiş mahalledeki sosyo-ekonomik yapıda değişimler ile sonuçlandığı hipotezine dayanarak, kentsel yenileme projesinin mevcut bir mahallenin sosyo-ekonomik yapısına olan etkisinin değerlendirilmesi amaçlanmıştır. Gecekondu yerleşimlerine uygulanan kentsel yenileme projelerin en önemlilerinden biri olan Dikmen Vadisi çalışma alanı olarak seçilmiştir. Bu çalışmanın odak noktası, projenin birinci etabı sırasında haksahiplerine inşaa edilen konutlarda yaşayan insanların sosyo-ekonomik statüleridir. Ayrıca, proje hedefleri ile çelişen çeşitli sosyo-ekonomik gruplarının varlığını doğrulamak için Dikmen Vadisinde oturan insanlar arasındaki farklılıklar analiz edilmiştir. Araştırma sorusunda yer alan değişimlerin oluşum şekli, proje tamamlandıktan sonra mahallede yaşamaya devam eden ve mahalleye yeni taşınan insanların sosyo-ekonomik profillerine dayandırılarak araştırılmıştır. Sosyo-ekonomik gruplar arasındaki farklılıklar, vadide kalmak veya vadiye taşınmak kararları, sosyal ilişkiler, açık alanlar ile olan etkileşimler, çevre kullanımı ve değerlendirilmesi, ve vadide yaşayanların kalmak ya da taşınmak ile ilgili planları açısından ölçülmüştür. Bu çalışmanın sonucunda, vadinin önceki homojen sosyal yapısının aksine, şu anda, aynı çevrede iki ayrı sosyal grubun yaşadığı bulunmuştur.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Kentsel Yenileme, Sosyo-ekonomik Yapı, Gecekondu Yerleşimleri

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## **1. INTRODUCTION**

In recent years, urban regeneration with its economic, cultural, technological and physical points of emphasis has become an important area of interest in urban planning and urban studies. Regeneration is defined as the re-investment in the social, economic, cultural and physical structure of existing built areas. It implies growth and progress and the infusion of new activities into declined parts of cities which are occupied by low-income groups and are no longer attractive to investors and middle-class households.

The cities experience periods of growth and decline with concomitant transformation of urban space from one economic and social use to another (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981). With the transformation of urban space, the decay of inner city areas is an inevitable result. The problem of decay of inner city areas has been reversed in several cases, through housing regeneration policies since 1950s. Today, housing regeneration policies which direct their resources on the inner city residential areas have become an important task for the urban policy makers. These policies play an important role in the wider urban policy and should be handled according to broader urban interests.

There are various urban policies which discuss the economic and social implications of the intervention to the numerous resources of inner urban areas. Two distinct approaches exist within the literature on urban policy and housing regeneration (Basset and Short, 1980). The policies that focus on encouraging economic growth distribute the benefits of this growth and improvements of physical environment among the higher income groups. The inevitable result of these policies is the displacement of low-income groups, “gentrification”. Gentrification is a process by which high-income class comes to reside in previously decayed inner city neighborhoods, renovating the housing stock and displacing poorer households. Gentrification is a normal outcome of a successful urban regeneration program which puts the principal purpose as to revive a profitable real estate market in the area (Williams, 1983).

On the other hand, there are others which take opposing stands towards the desirability of gentrification as an outcome. They argue that the benefits of renewal policies should concentrate on low-income groups directly or, at least, an equal distribution among different social groups should be targeted

Housing itself is a great problem for both developed and developing countries. Housing renewal policies in different cases in the world are directly affected by the economic and social structure of the countries. The historical context of urban change, economic possibilities and limitations, social implications for action, appropriate organizational structure and managerial approach should be considered carefully before any action for intervention, since these may vary from case to case, even in the same country. Instead of adopting a policy and implementing it, understanding the objectives of different

policies and their consequences would give more successful outcomes appropriate to the social and economic conditions of different countries . This is particularly the case in Turkey which suffers due to unrestricted increase of “gecekondu” (squatter) areas in most of its cities.

Due to the rapid urbanization rate, the squatters became one of the most important problem of the major cities in Turkey, as well as other developing countries. The amnesty laws that give title deed to squatter houses have particularly mushroomed these squatter settlements. Today, municipalities are aware of the problem and have begun to take precautions in order to prevent their construction. Nevertheless, the large numbers of squatters that have already been built in and around the cities constitute a crucial social and physical problem.

In recent years, regeneration became a popular subject in Turkey like it was in many other countries. Municipalities began to prepare urban regeneration projects especially to solve the problems that arose in the city centers due to squatter settlements. Dikmen Valley Housing and Environmental Development Project is one of them which can be identified as the largest squatter settlement regeneration project in Ankara. The project shows similarities with other cases from all over the world, but at the same time, it is different in terms of its points of interest and the unique model developed to solve the problem of squatter settlements. One of the main principles of the project is to distribute the profits of the regeneration project equally among the members of the society; especially the original inhabitants, the rightowners of these houses of the Valley.

In the second chapter of this study, key issues concerning urban regeneration are handled. This chapter concentrates particularly on the physical and social aspects of housing regeneration. Hence, main approaches to urban regeneration and the most possible result of it, “gentrification”, are introduced with respect to their social implications and the displacement of the existing low-income residents of the neighborhood.

In Chapter Three, frame of the problem of squatter settlements in Turkey and urban regeneration in the case of Ankara with four large-scale regeneration projects will be analyzed. Brief historical evolution of squatter settlements is given in order to show the difference of the approaches to squatters in Turkey that is developed in time and to draw attention to the dimensions of the problem. The social and physical characteristics of squatter settlements are introduced to understand their culture and life styles.

The Fourth Chapter is devoted to Dikmen Valley Housing and Environmental Redevelopment Project. The project is introduced in terms of its objectives, basic principles and evaluation. The participatory model applied in Dikmen Valley is very important. Thus, user participation and negotiations have been explored in order to understand the process and the powers that affected the project.

The remaining part of the fourth chapter is devoted to the research carried out in Dikmen Valley. In the research, changes in the socio-economic structure of Dikmen Valley after the housing and environmental development project are explored. The focus of this study is the socio-economic status of people presently living in the houses

constructed for the rightowners during the first phase of the project and their differences in order to affirm the existence of different socio-economic groups that reside in Dikmen Valley in contradiction with the initial target of the project. This will be analyzed based on the assumption that urban regeneration process will result in a change in the socio-economic structure of regenerated neighborhoods. The data to study this research question has been collected through a survey. A questionnaire has been prepared and applied to people who are currently living in the houses of rightowners. In the last part of the chapter, the results of the case study on Dikmen Valley are presented.

The study concludes with a discussion of some main concepts derived from the case study as well as the literature review, and some aspects of the regeneration of squatter settlements in Turkey.

## **2. URBAN REGENERATION**

Urban regeneration is a recent phenomenon in Turkey. Therefore, it is necessary to look at its key issues in order to understand the current process considering Turkey's cultural, social, economic and political particularities. In this chapter, issues in neighborhood regeneration are introduced, concentrating on the physical and social aspects of the process rather than its economic, cultural and political issues.

### **2.1. Brief History of Urban Regeneration**

Urban regeneration is neither completely new nor unprecedented. Cities experience periods of growth and decline with the transformation of urban space from one economic and social use into another. Although some attempts have occurred in Europe (Housmann's renewal of Paris), the United States was one of the first countries which developed specific programs for urban regeneration and the pioneering studies in literature on this issue are mostly about these programs.

Over the last 130 years, major efforts have been made in the U. S. to counteract decay and to renovate cities. However, until the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries there was not any considerable coordinated efforts on the part of local

governments, reform groups, and business interests with the intent of eliminating the physical aspects of urban decline (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981). The first major urban regeneration efforts in the United States were the American Park Movement and the City Beautiful Movement which emerged as a response to high densities and environmental degradation brought about by urbanization and industrialization (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981). Both of the movements emphasized the transformation of urban centers through the creation of urban parks:

Cities were encouraged to develop civic spaces surrounded by public buildings --libraries, city halls and post offices, museums, etc.-- all of which were to be joined by parks, tree-lined avenues and plazas. Urban parks were thought to provide city residents with a therapeutic environment in which they can contemplate nature and find mental well-being. Many cities, in fact, developed City Beautiful Plans (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981, 6).

Ten years of experience on urban regeneration and the conflicts between the 1960s and 1970s have shown that bringing changes and needed innovations to struggle against urban decline requires integrated strategies and approaches (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981). Therefore, approaches of urban regeneration which address all aspects of life --social, cultural, educational, political, economic-- and facilitate provisions to meet the needs of people in a particular neighborhood or district are required (Krüger, 1993).

## **2.2. Main Approaches to Urban Regeneration**

Couch (1990) describes urban regeneration as seeking to bring back investment, employment and consumption, and enhancement of the quality of life within urban areas. Urban regeneration is a natural process through which the urban environment undergoes transformation. All cities are in a state of transition, of becoming bigger, smaller, better, worse or may be just different, and much of the world is being shaken by political, industrial, economic, and social changes (Middleton, 1991). Thus, cities are shaped over time by political, economic, and social forces which are reflected on organizational and individual decisions. In such argument, with concomitant transformation of urban space from one economic and social use to another, decay of inner urban space is an inevitable result.

Although it can not be generalized,

... inner urban decay, crime, racial tension, riots, mass unemployment and falling standards of service provisions are some of the more obvious and disturbing indicators of a general and deep-seated deterioration in the social, economic, political and finance fabric of the city (Clark, 1989, 22).

Middleton (1991) looks through the process from population point of view and claims that there is an outward migration of younger and more skilled population in search of jobs elsewhere. The result is that, as Robson (1988) points out, trapped in inner-city areas are old people, single parents, and unskilled workers, each of whom have their own version of “hell is a city.” Therefore, urban regeneration process sometimes is



called as the “back to the city movement” which could reverse the process of urban decline.

Whatever the reason for intervention, there are certain prerequisites for action, as noted by Couch (1990). The prerequisites that should be known before action are the historical context of change, the economic possibilities and limitations, the social implications of action, the appropriate organizational structure and the managerial approach to adopt, and the physical opportunities and constraints presented by the circumstances (Couch, 1990).

Most of the sources emphasize the rehabilitation of infrastructure in regeneration. According to Robson (1988), investment in new and rehabilitated infrastructure is a clear need to reverse urban decline. Similarly, Button and Pearce (1989) argue that the restoration of infrastructure can enhance the welfare of those living in a run down inner city area by, for example, improving the appearance of the location, offering additional informal leisure opportunities, and frequently, removing potential hazards.

### **2.2.1. Redevelopment**

The term redevelopment implies the removal of existing fabric and the reuse of cleared land for the implementation of new projects to enable opportunities and satisfactory living conditions. This approach is generally applied in areas in which buildings are in seriously deteriorated condition and have no preservation value. This operation represents maximum use of land in centrally located areas and maximum

profit through sale and introducing higher income groups and commercial activities into city center which will result in tax revenues. All these benefits are distributed among developers and government.

This approach may result in total removal of settlement patterns and of life styles in existing fabric which may have a severe social and environmental cost. Even if the residents of redeveloped areas are rehoused, the transformation of neighborhood has psychological impacts upon that community. The cost of this transformation is not only “financial but social (loss of community ties, reduced proximity to friends and relatives) and emotional (the trauma of displacement from familiar locations)” (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981, 46).

In many cities, it is recently realized that the removal of great amount of existing housing stock is often counter-productive, given the tremendous housing demand which exists and the clear inability of existing institutions (and finance) to provide new housing on the scale desired. Instead, it is important to utilize these housing units, even if, at present, they are in poor condition (Steinberg, 1996).

### **2.2.2. Rehabilitation**

Rehabilitation (widely used as conservation or preservation) may be accepted as the opposite of redevelopment. It implies preservation, repair and restoration of existing neighborhoods. Rehabilitation became an extensively used approach within revitalization efforts since most of the benefits of such efforts are economic: it takes

advantage of existing housing stock as a source for providing jobs, stimulating business activities, and revitalizing downtown areas (Bever, 1983).

There are several positive attributes of the rehabilitation of the buildings in urban centers such as;

- General revitalization of the city,
- Increased property tax base and revenues,
- Support for the commercial business segment,
- Re-creation of community / neighborhood feelings in urban centers,
- Reduction of energy outlay resulting from fewer commuting workers,
- Increased use of neglected utility systems,
- Feelings of identity and pride of ownership” (Smith, B., 1983, 235).

There are also some disadvantages including the displacement of low-income people and an increase in demand for public services (police, fire, etc.).

### **2.2.3. Urban Renewal**

The objective of urban renewal with the neighborhood approach is to improve the residential and living conditions of the population in old neighborhoods. In practice, urban renewal proceeds with great difficulty. Although it can not be possible to sum up all the problems of urban renewal, the most important problems encountered are social, financial, organizational, planning and phasing problems. Urban renewal tries to solve a social problem since the old neighborhoods have been neglected for many years. The people in the old neighborhoods have likewise been neglected. The worst neighborhoods are populated by the people with the lowest incomes. Urban renewal requires financial solutions since it takes a lot of money to remedy the neglect of old

neighborhoods. Urban renewal needs an organizational approach since in urban renewal projects both the municipality and the neighborhood encounter organizational problems. (Haberer, De Kleyn and De Wit, 1980 ). The urban renewal with neighborhood approach should circumvent these difficulties.

Urban renewal should be studied in a wider context rather than economic functioning of the city or improving existing housing stock. The major principles of a successful urban renewal are explained by Carmon and Baron (1994) as:

... avoiding relocation of residents and demolition of the buildings (i.e. working with the present population and the existing housing stock); targeting resources at neighborhoods in need (rather than at individuals or households); integrating social and physical rehabilitation; decentralization and resident participation; and implementation through existing institutions (1467).

#### **2.2.4. Revitalization**

Urban revitalization is one of the dominant approaches to urban regeneration which emphasize neighborhood preservation and housing rehabilitation. According to Holcomb and Beauregard (1981), like earlier concepts (e.g. urban redevelopment, urban renewal and urban regeneration) urban revitalization implies growth, progress, and the infusion of new activities into stagnant or declining cities which are no longer attractive to investors and middle-class households. It is assumed that by preserving the neighborhood and housing rehabilitation, the displacement and disruption of communities can be prevented to a certain degree.

### **2.2.5. Gentrification**

Gentrification is an aspect of urban revitalization which has received considerable attention in both popular and professional literature. It is widely assumed that physical and economic restructuring in the urban core will result in displacement and gentrification in surrounding neighborhoods.

The issues raised by gentrification have never really been settled, either in economics or in other social sciences (Redfern, 1997a). Gentrification is held to be impossible to define, that it is a “chaotic concept” (Beauregard, 1986). Gentrification has often been identified as “a means by which polarization is imprinted on the geography of the city, through two linked processes” (Lyons, 1996a, 341). One of these processes is the invasion of an area by high-status households, who upgrade the area and raise the land values within it. The other is the economic displacement of those who can no longer afford to live in the area, which may take several forms.

There are several arguments about when gentrification occurs. According to Holcomb and Beauregard (1981), gentrification occurs when there is a substantial replacement of a neighborhood’s residents with newcomers who are of higher income and who, having acquired homes cheaply, renovate them and upgrade the neighborhood.

Inmovers to gentrifying neighborhoods are, in some respects, different from incumbent residents (e.g. in household structure and size, in age profiles, in racial composition, or in employment status of household members). However, the shared and defining characteristics of gentrification everywhere is the socioeconomic change

through migration (Lyons, 1996b). Gentrification and revitalization refer to a change in household social status, independent of the housing stock involved, which might be either in renovated or redeveloped units (Ley, 1986). Definition of gentrifiers should not be limited by middle-class individuals, rather there are other kinds of individuals responsible for the physical transformation of urban landscapes. According to Smith (1979), other individuals are builders, property owners, estate agents, local governments, banks and building societies.

There are certain factors, evident cross-nationally, without which gentrification may not have taken place, but of equal importance, Carpenter and Lees (1995) discuss that in the gentrification process, place has a relevant degree of significance. Nevertheless, for gentrification to be said to have occurred, several conditions must be fulfilled. Neil Smith (1979) explains this as: once the rent gap is wide enough, gentrification may be initiated in a given neighborhood by several different actors in the land and housing market. Rent gap is the disparity between the potential ground rent level and the actual ground rent capitalized under the present land use. Ley (1986) has a different approach: if downtown employment opportunities draw populations to the inner city, this population, as it gives political and economic expression to its own predilection for urban amenity, will restructure the built environment and accelerate the gentrification process.

Another argument about gentrification to occur comes from Redfern (1997b). He states that, four factors must exist together for gentrification to occur:

First, cities in which gentrification occurs must exhibit residential social spatial segregation. Second, properties, and by implication neighborhoods also, (from the first condition above), that are liable to initiate the gentrification process must have at the some point in the past been abandoned by the middle class, either as occupiers or as owners. The third condition is that the financing for gentrification comes primarily out of borrowings rather than savings, future income in other words rather than past income. The fourth condition is that gentrifiers must have material as well as the financial wherewithal to renovate a property (1335-1336).

Each factor has implications for action. According to Nyden and Wiewel (1991), if one believes that gentrification is a “panacea for inner-city neighborhoods,” then one argues for policies and programs that encourage it, calling it reinvestment, revitalization or rehabilitation (28). If, on the other hand, one believes that the uneven consequences of gentrification are unduly for low and moderate, usually minority, households and communities, then one argues that policies and programs should be pursued to curtail gentrification (Nyden and Wiewel, 1991). Gentrification disputes communities and displaced residents.

Overall, business interests have dominated the negotiations among government, community and the private sector on the content of redevelopment. They have been supported by elite and middle-class consumers seeking downtown “improvements” and attractive, centrally located housing. Especially in the housing renewal process, the stronger parties occupy the best position in the housing market, and they eventually take over the best housing in the most attractive parts of the neighborhoods (Van Kempen and Van Weesep, 1994). Neighborhood and lower-income groups have also received some gains in some places from redevelopment. Generally, however, the urban poor, ethnic communities, and small businesses have suffered

from increased economic and locational marginalization as a consequence (Fainstein, 1994).

Gentrification, thus, poses a dilemma for policy makers. On the one hand, they wish to attract and retain middle- and upper-class residents in the central city. On the other hand, to make new room for these new residents, the poor are displaced. Rather than seeking to stop gentrification, some policymakers urge that greater effort be made to monitor the extent of displacement and to improve mitigation programs and funding. Their intent is to assist original residents in remaining and renovating their homes and to help those who leave to relocate successfully (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981).

Gentrification does not unfold as a single process. In different neighborhoods, even within a single city, the process involves different actors and proceeds with varying consequences. Moreover, it is not a process which, once started, continues until the neighborhood is totally gentrified (Beauregard, 1990).

### **2.3. Social Issues in Urban Regeneration**

In this section, mainly two social issues, displacement and participation in the urban process, are introduced since these two concepts are dominated in neighborhood regeneration and directly related with the case studied in this thesis.



### **2.3.1. Displacement**

One important concept of urban regeneration is social justice. Social justice has a spatial component. Just like the unequal distribution of the goods and services, places are also distributed unevenly among groups and individuals in a society (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981). Natural resources are unevenly distributed so that, the cities near them have the greatest locational advantages.

The term equal is important for social justice. Urban regeneration changes both the social and the spatial distribution of goods and sources. But, it usually does not entail a redistribution which favor low income people of the neighborhood (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981). Rather, it further concentrates resources in areas which are dominated by upper- and middle-class people and reinforces their control over these urban spaces.

The process of urban regeneration is controlled by a small number of groups and organizations. The consequences of urban regeneration are as exclusionary as the process which creates them. More of land and property in the central business district are captured by large investors and developers, real estate investors and corporations. Services, recreational and entertainment activities, and expanded employment opportunities are designed for the middle-class. Physically, the downtown becomes upper- and middle-class space, reserved for their use and enjoyment, while the poor are pushed into less attractive parts of the city (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981).

A major cost of urban regeneration is that, people often lose environments to which they have developed strong emotional attachments. This loss of attachment occurs when residents are displaced from their homes both by gentrification and by redevelopment. From the psychological perspective, environmental transformation brings a sense of loss which stems from a sense of identity and a sense of belonging when a place, one has known for many years, is changed. It is generally recognized that displacement from familiar locations translates into drastic changes in lifestyles and requires long-term readjustments which can cause serious psychological trauma, especially for the most vulnerable portion of the population like young children and elderly (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981). The loss of contact with the familiar environment to which people have developed emotional attachments may occur both when residents are displaced and when familiar environments are radically altered by revitalizing activities.

People displaced by regeneration are simply the victims of the process. Their loss is viewed as a price which must be paid for revitalization. While the government might intervene to compensate such victims for part of the economic cost of displacement, loss of place requires long term adjustment and it may never be captured (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1983).

The image and symbolism also have a share in the uneven spatial investment in the city and in the uneven development of urban space. Middle-class symbols are articulated and highlighted, those of the working class, poor, ethnic and racial groups are neglected. This leads to the disruption of the local culture which represents the

collective expression of shared history, traditions, values and the way of life. The disappearance of the physical and social structure of a particular culture may lead to a decline of this culture and also may result in a decline of urban culture, since the city is composed of several different social groups.

Declining cities need to receive private investment and government programs to stem deterioration and to revive them economically (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981). But some precautions must be taken against uneven distribution of benefits of urban regeneration. The quality of life should not deteriorate for those who stay. Attachment to place deserves recognition and social networks should not be destroyed. Equitable urban regeneration requires the active support of government bodies and political actions by working-class organizations.

If regeneration is necessary, government should intervene, first to make redevelopment procedures more democratic, and, second to spread benefits and costs of change across both space and social groups. Lastly, government should devise mechanisms for providing greater social control over redevelopment (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981).

### **2.3.2. Participation in the Urban Process**

Participation and involvement of the residents are essential for the success of a rehabilitation program, and should be encouraged with regard to environmental and housing issues. Urban regeneration needs to look at the key issues of community

involvement in the sense of active participation of individuals, groups and communities in the process of shaping their environment and the quality of their living conditions. Following the principal “for the residents - with the residents” it became the explicit objective of the renewal program to be oriented towards the needs of the present residents and the users, and to be planned and carried out in co-operation with them (Krüger, 1993).

First of all, local people must be involved to the process, giving them a voice in the action (Donnison, 1993). But, involving local people means that a proxy client of an organized kind is needed, representing the residents and the many active community groups to be found even in the most deprived and impoverished neighborhoods.

Multi-agency approach, that means the staff of different departments established in a joint collaborative presence in the working area accessible to local people, is another important feature of urban participation. Community based style of operation which gives the local people who actually experience and suffer the problems a voice will give better solutions for the local people of regenerated neighborhoods according to Donnison (1993). Local authorities play a key role for addressing the issues about participatory model.

A rational individual will participate in a community based organization when the benefits of participating are greater than the costs. Length of residence, residential stability, and the number of friends and relatives in the community are the key factors that influence attitudes and behavior toward the community. The longer an individual

resided in a community that exhibits residential stability, the more likely he or she will participate in community-based organizations, feel a strong sense of community attachment, and develop local friendship ties. Therefore community stability at the individual and community levels is the primary condition that promotes community participation (Reingold, 1995).

Social implications of action should be considered well since business interests have dominated the negotiations among government, community, and private sector, redevelopment actions have been supported by elite and middle-class consumers seeking down “improvements” and attractive, centrally located houses as explained by Fainstein (1994). That means the profits of urban regeneration process are unevenly distributed among the members of the society. While stakeholders, real-estate agencies, middle- or high-income people gain much more profit, the low-income groups suffer from the consequences of the process. In order to overcome this social problem, there is a need for better communication and negotiations with all population groups.

The next chapter presents the main urban regeneration efforts in Ankara especially held towards to solve the problem of squatter settlements. Four large-scale projects will be introduced with their site, objectives, model developed and critiques in order to draw main frame of urban regeneration in Ankara and to conceive the municipality’s approach to regeneration, thus to understand better that the process of regeneration in Dikmen Valley Housing and Environmental Redevelopment Project.

### **3. URBAN REGENERATION IN ANKARA**

Today, urban regeneration is a popular subject in Turkey, as well as in many other countries. Municipalities have begun to prepare urban regeneration projects especially to solve the problems raised due to squatter settlements which have been already mushroomed in the city centers. Since World War II, rapid social and economic changes accompanied by changes in the physical realm have been taking place in Turkey, like in other parts of the world, as a result of rapid urbanization of the country, largely due to rural-to-urban migration (Erman, 1997). When this migration from rural areas to larger cities started, the governments were not capable of providing employment, basic services and housing to the newcomers.

In the face of insecure employment opportunities, the security of a shelter becomes a critical and basic problem. The housing shortage and high rents in cities due to high urbanization rate lead low income families and the migrants, who can not afford legal housing in cities, to solve their own housing problem through illegal ways. The most common solution is building their houses (squatters) on unplanned areas or on publicly or privately owned land, or on geographically undesirable sites, such as steep slopes, river beds, etc.

Squatter settlements, named variously in different countries, represent urban areas of great importance in many places. Squatter settlements express culture and the latent and symbolic aspects of activities; allow culturally valid homogeneous groupings, locating people in physical and social space; provide appropriate symbols of social identity and appropriate social structure (Rapoport, 1977).

Although squatter settlements show similarities all over the world, it is important to evaluate the term in the special cultural, economic, social, political set up of a country, furthermore, in different regions of a country. Before going into details of the urban regeneration efforts in Ankara, it is important to examine squatters in the Turkish context their social and physical characteristics which have close relations with the life style of the squatter people. Hence, in the following section, historic evolution of the concept in the Turkish context will be discussed briefly in order to show the dimensions of the problem of squatter settlements in Turkey changes in the approaches to the issue of squatters, and their social and physical characteristics. The life style of people who live in these areas will also be examined in order to understand the effects of the Dikmen Valley Project on their daily lives.

### **3.1. The Turkish Context of Squatter Settlements**

“Gecekondu”, the Turkish version of squatter housing, began to emerge during the 1940s. The term “gecekondu” refers to buildings constructed on land belonging to others without the consent of the owner and without regard to either legislation dealing with housing and construction, or general regulations (Heper, 1978). A

decade later, in the 1950s, the “gecekondu”s (built overnight) started to mushroom in the major cities of Turkey (Heper, 1978).

Primarily, there are two important reasons (push and pull factors) behind migration from rural to urban lands: low productivity, low incomes in agriculture, mechanization and fertilization in agriculture, uneven distribution of land , scarcity of available land for the increased population in rural areas, and lastly the wars are the push factors. The attraction of the cities due to industrization, improved service sector, better education opportunities, and the better living conditions constitute the pull factors which cause migration from rural to urban areas.

In 1950-60s, as the demand for cheap labor in industry, commercial and especially in service sector increased, the role of the “gecekondu” people who were employed as unskilled, hard, unorganized workers in the economy gained importance, and the “gecekondu” areas became indispensable parts of the city (Şenyapılı, 1983).

The 1966 “Gecekondu” Law has set the framework for the Government’s regularization policies that involve granting title deeds to the inhabitants of illegally occupied or subdivided land and providing infrastructure and services (Pamuk, 1996). Hundreds, even thousands of squatter houses have been built in large cities particularly in periods that precede elections and during periods of political turmoil which result in the weakening of control.



Politicians attempted to take advantage of the voting potential of the “gecekondu” population by legitimizing the already existing “gecekondu” settlements (Keleş, 1990). Partisan behavior of the politicians, while legitimizing the completed squatters, encouraged the constructions of new ones. So, the belief that once a squatter house is built, one would somehow obtain a title deed, also helped to accelerate the migration to urban areas.

Regularization programs and amnesty laws coupled with rapidly rising land prices led to fundamental changes in “gecekondu” settlements. The era of traditional “gecekondu” construction changed considerably in the last decade in Turkey (Pamuk, 1996). The motive behind has also changed from the need to find shelter to land speculation, and rent extraction and maximization (Şenyapılı, 1983). Some “gecekondu” dwellers have greatly benefited from newly gained development rights, by applying the “build and sell” system on the plots they have occupied. In this process, the original squatter residing in a single-story gecekondu could become the legal owner of several flats (Pamuk, 1996). Landowners transferred the land to a builder for the construction of multistory apartment buildings and the contractor in return gained ownership rights for a previously agreed percentage of flats.

One important evolution in the history of the “gecekondu” is the change in the approach to the “gecekondu” people. Previously, “gecekondu”s were considered to be a solution for low-income families who can not afford legal housing in cities, and accepted as legitimate though they were not legal. Today, middle and upper-middle classes regard people who live in “gecekondu”s as benefiting from urban land

speculation, and deteriorating public lands with the help of amnesty laws and implementation plans. So, “gecekondu” people are not poor and miserable any more.

Throughout the history of “gecekondu”, priorities of the “gecekondu” people, have also changed. At the beginning, the primary aim of the first generation was to settle and find shelter in the city. However, priorities of the second and third generation who dwell in “gecekondu”s have shifted towards benefiting from everything that the city offers.

It is important to evaluate physical characteristics of “gecekondu” since they are directly related with the current physical fabric of the squatter settlements in Turkey, thus the cities in Turkey. Construction usually occurs in an incremental mode (Heper, 1978). When the home owner is reasonably assured of the survival of a home, a considerable part of the family income is spent on home improvements. Most of the labor is carried out by the owner, or with the assistance of craftsmen. The squatter dwelling begins as one room (single space) dwelling possibly with an auxiliary wet area, and grows into more rooms, kitchen and toilet as the family size increases due to births, relatives and friends arriving from villages. These houses allow for upgrading and change as the inhabitants’ lifestyles and priorities change since their plans are flexible and open-ended. Changes and additions that reflect kinship, social relationship, clustering of extended families and other groups, the need for unmarried sons to remain in the parental home, and other cultural imperatives, are achieved easily.

Formal and informal, public and private zones are separated so that an intimacy gradient is set up, and the houses incorporate transitional spaces with various zones from the street to the most intimate spaces. Security is another major determinant of spatial organization, the perimeter walls providing both security and privacy are used. The open patios provide for many activities. Dwellings are shelters with most living done outdoors (Rapoport, 1977). Courtyards of the squatters are used as playgrounds, meeting places or places to breed farm animals.

Having explained the physical characteristics of “gecekondu” briefly, there is a need for exploring the social characteristics of it since the two characteristics are closely interrelated with each other.

In the case of “gecekondu”, people construct their own dwellings, usually with the help of relatives who have settled there before and neighbors, so that they can occupy their houses right away (Yörükan, 1966). Such solidarity among people can be observed in various other contexts and at various times.

The population of these areas are quite heterogeneous: they come from all parts of the country, belong to different age groups, have different occupations, and are predominantly villagers. Despite the fact that they acquire a profession and specialize in one field or another, there is a considerable number of people who baked their own bread, bred farm animals such as chicken and cows, and grew vegetables. Until they are integrated with urban life, these people who come from villages pursue a

rural way of living and continue their rural behaviors and attitudes which gives the cities a semi-rural appearance (Yörükan, 1966).

This heterogeneous population have acted in unity at times when the survival of the settlement was at stake. They got together whenever there is a real emergency situation, such as a threat of demolition of their houses due to the lack of title to the land (Heper, 1978). They support each other to deal with the difficulties of city life.

Social interaction among the “gecekondu” people is very important. Associations based on common origin, or any other criterion selected, help people organize their lives and adjust to urban life (Rapoport, 1977).

### **3.2. Current Urban Regeneration Efforts in Ankara**

Ankara, the Capital, has been the most vulnerable from squatter settlements of all big cities in Turkey because of its almost total lack of housing for low-income people, except for the rundown houses of the citadel region (Şenyapılı, 1983). Nearly two-thirds of Ankara’s total population currently live in squatter dwellings (Table 3.1), and about a third of the population of other major cities of Turkey resides in squatter dwellings. (Keleş, 1990).

Table 3.1 "Gecekonu"s in Ankara

Years	Number of "Gecekonu"	"Gecekonu" Population	Percentages
1950	12000	62400	21.8
1960	70000	364000	56
1966	100000	520000	57.4
1970	144000	748000	60.6
1975	202000	1156000	64.9
1978	240000	1300000	68.4
1980	275000	1450000	72.4
1990	350000	1750000	58.3

Source: Keleş, R. 1990. *Kentleşme Politikası*. Ankara: İmge Kitapevi.

Throughout the Republican Period the municipalities have tried to find solutions to the increasing problems posed by the high rate of growth and the rapid urbanization in cities especially after 1950's. This process concentrated mainly on major metropolitan areas, caused rapid changes in the physical fabric of the cities and there emerged unbalanced and uncontrolled urban dispersal. In the 1980s, a number of measures has been taken with a view to enable the municipalities, especially those in big cities (Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir), to provide services more adequately. In this context, Metropolitan City Municipalities were being established in big cities (The Greater Ankara Municipality, 1992a).

Ankara, the capital city, is the first city in Turkey that had a planned growth. Indeed, Turkey's first urban development plan was drawn up for Ankara in the 1930s, the Jansen Plan (The Greater Ankara Municipality, 1992a). But this urban development plan became inadequate as the population growth rate of the city far exceeded the forecasts.

The changes both in the physical fabric and socio-economic structure of the cities lead planning authorities to search for new approaches to urban problems. This approach originates from the need to improve existing urban environment. Today, public authorities are more conscious of the necessity for regeneration of urban environment and the improvement of life in the cities. Thus, urban renewal became much more popular than other urban regeneration approaches mentioned in the second chapter. This does not mean that the other regeneration approaches are totally neglected; regenerative operations under different names such as redevelopment, rehabilitation, etc. for city centers, housing areas and old and historic urban sites and green area have been undertaken in major cities of Turkey.

In late 1980s, regeneration of the inner city areas by also increasing green areas became a policy concern for both local and central authorities. Urban development plans including master plans which shows the major land-use allocation and gross densities for existing and future land-uses, and implementation plans which define the building blocks, respective densities and future building construction rights have been prepared during 1980s. In 1986, an urban development plan was prepared for Ankara Metropolitan Area by a planning team from the Middle East Technical University (METU). As part of the general research carried out by the City and Regional Planning Department of METU to determine the basic planning strategies and approaches for the Ankara 2015 Structural Plan, the development of an 8-10 km green belt around Ankara was proposed in order to create air currents and to help prevent air pollution. As a matter of fact, there existed a decision coming from Jansen Plan that this belt should be widened towards the city center as much as possible by

following the valleys which penetrate through the developed zones, for these valleys to be evaluated as green areas connecting a green belt which was to surround the city, to the center of the city.

In this respect, the Greater Ankara Municipality developed many “urban transformation projects” including infrastructure projects such as Ankara Lightrail Transportation System (Ankaray), metro, sewage system project etc., regeneration projects such as Dikmen Valley, Portakal Çiçeği Valley, Öveçler Valley, İmrahor Valley, Ulus Historic Center Conservation and Rehabilitation Project, Hacıbayram Project, etc. In this general framework, firstly the regeneration project areas were covered by squatter houses. So, they were physically developed and hard to transform (Dündar , 1997). Secondly, in three of the projects (Dikmen Valley, Portakal Çiçeği Valley and Öveçler Valley) these squatter houses were settled in valleys which are termed to be the breathing corridors of Ankara City.

It is known that the city of Ankara, geographically and topographically, sits on a large bowl like formation and that the surrounding hills and valleys carry great importance in providing the city’s air circulation. Although Ankara has great potential for creating a green city with its topographic characteristics, it is, including several valleys, mostly covered with squatter houses. In 1970’s, while major valleys in Ankara (Seymenler, Papazın Bağı in Gazi Osman Paşa District and Botanik) were transformed into urban parks, Dikmen Valley, Portakal Çiçeği Valley and Öveçler Valley were left uncontrolled and became places where unplanned, unlicensed squatter houses were erected. Due to local plans which did not consider both sides of the valleys, the

squatter dwellings mushroomed at the periphery of both the planned and unplanned areas.

The cases of urban regeneration projects developed in Ankara were selected among the ones that show similarity in their aims, sites, objectives of the projects, etc., but mostly projects which aimed to solve the problem of squatter settlements will be introduced. While Dikmen Valley Housing and Environmental Redevelopment Project will be broadly explained, the others, Portakal Çiçeği Valley Urban Development Project, İmrahor Valley Recreation Area, Öveçler Valley, Hacıbayram Environmental Development Project will be shortly introduced with their project areas, objectives and basic principals of the projects and the model developed for each of them. The discussions about the projects will be concentrated on physical and social aspects rather than economic, and political issues.

### **3.2.1. Portakal Çiçeği Valley Urban Development Project**

Portakal Çiçeği Valley has been located in the southwest of Ankara lying among two densely populated housing quarters, Çankaya and Ayrancı. The Valley is bordered by Kuzgun Street on the north, the intersection of Hoşdere Avenue and Cinnah Avenue on the south, and parts of Portakal Çiçeği Street, existing apartment buildings, Piyade and Platin Streets on the West. Viewed within the Ankara Valleys System, the site is located between Dikmen Valley, Botanical Park and Seymenler Park. The site constitutes of 11 hectares.



Portakal Çiçeği Valley was once mostly publicly owned, partly unavailable for settlements due to topographical thresholds (Fig. 3.1). The first planning efforts for this Valley came in 1968. This was actually a plan modification which was prepared under the pressures of the landowners in order to open green areas to housing (Dündar, 1997).



Fig. 3.1 The View of the Portakal Çiçeği Valley before the Project  
Source: Göksu, F. A. 1993. "Portakal Çiçeği Vadisi Kentsel Gelişme Projesi" *Ankara Söyleşileri*. Kasım-Aralık, Ankara: Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayınları.

Later the Valley has been transformed into urban property due to local implementation plans that were adopted by various municipalities and ministers, and private ownership increased during this transformation (Göksu, 1993). In 1989, a project named as Portakal Çiçeği Valley Urban Development Project has been

prepared by the Greater Ankara Municipality in order to prevent all kind of illegal developments, gain a new green area for Ankara (Fig. 3.2).



Fig. 3.2 Portakal Çiçeği Valley Urban Development Project

Source: Göksu, F. A. 1993. "Portakal Çiçeği Vadisi Kentsel Gelişme Projesi" *Ankara Söyleşileri*. Kasım-Aralık, Ankara: Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayınları.

The objective of the project can be summarized in three broad categories:

1. To gain a green valley for Ankara with contemporary and high urban standards,

2. To realize a self financing mechanism rather than public financing without reserving a great amount of financial resources,
3. To stimulate the landowners to participate to the project with an argument in return for a share from the constructions in proportionate to their land (Göksu, 1993) (translated by the author).

For these purposes, “Portakal Çiçeği Valley Project Development, Operating and Trade Company Inc.” (PORTAŞ, shortly in Turkish) has been founded by the individuals and the municipality as shareholders (The Greater Ankara Municipality, 1992b). PORTAŞ would assume the functions of land development, project administration and urban renewal. The working principal of PORTAŞ can be summarized as:

“PORTAŞ would give the investments in the project in a given period of time to a constructor for a certain percentage. The expenses of PORTAŞ and the project expenditures would be covered by the constructors. All the investments up to then had been covered by the investor. The rents would first be spend for the management of the compound and the project expenditures, and the remaining would be distributed to the shareholders according to their shares. In other words the difference between the portion which would be taken from the constructor in return for flats and the portion which would be given to the landowners would be the profit of PORTAŞ. This profit would also be distributed to the shareholders. So neither landowners nor the municipality would make a financial contribution for the project” (Dündar, 1997, 111).

Moreover, there would be representatives of landowners in the board of directors and board of control of PORTAŞ. So, all the project participants would be involved in all levels of project evaluation. In fact all decisions and principles of the project were realized in agreement with the project participants who became shareholders in this case (Dündar, 1997).

In the plan prepared by PORTAŞ, 70 percent of the Valley would be designed as green area which is assumed to protect the natural character of the Valley to positively affect the climate of the region and Ankara. A landmark named ANSERA would exist in the Valley. In the ANSERA Culture and Trade Center, there would be social, cultural and commercial activities such as cinema, theater, art galleries, art ateliers, bowling and billiard saloons, shopping units, restaurants and cafes take place. In the Portakal Çiçeği Valley Urban Development Project, 220 luxurious housing units existed with the purpose of distributing to the landowners in return for their shares, and financing the investments in the project.

This project realized by public-private collaboration aiming to create a contemporary recreation area to the city is in fact a market model according to Altaban (1993).

Altaban stated that:

“This model, as a result, can create an organized and even attractive green pattern, moreover, the landowners, adjacent but not in the Valley, can increase their expected benefits. Yet, to name the market mechanism in this model as “expropriation in return for rent” may damage the principle of public benefit which is the base of expropriation, and even dangerous. It is dangerous because, it opens way to bargains and gains of property rights by private landowners in the improvement applications of municipality directed for public use and services which is not easy to control” (1993, 81) (translated by the author).



### 3.2.2. Öveçler Valley

Öveçler Valley Project is an important part of the South Ankara Project. The project area constitutes of 604 hectares. It is bordered by Çetin Emeç Avenue on the north, Dikmen Avenue on the east and Konya Road on the west. Starting with the local plans of 1975, the site has turned into a disorderly housing area (Fig. 3.3).



Fig. 3.3 The View of Öveçler Valley before the Project

Source: Özdemir, K. 1993. "Güney Ankara: Konya Karayolu-Dikmen Caddesi Arası Planlama Çalışması: *Ankara Söyleşileri*. Kasım-Aralık, Ankara: Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayınları.

The planning area has a silhouette zone perceived from a large part of the city, and contains a topography in which many riverbeds reside. The site has been occupied by “gecekondus” for over 30 years. These “gecekondus”, one or two stories high, have been spread out over the Valley’s sides and hills. The objectives of the project can be summarized as:

1. To transform Öveçler Valley, which is one of the most important parts of the Ankara Valleys System, into recreational areas to serve the whole city,
2. To involve the other small scale valleys lying along Konya Road for the benefit of the region by transforming them into green areas for social usage (Metropol İmar A.Ş., 1994) (translated by the author).

For these purposes, a project was prepared by the Greater Ankara Municipality and the Çankaya Municipality (Fig. 3.4).

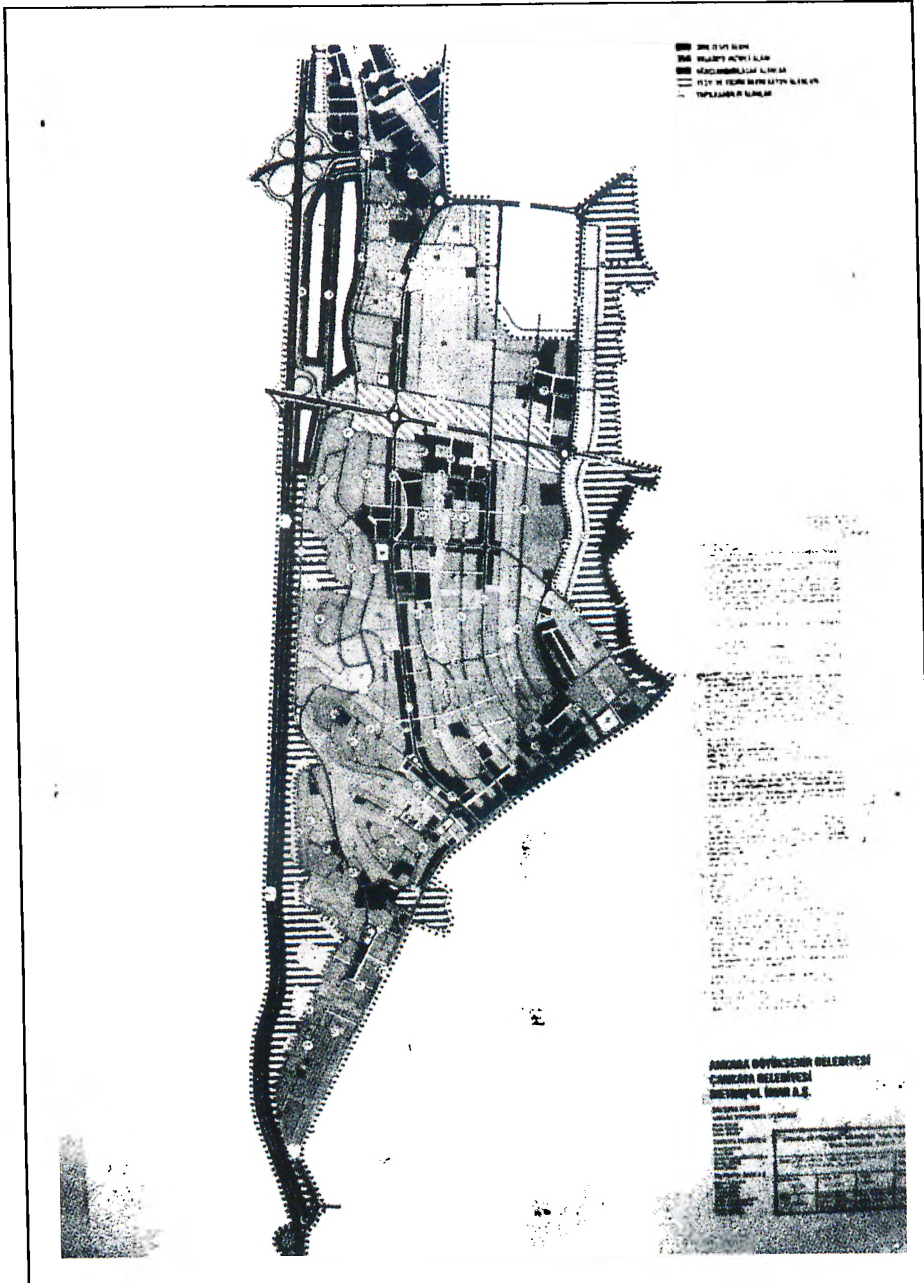


Fig. 3.4 Öveçler Valley Project

Source: Metropol İmar A.Ş., 1994. *Metropol İmar 1989-1994*. Ankara: Pelin Ofset.

The proposed plan reserves the valleys and the steep slopes of these valleys which are topographically unfit for settlement as green areas and green corridors in which air can circulate. In the project, there would be housing areas constituting 203 hectares.

The housing areas were planned as point concentrated clustered houses distributed throughout the area in which open areas existed. The area to the east of Konya Road has been proposed as a Business Area which would consist of government establishments, commercial bureaus, exhibition centers, media buildings and necessary services. The areas surrounding Anadolu Boulevard, which carries a great importance and passes through the site east to west, is proposed for commercial, touristic, entertainment, recreational usage and health services.

The implementation plan, prepared in six months, has been presented to the inhabitants of the Valley in 1993. The worries of the Valley's inhabitants over the plan concentrated mainly on the general distrust towards the public authorities and the possible future losses through expropriation of a large amount of area reserved for green areas and social services (Özdemir, 1993).

Some critiques about the context of the project that can be generalized through all the urban renewal efforts to overcome the problem of squatter settlements comes from planning authorities. As İdil has stated,

“One of today's most important urban problems is efforts to improve the negativities of the current implementation plans developed over time, and South Ankara Project is one of such projects that aims towards this goal. Neither the Greater Ankara Municipality nor the local municipalities dare to cancel the implementation plans that give various benefits to “gecekondu” owners. Indeed, they are aware that the plans are not in accordance with the “Improvement Laws and Regulations” in shape and context. Instead, they accept the construction rights given to “gecekondu” owners as acquired rights in places where implementation plans are executed. If professional chambers, municipalities, government and media can create an effective corporation and dialog, a solution to this problem might be found; if not, urban renewal opportunities would be created to a very limited



extend with the Models tried in Portakal Çiçeği and Dikmen Valleys” (1993, 30) (translated by the author).

İdil (1993) also criticized the conceptual design principles of the project, and stated that:

“The planning site contains spatial qualities with both its rent potential and special morphology that allow rich urban design and various transformation models. When viewed with these properties in mind, the proposed plan carries the correct principals in general. Yet, the design presented in 1/2000 scale site plan is open to discussion. This model which proposes the emptying of bottom of Valleys and constructing high blocks on the slopes does not seem to have taken into consideration the city silhouette and the rich potential of the site” (30) (translated by the author).

Today, Öveçler Valley and some parts of Konya Road area in which the property ownership seems as much complicated and the topography more problem bound have been set aside as “Special Project Areas”, awaiting further organizations and financial models.

### **3.2.3. İmrahor Valley**

İmrahor Valley, within Mamak and Çankaya Municipalities’ borders on the southeast of Ankara, is a large valley that can meet the city’s area needs to a great extent. The borders of the planning site are determined by Oran Road on the west, Ankara Highway and Doğu Kent (Southeast Ankara Urban Development Project), Türközü Quarter on the north and Eymir lake and METU Forest on the southeast (Fig. 3.5).



Fig. 3.5 The General View of İmrahor Valley

Source: Oyat, A. 1993. "Çankaya-Mamak Köprüsü: Bağlantı Yolu ve Köprü Projesi"  
*Ankara Söyleşileri*. Kasım-Aralık, Ankara: Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi  
Yayınları

The project area constitutes 3526 hectares. Four villages take place in the planning site. Ranked according to their proximity to the city center, they are Mühye Village which has a great importance due to its proximity to Çankaya Municipality, Lower İmrahor, Middle İmrahor and Upper İmrahor (all of three İmrahor Villages are within

the borders of Mamak Municipality). Agriculture is at the base of the economy of each Villages. The only other economical activity in the region is the brick industry. About 800 unlicensed apartment buildings currently reside in the areas that have been proposed as green areas within the project area. The objectives of the project are:

1. To create a recreational area that would confirm with the Mogan-Eymir Lakes which makes up the most important ring in the Ankara Metropolitan Area Recreational System,
2. To provide more efficient air circulation through the green corridor to be created, and consequently create a wind corridor that would have a positive effect on the city's ecological balance and microclimate,
3. To modernize the settled village areas within the planning area so as to conform with the project,
4. To create a healthy and orderly improved environment by removing the negativities of the urban lands in the western part of the project,
5. To take under control possible urban development by declaring the empty area between the eastern border of the planning area and Elmadağ Ski Center as a "Natural Protected Area" because of its importance in the city macroform,
6. To develop a planning philosophy that would use the speculative effects created by the Ankara Highway for public benefits,
7. To protect the natural character of the Valley by prohibiting settlements except for recreational usage on the base of the Valley (Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi İmar Daire Başkanlığı, 1992) (translated by the author).

Three development foci have been proposed on the Valley base. Of these, Mühye Village and its surroundings have priority in development due to their location. The second is the focus at the intersection of Eymir Lake entrance and Yaylabağ Village Road. The third is at the effect zone of Çankaya-Mamak Viaduct connection. These foci show specific differences in terms of development types and social groups they address.

The area between first and second foci (between Eymir Lake and Mühye Village) would be arranged by the corporation of large companies and public administration, and would contain golf, tennis, horseback riding sites and the other sports that require

large areas. It is thought of as addressing upper-middle income groups. The area between the second and third foci is bordered by Mühye Village and Viaduct connection. In this area, large water surfaces for water sports created by enlargement of many smaller lakes and ponds, picnic areas, botanical gardens and smaller recreational areas, etc. would exist for the usage of public without any admission fees. The third district in the project includes the northern part of the Viaduct Road which were already filled by unlicensed buildings. This site is designated as an area to be developed by Mamak Municipality. The slopes have been proposed as forested area due to the topographical difficulties and geological inconvenience. The most important connection to the site would be achieved through the completion of Çankaya-Mamak Viaduct. There would be areas of extensive usage in the area making up the first focus. These areas include sites that require large amount of land such as touristic, socio-cultural, recreational, entertainment, sports investments, etc. which would be opened up for investments by private entrepreneurs (Fig. 3.6).

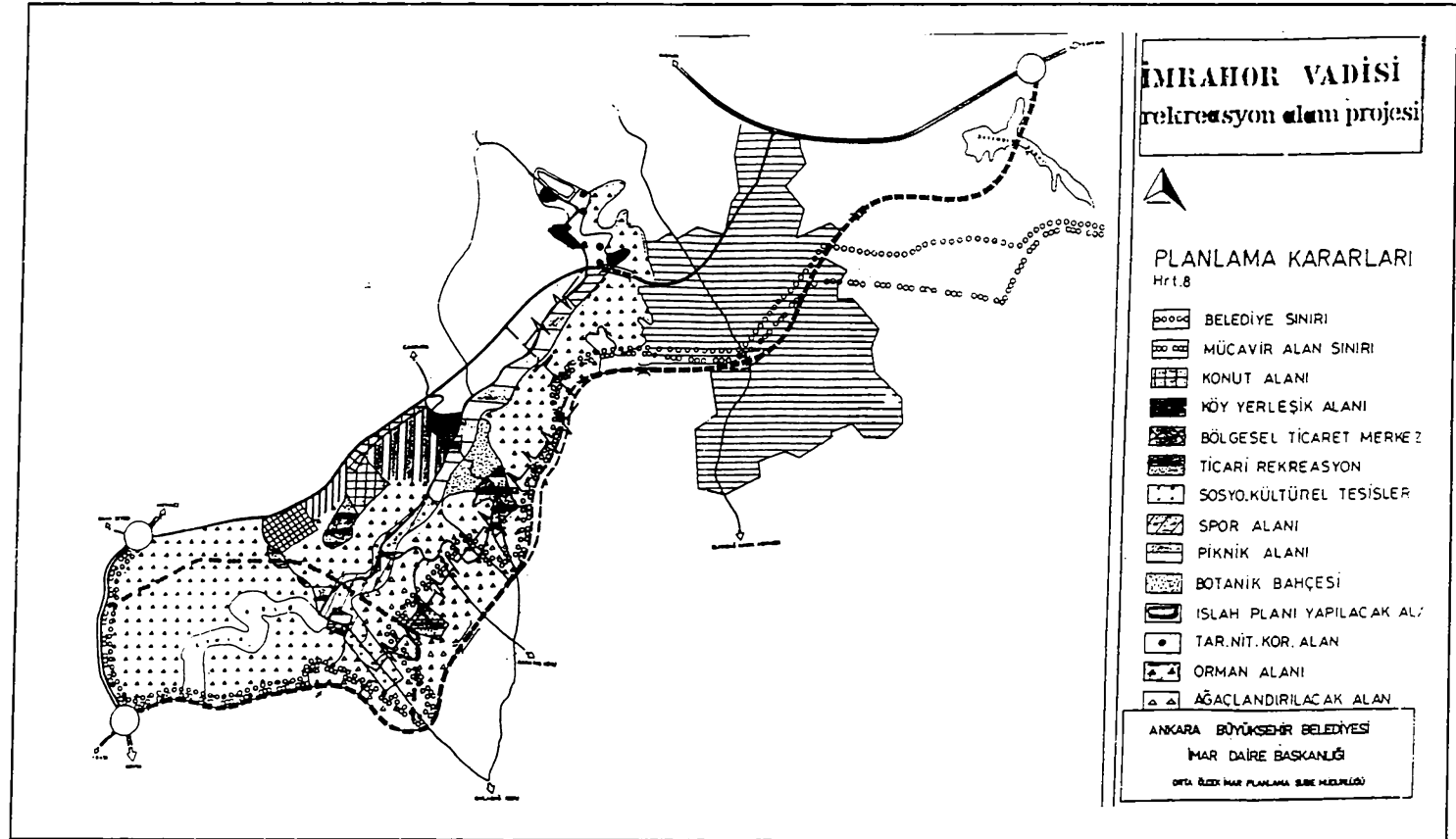


Fig. 3.6 İmrahor Valley Recreational Area Project

Source: Ankara Büyükşehir Belediyesi İmar Daire Başkanlığı, 1992. *İmrahor Vadisi Rekreasyon Alanı Nazım İmar Planı*. Ankara: n.p.

Since the project is still in the proposal stage and not implemented yet, there is not much criticism about it; and those criticisms concentrate mainly on the Çankaya-Mamak Viaduct. While the Viaduct received appreciation from supporters, it highly criticized by planners, architects, etc. Oyat has stated that:

“The Valley through which İmrahor River runs constitutes a natural barrier to the completion of the Ankara Highway. This barrier has almost single-handedly prevented the creation of such a transportation system during the time, and led to a detachment and absence of connection between the two municipalities, Çankaya (the most developed) and Mamak (the least). The connection between these municipalities is the initial step in removing the differences in development standards, and Çankaya-Mamak Viaduct constitutes the initial step towards this goal” (1993, 31-32) (translated by the author).

A counter argument comes from Subaşı and he stated that:

“The need to pass over 60 m. height for 600 m. length can probably be seen as a last and forced solution to pass over very important natural barriers such as waterways, bays, etc. In Ankara, however, this forced solution has been artificially created. Thus, just as a highway surrounding the whole perimeter is not a part of the Great Ankara Development Plan, a route that is added afterwards to the Ankara through-pass of the highway can not be defended. Instead of fastly passing over areas whose natural characteristics still remained unspoiled such as Mogan, Eymir Lakes and rivers, it could be a more coherent approach to connect these areas by modest roads, thus unifying these areas and the natural surroundings. This can be achieved by adopting a more modest transportation system that connects each districts to these areas mentioned without destroying the natural pattern of the site” (1993, 40) (translated by the author).



### 3.2.4. Hacıbayram Environmental Development Project

The works on Hacıbayram Environmental Development Project has started with Ulus Historic City Center Planning Competition held by the Greater Ankara Municipality in 1986 (Fig. 3.7). As a result of a variety of analysis and evaluations about the region on one hand, and the evaluation of Ulus as a whole in 1/100,000, 1/50,000 and 1/5000 scale on the other, three 1/1000 scale complementary framework plans (instead of one scale of application plan) were developed for the Ulus Historical City Center (Bademli, 1993).

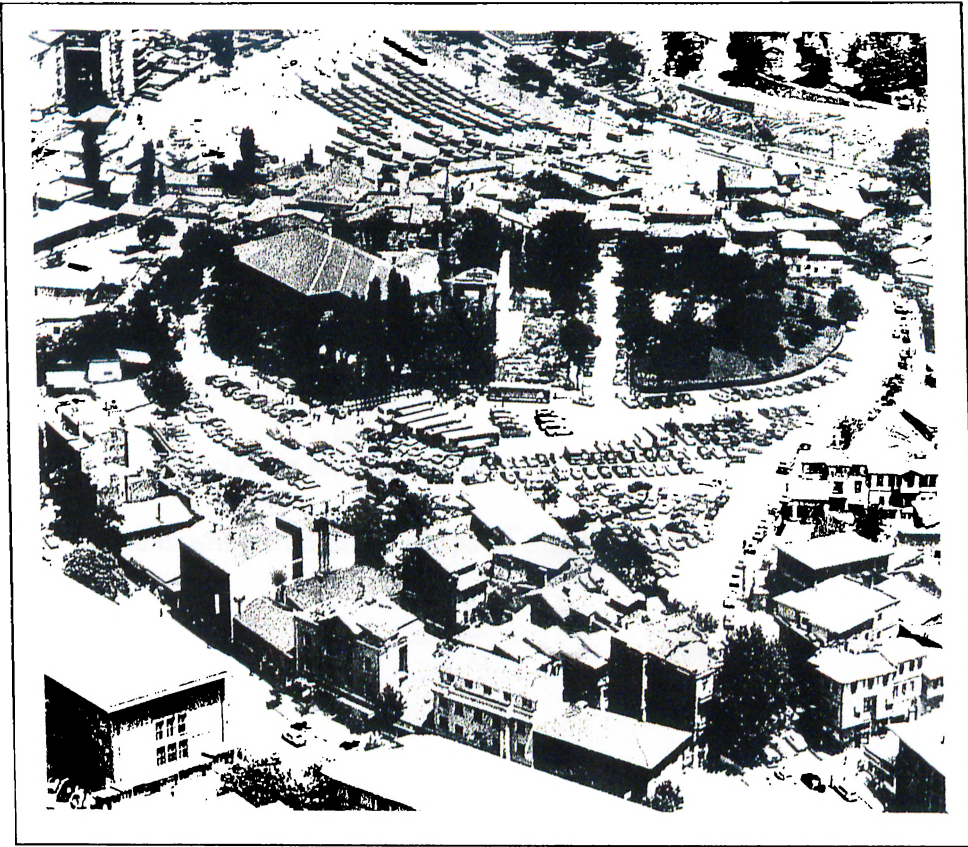


Fig. 3.7 The General View of Hacıbayram Area before the Project  
Source: Bademli, R. 1993. "Hacıbayram Çevre Düzenleme Projesi" *Ankara Söyleşileri*. Kasım-Aralık, Ankara: Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayınları.

The first of these plans summarizes the principles of urban design proposed for Ulus. According to this, Hacıbayram Square would become the center of a system of urban spaces connecting Roman Baths, Augustus Temple and Odeon, and would be connected to Ulus and Hükümet Squares. The second framework plan proposed decisions on the aspects of constructions in Ulus with respect to its proposals of programmed areas on conservation, improvement with conservation and improvement with renewal. The third and last plan divides the projects into various private and public packages that can be handled alone; further, establishes links between plan and project applications by evaluating each projects in terms of aim, size, financial ease, organization, complexity and difficulties in application.

In this framework, Hacıbayram Environmental Development Project turns out as the most important of the 14 strategic public projects proposed in Ulus Historical City Center Planning Area of 113 hectares (Bademli, 1993).

The main objective of the project is to transform Hacıbayram Square into an accessible, perceivable and usable one (Fig. 3.8). Another important objective is to provide all existing tradesmen shops so that they are not displaced.



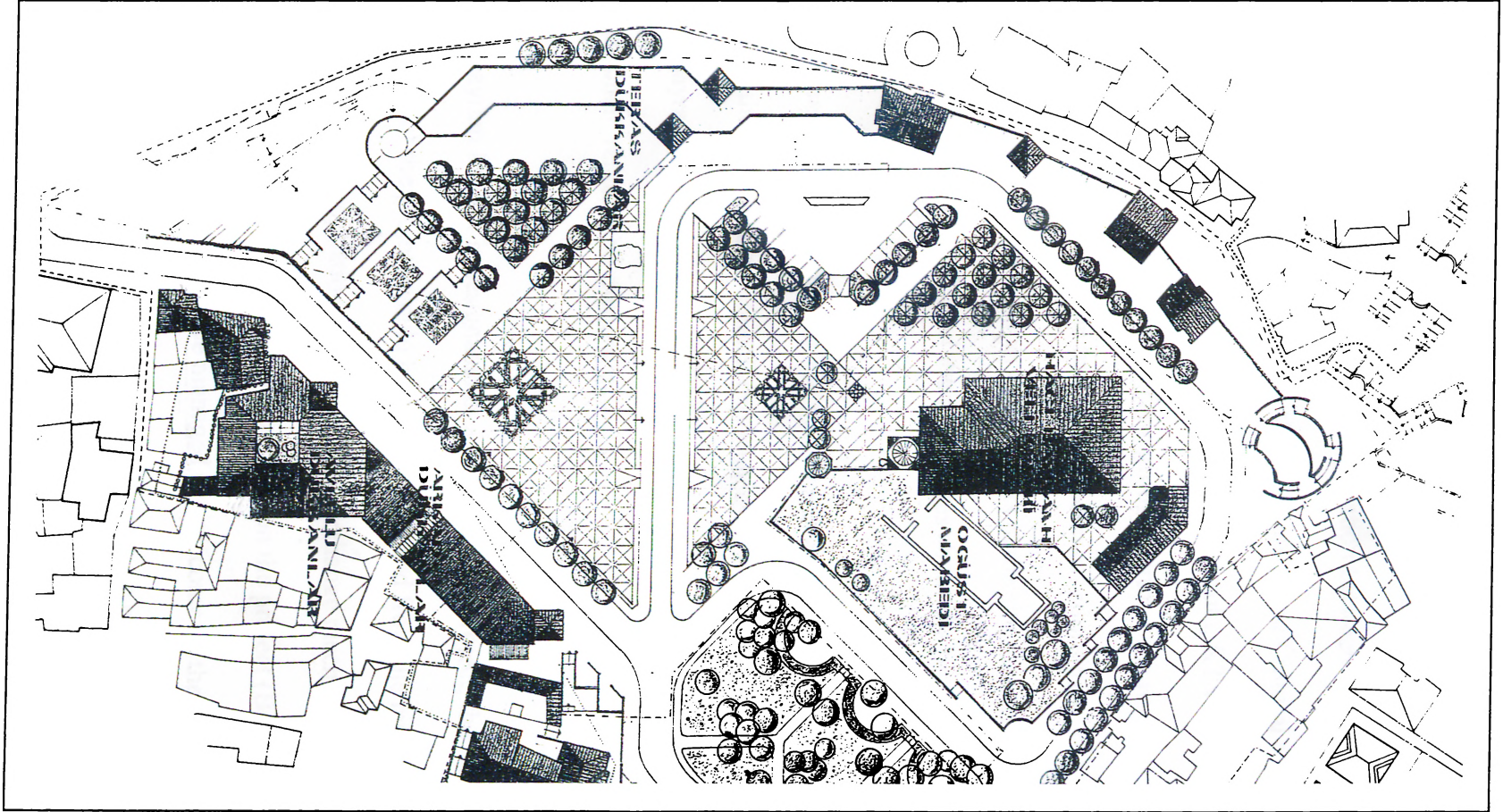


Fig. 3.8 Hacibayram Environmental Development Project  
Source: Bademli, R. 1993. "Hacibayram Çevre Düzenleme Projesi" *Ankara Söyleşileri*.  
Kasım-Aralık, Ankara: Mimarlar Odası Ankara Şubesi Yayınları.

A unit has been created for the realization of the project with the name Ankara Historical Areas Coordination Unit (Ankara Tarihi Alanlar Koordinasyon Birimi, ATA). ATA would arrange the coordination between the project group, district municipalities and Ankara Conservation Committee of Cultural and Natural Properties (Kültür ve Tabiat Varlıklarını Koruma Yüksek Kurulu, KTVKYK). Within the framework of this mission, the ATA group overtook the responsibilities of organizing meetings with the tradesmen, technical coordination and decision committees in addition to supervising works in the site such as construction and demolition, and also followed the court cases about the project (Bademli, 1993).

Public participation is vital for the speedy and healthy execution of a city wide project. One of the first decision council experiences of the Greater Ankara Municipality is the Hacıbayram Decision Council. The council composed of the representatives of tradesmen, renters and owners, etc.

Hacıbayram Project is designated as a self financing project, the resources for the financing of the project would be directly obtained from the municipality. Most of the cost was for expropriation payments, thus, exchange mechanism and certificates were developed to decrease the financial burdens on the project (Bademli, 1993). Project defenders claim that they have managed to overcome all the conflicting issues related with the transfer of property rights. However, there exists a lot of court cases about Hacıbayram Project. Most of these court cases are related with the property values. But there are some others directly in conflict with the inner logic of the project and these showed that although it has been claimed a consensus has been reached on the

methods of project applications with all participants, the participants do not actually have a clear view of these methods. Citizen participation could not extend beyond statements written in the notebook of ATAK. But establishment of ATAK and decision councils can be claimed to be important steps in urban renewal (Dündar, 1997).

### **3.2.5. Discussion of the Urban Regeneration Efforts in Ankara**

Urban regeneration efforts in Ankara focus on the concentration of new urban population within the existing built-up area. Development plans aiming to solve the problem of squatter settlement which transform to be areas of rent with the introduction of build-and-sell type of construction brings structural changes influencing the general macroform of the city, leads to important problems such as increasing the needs of transportation, technical and social urban infrastructure and other urban problems in terms of increasing density in the inner city.

The changes in squatter concept as a result of changes in the economic and social processes show that the problem is no longer a problem of squatters but a transformation. The efforts through the renewal projects in Ankara can be combined under the name of transformation projects which aimed to rehabilitate existing urban environment and to transform speculative rents which would be created from these processes into the public benefits. But, the current legal framework, institutions and financial mechanisms seem as not able to operate and coordinate these types of projects yet. Current legal situation about the squatters which legalize transforming

squatter areas into apartment settlements causes increasing rents. Thus, the efforts towards regeneration of squatter settlements should not be limited with squatter laws, and development plans should remove these undesirable effects such as through distribution of property and construction rights.

Although two of the given examples about the regeneration projects (Öveçler Valley and İmrahor Valley Project) have not been implemented yet, there are some common problems driven from the critiques to all, related with the concepts explained above. These problems seems to be: increase in density and increase demand for speculative densities, disintegration between existing pattern and planned areas, the undesired changes and delays in the initials of the projects due to various inconsistency problems in local government, political decisions and speculative purposes. Both the land and the building values and the property rights of adjacent lands and buildings increase with the effects of such projects.

All these projects were developed partially, without making a consideration to the patterns of the city in general. These projects change building densities, and add new activities to the city which should be discussed in the growth patterns of the city in general otherwise similar current problems would be faced again (Dündar, 1997).

Participation and displacement are the common social concerns which are highly appreciable in the projects. All these projects aimed to resettle the original population in the renewal areas which would be developed by participatory approach. However,

it is hard to say about the implemented projects that the participation of the inhabitants did not go beyond then information giving process.

The self-financing models proposed for the project in order to decrease the cost of expropriation are not easy to control. Because, they may damage the principle of public benefit which is the base of expropriation by means of increasing property rights of private landowners in the improvement applications of municipality directed for public use and services.

Having examined the general approach of the Greater Ankara Municipality to the urban regeneration through major urban renewal efforts handled in Ankara mainly in order to solve the problem of the squatter settlements and the discussions about, in the remaining part of the thesis, the research concerning the changes in the socio-economic structure of Dikmen Valley through the redevelopment project has been introduced.

#### **4. DİKMEN VALLEY HOUSING AND ENVIRONMENTAL DEVELOPMENT PROJECT<sup>1</sup>**

Dikmen Valley Housing and Environmental Development Project was one of the large scale projects which the former Ankara Metropolitan Municipality had listed in its Implementation Program among those with highest priority. It was also an important element of the Ankara Metropolitan Area's culture and recreational system.

Within the framework of this project, an environmental plan to enable the disrupted ecological balance was set up, prepared by analyzing the natural structure and the existing problems of the Valley. Furthermore, a cultural and recreational corridor to serve the whole city would be created through this planned restructuring.

Additionally, the project aimed to solve the housing problem of present inhabitants of the squatters in the Valley through a participatory rehabilitation model.

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<sup>1</sup> The information about the project has been taken from the two reports prepared by Metropol İmar A.Ş.

Metropol İmar A.Ş., no date(a). *Dikmen Valley Housing and Environmental Development Project, 1/5000 Implementation Plan Statement Report*. Ankara: Metropol İmar A.Ş.

Metropol İmar A.Ş., no date(b). *Dikmen Valley Housing and Environmental Development Project, 1/1000 Implementation Plan Statement Report*. Ankara: Metropol İmar A.Ş.

#### **4.1. Project Site**

The project site is a 6 km long valley having a width of 300 m on the average, lying among two densely populated housing quarters, Dikmen and Çankaya Yıldız on the southern part of Ankara (Fig. 4.1). Starting from almost the center of the city, it reaches the forested areas in the south. The whole area is 158 hectares.

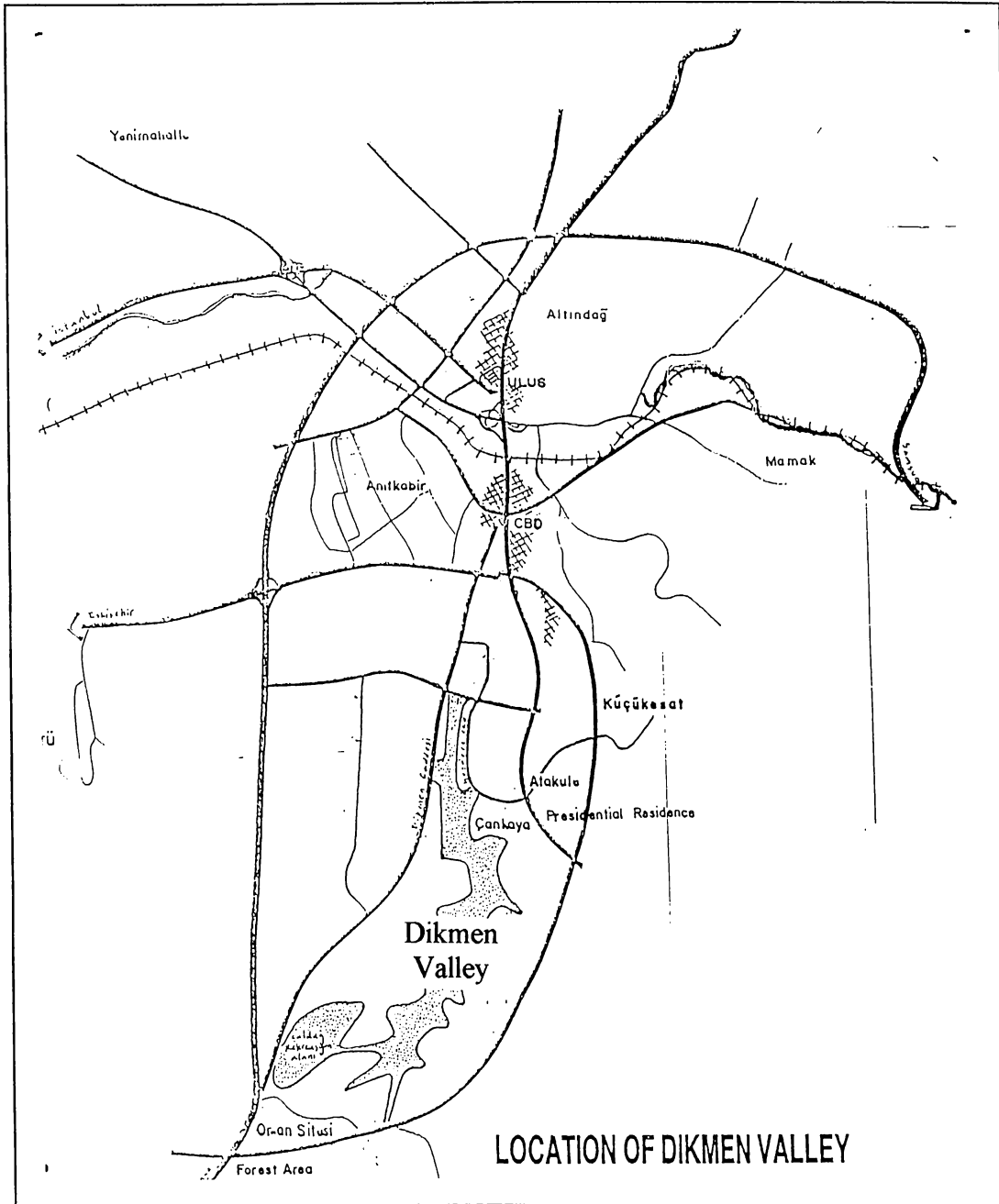


Fig.: 4.1 Location of Dikmen Valley  
Source: Metropol İmar A. Ş.

The project site is divided into five zones for implementation (Fig. 4.2). The first part is bordered on the north by Çetin Emeç Avenue, and on the south by Culture Bridge. The other parts are generally separated from each other by means of traffic roads that connect two sides of the Valley. In the Valley, private properties constituted about



half of the area. The majority of the privately owned land within the project site had been covered with 2200 unlicensed squatter buildings.

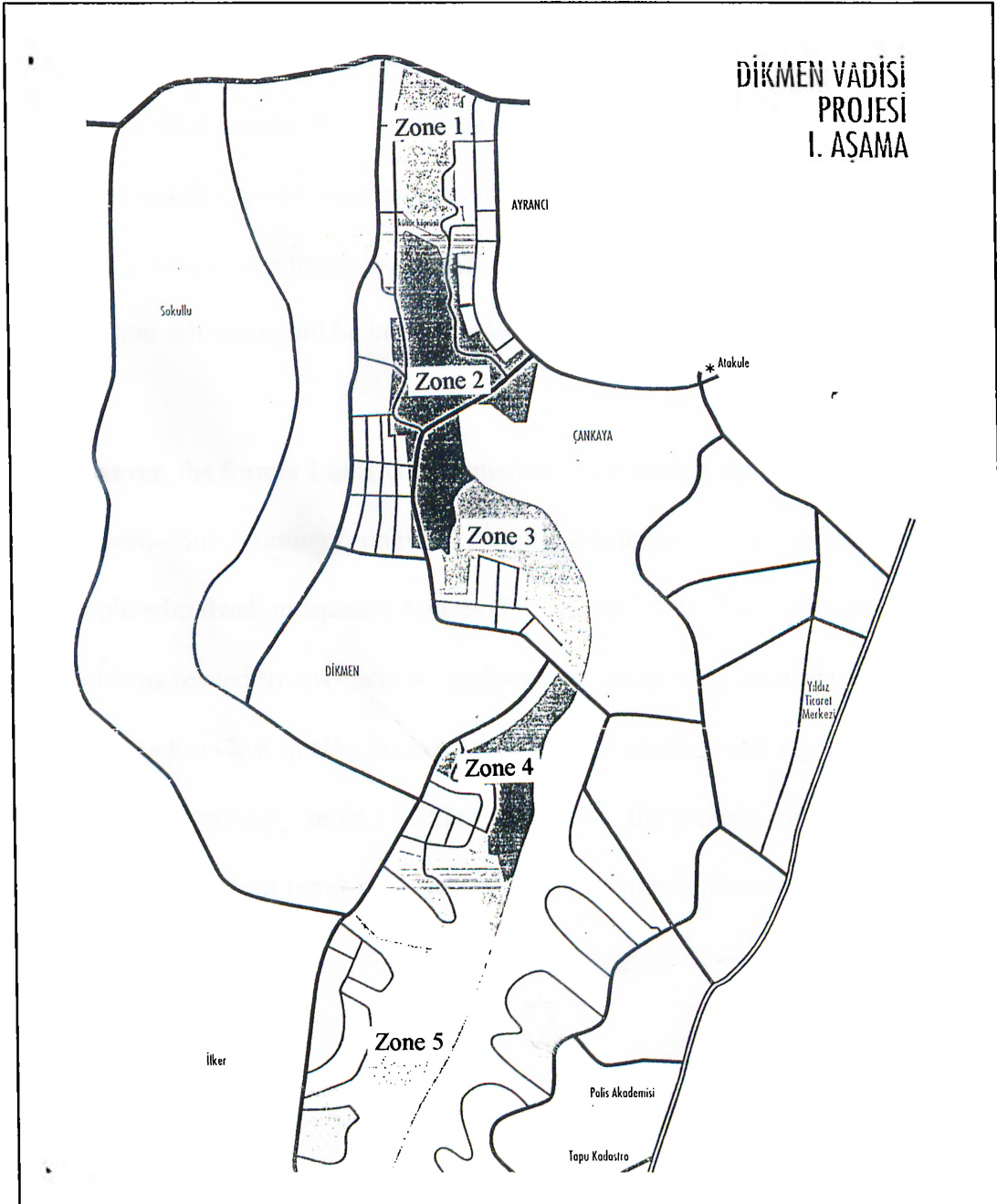


Figure: 4.2 Zones of the Dikmen Valley Project  
Source: Metropol İmar A. Ş.

## **4.2. Objectives of the Project**

As part of the general research carried out in 1986 by the City and Regional Planning Department of Middle East Technical University (METU) to determine the basic planning strategies and approaches for the Ankara 2015 Structural Plan, running in a north-south direction from the center towards the forested areas in the south, Dikmen Valley was the perfect example where the development of an 8-10 km green belt around Ankara was proposed in order to create air currents and to help prevent air pollution scheme could be implemented.

However, the former Local Government did not restrict the project to a recreational or green-zone planning framework. Valley was inhabited by approximately 10,000 people who dwell in squatter houses (Fig. 4.3 and 4.4). These houses display all problems related to low-income unplanned housing areas such as insufficient infrastructure, low quality houses, etc. This was another very significant aspect of the project which necessitated a viable solution. So, the project turned into the largest squatter settlement renewal project which also expected to create a recreational area within the city center.



Fig. 4.3 The South View of the Valley before the Project.  
Source: Metropol İmar A.Ş.

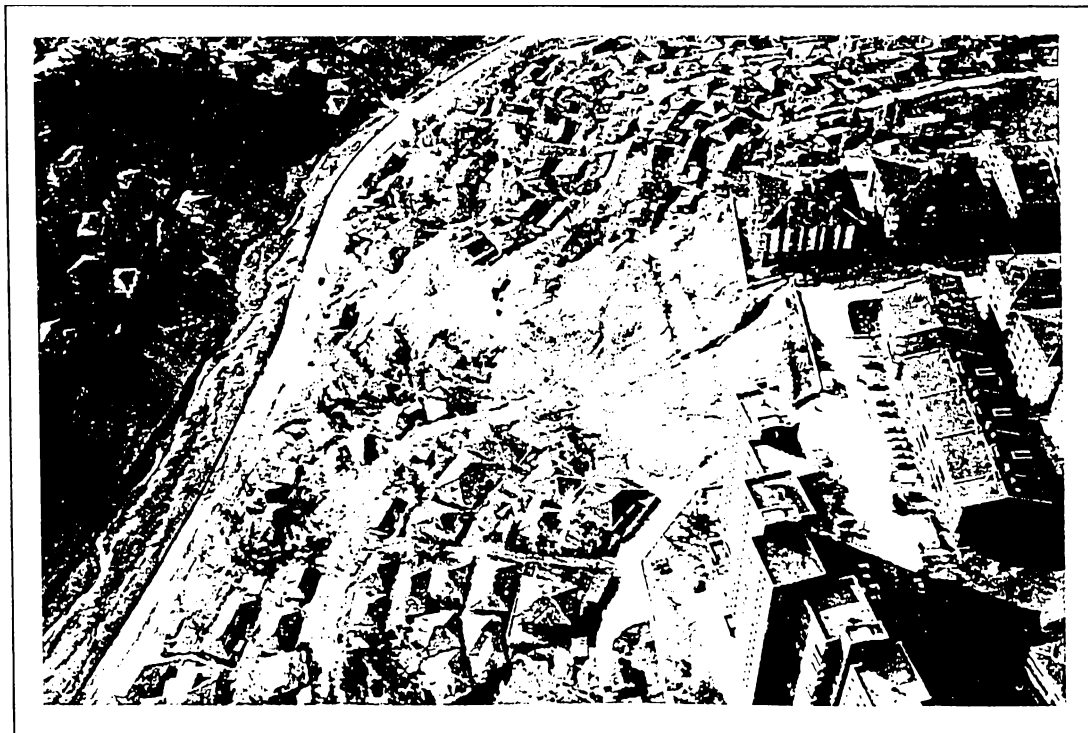


Fig. 4.4 The North View of the Valley before the Project.  
Source: Metropol İmar A.Ş.

The project objectives can be summarized in four broad categories:

1. To create a green corridor running into central areas through which air can circulate and would thus affect the ecological balance and micro climate of the city positively making a significant contribution towards the elimination of inadequate open green spaces in Ankara;
2. To provide a cultural, recreational, commercial, and social center that would serve the whole city and which would become a well planned contemporary landmark for the Capital;
3. To supply the Valley's inhabitants with high quality housing, upgraded urban technical and social infrastructure by using basically self-financing mechanisms and a participatory planning approach;
4. To realize public-private sector collaboration on a higher level, by encouraging concentration of private sector investments in the direction of local planning strategies, therefore enabling feasibility and shorter repayment periods for local government infrastructure investments without loss of time and capacity (Metropol İmar A.Ş. no date(b)).

The target population can be defined at three levels; those presently living in the Valley, those who live on the two sides of the Valley, and the whole city. Primarily, those who were living in the Valley would benefit from the general upgrading of their living conditions. Present physical problems, mainly the lack of basic infrastructure, such as water and sanitation works and very poor road connections, the hazard of floods, the poor quality of self-built squatter houses, would be eliminated. Furthermore, present illegal status arising from settling in an unplanned area and their dubious ownership rights would be handled and they will be entitled to legal possession of the newly built houses. Thus, legal ambiguity and the resulting insecurity would be overcome.

At the second level, for those who live on the two sides of the Valley, the project would create a beautiful front yard. In addition, they would be provided new urban facilities in their immediate vicinity. Furthermore, two sides of the Valley where two different income groups (Ayrancı and Dikmen) were settled would be connected. The severe segregation of social groups was further aggravated by the total lack of any physical/spatial means of connection. Thus, by new physical connections, the two bridge structures which would accommodate various spaces for public functions as well as commercial ones, and the newly organized open spaces in between would also operate as planning tools for the necessary integration of the two sides. Finally, the project size, scope and location would make it available to the whole city.

#### **4.3. Basic Principles of the Project**

The planning area is divided into two main parts: from Çetin Emeç Avenue to Dikmen-Yıldız connection is the first part (covering zone 1, 2 and 3), and after the connection, the area lies through Oran forest area is the second part (covering zone 4 and 5). The character and density of the two parts are different from each other. So, the planning principles show differences with respect to the character of the near environment. The north, the most dense and closest to the city center, is planned as mainly housing, recreational, commercial and cultural areas (Fig. 4.5). The low density areas in the south are planned to accommodate activities which require large amounts of land. Besides, the typology of housing layout is different, cluster houses were suggested to provide small neighborhoods.



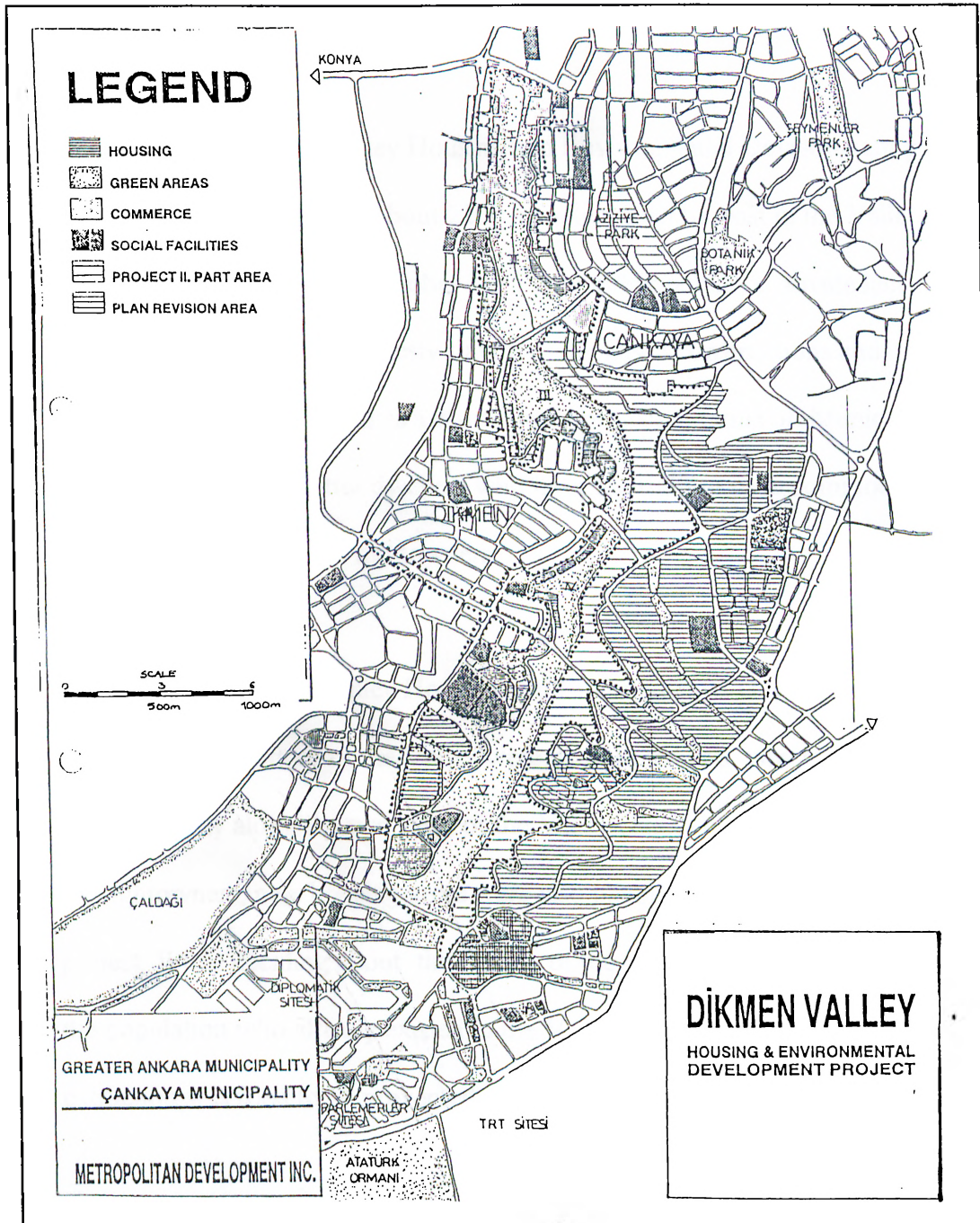


Fig.: 4.5 Land Use of the Dikmen Valley Project  
Source: Metropol İmar A.Ş.

#### **4.3.1. Housing**

In one aspect, Dikmen Valley Housing and Environmental Development project is also a resettlement project. About 2200 squatters used to exist in the Valley, about 1500 of which built before October 1985 over either public or private land. They benefited from the 1985 Amnesty Law for unlicensed constructions and, therefore, qualify for being considered as a resettlement project in terms of Municipality regulations. These squatter dwellers who have the right to be accommodated in the Valley are referred to as “rightowners”.

As part of the Dikmen Valley Housing and Environmental Development Project, squatters at the bottom of the Valley were demolished and new housing blocks were placed linearly along the two sides of the Valley (Fig. 4.6 and 4.7). Besides the houses for rightowners, new housing areas were also planned to cover the financing of the project. While deciding about the density of the new housing development resettling the population who already existed in the Valley was the priority and extreme rent extraction was tried to be prevented.

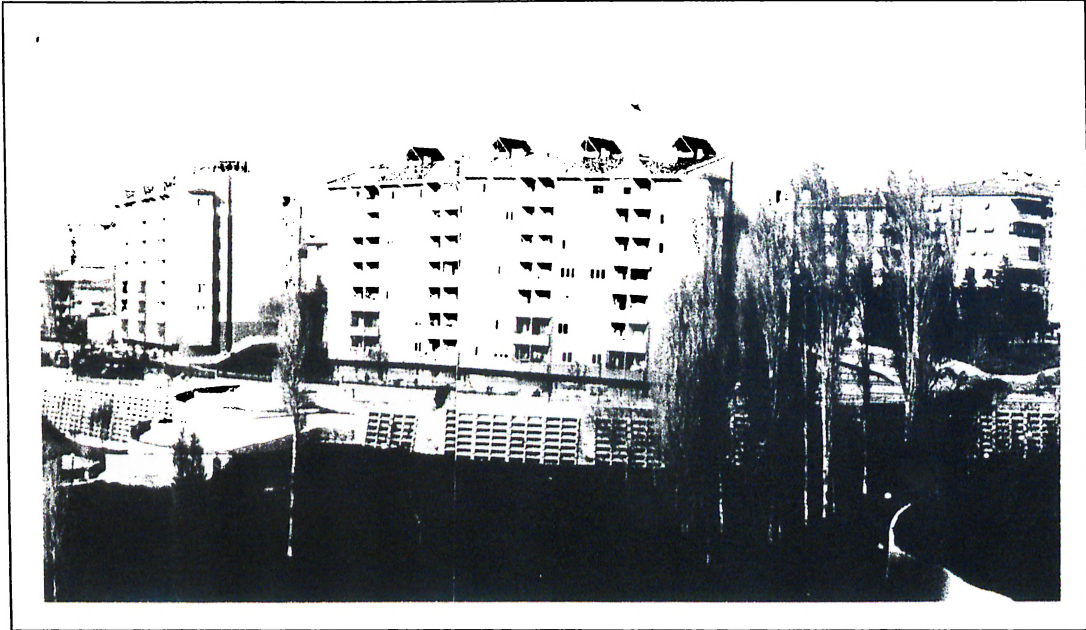


Fig. 4.6 New Apartments Buildings at the Ayrancı Side of the Valley



Fig. 4.7 New Apartments Buildings at the Dikmen Side of the Valley



#### **4.3.2. Municipality Service Areas**

At the junction points, there are “Municipality Service Areas” which are vital in the project. They would have dual functions: first, to provide necessary social, cultural and commercial services to both the inhabitants of the Valley and the city, and secondly, they would act as the gates to Culturepark, which would serve as closed garages and open car parks, as well. The housing, office and shopping spaces in these service areas would provide the resources for the cross-subsidy in the realization of Culturepark. Currently, luxurious buildings for residential purposes are being constructed in the Municipality Service Areas (Fig. 4.8).

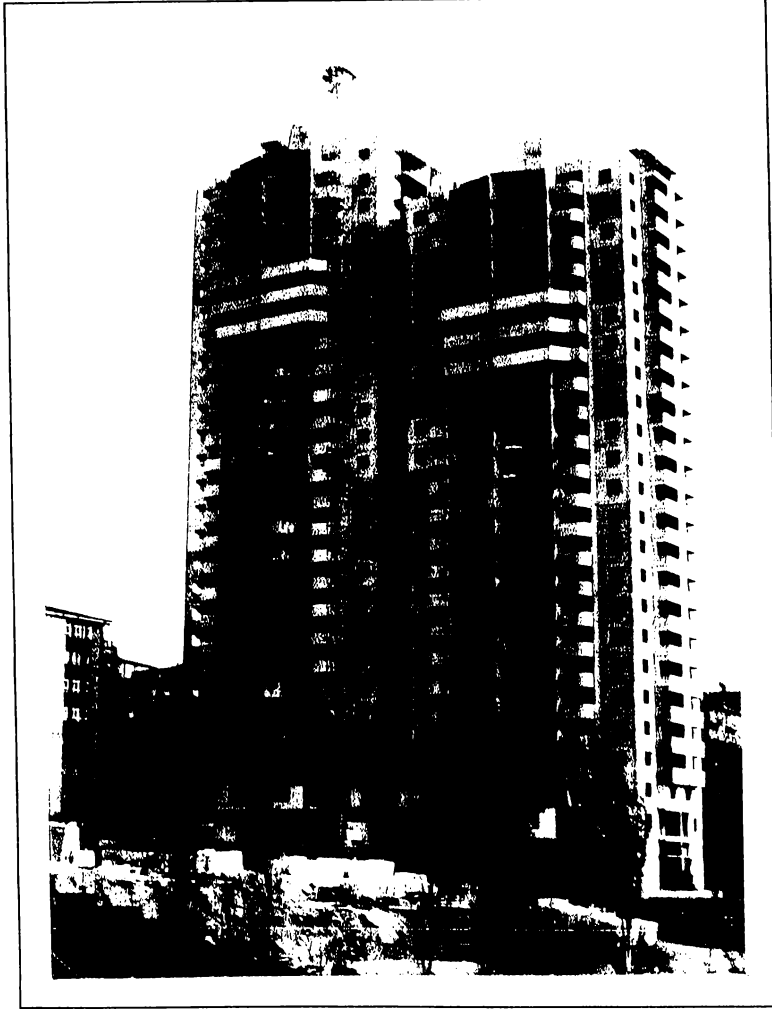


Fig. 4.8 The Luxurious Apartment Blocks Being Constructed in the Municipality Service Areas

#### **4.3.3. Culturepark**

In the bottom of the Valley Culturepark takes place which consists of a total of 103 hectares. With the addition of Culturepark, the ratio of green areas per person would increase to 0.40 m<sup>2</sup> in Ankara, according to the 1990 census (Metropol İmar A.Ş., no date(a)). General characteristics of Culturepark is open green area in which cultural, recreational and sports facilities would take place. These include international garden

expositions, parks, playgrounds, science and technology parks, social centers, library, museum, concert areas, entertainment centers, etc. and would serve the inhabitants of the whole city.

#### **4.3.4. Culture Bridge**

Culture Bridge is the first one of the five proposed bridges that would connect both two sides of the Valley and the other parts of the project area. A new bridge concept was developed for the project in which residential, commercial, social and cultural uses would exist (Fig. 4.9). Two residential towers on both sides of the Bridge would act as landmarks in Ankara's new image, and they would also provide financial support for the realization of the project.

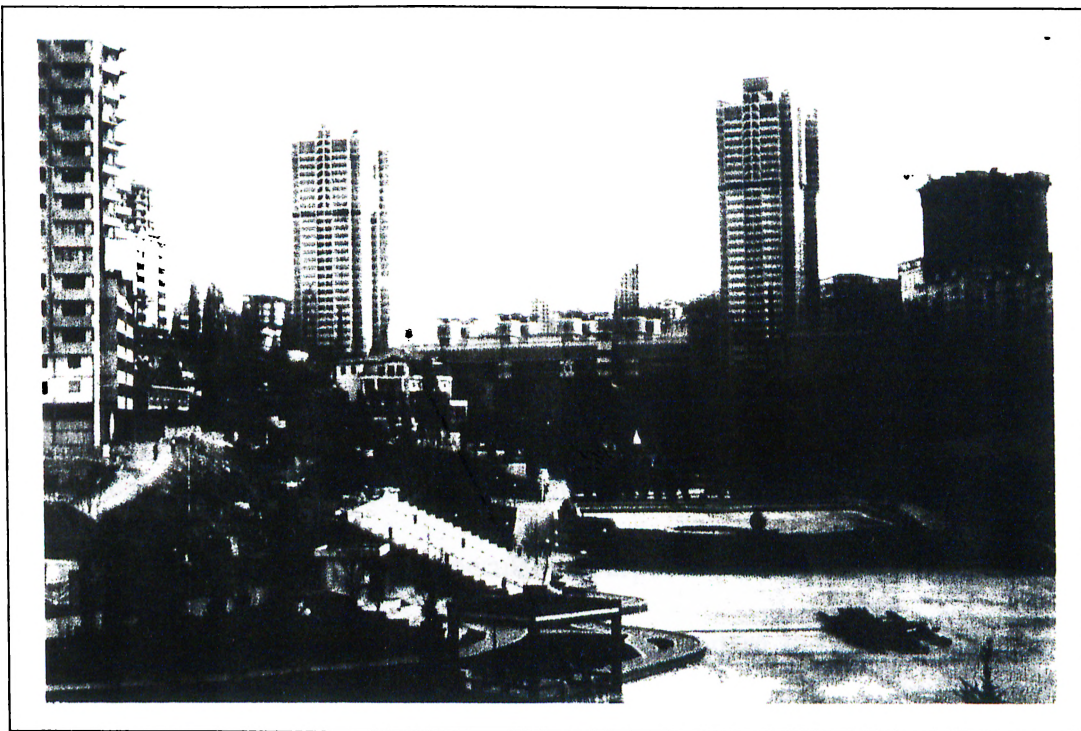


Fig. 4.9. Culture Bridge

#### **4.4. Evaluation of the Project**

The Ankara Metropolitan Municipality has established a company called Metropol İmar, for the realization and control of the project and the project started in 1989. Although the project has started with very significant and positive objectives, today, the ongoing process is different from what was initially planned. Particularly, the provision of the high density and high rise luxurious houses for speculative purposes has changed the original framework and which seems to be far away from the initially desired goals.

Especially the change in the administration of the Municipality in 1994 have led to fundamental changes in the implementation phase of the project. The Municipality Service Areas which were planned to be social and cultural focal points to serve the inhabitants of the Valley have turned into housing areas where isolated luxury apartment buildings are being constructed. The density of the new housing areas has increased although they were planned to supply the investment required for the relocation of the existing population of the Valley without bringing additional financial burden on public resources.

Current critics about the project concentrate on increased density for residential uses and the increased demand for speculative purposes through the realization of the project. Disintegration between existing housing pattern and planned residential areas are the second important result of the project criticized by the planning authorities and lastly, the changes and the delays in the plans and implementations due to political

decisions and speculative purposes which caused changes on the process. As Günay (1993) states:

“The Dikmen Valley Project may be seen as successful within its own logic and objectives. However, the politically oriented decision system is open to criticism. In an area, declared as green, a 700,000 m<sup>2</sup> settlement area is in stark contradiction with the basic political principles of the social democratic platform through the efforts of which the project has completed. This model can be expected to lead to higher density settlements, especially in already developed areas, and also to increased innercity rents. If the city will actually be developed towards periphery, the rent surfaces should be directed towards proposed development areas. In Ankara city, re-opened to dense development through implementation plans, every new investments in developed areas in turn destroys the focus and starts the process of re-building. The most important subject in Dikmen Valley is the side effects of this investments. Politics of the project should be changes as soon as possible so as to prevent these side effects from leading to further settlement concentrations” (24) (translated by the author).

Günay argues the design principles of the project also and states that:

“The Protection of the Valley’s base as a green pattern, construction of the residential buildings on the higher slopes and the connection of the two sides with Culture Bridge are all positive in the process. However, I find the residence towers, built for the financing of the Bridge, as highly imposing and oppressive when compared to the surrounding modest structures. Moreover, Culture Bridge will overtime create conflicts in usage, service and transportation with the environment. A better choice for a landmark could have been found instead of the residence towers. A pattern that conforms, unifies with and then attempts to change the environment would be a better decision than the one which neglects it” (1993, 24) (translated by the author).

Today, in the first phase, a total of 404 houses, 328 for rightowners and 76 to sell, and Culturepark have been completed (Fig. 4.10) and Culture Bridge is almost finished. The luxurious buildings on the Municipality Service Areas are still under construction. They have already begun to be sold for very high prices which will lead

speculative rent extraction in the Valley. The second zone is under construction, too (Fig. 4.11).

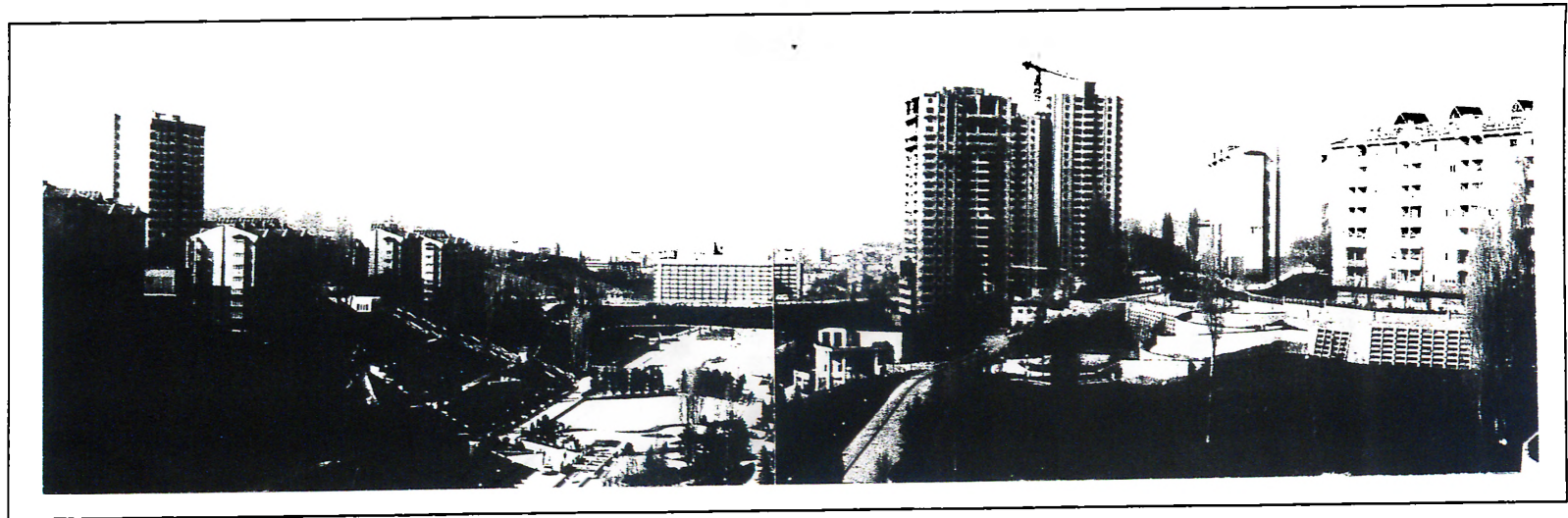


Fig. 4.10 The Current View of the First Zone of the Valley



Fig. 4.11 The Current View of the Second Zone of the Valley

The model used for the realization of the project has also changed. Although it is hard to say that until the new administration came to power, the decisions about the Valley were made by negotiations among the representatives of the squatter owners, planners, architects, special consultants, and with many other people who were involved with the economics of the project, squatter owners were informed of all the actions taken in the Valley. At the beginnings of the project, if all the parties agreed on the decisions as much as possible (see section 4.5 also), they could be implemented. However, the luxurious apartments on the Municipality Service Areas were being built without the consent of the people who took part in the project. Thus, it is helpful to look at how user participation and negotiations in Dikmen Valley were handled in order to understand the process better and to evaluate the impact of changes from the initial goals. This will also enable us to understand the role of political power on the urban regeneration process.

#### **4.5. User Participation and Negotiations in Dikmen Valley<sup>2</sup>**

Design practice is not only form giving, but more generally “sense making” in practical conversations (Forester, 1985). According to Forester (1985), sense is achieved socially not only in a context but between persons with feelings, intentions -- fears and desires--, and these are often ambiguous, if nevertheless, influencing the meaning and character of design solution. As he explains, throughout negotiations, a newly built area can change its meaning, shape and character. Dikmen Valley is a

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<sup>2</sup> Based on the interviews with the former planners, architects and landscape architects who used to work for the Metropol İmar A. Ş. (Direkçi, 1997).



good example to observe the shift from what was actually thought by decision makers to what is actually done by means of negotiations among the people who live there.

The organizational model developed for Dikmen Valley has been built upon contributions of the representatives of rightowners, designers, members of the municipality, engineers, special consultants, and many other people who dealt with the economic phase of the project. As stated previously, the decisions were made through negotiations among these participants.

The Ankara Metropolitan Municipality designed an inter-organizational collaboration model. Metropolitan İmar Joint-Stock Company was established by the local government as a jointly owned company to undertake the preparations of the project and the urban management process. The reason behind this is that problems in the Valley require the integration of the resources of several stake-holders who are directly or indirectly affected by the actions of others and their collaboration, so that a participative solution can be achieved. On the users side, cooperatives which would work with the Municipality, protect the profits of the Valley, organize the information flow between users and the municipality were established.

From the very beginning of the project to the end of the first phase, lots of serious disagreements emerged between the “gecekondü” owners and the representatives of Metropol İmar A.Ş. Due to the political promises made, the squatter owners thought that they would stay there and made profits by giving their houses or land to developers. But there was a necessity of moving away the “gecekondü”s from since

they were placed on flood bed creating geological problems, and in addition to that, they were at the points which has to connect two sides of the city. For similar cases, Cuff (1981) explains the reasons of possible disagreements in negotiations as “in spite of the careful and well-meaning establishment of a working relationship between actors in the design process, the inherit disparity of interests; responsibilities, activities inevitably leads to disagreements” (165).

The problems were solved by means of conversations in which actual designers did not participate. Liaison people were hired by Metropol İmar A.Ş. who were responsible to talk to and persuade the “gecekondu” people. These liaison people were politically oriented, not specialized technically, but were experienced in organizing people around a cooperative, an association or an action.

All parties had a power of influence over each other in Dikmen Valley Project. This concept of influence brings the power relationship in negotiations. Forester (1988) explains power as a relationship, not simple possession. The power of a first person over a second may be tied to the second’s dependency upon the first. Where dependency and independency exist then power of influence is found, as well (Forester, 1988). According to interviewees, the power of the users comes from their voting power since the municipality needed the votes of such a large number of people in Valley, hence, the Municipality had to respect to their demands. But, the decision makers had a power on the “gecekondu” owners too: there was a legal situation against “gecekondu”s due to the illegal constructions on public lands, which could make them leave their houses.

There was power relationship not only between user and Metropol İmar A.Ş., but also between the designers and Metropol İmar A.Ş. Since Metropol İmar is a political organization, politicians have dominated in the project which corrects the statement that design can not be away from political pressures (Forester 1988, Cuff 1991, Wolf 1981), and “while the architects and the clients are the key figures, there are countless voices that have some influence or power over a part of the project” (Cuff, 1989,191).

Although the urban redevelopment process adopted and the participatory model applied in Dikmen Valley could provide a mechanism to institutionalize community participation in, and public review of, a variety of urban development projects, as all of the interviewees (former planners, architects and landscape architects who used to work for Metropol İmar A.Ş.) claimed, that users participated in the project only during the decision making stage. In the design stage, even the technical experts were not involved in lots of things; there was a power above of them. There are still criticisms from the community arguing that the development process employed in Dikmen Valley Housing and Environmental Development Project is still fashioned on a developer-driven model that emphasizes profit over community needs.

## **4.6. Research**

### **4.6.1. Methodology**

The focus of this study is the socio-economic status of people presently living in the houses constructed for the rightowners during the first phase of the project. Currently, there are mainly two groups of people living in the area, the remainders of the rightowners and the newcomers. Hence, the aim of the questionnaire is to affirm the existence of two main groups that reside in Dikmen Valley and to direct attention to their differences. For this purpose, a questionnaire has been prepared and applied to people who are living in the houses of the rightowners in order to point out the changes in the socio-economic structure of the Valley after the housing and environmental development project.

The questionnaire consists of four main parts (Appendix A). The first part inquires about demographics to describe the socio-economic profile of each group of inhabitants. The second part includes questions about the decision of choosing to stay or move in to the Valley based on the assumption that the characteristics of people in terms of their environmental preferences are influential in habitat selection. Because different groups evaluate and use similar environments in quite different ways, the third part is about the evaluation and the use of the project area by the current inhabitants. This part also includes questions about social interaction among the inhabitants to find out the relationship, if any, between the remainders and the newcomers. The questionnaire concludes with questions about their projections for

the future in terms of staying in the Valley or not, which is related with their being content with their neighborhood and neighbors.

A quota sample of 60 subjects were chosen among the inhabitants of the houses that are built for the rightowners. In order to make comparison between the people who remained and the newcomers, 30 people from each group were interviewed.

Collected data is mostly nominal, there are also ordinal data to measure the satisfaction of the people with their environment. Therefore, only non-parametric statistical analysis can be applied to the data collected. Because the size of the sample group is more than 20, Chi-square Test (for a significance level 0.05: if the sample  $\chi^2 < \text{tabular value (K-1) (R-1) df}$ ,  $H_0$  null hypothesis is accepted. If the sample  $\chi^2 > \text{tabular value (K-1) (R-1) df}$ ,  $H_0$  null hypothesis is rejected) is used for statistical analysis in order to find out whether there is a significant relationship between the two variables ( being remainder or newcomer as dependent variable and the others as independent) in the sample group (Runyon and Haber, 1991).

#### **4.6.1.1. Formulation of the Research Question**

Urban regeneration and gentrification refer to a change in household social status, independent of the housing stock involved (Lyons, 1996). In the research, the change in the socio-economic structure of Dikmen Valley after the housing and environmental development project will be explored.

The focus of this study is the socio-economic status of the people presently living in the houses constructed for rightowners in the first phase of the project. This will be analyzed based on the assumption that urban regeneration process will result in a change in the socio-economic structure of the regenerated neighborhoods. Although the process is not fully completed yet, and the major parts of the project are still under construction, the basic assumption of the planners about the ratio of the previous squatter owners -the rightowners- who continue to live in the houses is questionable. The result of the pilot research about the inhabitants of the Valley shows that, the rightowners who still live in the Valley is about 30 percent of the total rightowners. The others preferred to sell out or rent their houses and live elsewhere.

As a result, the research question of the nature of the changes will be based on the socio-economic profile of the people who preferred to stay and who choose to move in after the project is completed. The effects of changes in environmental quality, the existence of amenities such as Culture Bridge and Culturepark, and the provision of luxury houses in this preference explained above will also be questioned.

#### **4.6.1.2. Variables**

In determining social status, occupation, income and education of the inhabitants were used since social prestige has a linear correlation with these (Lyons, 1996b). Eight variables are associated in order to draw the demographic profile of the inhabitants. These explore population's age structure, changing patterns of family size and family structure, gender, income, education, occupation and car ownership.

It is important to examine environmental factors that affected both who preferred to stay and those who moved in to the Valley to find out if there is a difference between them, because the characteristics of the people are influential in the habitat selection in terms of environmental preferences (Rapoport, 1977). The selection process involves positive (pull) and negative (push) factors. People pick settings with characteristics which they value highly (pull factors) and avoid or leave environments which they regard negatively (push factors). People's decisions to move depend on matching desires and images with environments, while actual moves depend on differences between present and perceived opportunities and various constraints (Rapoport, 1977). Thus habitat selection through environmental preference involves the characteristics of people and environments. There are several variables in the questionnaire which indicate push and pull factors in order to determine the variances and the relationship between the socioeconomic status and environmental preference.

Social networks could potentially help to distinguish various groups (Rapoport, 1977). Thus, interactions in open spaces, specific set of activities in open spaces as well as activities for specific purposes (social, cultural, shopping, etc.), with neighborhood and neighbors (communication flows) have been investigated in the research by means of several variables. People from the same culture support each other in order to deal with the difficulties that they encounter in city life. They communicate with each other more easily than they do with other people they face in the city life (Erdoğan et al, 1996), since belonging to a social group implies sharing a perspective to the extent that there will be no significant barriers to communication. Proximity to others, special set-up of the neighborhood which is assumed to provide

space to interact and opportunity for contact affect the frequency of social interaction between families.

Members of different social worlds receive different bits of data from the landscape and interpret it differently (Duncan and Duncan, 1976). Thus, the use and the evaluation of the environment are expected to vary for different social groups. In the research, the effects of Culturepark, of constructions going on in the Municipality Service Areas, of the other phases of the project and of the provision of luxurious houses on the inhabitants' daily and social life have been explored in order to point out the differences between the groups by measuring their responses to such amenities and the positive and negative effects that they anticipate.

Urban regeneration process can change the meaning of identity, privacy and attachment to neighborhood where people developed a special social and physical network in order to reflect their culture and lifestyle (Özbek and Sönmez, 1996). The changes in the social and the built environment through urban regeneration can have serious impacts on the existing neighborhood. Environment and the community can be important for local culture defining a particular people and space interactions and giving them their identity. Loss of ties between community and the familiar environment may lead the inhabitants to move out from the Valley, thus, making the environment transform from one socioeconomic status to another, rather than making it an environment where different social groups co-exist. Thus, to observe the potential changes in the socioeconomic structure of the Valley, their prospects about



future in terms of staying in the Valley or not have been questioned in order to understand the effect of the urban regeneration process.

#### **4.6.2. Findings**

##### **4.6.2.1. Demographic Structure of the Population**

It is expected that there are differences between the remainders and the newcomers in terms of their demographic profile. Thus, socio-economic status (SES) indicators of families and interviewees have been explored in order to show the variances between the remainders and the newcomers (Table 4.1 and 4.2). Larger household size of remainders as opposed to smaller household size of the newcomers support this idea, as well as whether they are nuclear or extended families (Table 4.1).

Table 4.1 SES Indicators of Families

value label	percentages	
	remainders	newcomers
<b>Household size (var1)</b>		
1-2	16.7	66.7
3-4	40	33.3
5+	43.3	
<b>Family Structure (var2)</b>		
nuclear family	50	73.3
extended family	50	6.7
not family		20
<b>Family income (var7)</b>		
-40 million T.L.	33.3	
41-100	53.3	3.3
101-150	6.7	26.7
151-+	6.7	70
<b>Car ownership (var8)</b>		
yes	26.7	60
no	73.3	40
<b>Home ownership (var9)</b>		
owner	100	
renter		100

The results shows that the family structure of the remainders are equally nuclear and extended, whereas, most of the newcomers are either nuclear families, or living alone or with friends. Family income below 100 million TL described as lower-middle and higher than 100 million TL is upper-middle socio-economic status. Thus, the remainders are categorized as belonging to lower socioeconomic status whereas the newcomers' socioeconomic status is described as upper-middle. Also, while car ownership is common among the newcomers, most of the remainders have no car. Lastly, all of the remainders own the houses they live as opposed to the newcomers, all of whom are renters. That is the dependent variable used for the statistical comparisons all through the research. At the beginning of the research, the interviewees were planned to be divided into three groups: remainders, renter

newcomers and owner newcomers. Unfortunately, it was not possible to interview equal numbers of newcomers who own the houses due to various reasons. Thus, the interviewed newcomers are all renters.

Chi-square test has been applied to indicate the difference between the remainders (owners) and newcomers (renters) in terms of household size, family structure, family income and car ownership in order to investigate whether there is a significant relation (Appendix C-Table C.1. ). The null hypothesis is that there is no relation between being remainder or newcomer with household size, family structure, family income and car ownership. Chi-square value of the sample is higher than tabular value for household size ( $\chi^2=22.181182 > \chi^2=5.991$  at the  $df=2$  and 0.05 significance level), family structure ( $\chi^2=17.26550 > \chi^2=5.991$  at the  $df=2$  and 0.05 significance level), family income ( $\chi^2=42.53095 > \chi^2=7.825$  at the  $df=3$  and 0.05 significance level), car ownership ( $\chi^2=6.78733 > \chi^2=3.841$  at the  $df=1$  and 0.05 significance level). So, the null hypothesis of independence between being remainder or newcomer and household size, family structure, family income and car ownership is rejected.

There is the problem of generalizability of the results driven from gender, age, education and occupation. When it comes to the people whom the interviews have been conducted, those of the remainders are mostly adults 36 and 55 and more than 56 years old; graduated from primary school; 76.7 percent is not actively working; either male or female in similar percentages (Table 4.2). The interviewed newcomers are mostly female; young adults between 24 and 35 years old; graduated from university and mostly with an occupation (70%) (Table 4.2).

Table 4.2 SES Indicators to Describe the Interviewees

value label	percentages	
	remainders	newcomers
<b>Sex (var3)</b>		
male	53.3	33.3
female	46.7	66.7
<b>Age (var4)</b>		
18-23	6.7	10
24-35	23.3	73.3
36-55	30	16.7
56+	40	
<b>Education level (var5)</b>		
illiterate	13.3	
literate but uneducated	3.3	
primary school	40	
secondary school	10	3.3
high school	26.7	33.3
university	6.7	63.3
master or Ph.D.		
<b>Occupation (var6)</b>		
freelance professional	3.3	36.7
employee in private sector	10	6.7
manager in private sector		13.3
employee in public sector	10	10
manager in public sector		3.3
worker		
housewife	36.7	6.7
student	3.3	23.3
retired worker	10	
retired public sector employee	20	
employee in marginal sector		
unemployed	6.7	
<b>Actively working</b>	<b>23.3</b>	<b>70</b>

#### 4.6.2.2. Habitat Selection in Terms of Environmental Preferences

Having defined the differences between the remainders and the new comers in terms of their socio-economic characteristics, responses to the detailed questions about habitat selection as a factor of environmental preference were examined. The questions about the duration of residence in Ankara and in this neighborhood are also asked to find out if there is relationship between these and people' environmental

preferences. As can be seen in Table 4.3, the interviewed remainders lived longer in Ankara compared with the interviewed newcomers which may be due to the ages of the interviewees. Duration of residence in this neighborhood is higher among the interviewed remainders than the newcomers as expected.

Table 4.3 Time Lived in Ankara and Dikmen Valley

value label	percentages	
	remainders	newcomers
<b>in Ankara (var10)</b>		
less than 3 years		10
3-10	3.3	33.3
11-20	13.3	13.3
more than 20 years	83.3	43.3
<b>in Dikmen Valley (var 12)</b>		
less than 3 years		33.3
3-5	66.6	53.3
more than 5 years	33.3	13.3

The interviewees asked to name their neighborhood to investigate if they are aware of the special condition of the area that they live. The questionnaire was applied in equal numbers to both sides of the Valley, Ayrancı and Dikmen, and most of the answers about the name of their neighborhood are in accordance with the side of the Valley they reside (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4 Identification of the Neighborhood

value label	percentages			
	remainders (30 interviewees)		newcomers (30 interviewees)	
	Dikmen (15)	Ayrancı (15)	Dikmen (15)	Ayrancı (15)
Dikmen Valley	20	13.3	20	13.3
Ayrancı		86.7		86.7
Dikmen	80		80	

Obviously, there should be differences between the remainders and the newcomers in terms of the previous neighborhood they lived. Most of the interviewed remainders lived in a “gecekondu” before moving to this neighborhood, while most of the interviewed newcomers used to live in districts with upper-middle socioeconomic status (Table 4.5). Only 10 percent of newcomers were living in another city and Dikmen Valley is the first place that they select to reside in.

Table 4.5 Previous Neighborhood

value label	percentages	
	remainders	newcomers
in "gecekondu" in the same area	96.7	
districts with upper-middle socioeconomic status		56.7
districts with lower-middle socioeconomic status	3.3	33.3
in another city		10

Questions corresponding to reasons about moving out from the previous neighborhood are classified in four groups: economic, family, environmental reasons and reasons related with the dwelling. They were asked as open-ended questions and the responses were marked by interviewer.

As can be seen in Table 4.6, it can not be possible to make comparison between remainders and newcomers in terms of push factors that affected their decision to move out from their previous neighborhoods and drive conclusions because almost all the remainders (%97.7) have already been there. The reasons of the interviewed newcomers who came from different parts of the city or another city are mainly environmental based reasons and reasons related to dwelling (Table 4.6).

Table 4.6 Reasons for Moving out from Previous Neighborhood

value label	percentages	
	remainders	newcomers
<b>Economic reasons (var14)</b>		
high rents		3.3
owned a flat in this neighborhood	3.3	
no economic reason		96.7
<b>Family reasons (var15)</b>		
marriage		36.7
other family reasons		16.7
no family reason	3.3	46.7
<b>Environmental reasons (var16)</b>		
high rise and high density environment		3.3
unclean and neglected environment		3.3
difficulty in transportation		16.7
inadequate neighbors		3.3
noisy environment		3.3
no environmental reason	3.3	70
<b>Reasons related to dwelling (var17)</b>		
insufficient size		3.3
old house		6.7
no reason related to dwelling	3.3	90

As can be seen in Table 4.7, the remainders and newcomers can be distinguished from each other in terms their habitat selection due to environmental preferences. While economic factors (owning a flat in this neighborhood), nearness to friends and relatives, living in the same neighborhood for a long time (familiarity with the environment) are dominated as pull factors among the remainders, having a good view as environmental determinant affected the newcomers' decision to choose to live in this neighborhood.

Table 4.7 Reasons for Preferring to Live in Dikmen Valley

value label	percentages	
	remainders	newcomers
<b>Economic reasons (var18)</b>		
low rents		10
owned a flat in this neighborhood	96.7	
no economic reason	3.3	90
<b>Family reasons (var19)</b>		
nearness to friends and relatives	66.7	13.3
no family reason	33.3	86.7
<b>Environmental reasons (var20)</b>		
in the vicinity of school and job	3.3	20
having a good view	26.7	80
living in the same neighborhood for a long time	70	
<b>Reasons related to dwelling (var21)</b>		
sufficient size and number of room	3.3	30
new home	3.3	20
no reason related to dwelling	93.3	50

Reasons related to dwelling do not play an important role for habitat selection of the remainders, while the newcomers are impressed with the homes' sufficient size, number of rooms and being newly built.

The Chi-square test applied between the remainders (owners) and the newcomers (renters) in order to find if there is a significant relationship in terms of reasons (economic, family and environmental reasons and reasons related with the dwelling) for preferring to live in Dikmen Valley (Appendix C-Table C.2). The null hypothesis is that there is no relation between being remainder or newcomer with the reasons for preferring to live in Dikmen Valley such as economic, family and environmental reasons and reasons related with the dwelling. Chi-square value of the sample is higher than tabular value for economic reasons ( $\chi^2=56.14286 > \chi^2=5.991$  at the  $df=2$  and 0.05 significance level), family reasons ( $\chi^2=17.77778 > \chi^2=3.841$  at the  $df=1$  and



0.05 significance level), environmental reasons ( $\chi^2=32.57143 > \chi^2=5.991$  at the  $df=2$  and 0.05 significance level), reasons related to dwelling ( $\chi^2=13.90166 > \chi^2=5.991$  at the  $df=2$  and 0.05 significance level). So, the null hypothesis of independence between being remainder or newcomer and economic, family, environmental reasons and reasons related with the dwelling for preferring to live in Dikmen Valley is rejected.

Although the results of habitat selection through environmental preference are tried to be cross checked by means of the questions in the case of inhabitants' having another house in Ankara or in other cities, the results shows that most of the remainders and the newcomers do not own a house in Ankara or in other cities (Table 4.8). Thus, not enough observation could be done to make comparison between the two groups, and the reasons for preferring this neighborhood are various among the those who do own another flat, and there is no significant correlation between being remainder or newcomer with the choice of the Valley in the case of having a flat in somewhere else.

Table 4.8 Owning a Flat in Ankara or Another City and Related Preferences

value label	percentages	
	remainders	newcomers
<b>Owning a flat (var22)</b>		
yes	13.3	26.7
no	86.7	73.3
<b>Economic reasons (var23) related to preference</b>		
no economic reason	13.3	26.7
no other house	86.7	73.3
<b>Family reasons (var24) related to preference</b>		
nearness to friends and relatives	6.7	
no family reason	6.6	26.7
no other house	86.7	73.3
<b>Environmental reasons (var25) related to preference</b>		
having a good view	3.3	
living in the same neighborhood for a long time	3.3	
the other house is in another city	6.7	26.7
no environmental reason	86.7	73.3
<b>Reasons related to dwelling (var26) about preference</b>		
no reason related to dwelling	13.3	26.7
no other house	86.7	73.3

#### 4.6.2.3. Evaluation and Use of the Environment

In the third part of the questionnaire, the interviewees were asked about their satisfaction with their homes as a result of the modifications in the houses to make it fit to their life styles, and with the environment, appropriateness of the environment in terms of satisfying their daily needs; the effect of the environment on their habits of obtaining daily needs; the social interaction among them; Culturepark in comparison to the previous use of the open spaces specially by the remainders; the positive and/or negative effects of amenities such as Culture Bridge, constructions going on in the Municipality Service Areas and other houses built in Dikmen Valley.

Although it is expected to find differences among the remainders and the newcomers in terms of the modifications done in the houses, neither the remainders nor the newcomers have done radical changes in their homes (Table 4.9).

Table 4.9 Changes Made and Wished to Make About Home

value label	percentages			
	changes (var27)		desired changes (var28)	
	remainders	newcomers	remainders	newcomers
close/ed the balcony	6.7	3.3		
demolish/ed the walls between the rooms				3.3
renew/ed semi-fixed fixtures	23.3	6.7	66.7	36.7
did/will not change anything	70	90	33.3	20
we wont since we are renter				40

However, although most of the remainders are bothered by the low quality of the semi-fixed fixtures and want to change them, the newcomers mostly claimed that they will not change anything. The tenure characteristics of the home and the belief that they could not get back the money they spend may be the possible reasons of the newcomers, since a considerable number of the newcomers mentioned that they are renters as the reasons of not making any modifications in their homes. Thus, satisfaction with the dwelling is lower among the newcomers compared to a higher frequency of satisfaction among the remainders (Table 4.10). As can be seen in Table 4.10, both the remainders and the newcomers are satisfied with the physical arrangement of their environment.

Table 4.10 Satisfaction with the Dwelling and the Physical Environment

value label	valid percentages			
	Satisfaction with the dwelling (var 29)		Satisfaction with the physical environment (var30)	
	remainders	newcomers	remainders	newcomers
yes	63.3	43.3	73.3	60
partially	33.3	53.3	26.7	40
no	3.3	3.3		

It is assumed that, social networks help to distinguish among various groups. Thus, interactions in open spaces, specific set of activities in open spaces as well as activities for specific purposes, with neighborhood and neighbors are asked to interviewees in order to find out the differences between them, if any. First part of the questions about social networks are about interactions with activities for specific purposes such as shopping, cultural, social etc. It is expected that there will be differences between the remainder and the newcomers in terms of activities for specific purposes (shopping, sports, cultural activities, etc.). The results support this argument; larger number of the newcomers participate in cultural (going to cinema, theater etc.), social activities and entertainment compared to the remainders (Table 4.11). But the remainders might have misunderstood the question related to social activities, since although most of them seem not to participate in any social activities as can be seen in Table 4.11, the degree of social interaction with neighbors is very high in the remaining part of the questionnaire.

Table 4.11 Where the Inhabitants Obtain Their Daily Needs

value label	percentages					
	Daily shopping (var31)		Bulk shopping (var32)		Cultural activities (var33)	
	remainders	newcomers	remainders	newcomers	remainders	newcomers
near environment	100	96.7	70			
within the neighborhood		3.3	26.3	100		
city center			3.3		13.3	96.7
No where					86.7	3.3

value label	percentages					
	Entertainment (var34)		Sports (var35)		Education (var36)	
	remainders	newcomers	remainders	newcomers	remainders	newcomers
near environment			46.7	40		
within the neighborhood					53.3	10
city center	13.3	96.7		20	10	16.7
No where	86.7	3.3	53.3	40	36.7	73.3

value label	percentages			
	Health services (var37)		Social activities (var38)	
	remainders	newcomers	remainders	newcomers
near environment			3.3	
within the neighborhood				3.3
city center	93.3	100	3.3	93.3
No where	6.7		93.3	3.3

Chi-square Test has been applied to investigate the relationship between the remainders (owners) and newcomers (renters) with obtaining their daily needs in terms of daily and bulk shopping, cultural activities, entertainment, sports, education, health services and social activities. The null hypothesis is that there is no relation between being remainder or newcomer with obtaining their daily needs. Only cultural, social activities and entertainment had a valid significance level (Appendix C-Table C.3.). Chi-square value of the sample is higher than tabular value for cultural activities ( $\chi^2=42.08754 > \chi^2=3.841$  at the  $df=1$  and 0.05 significance level), entertainment ( $\chi^2=42.08754 > \chi^2=3.841$  at the  $df=1$  and 0.05 significance level), social activities ( $\chi^2=52.27586 > \chi^2=7.815$  at the  $df=3$  and 0.05 significance level). So the null

hypothesis of independence between being remainder or newcomer and cultural activities, entertainment and social activities is rejected.

The reasons of this variation of difference between the two groups may be due to having different life styles. As the remainders claimed, economy is one of the important factors that affects their involvement in such activities. Their concern was with surviving, thus they had neither money nor time for any activity other than that are inevitable. The results in Table 4.11 show that the environment is very poor in providing different opportunities in terms of cultural, social and entertainment activities, and health and education facilities were insufficient, since sport is declared as the only changing habit of the remainders and the newcomers in almost equal percentages. This may be due to the opportunity of walking and running in Culturepark.

Communication flow among the neighbors is another type of social network which might indicate the differences between groups. Questions about the inhabitants' acquaintance with their neighbors, with whom, where and when do they communicate were asked to the interviewees to find out the pattern of social interactions, if any. Although, as can be seen in Table 4.12, some interaction between the remainders and newcomers is expected, no social interaction occurs among them.

Table 4.12 Social Interaction among the Inhabitants

value label	percentages	
	remainders	newcomers
<b>Acquaintance (var40)</b>		
not acquainted	13.3	80
having regular social interaction	86.7	20
<b>Name of the neighbors (var41)</b>		
relatives, old friends and neighbors	96.7	20
no interaction	3.3	80
<b>Who, Where? (var42)</b>		
relatives, old friends and neighbors in transitional spaces	6.7	
relatives, old friends and neighbors in open spaces	6.7	
relatives, old friends and neighbors at home	83.3	20
no interaction	3.3	80
<b>Who, When? (var43)</b>		
relatives, old friends and neighbors in everyday	26.7	
relatives, old friends and neighbors in a few days a week	60	16.7
relatives, old friends and neighbors in once a month	10	3.3
relatives, old friends and neighbors rarely		
no interaction	3.3	80
<b>Where, When (var44)</b>		
in open spaces, a few days a week	6.7	
at home, everyday	33.3	
at home, a few days a week	43.3	16.7
at home, once a month	13.3	3.3
no interaction	3.3	80

The relationship between the remainders (owners) and newcomers (renters) with social interaction in terms of acquaintances, the name of the neighbors, 'who, where', 'who, when', and 'where, when' is tested by Chi-square Test (Appendix C-Table C.4). The null hypothesis is that there is no relation between being remainder and newcomers with social interaction. Chi-square value of the sample is higher than tabular value for acquaintance ( $\chi^2=26.78571 > \chi^2=3.841$  at the  $df=1$  and 0.05 significance level), neighbors ( $\chi^2=36.27429 > \chi^2=3.841$  at the  $df=1$  and 0.05

significance level), 'who, where' ( $\chi^2=42.36690 > \chi^2=9.488$  at the  $df=4$  and 0.05 significance level), 'who, when' ( $\chi^2=37.50783 > \chi^2=7.815$  at the  $df=3$  and 0.05 significance level), 'where, when' ( $\chi^2=38.51556 > \chi^2=9.488$  at the  $df=4$  and 0.05 significance level). So, There is no evidence about the hypothesis of independence between being remainder or newcomer and social interaction in terms of acquaintance, the name of the neighbors, 'who, where', 'who, when', and 'where, when' could be found.

The results show that, there are two distinct groups living in the same environment without sharing anything. They just communicate with people within their own culture, with their own old friends and relatives living in the same neighborhood. They have friends within the same group and both groups pay no effort to meet with each other, either. The duration of residence in this neighborhood is not the reason of newcomers' no interaction with remainders, since the duration spent in this neighborhood is long enough to find opportunity to meet with neighbors. The result of the Chi-square Test applied in order to investigate if there is relation between time lived in Dikmen Valley and social interaction supports this argument (Appendix C-Table C.5). Chi-square value of the sample is smaller than tabular value ( $\chi^2=0.07813 < \chi^2=3.841$  at the  $df=1$  and 0.05 significance level). So, the null hypothesis of independence between time lived in Dikmen Valley and social interaction is accepted.

The actual reason is that, they belong to different socioeconomic groups; their world views, life styles, the stage in life cycle, occupations and daily routines are so different from each other that even if they want to communicate, they would not be able to find



appropriate time and space for communication as well as a common subject to talk on. The results also indicate that home is the most used space for interaction in both groups, as this is an evidence of incapability of the environment to encourage and enable social interaction.

Before investigating interactions in open spaces and specific set of activities in open spaces, interviewees were asked how they evaluate Culturepark in terms of who they think mostly use, since the interpretations about an open space could be different in terms of its publicness. 93.3 percent of the interviewed remainders and 70 percent of the newcomers think Culturepark as belonging to the whole city. Culturepark is mostly used by the residents in the vicinity according to 23.3 percent of the newcomers. 6.7 percent of both the remainders and the newcomers accept Culturepark as used by the inhabitants of the Valley. Thus, most of the interviewed inhabitants are aware of the urban characteristics of Culturepark.

Previous usage of the open areas are inquired by asking whether they had a private garden or not. Since the remainders mostly resided in ‘gecekondus’, they all had private gardens. Hence, the change from using private gardens to using of a green area that is open to everyone will be examined. The results show that the previous dwellings are just shelters for the interviewed remainders who are accustomed to using the outdoors (Table 4.13). Gardens of “gecekondus” were used as playgrounds, resting and meeting places and places for vegetation for growing obtain some of their daily food needs. Thus, previous garden also has an economic meaning for the remainders. As explained before, both groups are aware of the publicness of

Culturepark. Thus, it can not be expected that the remainders continue the open air activities that they used to do in their previous gardens, and this is supported by the results (Table 4.13).

Table 4.13 The Use of the Previous Garden and the Current Use of Culturepark

value label	percentages											
	As playground (var46-51)				Resting (var47-52)				Sport activities (var48-53)			
	remainders		newcomers		remainders		newcomers		remainders		newcomers	
	prev	today	prev	today	prev	today	prev	today	prev	today	prev	today
everyday	50	13.3		3.3	80					13.3		6.7
a few days in a week		13.3		6.7		53.3		26.7		23.3		30
once a month												
rarely						16.7		13.3		23.3		16.7
did/do not use	30	73.3	100	90		30	100	60	80	40	100	46.7
did not have previous garden	20				20				20			

value label	percentages							
	Meeting with friends (var49-54)				Vegetation (var50-55)			
	remainders		newcomers		remainders		newcomers	
	prev	today	prev	today	prev	today	prev	today
everyday	73.3				80			
a few days in a week		16.7		3.3				
once a month		26.7						
rarely								
did/do not use	6.7	56.7	100	96.7		100	100	100
did not have previous garden	20				20			

However, as can be seen in Table 4.14 the things that bother the remainders are mainly not being able to perform recreational and functional activities. They desire their previous life style in terms of open air activities that taken place in their garden, claiming that they were happy with their previous gardens.

Table 4.14 Complaints about Outdoor Spaces

value label	valid percentages	
	remainders	newcomers
lack of gathering place	26.7	10
lack of maintenance, service and management		50
not being able to perform recreational and functional activities	60	
I am not bothered	13.3	40

As opposed to the remainders, the newcomers complain about maintenance, service and management as evidences of the difference between the two groups in terms of their expectations from open areas. The Chi-square Test has been applied in order to find the significance of relation between the remainders (owners) and newcomers (renters) with being bothered from constraints (Appendix C-Table C.6). The null hypothesis is that there is no relation between being remainder and newcomer with complaints about outdoor spaces. Chi-square value of the sample is higher than tabular value ( $\chi^2=39.27273 > \chi^2=7.815$  at the  $df=3$  and 0.05 significance level). So, the null hypothesis of independence between being remainder or newcomer and being bothered from the constraints is rejected.

As stated before, people with different socio-economic status perceive and interpret the environment differently. Thus, the evaluation of the amenities that the Dikmen Valley Environmental Redevelopment Project is expected to vary for the remainders and the newcomers. The results obtained support this argument. Evaluating Culture Bridge, one of the amenities that the project provides, both its positive and negative effects were mentioned. As seen in Table 4.15, there are differences between the remainders and the newcomers in terms of its positive and negative effects on their daily and social life. Both groups are more or less informed about the activities that

will take place in Culture Bridge. The newcomers mostly expect that life will become exiting in the Valley after its completion and they will use it. On the contrary, the remainders mentioned the possible negative effects on their life. Although the amenities of commercial, cultural and recreational nature attract newcomers, Culture Bridge will fulfill such needs that they used to satisfy in different parts of the cities. As to the positive effect, the interviewees mostly mentioned economic benefits due to the increase of property values.

The relationship between the remainders (owners) and the newcomers (renters) with their assessment of the possible positive and negative effects of Culture Bridge is tested by Chi-square Test (Appendix C-Table C.7). The null hypothesis is that there is no relation between being remainder or newcomer with the effects of Culture Bridge either negative or positive. Chi-square value of the sample is higher than tabular value for positive effects ( $\chi^2=33.17974 > \chi^2=7.815$  at the  $df=3$  and 0.05 significance level), and for negative effects ( $\chi^2=30.00000 > \chi^2=5.991$  at the  $df=2$  and 0.05 significance level). So, no evidence about null hypothesis of independence between being remainder or newcomer and positive and negative effects of Culture Bridge is found.

Table 4.15 Inhabitants' Opinions about Culture Bridge

value label	percentages	
	remainders	newcomers
<b>Familiarity with the activities (var57)</b>		
commercial	26.7	33.3
residential and commercial	46.7	56.7
commercial and cultural	20	6.7
don't know	6.7	3.3
<b>Having any information before moving to the Valley (var58)</b>		
yes	93.3	30
no	6.7	70
<b>Influence on their decision (var59)</b>		
influenced		10
not influenced	13.3	90
already living there	86.7	
<b>Effect on the inhabitants (positive or negative)</b>		
yes	100	96.7
no		3.3
<b>Positive effects on the inhabitants (var60)</b>		
increase in the land value	30	
heightened socioeconomic status		
easy access through the other side of the Valley	23.3	3.3
life becoming exciting in the Valley and we will use it	20	93.3
no affect	26.7	3.3
<b>Negative effects (var61)</b>		
crowding	33.3	
feeling uncomfortable due to the high socioeconomic status of the possible residents and decrease in affordability	33.3	
no effect	33.3	100

Another amenity is the constructions going in the Municipality Service Areas (MSA). Most of the newcomers do not believe in the positive effects of the new constructions in the MSA, just as the remainders. Although negative physical effects such as crowding, traffic, views disturbed by high rise buildings are dominated among both groups, the newcomers are mostly neutral about the negative effects of these buildings in the MSA (Table 4.16).

Table 4.16 Opinions of the Inhabitants about the New Constructions Going on in the Municipality Service Areas

value label	percentages	
	remainders	newcomers
<b>Familiarity (var62)</b>		
yes	83.3	93.3
no	16.7	6.7
<b>Effects on the inhabitants (positive or negative)</b>		
yes	96.7	53.3
no	3.3	46.7
<b>Positive effects on the inhabitants (var63)</b>		
increase in the land value	50	
heightened socioeconomic status	6.7	23.3
no affect	43.3	76.7
<b>Negative effects on the inhabitants (var64)</b>		
crowding	16.7	6.7
traffic problem	3.3	13.3
high rise buildings disturb the view	3.3	6.7
uncomfortable due to the changes in the initial	33.3	3.3
feeling uncomfortable due to the high socioeconomic status of the possible residents and decrease in affordability	40	
no effect	3.3	70

Chi-square Test has been applied in order to find out the relation between the remainders (owners) and the newcomers (renters) in relation to the anticipated positive and negative effects of the new buildings in the MSA (Appendix C-Table C.8). The null hypothesis is that there is no relation between being remainder or newcomer with the positive and negative effects of MSA. Chi-square value of the sample is higher than tabular value for positive effects ( $\chi^2=20.55556 > \chi^2=5.991$  at the  $df=2$  and 0.05 significance level), and for negative effects ( $\chi^2=40.96450 > \chi^2=11.070$  at the  $df=5$  and 0.05 significance level). Chi-square values indicate that, the null hypothesis of independence between being remainder or newcomer and positive and negative effects of the new constructions in the MSA is rejected.

The percentage of people who believe that the other phases of the Dikmen Valley will affect them either positively or negatively decreases both for the remainders and the newcomers. The reason for this could be that they consider other phases not to be within the territories of their neighborhood, so they don't expect their effects to be as obvious as the effects of Culture Bridge and the new constructions in the MSA. However, as can be seen in the Table 4.17, the evaluation of the other phases differ for the remainders and the newcomers in terms of their positive and especially negative effects. The newcomers are again neutral about negative effects, whereas the remainders are afraid of the higher socioeconomic status of the potential residents and the resultant decrease in affordability.

The significance of the relationship, if any, between the remainders (owners) and newcomers (renters) in terms of the expected positive and negative effects of the other phases of the project has been tested by means of Chi-square Test (Appendix C-Table C.9). Chi-square value of the sample is higher than tabular value for positive effects ( $\chi^2=17.92857 > \chi^2=7.815$  at the  $df=3$  and 0.05 significance level), and for negative effects ( $\chi^2=10.75000 > \chi^2=5.991$  at the  $df=2$  and 0.05 significance level). As a result, the null hypothesis of independence between being remainder or newcomer and positive and negative effects of the other phases of the project is rejected.

Table 4.17 Opinions of the Inhabitants About the Other Phases of the Valley

value label	percentages	
	remainers	newcomers
<b>Familiarity (var65)</b>		
yes	76.7	50
no	23.3	50
<b>Effects on the inhabitants (positive or negative)</b>		
yes	60	56.7
no	40	43.3
<b>Positive effects on the inhabitants (var66)</b>		
increase in the land value	23.3	
life will become exciting in the Valley	3.3	43.3
increase in the green areas and open spaces	13.3	10
no affect	60	46.7
<b>Negative effects on the inhabitants (var67)</b>		
crowding	16.7	3.3
'feeling uncomfortable due to the high socioeconomic status of the possible residents and decrease in affordability	20	
no effect	63.3	96.7

Lastly, the effects of the constructions going on in the Valley for residential purpose on the inhabitants were investigated in the research. As can be seen in Table 4.18, there are differences between the remainders and the newcomers in terms of the positive effects of these luxurious houses. The remainders fear that these houses will be occupied by high socioeconomic status residents which will decrease the affordability of living in Dikmen Valley. In contrast, the newcomers are neutral about the consequences. Those luxurious houses and their future occupants are welcome by the newcomers since they believe that these people will heighten the socioeconomic status of the area.



Table 4.18 Opinions of the Inhabitants About the Other Houses That are Being Constructed in the Valley

value label	percentages	
	remainers	newcomers
<b>Quality (var68)</b>		
ordinary houses		3.3
luxury houses	100	96.7
don't know		
<b>Who purchase? (var69)</b>		
people different from us	100	96.7
don't know		3.3
<b>Effect on the inhabitants (positive or negative)</b>		
yes	96.7	40
no	3.3	60
<b>Positive effects on the inhabitants (var63)</b>		
increase in the land value	50	
heightened socioeconomic status		36.7
life will become exciting in the Valley	3.3	
no affect	46.7	63.7
<b>Negative effects on the inhabitants (var64)</b>		
crowding	13.3	6.7
feeling uncomfortable due to the high socioeconomic status of the possible residents and decrease in affordability	80	
no effect	6.7	93.3

It is expected that there is significant relation between being remainder (owner) and newcomer (renter) with the positive and negative effects of the other houses constructed in the project area, and both had a significant level(Appendix C-Table C.10). The null hypothesis is that there is no relation between being remainder or newcomer with the positive and negative effects of the other houses constructed in the project area. Chi-square value of the sample is higher than tabular value for positive effects ( $\chi^2=24.09091 > \chi^2=5.991$  at the  $df=2$  and 0.05 significance level), and for negative effects ( $\chi^2=47.20000 > \chi^2=5.991$  at the  $df=2$  and 0.05 significance level), that means the null hypothesis of independence between being remainder or

newcomer and positive and negative effects of the other houses constructed in the project area is rejected.

#### **4.6.2.4. Projections for Future in Terms of Staying or Moving out**

The last part of the questionnaire was devoted to the projections for future of both the remainders and the newcomers that is, whether they want to stay in the Valley or not, since the changes in the social and built environment through urban regeneration process can have serious impacts on them. Their satisfaction with living in the Valley, their ideas about continuing to live in the Valley and their ideal environment in which they would want to live were asked in order to understand the effects of urban regeneration process.

Although their satisfaction with living in the Valley (Table 4.19) and their wishes to continue to live here (Table 4.20) are similar for the remainders and the newcomers, their reasons about continuing to live in the Valley show differences, as was expected. The reasons that the remainders give for this are mainly economical in nature and also related to the attachment to the environment they are familiar as opposed to the newcomers for whom environmental factors are the most important.

Table 4.19 Satisfaction with Living in the Valley

value label	percentages	
	remainders	newcomers
yes	56.7	46.7
partially	36.7	40
no	6.6	13.3

Table 4.20 The inhabitants' Projections about Living in the Valley

value label	percentages	
	remainders	newcomers
<b>Wish to continue to live in the Valley</b>		
yes	60	53.3
no	40	46.7
<b>If yes, why? (var73)</b>		
due to economic factors	20	10
due to environmental factors		43.3
due to economic factors and living here for a long time	40	
<b>If no (in the case of having better options), why? (var74)</b>		
due to the socioeconomic status of the neighbors		40
due to problems related to dwelling		6.7
due to decreasing affordability due to moving out old friends and neighbors	40	

Chi-square Test has been applied in order to find the degree of relation between the remainders (owners) and newcomers (renters) with projections of the inhabitants about reasons of wish to continue to live in the Valley (Appendix C-Table C.11). The null hypothesis is that there is no relation between being remainder or newcomer with the reasons of wish to continue to live in the Valley. Chi-square value of the sample is higher than tabular value ( $\chi^2=26.15385 > \chi^2=7.815$  at the  $df=3$  and 0.05 significance level). The results of the Test as indicated above shows that the null hypothesis of independence between being renter or owner and reasons of the inhabitants about wish to continue to live in the Valley is rejected.

The inhabitants' projections about future, in terms of moving out from the Valley if they have better options, vary between the remainders and the newcomers, too.

Again, although the percentages of the reasons for wishing to move out are similar, the reasons that push the inhabitants from the Valley are different. This can be seen in Table 4.20, decreasing affordability of living in the Valley and the loss of ties with the

environment they used to be familiar with (due to moving out of old friends and neighbors) on the part of the remainders where they had lived for a long time, as opposed to the newcomers who do not have similar ties supports the argument. The newcomers are bothered with the socioeconomic characteristics of their neighbors. They refer to the remainders as “gecekondu” people and are concerned that these people have not adapted to apartment life, carrying their habits of “gecekondu” life. For example, as some of the newcomers claimed that, the remainders clean their carpets on the car park, they get a rest on the fire stairs, they talk loudly in transitional areas etc.

The relationship between the remainders (owners) and newcomers (renters) and their projections in terms of moving out from the Valley is investigated by Chi-square Test (Appendix C-Table C.12). The null hypothesis of this investigation is that there is no relation between being remainder or newcomer with the reasons of wishing to move out from the Valley. Chi-square value of the sample is higher than tabular value ( $\chi^2=26.11765 > \chi^2=7.815$  at the  $df=3$  and 0.05 significance level). So, the null hypothesis of independence between being renter or owner and reasons of the inhabitants about wishing to move out from the Valley is rejected.

The last part of the questionnaire is devoted to the environments the inhabitants prefer to live, since different social groups have different preferences related with habitat selection. The results confirm the relation between the push factors that will lead to people's moving out, and pull factors related to the environment they would prefer. The preferred environment of both the groups are quite different, as can be seen in

Table 4.21. Considerable number of the remainders indicated that they would prefer to live in “gecekondu” again where they would be close to their old friends and neighbors. This means that they missed their previous life in “gecekondu”. On the other hand, the newcomers stated that they were bothered by the “gecekondu” (squatter people) neighbors and want to live in a higher socioeconomic status area.

Table 4.21 The Inhabitants' Preferred/Ideal Environment

value label	percentages	
	remainders	newcomers
in a high socioeconomic status area	6.7	66.7
in a high socioeconomic status area, calm and relaxing environment		6.7
in a "gecekondu" again	30	
close to old friends and neighbors	23.3	
in a large house	16.7	3.3
here again	23.3	23.3

The result of the Chi-square Test as indicated below shows that, no evidence about the null hypothesis of independence between being remainder or newcomer and their ideal environment has been found (Appendix C-Table C.13). Chi-square value of the sample is higher than tabular value ( $\chi^2=35.39394 > \chi^2=11.070$  at the  $df=5$  and 0.05 significance level).

#### 4.6.3. Discussion of Findings

Results of this research show that, today, two major classes corresponding to lower-middle and upper-middle groups live in Dikmen Valley. These groups can be readily distinguished from each other in terms of differences in demographic patterns (family

size, family structure, family income, car ownership, age, education and occupation), life styles, neighborhood relations, patterns of assumption of urban culture and their images of urban space and urban society.

Life styles, values, age, stage in life cycle, mobility, home range and like, all affect preferences for particular environments and suitability of such environments for various groups depending on the socioeconomic profile. Two groups in Dikmen Valley, the remainders and the newcomers, are distinguished in terms of choosing or deciding to stay in this neighborhood. Environmental factors (pull and push) that effected both who preferred to stay and who moved in to the Valley vary with respect to the different characteristics of people.

Social networks, interactions in open spaces, specific set of activities in open spaces as well as activities for specific purposes, interactions with the neighborhood and the neighbors are different. Inhabitants highly depend on the city center for specialized services showing the current inadequacy of the neighborhood in providing opportunity for cultural, entertainment, health activities. On the other hand, Culture Bridge is constructed to meet such needs of the inhabitants as well as the whole city. Another important concern is the specific activities in open spaces. Naturally, the differences between the remainders and the newcomers come from the different meanings attributed to open spaces by both groups. Gardens played an important role both physically and socially in the “gecekondu” people’s lives. Daily activities were extended to life in garden and home was just a shelter. The meaning of Culturepark as a large public space as well as the design of Culturepark does not provide spaces

as a large public space as well as the design of Culturepark does not provide spaces that are appropriate for the open space habits and the daily needs of the remainders which are different from the newcomers.

No social interaction between those who remained and who moved in to the Dikmen Valley has been found during the research. The principal reason for this lack of interaction is the socioeconomic segregation among them. In Dikmen Valley, people from the same culture communicate with each other. Both groups have a different perspective towards urban life to the extent that there are significant barriers to communication.

Proximity to others and special set-up of the neighborhood, that means the physical environment, is assumed to play an important role in establishing social relationship by providing appropriate spaces to interact and the opportunity to contact. But, Dikmen Valley does not provide appropriate spaces for social interaction. Cultural and spatial characteristics of the neighborhood for social interaction has not been taken into consideration in the Dikmen Valley Project.

The evaluation of the amenities that the environment provide was expected to vary for different social groups. The results of the research support this argument in Dikmen Valley in terms of the thoughts of the inhabitants about the possible positive and negative effects of Culture Bridge, of constructions going on in the Municipality Service Areas, of the other phases of the project and of the provision of luxurious houses. Although the degree of the effects seems similar for both groups, the

understanding and the perception of the positive and negative effects are quite different. While economic concerns such as the increasing property value of the houses dominated among the interviewed remainders, the interviewed newcomers were mostly interested in social concerns such as the heightened socioeconomic status of the area and the enrichment of life in the Valley by the completion of these amenities. The evaluation of the possible negative effects of these amenities also differs between the two socio-economic groups. The interviewed remainders are disturbed by the socioeconomic status of potential residents of the Valley, as opposed to the newcomers' thoughts about the physical distraction of the environment due to the necessary services for such amenities. Decreasing affordability is the second important factor which bothers the remainders due to the infusion of luxurious residential, commercial usage as well as constructions for business purposes which tremendously increase the cost of living in the Valley. Economic conditions affect those who remained in two ways; by increasing the land values, which may be a positive outcome, and by decreasing the affordability of life which is a negative outcome. Because the remainders are lower-middle income people, life in the Valley is becoming less and less affordable for them.

Lastly, projections for the future in terms of staying in or moving out from the Valley differ between the remainders and the newcomers. The meanings of identity, privacy and neighborhood, to which the remainders had developed strong social ties, have changed throughout the project, as shown in the last part of the research. The loss of ties between community and familiar environment are the most serious impacts of the project on the remainders which leads the remainders to move out from the Valley.



They had to change their life style and had to try to adapt to the new environment in which they could no longer live the way they used to live in their “gecekonu”s.

Some of them, members of the younger generation, have adapted to the new conditions but the remaining population, who continue their previous daily practices in the squatters, become the reasons for some of the newcomers to wish to move out from this environment.

All the above findings show that currently there are two distinct socio-economic groups living in the Valley as opposed to homogeneous social structure prior to the project. This has the potential to create tension between the two groups which may also accelerate the social transformation of the area from low-middle to high-middle income.

## **5. CONCLUSION**

The aim of this study is to evaluate Dikmen Valley within the sphere of social implications of urban regeneration which is a new concept in Turkey. It is not a criticism of the success of Dikmen Valley Housing and Environmental Redevelopment Project. Rather, the aim is to present the main social implications of a unique case of urban regeneration, the renewal of a squatter settlement.

Dikmen Valley Project can be described as one of the large-scale squatter settlement renewal projects which may guide further implementations about solving the problem of squatter settlements, one of the most important urban issues in Turkey. Just like the other renewal projects planned in Ankara, Dikmen Valley project has been produced by unifying different regeneration approaches rather than using one tool of regeneration. For instance, Dikmen Valley is a redevelopment project since it implies the removal of partially or totally existing fabric and the reuse of cleared land for the implementation of new projects to enable opportunities and upgrade living conditions. Infusion of new activities such as retail and socio-cultural activities into stagnant or declining part of cities which are no longer attractive to investors is the main concerns of revitalization approach and utilized in Dikmen Valley project as well as the others. As explained in the Third Chapter, all these projects are urban renewal efforts since

they indicate physical change, change in the use or intensity of use of land and buildings which is an outcome of economic and social forces upon urban areas.

Participation in the urban process and displacement are the two important social concerns which have been taken into consideration throughout the project. Just like the other urban renewal projects in Ankara, Dikmen Valley Housing and Environmental Redevelopment Project aimed to resettle the original population in the renewal area. The project produced as a public-private partnership model in order to attract private investment to the valley to finance the project. The model developed for the valley brought public and private sectors and the residents of the valley together thus, the project would be realized by a participatory planning approach and involvement of the inhabitants in the reshaping of their environment. The model used in Dikmen Valley has attracted the interest of and received appreciation from the decision makers, planners, architects, etc. as well as its inhabitants, since one of the primary aims of the project was the relocation of the existing population in the Valley. Considering the social issues in urban regeneration, such involvement of the inhabitants in the process is argued to be a must by many scholars for its success. However, at the end, the inhabitants of the valley were not involved in the project evaluations and were not informed about the results of such renewal projects.

From a broader point of view, the city would benefit largely from the valley by the cleaning of the unpleasant view of the squatter settlement and by the provision of amenities like a large open green space, commercial and cultural facilities that would serve the whole city. Thus, the profits of the urban regeneration process would be

applicable to many people. But, just like the other projects, Dikmen Valley seems to be taken as a land isolated from the other parts of the city rather than a part of the whole. Neither in the other projects, nor in this one, the possible physical, social and economic effects of the projects on the adjacent surrounding areas were not taken into consideration.

In fact, Dikmen Valley Project reached its goals to a great extent: the city acquired an open area which would serve as a recreational center for the citizens, and the squatter owners were given units for which they have legal title. Yet, although the residential environment provided for the squatter owners were sufficient for them in quantitative terms, it was not fully appropriate qualitatively in the sense that it did not correspond with their culture and life styles. High-rise buildings that are constructed through build-and-sell type of housing provision are not convenient for the life of the squatter people. Squatter people who protect their rural origins and neighborhood relations with their rural life styles are forced to live in apartment flats which are not appropriate for their way of living.

This research is held in the buildings constructed for the squatter owners who were there originally. The primary aim was to investigate whether these people continue to live in these units built for them or not, since urban regeneration is commonly associated with a change in the socioeconomic structure of the existing population unlike the aspirations and initial objectives of the planners about the inhabitants. It is observed during the study that there are two distinct socio-economic groups living in these units. Yet, it is not possible to say that original inhabitants of the Valley are

displaced by means of urban regeneration process that is typical of what is called displacement and gentrification. In order to be able to decide whether the changes going on in the Valley represent a case of gentrification or not, the area should be evaluated to a deeper extent. Nonetheless, the project has affected to the socio-economic structure of the valley to a great extent, and is still affecting since the completion of the project.

Changes in the socio-economic structure are direct results of moving out of the original residents from their residences. Thus, it is important to evaluate the reasons of the original inhabitants for moving out from the Valley in order to discuss if this is a case of displacement which is considered by some scholars as an inevitable result of urban regeneration, that is, the changing of the existing population with an upper class. The reasons of squatter owners to move out from the Valley can be classified into three broad categories that are related with changes in the economic, social and physical environment.

Firstly, it is no more economical for these low income people to live in Dikmen Valley. The affordability of living in the environment for the squatter owners is decreasing with the increasing demand of middle or upper class people to live there. The value of their properties continue to increase and the prices and rents of these units become comparable to the flats in other parts of the city. Although they own these units, thus they do not pay rent, they could obtain extra income by renting or selling their houses in Dikmen Valley and moving out.

Second is the loss of contact with a familiar environment to which they have developed strong emotional attachments. This may occur both when the residents are displaced and when familiar environments are radically altered by the regeneration of a neighborhood. Social bonds between people and their environments have been loosened, and this situation is discussed as a natural result of urbanization. In such a case, while habitation is provided in quantitative terms, the effects of the built environment, hence the background of these people are ignored.

Squatter areas develop with the participation of individuals. The migrants who could not find and afford units in the existing housing stock built illegal squatters that are affordable by their incomes and appropriate for their life style. Therefore, squatters have been involved with the development process of their environment from the very beginning. It can be argued that they have developed a sense of attachment for their environments and they reflect their identities on to it. Urban regeneration process may result in a change in the meaning of identity, privacy and sense of attachment, especially in the cases of squatter renewal, since these areas have a unique social and physical network where people reflect their culture and lifestyle. But, when squatter areas go through regeneration process, they become like the other parts of the cities, similar to what has happened in Dikmen Valley. In Dikmen Valley, discussions of the planning approaches to the built environments enabled reaching the quantitative targets, however, the positive and negative social implications that had been created in the built environment have been neglected.

Thirdly, these people could not adapt to live in the new apartment buildings which borders a large urban park, without a gradual change in the characteristics of open spaces from public to private. Neither the apartments, nor the open spaces are not designed according to the social and cultural characteristics of these people. The social and physical characteristics of a squatter settlement have not been taken into consideration by the designers and the planners. The form of the built environment could have developed in such a way that it accommodates their traditional values, hence, make the transition to this new environment easier.

Dikmen Valley Housing and Redevelopment Project does not constitute a general model which can suggest the general solutions to the squatter areas for urban transformation problems since the problems and the situations are different for renewal areas. Thus, any approach to the renewal areas should be carefully evaluated in terms of different locations and presentations. But, still, Dikmen Valley Project is a good example which enables to evaluate the model applied and the implications of it.

Although the objective of this study has not been proposing a guideline or checklist and each renewal area would has a unique character, it is important to identify some social and physical concerns related with squatters to be considered in renewal project.

\* Since the local culture defined by a unique group of people and their environment gives them their identity that is transferred to next generations, it is important that the local culture, hence the urban culture, should not be destroyed but promoted as a

result of continuous transformation of the urban environment during the urban regeneration process instead, layout and design of the physical fabric should ensure the balance between community needs and the built environment. In other words, the social and physical characteristics of a squatter settlement should be taken into consideration.

\* Environment should provide space that would facilitate social interaction and the continuation of cultural elements in the surroundings. Sociological concepts such as identity, attachment and privacy should be considered in regeneration process. Thus, the form of the built environment should meet the environmental, physical and social demands of the people.

\* Communal spaces are essential to create opportunity for social interaction. Successful communal spaces can be achieved by integrating private spaces with the communal realm and proposing a transition in between (open spaces, streets, semi-public areas, and their uses) and by promoting neighborliness and interaction through the design of the buildings. The design of places such as open spaces and small streets, as well as the overall land use, should promote community cohesion and interaction among people, enhance contacts between different groups. This comes from understanding the activity system and community behavior of each group within the neighborhood and the impact of the built environment on them.

\* Participation of people should be ensured in each step of the process so that the identity and integration of the social and physical environments of the area can be



possible. Encouraging a local community to participate in planning and decision making process helps create community awareness and raise the feeling of common purpose among its members. This necessitates certain administrative and juridical steps to provide the legal basis for the community's participation and educational steps to raise its interest and appreciation.

This research may lead to further researches in Dikmen Valley. After the project is completely finished and people in the other phases of the project settle, the actual effects of the urban regeneration process on the original residents, squatters of Dikmen Valley, and the transformation process of the neighborhood can be evaluated.

This research may contribute to the formation of new urban renewal policies and highlight the points which should be handled carefully. Because regeneration policies play a fundamental role in determining the socio-spatial structure of the cities, they reshape the whole city, not just a particular neighborhood.

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## **APPENDICES**

**APPENDIX A**  
**QUESTIONNAIRE SHEET**

**1.1 Hane halkı sayısı**

- ☐ 1-2
- ☐ 3-4
- ☐ 5+

**1.2. Aile yapısı**

- ☐ Çekirdek aile
- ☐ Geniş aile
- ☐ Aile sayılmayan

**1.3. Cinsiyet**

- ☐ Erkek
- ☐ Kadın

**1.4. Yaş**

- ☐ 18-23
- ☐ 24-35
- ☐ 36-55
- ☐ 55+

**1.5. Eğitim Durumu**

- ☐ Okur yazar değil
- ☐ Okur yazar, mezun değil
- ☐ İlköğrenim
- ☐ Ortaöğrenim
- ☐ Yüksek öğrenim
- ☐ Yüksek öğrenim sonrası (master, doktora)

**1.6. Görüşülen kişinin mesleği**

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Serbest meslek          | <input type="checkbox"/> Öğrenci                  |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Özel sektör çalışanı    | <input type="checkbox"/> İşçi emeklisi            |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Özel sektör yöneticisi  | <input type="checkbox"/> Kamu sektörü emeklisi    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Kamu sektörü çalışanı   | <input type="checkbox"/> Marjinal sektör çalışanı |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Kamu sektörü yöneticisi | <input type="checkbox"/> İşsiz                    |
| <input type="checkbox"/> İşçi                    |   |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Evkadını                |   |



1.7. Ailenin gelir seviyesi

- ☐ -40
- ☐ 41-100
- ☐ 101-150
- ☐ 151+

1.8. Özel aracınız var mı?

- ☐ Evet
- ☐ Hayır

1.9. Oturduğunuz ev

- ☐ Sizin
- ☐ Kira

2.1. Ne kadar süredir Ankara'da oturuyorsunuz?

- ☐ 3 yıldan az
- ☐ 3-10
- ☐ 11-20
- ☐ 20 yıldan fazla

2.2. Oturduğunuz yerin adı ne? (Şıklar okunmayacak)

- ☐ Dikmen Vadisi
- ☐ Ayrancı
- ☐ Dikmen

2.3. Ne kadar süredir bu çevrede oturuyorsunuz?

- ☐ 3 yıldan az
- ☐ 3-5
- ☐ 5 yıldan fazla

2.4. Daha önce nerede oturuyordunuz?

- ☐ Aynı bölgede gecekonduda
- ☐ Diğer bölgelerde gecekonduda
- ☐ Orta-üst sınıf semtte
- ☐ Alt-orta sınıf semtte

2.5. (Haksahibi değilse) Daha önce oturduğunuz/yaşadığınız bölgeden neden taşındınız? (Şıklar okunmayacak)

Ekonomik nedenler

- ☐ Yüksek kira
- ☐ Bu bölgeden ev alması
- ☐ Ekonomik bir sebep yok

Ailevi nedenler

- ☐ Arkadaş ve/veya akrabalara uzak olması
- ☐ Evlilik
- ☐ Diğer ailevi sebepler (iş, okul değiştirme, v.b.)
- ☐ Ailevi sebep yok

Konut çevresine ilişkin nedenler

- ☐ Çevrenin sıkışık ve çok katlı olması
- ☐ Çevrenin pis ve bakımsız olması

- ☐ Ulaşım zorluğu
- ☐ Yeşil alanların yetersiz oluşu
- ☐ Çocuklar için uygun olmayışı
- ☐ Komşuların iyi olmaması (kullanıcı gurubun bozulması)
- ☐ Gürültülü olması
- ☐ Olumsuz manzara
- ☐ Konut çevresine ilişkin neden yok

**Konuta ilişkin nedenler**

- ☐ Büyüklüğü yetersizdi
- ☐ Düzenlenişi iyi değildi
- ☐ Baktığı yön uygun değildi
- ☐ Dış görünüşü /estetikliği iyi/güzel/hoş değildi
- ☐ Ev eskiydi
- ☐ Konuta ilişkin neden yok

**2.6. Bu çevrede oturmayı neden tercih ettiniz? (Şıklar okunmayacak)**

**Ekonomik nedenler**

- ☐ Düşük kira
- ☐ Bu bölgede evi olması
- ☐ Ekonomik neden yok

**Ailevi nedenler**

- ☐ Miras
- ☐ Arkadaş ve/veya akrabalara yakınlık
- ☐ Ailevi neden yok

**Konut çevresine ilişkin nedenler**

- ☐ Okula ve/veya işe yakınlık
- ☐ Çevrenin düzenli ferah olması
- ☐ Çevrenin temiz ve bakımlı oluşu
- ☐ Kent merkezine ulaşım kolaylığı
- ☐ Yeşil ve açık alanların planlı oluşu
- ☐ Çocuklar için uygun olması
- ☐ Komşuların nitelikli/seçkin oluşu
- ☐ Sakin ve huzurlu bir yer olması
- ☐ Manzaralı olması
- ☐ Uzun süredir bu bölgede yaşıyor olmak
- ☐ Konut çevresine ilişkin neden yok

**Konuta ilişkin nedenler**

- ☐ Oturulan kat (uygun)
- ☐ Büyüklüğü ve oda sayısı (uygun)
- ☐ Düzenlenişi iyi
- ☐ Baktığı yön iyi
- ☐ Binanın dış görünüşü iyi
- ☐ Evin yeni olması
- ☐ Konuta ilişkin neden yok

2.7. Başka mahalle veya kentte kendi eviniz var mı? Evet ise, neden burada yaşamayı tercih ettiniz?

☐ Evet ☐ Hayır

**Ekonomik nedenler**

- ☐ Düşük kira
- ☐ Bu bölgede evi olması
- ☐ Ekonomik neden yok
- ☐ Başka evi yok

**Ailevi nedenler**

- ☐ Miras
- ☐ Arkadaş ve/veya akrabalara yakınlık
- ☐ Ailevi neden yok
- ☐ Başka evi yok

**Konut çevresine ilişkin nedenler**

- ☐ Okula ve/veya işe yakınlık
- ☐ Çevrenin düzenli ferah olması
- ☐ Çevrenin temiz ve bakımlı oluşu
- ☐ Kent merkezine ulaşım kolaylığı
- ☐ Yeşil ve açık alanların planlı oluşu
- ☐ Çocuklar için uygun olması
- ☐ Komşuların nitelikli/seçkin oluşu
- ☐ Sakin ve huzurlu bir yer olması
- ☐ Manzaralı olması
- ☐ Uzun süredir bu bölgede yaşıyor olmak
- ☐ Başka evi yok
- ☐ Ev başka bir kentte
- ☐ Konut çevresine ilişkin neden yok

**Konuta ilişkin nedenler**

- ☐ Oturulan kat (uygun)
- ☐ Büyüklüğü ve oda sayısı (uygun)
- ☐ Düzenlenişi iyi
- ☐ Baktığı yön iyi
- ☐ Binanın dış görünüşü iyi
- ☐ Evin yeni olması
- ☐ Başka evi yok
- ☐ Konuta ilişkin neden yok

3.4. Evinizde değişiklik yaptınız mı? Ne tür? Henüz yapmadıysanız, eğer imkanınız olsa ne tür değişiklik yapmak isterdiniz?

**Değişiklikler**

- ☐ WC'yi kaldırıp mekanlara kattık
- ☐ Balkon kapattık
- ☐ Balkon kapayıp mekanlara kattık
- ☐ Odalar arasındaki duvarı/duvarları kaldırdık
- ☐ Odaları bölmek üzere duvar ilave ettik

- ☐ Mekanlardaki sabit araç-gereçleri yeniledik
- ☐ Hiçbir değişiklik yapmadık
- Yapılmak istenen değişiklikler
  - ☐ WC'yi kaldırıp mekanlara katmak
  - ☐ Balkon kapatmak
  - ☐ Balkon kapayıp mekanlara katmak
  - ☐ Odalar arasındaki duvarı/duvarları kaldırmak
  - ☐ Odaları bölmek üzere duvar ilave etmek
  - ☐ Mekanlardaki sabit araç-gereçleri yenilemek
  - ☐ Değişiklik yapmak istemiyoruz
  - ☐ Kiracı olduğumuz için değişiklik yapmak istemiyoruz

3.2. Oturduğunuz konuttan memnun musunuz?

- ☐ Evet      ☐ Kısmen      ☐ Hayır

3.3. Oturduğunuz çevrenin düzenlenişinden memnun musunuz?

- ☐ Evet      ☐ Kısmen      ☐ Hayır

3.4. Aşağıda belirtilen ihtiyaçları nerede karşılayabiliyorsunuz?

Yakın çevrede    Semtte    Şehir merkezinde    Hiçbir yerde

- ☐ Gündelik alışveriş
- ☐ Toptan alışveriş
- ☐ Kültür
- ☐ Eğlence
- ☐ Spor
- ☐ Eğitim
- ☐ Sağlık
- ☐ Sosyal faaliyetler

3.5. Bu konutlara taşınmakla hangi ihtiyaç/larınızda değişiklikler oldu?

- ☐ Gündelik alışveriş
- ☐ Toptan alışveriş
- ☐ Kültür
- ☐ Eğlence
- ☐ Spor
- ☐ Eğitim
- ☐ Sağlık
- ☐ Sosyal faaliyetler
- ☐ Hiçbir değişiklik olmadı

3.6. Bloкта oturan diğer ailelerle ne ölçüde tanışıklığınız var? Komşularınız kimlerdir?  
Komşu ailelerle, görüşme yeri ve sıklığını belirtiniz.

Tanışıklık

- ☐ Hiçbirini tanımıyorum
- ☐ Gidip geliyoruz

**Komşular kimler**

- ☐ Burada tanışılan komşular
- ☐ Akrabalar, eski arkadaş ve/veya komşular
- ☐ Hiçbir ilişki yok

**Kimlerle, nerede?**

Geçiş mekanlarında    Açık mekanlarda    Evlerde

- ☐ Burada tanışılan komşular
- ☐ Akrabalar, eski arkadaş ve/veya komşular
- ☐ Hiçbir ilişki yok

**Kimlerle, ne zaman?**

Hergün    Haftada birkaç kez    Ayda bir    Nadiren

- ☐ Burada tanışılan komşular
- ☐ Akrabalar, eski arkadaş ve/veya komşular
- ☐ Hiçbir ilişki yok

**Nerede, ne zaman?**

Hergün    Haftada birkaç kez    Ayda bir    Nadiren

- ☐ Geçiş mekanlarında
- ☐ Açık mekanlarda
- ☐ Evlerde
- ☐ Hiçbir ilişki yok

**3.7. Sizce Kültürpark kimlerin kullanımına açık?**

- ☐ Vadide oturanların
- ☐ Vadinin yakın çevresinde oturanların
- ☐ Tüm kentin

**3.8. (Eğer haksahibiye) Daha önce oturduğunuz evin bahçesi var mıydı? Evet ise, ne amaçla ve ne sıklıkta kullanırdınız? (Haksahibi ve yeni gelenler) Şu anda Kültürpark'ı ne amaçla ve ne sıklıkta kullanıyorsunuz?**

**Önceki kullanım**

Hergün    Haftada    Ayda    Nadiren    Kullanmıyordum    Evin  
birkaç kez    bir    bahçesi  
yoktu

- ☐ Çocuk oyun alanı
- ☐ Oturmak, dinlenmek
- ☐ Spor yapmak
- ☐ Yürüyüş yapmak
- ☐ Arkadaşlarla buluşmak
- ☐ Bitki yetiştirmek

Şimdiki kullanım

Hergün Haftada Ayda Nadiren Kullanmıyorum  
birkaç kez bir

- ☐ Çocuk oyun alanı
- ☐ Oturmak, dinlenmek
- ☐ Spor yapmak
- ☐ Yürüyüş yapmak
- ☐ Arkadaşlarla buluşmak
- ☐ Bitki yetiştirmek

3.9. Kültürpark kullanımında daha önce yapabildiğiniz, şu anda eksikliğini hissettiğinizden dolayı rahatsızlık duyduğunuz konu var mı?

- ☐ Biraraya gelme amaçlı fonk. alan eksikliği
- ☐ Bakım/hizmet eksikliği
- ☐ Güvenlik konusunda eksiklikler
- ☐ Rekreasyonel amaçlı fonksiyonları yapamamak
- ☐ Fonksiyonel amaçlı fonksiyonları yapamamak
- ☐ Rahatsızlık duymuyorum

3.10. Kültür Köprüsünde yer alan aktiviteleri biliyor musunuz? Neler yer alıyor?

- ☐ Konut
- ☐ Ticaret
- ☐ Kültür
- ☐ Eğlence
- ☐ Konut ve ticaret
- ☐ Ticaret ve kültür
- ☐ Bilmiyorum

3.11. (Haksahibi değilse) Buraya taşınmadan önce Kültür Köprüsü hakkında bilginiz var mıydı?

- ☐ Evet
- ☐ Hayır

3.12. Kültür Köprüsünün varlığı burada yaşama kararınızda etkili oldu mu?

- ☐ Etkiledi
- ☐ Etkilemedi
- ☐ Zaten burada yaşıyorlardı

3.13. Kültür Köprüsü kullanıma açıldığında sizin ya da ailenizin günlük veya sosyal hayatınızı etkileyeceğini düşünüyor musunuz?

Positif Etkiler

- ☐ Konutların değeri artar
- ☐ Sosyo-ekonomik seviye yükselir
- ☐ Vadi'nin karşı tarafına geçiş kolaylaşır
- ☐ Vadi'de hayat renklenir
- ☐ Kullanırız
- ☐ Vadi'de hayat renklenir ve kullanırız
- ☐ Etkilemez

**Negatif etkiler**

- ☐ Vadi kalabalıklaşır
- ☐ Trafik sorunu doğar
- ☐ Vadide oturacak insanların sosyo-ekonomik statüsünden rahatsızlık duyarız
- ☐ Vadide hayat pahalılaşır
- ☐ Etkilemez

3.14. Belediye hizmet alanlarında yapılan inşaatların içeriğini biliyor musunuz?

- ☐ Evet ☐ Hayır

3.15. Belediye Hizmet Alanındaki inşaatlar tamamlandığında sizin ya da ailenizin günlük veya sosyal hayatınızı etkileyeceğini düşünüyor musunuz?

**Positif Etkiler**

- ☐ Konutların değeri artar
- ☐ Sosyo-ekonomik seviye yükselir
- ☐ Vadi’de hayat renklenir
- ☐ Etkilemez

**Negatif etkiler**

- ☐ Vadi kalabalıklaşır
- ☐ Trafik sorunu doğar
- ☐ Vadide oturacak insanların sosyo-ekonomik statüsünden rahatsızlık duyarız
- ☐ Vadide hayat pahalılaşır
- ☐ Yüksek konutlar manzarayı bozuyor
- ☐ Proje amaçlarındaki değişikliklerden rahatsızlık duyuyoruz
- ☐ Etkilemez

3.16. Dikmen Vadisi Projesinin diğer etaplarında yer alan aktiviteleri biliyor musunuz?

- ☐ Evet ☐ Hayır

3.17. Diğer tüm etaplar tamamlandığında sizin ya da ailenizin günlük veya sosyal hayatınızı etkileyeceğini düşünüyor musunuz?

**Positif Etkiler**

- ☐ Konutların değeri artar
- ☐ Sosyo-ekonomik seviye yükselir
- ☐ Vadi’de hayat renklenir
- ☐ Yeşil alanlar artar
- ☐ Etkilemez

**Negatif etkiler**

- ☐ Vadi kalabalıklaşır
- ☐ Trafik sorunu doğar
- ☐ Vadide oturacak insanların sosyo-ekonomik statüsünden rahatsızlık duyarız
- ☐ Vadide hayat pahalılaşır
- ☐ Yüksek konutlar manzarayı bozuyor
- ☐ Etkilemez

3.18. Vadi’de inşaa edilmekte olan diğer konutların niteliğini biliyor musunuz? Sizce bu konutları kimler satın alıyor? Vadi’de inşaa edilmekte olan diğer konutlar tamamlandığında tamamlandığında sizin ya da ailenizin günlük veya sosyal hayatınızı etkileyeceğini düşünüyor musunuz?

Konutların niteliği

- ☐ Sıradan konutlar
- ☐ Lüks konutlar
- ☐ Bilmiyorum

Kimler satın alıyor?

- ☐ Bizim gibi insanlar
- ☐ Bizden farklı, zengin insanlar
- ☐ Bilmiyorum

Positif Etkiler

- ☐ Konutların değeri artar
- ☐ Sosyo-ekonomik seviye yükselir
- ☐ Vadi’de hayat renklenir
- ☐ Yeşil alanlar artar
- ☐ Etkilemez

Negatif etkiler

- ☐ Vadi kalabalıklaşır
- ☐ Trafik sorunu doğar
- ☐ Vadide oturacak insanların sosyo-ekonomik statüsünden rahatsızlık duyarız
- ☐ Vadide hayat pahalılaşır
- ☐ Yüksek konutlar manzarayı bozuyor
- ☐ Etkilemez

4.1. Burada yaşamaktan memnun musunuz?

- ☐ Evet
- ☐ Kısmen
- ☐ Hayır

4.2. Burada yaşamaya devam etmeyi düşünüyor musunuz? Evet ise, neden?

- ☐ Ekonomik sebepler
- ☐ Ailevi sebepler
- ☐ Konut çevresine ilişkin sebepler
- ☐ Konuta ilişkin sebepler
- ☐ Burada uzun süredir yaşıyor olmak
- ☐ Ekonomik sebepler ve burada uzun süredir yaşıyor olmaktan dolayı
- ☐ Burada yaşamaya devam etmeyi düşünmüyor

4.3. Daha iyi olanaklarınız olsaydı buradan ayrılmayı düşünür müydünüz? Evet ise, neden?

- ☐ Komşuların sosyo-ekonomik seviyesi
- ☐ Konuta ilişkin sebepler
- ☐ Vadi’deki hayatın pahalılaşması
- ☐ Eski arkadaş ve komşuların Vadi’den ayrılması
- ☐ Vadi’deki değişen sosyo-ekonomik statü



- ☐ Vadi'deki hayatın pahallılaşması ve eski arkadaş ve komşuların Vadi'den ayrılması
- ☐ Buradan ayrılmayı düşünmüyor

4.4. Nasıl bir çevrede yaşamak isterdiniz?

- ☐ Sosyo-ekonomik statüsü yüksek bir çevrede
- ☐ Sessiz ve huzurlu bir çevrede
- ☐ Çocuk yetiştirmeye uygun bir çevrede
- ☐ Gecekondu
- ☐ Eski arkadaş ve komşuların yakınında
- ☐ Daha büyük bir evde
- ☐ Burada

## **APPENDIX B**

### **KEY OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE**

**1.1. Number of people living in the dwelling (var1)**

- (1) 1-2
- (2) 3-4
- (3) 5+

**1.2. Family structure (var2)**

- (1) Nuclei family
- (2) Extended family
- (3) Not family (living alone or living with friend/friends)

**1.3. Sex (var3)**

- (1) Male
- (2) Female

**1.4. Age (var4)**

- (1) 18-23
- (2) 24-35
- (3) 36-55
- (4) 56-

**1.5. Education (var5)**

- (1) Illiterate
- (2) Literate but uneducated
- (3) Primary school
- (4) Secondary school
- (5) High school
- (6) University
- (7) Master or Ph.D.

**1.6. Occupation (var6)**

- |                                 |                                     |
|---------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| (01) Free lance professional    | (08) Student                        |
| (02) Employee in private sector | (09) Retired worker                 |
| (03) Manager in private sector  | (10) Retired public sector employee |
| (04) Employee in public sector  | (11) Employee in marginal sector    |
| (05) Manager in public sector   | (12) Unemployed                     |
| (06) Worker                     |                                     |
| (07) Housewife                  |                                     |

1.7. Family income (var7)

- (1) -40
- (2) 41-100
- (3) 101-150
- (4) 151+

1.8. Car ownership (var8)

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

1.9. Home ownership (var9)

- (1) Owner
- (2) Renter

2.1. How long have you been living in Ankara? (var10)

- (1) Less than 3 years
- (2) 3-10
- (3) 11-20
- (4) More than 20 years

2.2. Name of your neighborhood (var11)

- (1) Dikmen Valley
- (2) Ayrancı
- (3) Dikmen

2.3. How long have you been living in this neighborhood? (var12)

- (1) Less than 3 years
- (2) 3-5
- (3) More than 5 years

2.4. Where were you living before moving to this neighborhood? (var13)

- (1) In a gecekondü in the same area
- (2) In a gecekondü indifferent part of the city
- (3) Districts with upper-middle socio-economic status
- (4) Districts with lower-middle socio-economic status
- (5) In another city

2.5. (If not rightowner) Why did you move out from your previous neighborhood?  
(var14-17)

(var14) Economic reasons

- (1) High rents
- (2) Owned a flat in this neighborhood
- (9) No economic reason

(var15) Family reasons

- (1) Being far away from friends and relatives
- (2) Marriage
- (3) Other family reasons
- (9) No family reason

(var16) Environmental reasons

- (1) High rise and high density environment

- (2) Unclean and neglected environment
- (3) Difficulty in transportation
- (4) Lack of green areas
- (5) Inappropriateness for children
- (6) Inadequate neighbors
- (7) Noisy environment
- (8) Having a bad view
- (9) No environmental reason
- (var17) Reasons related to dwelling
  - (1) Insufficient size
  - (2) Poor organization of spaces
  - (3) Bad orientation
  - (4) Bad elevations
  - (5) Old house
  - (9) No reason related to dwelling

2.6. Why did you preferred to move in to this environment? (var18-21)

- (var18) Economic reasons
  - (1) Low rents
  - (2) Owned a flat in this neighborhood
  - (9) No economic reason
- (var19) Family reasons
  - (1) Inheritance
  - (2) Nearness to friends and relatives
  - (9) No family reason
- (var20) Environmental reasons
  - (01) In the vicinity of school and job
  - (02) Orderly and spacious environment
  - (03) Clean and well-kept environment
  - (04) Easy access to city center
  - (05) Well constructed green and open spaces
  - (06) Appropriate for children
  - (07) Distinguished neighbors
  - (08) Calm and relaxing environment
  - (09) Having a good view
  - (10) Living in the same neighborhood for a long time
  - (99) No environmental reason
- (var21) Reasons related to dwelling
  - (1) Appropriate floor
  - (2) Sufficient size and number of room
  - (3) Good space organization
  - (4) Appropriate orientation
  - (5) Pleasant elevations
  - (6) New home
  - (9) No reason related to dwelling

2.7. Do you own a house within Ankara or in another city? (var22) If yes, why do you prefer to live here? (var23-26)

- (var22) (1) Yes (2) No
- (var23) Economic reasons
  - (1) Low rents
  - (2) Owned a flat in this neighborhood
  - (9) No economic reason
  - (20) No other house
- (var24) Family reasons
  - (1) Inheritance
  - (2) Nearness to friends and relatives
  - (9) No family reason
  - (20) No other house
- (var25) Environmental reasons
  - (01) In the vicinity of school and job
  - (02) Orderly and spacious environment
  - (03) Clean and well-kept environment
  - (04) Easy access to the city center
  - (05) Well built green and open spaces
  - (06) Appropriate for children
  - (07) Distinguished neighbors
  - (08) Calm and relaxing environment
  - (09) Having a good view
  - (10) Living in the same neighborhood for a long time
  - (20) No other house
  - (98) The house is in another city ( summer house, etc.)
  - (99) No environmental reason
- (var26) Reasons related to dwelling
  - (1) Appropriate floor
  - (2) Sufficient size and number of room
  - (3) Good space organization
  - (4) Appropriate orientation
  - (5) Pleasant elevations
  - (6) New home
  - (9) No reason related to dwelling
  - (20) No other house

3.1. Have you done any change/changes in your dwelling? What kind? (var27) If not yet, what would you want to change if you had the opportunity? (var28)

- (var27) Changes
  - (1) We canceled WC and included it to other spaces
  - (2) We closed the balcony
  - (3) We enclosed the balcony and included it to interior
  - (4) We demolished the walls between the rooms
  - (5) We added walls to divide rooms
  - (6) We renewed semi-fixed fixtures
  - (7) We did not change anything

(var28) Desired changes

- (1) Cancel WC and include it to other spaces
- (2) Close the balcony
- (3) Enclose the balcony and include it to interiors
- (4) Demolished the walls between the rooms
- (5) Add walls to divide rooms
- (6) Renew semi-fixed fixtures
- (7) Will not change anything
- (8) We won't, since we are renter

3.2 Are you content with your dwelling? (var29)

- (1) Yes            (2) Partially            (3) No

3.3. Are you content with the arrangement of your environment? (var30)

- (1) Yes            (2) Partially            (3) No

3.4. Where do you obtain the needs indicated below within your neighborhood?  
(var31-38)

	Near environment (1)	Within the neighborhood (2)	City center (3)	No where (4)
(var31) Daily shopping				
(var32) Bulk shopping				
(var33) Cultural activities				
(var34) Entertainment				
(var35) Sports				
(var36) Education				
(var37) Health services				
(var38) Social activities				

3.5. Which of your habit/habits changed by moving to this neighborhood? (var39)

- (1) Daily shopping
- (2) Bulk shopping
- (3) Cultural activities
- (4) Entertainment
- (5) Sports
- (6) Education
- (7) Health services
- (8) Social activities
- (9) No change

3.6. How well do you know other families in your apartment? (var40) Who are your neighbors? (var41) Please indicate your meeting places and frequencies? (var42-44)

(var40) Acquaintance

- (1) Not acquainted
- (2) Having social interaction

(var41) Who are they?

- (1) New neighbors
- (2) Relatives, old friends and neighbors
- (9) No interaction

(var42) who, where?

	In transitional spaces	Open spaces	At home
	(1)	(2)	(3)
(1) New neighbors	(11)	(12)	(13)
(2) Relatives, old friends and neighbors	(21)	(22)	(23)
(9) No interaction			

(var43) Who, when?

	Everyday	A few days a week	Once a month	Rarely
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(1) New neighbors	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
(2) Relatives, old friends and neighbors	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)
(9) No interaction				

(var44) Where, when?

	Everyday	A few days a week	Once a month	Rarely
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
(1) In transitional spaces	(11)	(12)	(13)	(14)
(2) Open spaces	(21)	(22)	(23)	(24)
(3) At home	(31)	(32)	(33)	(34)
(9) No interaction				

3.7. Who do you think has the access for using the Culturepark? (var45)

- (1) Inhabitants of the Valley
- (2) Inhabitants of the near by neighborhoods
- (3) The whole city

3.8. (If righthowner) Did you have a private garden in your previous house? (var46-50)

If yes, for what purposes and how often did you use it? (Rightowners and new comers) For what purposes and how often do you use the Culturepark?(var51- 55)

Previous usage

Everyday	A few days a week	Once a month	Rarely	Didn't use	Did not have a garden previously
(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(9)	(99)

(var46) As playground

(var47) Resting

(var48) Sport activities

(var49) Meeting with friends

(var50) Vegetation

Today

	Everyday	A few days a week	Once a month	Rarely	Don't use
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(9)
(var51) As playground					
(var52) Resting					
(var53) Sport activities					
(var54) Meeting with friends					
(var55) Vegetation					

3.9. Is there anything that bothers you due to the constraints on your open air activities those you used to do in your previous environment and can not do here?

(var56)

- (1) Lack of gathering place
- (2) Lack of maintenance, service or management
- (3) Lack of security
- (4) Not being able to perform recreational activities
- (5) Not being able to perform functional activities
- (6) 2 and 5
- (7) I am not bothered

3.10. Are you familiar with the activities that take place in the Culture Bridge? What kind? (var57)

- (1) Residential
- (2) Commercial
- (3) Cultural
- (4) Entertainment
- (5) 1 and 2
- (6) 2 and 3
- (9) Don't know

3.11. (If new comer) Did you have any information about the Culture Bridge before moving to the Valley? (var58)

- (1) Yes
- (2) No

3.12. Did Culture Bridge have any influence on your decision? (var59)

- (1) Influenced
- (2) Not influenced
- (3) Already living here

3.13. Do you think Culture Bridge will affect your/your family's daily or social life after its completion? (var60-61)

(var60) Positive effect

- (1) Increase in land values
- (2) Heightened socio-economic status
- (3) Easy access to the other side of the Valley
- (4) Life becoming exciting in the Valley
- (5) We will use it
- (6) 4 and 5



(9) No effect

(var61) Negative effects

- (1) Crowding
- (2) Traffic problem
- (3) Feeling uncomfortable due to the high socio-economic status of the potential residents
- (4) Decrease in affordability
- (5) 3 and 4
- (9) No effect

3.13. Are you familiar with the constructions going on in the Municipality Service Areas? (var62)

- (1) Yes            (2) No

3.14. Do you think that the constructions on the Municipality Service Areas will affect your/your family's daily or social life after their completion? (var63-64)

(var63) Positive effect

- (1) Increase in land values
- (2) Heightened socio-economic status
- (3) Life becoming exciting in the Valley
- (9) No effect

(var64) Negative effects

- (1) Crowding
- (2) Traffic problem
- (3) Feeling uncomfortable due to the high socio-economic status of the potential residents
- (4) Decrease in affordability
- (5) High rise buildings disturbing the view
- (6) Uncomforted due to the changes in the initial of the project
- (7) 3 and 4
- (9) No effect

3.15. Are you familiar with the activities that take place in the other phases of Dikmen Valley? (var65)

- (1) Yes            (2) No

3.16. Do you think that the constructions on the other phases of the Valley will affect your/your family's daily or social life after completion? (var66-67)

(var66) Positive effect

- (1) Increase in land values
- (2) Heightened socio-economic status
- (3) Life becoming exciting in the Valley
- (4) Increase in the green areas and open spaces
- (9) No effect

(var67) Negative effects

- (1) Crowding
- (2) Traffic problem
- (3) Feeling uncomfortable due to the high socio-economic status of the potential residents
- (4) Decrease in affordability
- (5) High rise buildings disturbing the view
- (6) 3 and 4
- (9) No effect

3.17. Are you aware of the quality of the houses that are being constructed in the Valley?(var68) Who do you think purchase these houses? (var69) Do you think that the constructions on the Municipality Service Areas will affect your/your family's daily or social life after completion? (var70-71)

(var68) Quality

- (1) Ordinary houses
- (2) Luxury houses
- (3) Don't know

(var69) Who purchase?

- (1) People like us
- (2) People different from us (Rich people)
- (3) Don't know

(var70) Positive affect

- (1) Increase in land values
- (2) Heightened socio-economic status
- (3) Life becoming exciting in the Valley
- (9) No effect

(var71) Negative effects

- (1) Crowding
- (2) Traffic problem
- (3) Feeling uncomfortable due to the high socio-economic status of the potential residents
- (4) Decrease in affordability
- (5) High rise buildings disturb the view
- (6) Uncomfortable due to the changes in the initial of the project
- (7) 3 and 5
- (9) No effect

4.1. Are you content/happy to live here? (72)

- (1) Yes
- (2) Partially
- (3) No

4.2. Will you continue to live here? Why? (73)

- (1) Due to economic factors
- (2) Due to family factors
- (3) Due to environmental factors
- (4) Due to factors related to dwelling
- (5) Living here for a long time
- (6) 1 and 5

(9) Do not wish to continue to live here

4.3. Would you want to move out if you have better options? (74)

- (1) Due to the socio-economic status of the neighbors
- (2) Due to the problems related to dwelling
- (3) Due to decreasing affordability
- (4) Due to moving out old friends and neighbors
- (5) Due to the social pressure of status change
- (6) 3 and 4
- (9) Not wish to move out

4.4. What kind of an environment do you prefer to live? (75)

- (1) A high socio-economic status area
- (2) Calm and relaxing environment
- (3) Environment appropriate for growing up children
- (4) 1 and 2
- (5) In a gecekondü again
- (6) Close to old friends and neighbors
- (7) In a larger house
- (9) Here again

## APPENDIX C

### CROSS-TABULATIONS

**Table C.1 Results of the Cross Tabulation Related with the SES Indicators of Families**

VAR 1 Household size by VAR 9 Home ownership

Count VAR 1	VAR9 owner	renter	Row Total
1	5	20	25
1-2			41.7
2	12	10	22
3-4			36.7
3	14	6	13
5-+			21.7
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	22.18182	2	0.00002
Minimum Expected Frequency 6.5			

VAR 2 Family structure by VAR 9 Home ownership

Count VAR 2	VAR9 owner	renter	Row Total
1			37
nuclear family			61.7
2	15	2	17
extended family			28.3
3			60
not family		6	100
Column	30	30	
Total	50	50	

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	17.2655	2	0.00018
Minimum Expected Frequency 3.000			
Cells with Expected Frequency < 5 2 OF 6 (33.3%)			

VAR 7 Family income by VAR 9 Home ownership

Count VAR 7	VAR9 owner	renter	Row Total
1	10		10
-40			16.7
2	16	1	17
41-100			28.3
3	2	8	10
101-150			16.7
4	2	21	23
151-+			38.3
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	42.53095	3	0
Minimum Expected Frequency 5			

VAR 8 Car ownership by VAR 9 Home ownership

Count VAR 8	VAR9 owner	renter	Row Total
1	8	18	26
yes			43.3
2	22	12	34
no			56.7
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	6.78733	1	0.00918
Minimum Expected Frequency 13			

**Table C.2 Results of the Cross Tabulation Related with the Reasons for Preferring to Live in Dikmen Valley**

VAR 18 Economic reasons related with preference by VAR 9 Home ownership

Count	VAR9		Row Total
VAR 18	owner	renter	
1	1	2	3
low rents			5
2	29		29
owned a flat in this neig.			48.3
9	1	27	28
no economic reason			46.7
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	56.14286	2	0
Minimum Expected Frequency 1.5			
Cells with Expected Frequency < 5 2 OF 6 (33.3%)			

VAR 19 Family reasons related with preference by VAR 9 Home ownership

Count	VAR9		Row Total
VAR 19	owner	renter	
2	20	4	24
nearness to friends and relatives			40
9	10	26	36
no family reason			60
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	17.77778	1	0.00003
Minimum Expected Frequency 12			

VAR 20 Environmental reasons related with preference by Var 9 Home ownership

Count	VAR9		Row Total
VAR 20	owner	renter	
1	1	6	7
in the vicinity of school and job			11.7
2	8	24	32
having a good view			53.3
3	21		21
living in the same area for a long time			35
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	32.57143	2	0
Minimum Expected Frequency 3.5			

VAR 21 Reasons about dwelling related with preference by Var 9 Home ownership

Count	VAR9		Row Total
VAR 21	owner	renter	
2	1	9	10
sufficient size and number of room			16.7
6	1	6	7
new house			11.7
9	28	15	43
no reasons related with dwelling			71.7
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	13.90166	2	0.00096
Minimum Expected Frequency 3.5			

**Table C.3 Results of the Cross Tabulation Related with the Inhabitants' Daily Needs**

VAR 33 Cultural activities by  
Var 9 Home ownership

Count VAR 33	VAR9		Row Total
	owner	renter	
city center	3	4	29
no where	4	26	1
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	42.08754	1	0
Minimum Expected Frequency 13.5			

VAR 34 Entertainment by  
VAR 9 Home ownership

Count VAR 34	VAR9		Row Total
	owner	renter	
city center	3	4	29
no where	4	26	1
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	42.08754	1	0
Minimum Expected Frequency 13.5			

VAR 33 Social activities by Var 9 Home Ownership

Count	VAR9		Row Total
	owner	renter	
VAR 38		1	2
near environment	1	1	
within the neighborhood	2		1
city center	3	1	28
no where	4	28	1
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	52.27586	3	0
Minimum Expected Frequency 0.5			
Cells with Expected Frequency < 5 4 OF 8 (50%)			

**Table C.4 Results of the Cross Tabulation Related with the Social Interactions Among the Inhabitants of the Valley**

VAR40 Acquaintance by  
VAR 9 Home ownership

Count	VAR9		Row
VAR 40	owner	renter	Total
	1	2	
not acquainted	4	24	28
having regular social interaction	26	6	32
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	26.78571	1	0
Minimum Expected Frequency 14			

VAR41 Name of the neighbors by  
VAR9 Home ownership

Count	VAR9		Row
VAR 41	owner	renter	Total
	1	2	
relatives, old friends and neighbors	29	6	35
no interaction	1	24	25
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	36.27429	1	0
Minimum Expected Frequency 12.5			

VAR42 Who,Where by VAR 9 Home ownership

Count	VAR9		Row
VAR 42	owner	renter	Total
	1	2	
no interaction	1	24	25
relatives, old friends and neighbors in transitional spaces	2		2
relatives, old friends and neighbors in open spaces	2		2
relatives, old friends and neighbors at home	25	6	31
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	36.80516	3	0
Minimum Expected Frequency 1.0			
Cells with Expected Frequency < 5 4 OF 8 (50%)			

Table C.4 (continued)

VAR43 Who, When by VAR9 Home ownership

Count	VAR9		Row
VAR 43	owner	renter	Total
	1	2	
no interaction	9	24	25
relatives, old friends and neighbors everyday	21	8	41.7
relatives, old friends and neighbors in a few days a week	22	5	8
relatives, old friends and neighbors once a month	23	2	13.3
Column	30	30	23
Total	50	50	38.3

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	37.50783	3	0
Minimum Expected Frequency 2			
Cells with Expected Frequency < 5 4 OF 8 (50%)			

VAR44 Who,Where by VAR 9 Home ownership

Count	VAR9		Row
VAR 44	owner	renter	Total
	1	2	
no interaction	9	24	25
in open spaces, a few days a week	22	2	41.7
at home, everyday	31	10	2
at home, a few days a week	32	5	3.3
at home, once a month	33	1	10
Column	30	30	16.7
Total	50	50	18

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	38.51556	4	0
Minimum Expected Frequency 1.0			
Cells with Expected Frequency < 5 4 OF 10 (40%)			



**Table C.5 Results of the Cross Tabulation Related with the Time Lived in Dikmen Valley and Name of the Neighbors**

VAR 12 Time lived in Dikmen Valley by  
VAR 41 Name of the Neighbors

Count VAR 12	VAR41		Row Total
	relatives, old friends and neighbors	no inreaction	
less than 3 years	2	8	10
3-5	3	13	16
more than 5 years	1	3	4
Column	6	24	30
Total	20	80	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	0.07813	2	0.96169
Minimum Expected Frequency .800			
Cells with Expected Frequency < 5 4 OF 6 (66.7%)			

**Table C.6 Results of the Cross Tabulation Related with the Current Use of Culturepark and Complaints About Outdoor Spaces**

VAR 54 Meeting with friends by  
VAR 9 Home Ownership

Count VAR 54	VAR9		Row Total
	owner	renter	
a few days a week	1	2	3
	5	1	6
	8		8
once a month			13.3
	17	29	46
don't use			76.7
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	13.7971	2	0.00101
Minimum Expected Frequency 3			
Cells with Expected Frequency < 5 4 OF 6 (66.7%)			

VAR 56 Complaints about outdoor spaces by  
VAR 9 Home Ownership

Count VAR 2	VAR9		Row Total
	owner	renter	
lack of gathering place	1	3	4
	8		11
	20	15	35
lack of maintenance, service and management			25
	18		18
4 and 5			30
	4	12	16
I am not bothered			26.7
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	39.27273	3	0
Minimum Expected Frequency 5.5			

**Table C.7 Results of the Cross Tabulation Related with the Positive and Negative Effects of Culture Bridge**

VAR 60 Positive effects of the Culture Bridge by  
VAR 9 Home ownership

Count	VAR9		Row
VAR 54	owner	renter	Total
	1	2	
1	9		9
increase in land values			15
3	7	1	8
easy access to the other side of the Valley			13.3
6	6	28	34
4 and 5			56.7
9	8	1	9
no effect			15
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	33.179974	3	0
Minimum Expected Frequency 4			
Cells with Expected Frequency < 5 6 OF 8 (75%)			

VAR 61 Negative effects of the Culture Bridge  
VAR 9 Home ownership

Count	VAR9		Row
VAR 55	owner	renter	Total
	1	2	
1	10		10
crowding			16.7
5	10		10
3 and 4			16.7
9	10	30	40
no effect			66.7
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	30	2	0
Minimum Expected Frequency 5			

**Table C.8 Results of the Cross Tabulation Related with the Positive and Negative Effects of the New Constructions Going on in the Municipality Service Areas (MSA)**

VAR 63 Positive effects of the new constructions going in the MSA by VAR 9 Home ownership

Count VAR 63	VAR9 owner	renter	Row Total
	1	2	
1 increase in land values	15		15
3 heightened socioeconom ic status	2	7	9
9 no effect	13	23	36
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	20.55556	2	0.00003
Minimum Expected Frequency 4.5			

VAR 64 Negative effects of the new constructions going in the MSA by VAR 9 Home ownership

Count VAR 64	VAR9 owner	renter	Row Total
	1	2	
1 crowding	5	2	7
2 traffic problem	1	4	5
5 high rise buildings disturbing the view	1	2	3
6 uncomfort due to changes in the initial	10	1	11
7 3 and 4	12		12
9 no effect	1	21	22
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	40.9645	5	0
Minimum Expected Frequency 1.5			

**Table C.9 Results of the Cross Tabulation Related with the Positive and Negative Effects of the Other Phases of the Project**

VAR 66 Positive effects of the Other Phases by  
VAR 9 Home ownership

Count VAR 66	VAR9		Row Total
	owner	renter	
1	7	2	7
increase in land values			11.7
3	1	13	14
life becoming exciting in the Valley			23.3
4	4	3	7
green areas and open spaces			11.7
9	18	14	32
no effect			53.3
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	17.92857	3	0.00046
Minimum Expected Frequency 3.5			
Cells with Expected Frequency < 5 4 OF 8 (50%)			

VAR 67 Negative effects of the other phases by  
VAR 9 Home ownership

Count VAR 67	VAR9		Row Total
	owner	renter	
1	5	1	6
crowding			10
5	6		6
3 and 4			10
9	19	29	48
no effect			80
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	10.75	2	0.00463
Minimum Expected Frequency 3			
Cells with Expected Frequency < 5 4 OF 6 (66.7%)			

**Table C.10 Results of the Cross Tabulation Related with the Positive and Negative Effects of the Other Houses That Are Being Constructed in the Valley**

VAR 70 Positive effects of the other houses by  
VAR 9 Home ownership

Count VAR 70	VAR9		Row Total
	owner	renter	
1	15		15
increase in land values			25
3	1	11	12
heightened socioeconomic status			20
9	14	19	33
no effect			55
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	24.09091	2	0.00001
Minimum Expected Frequency 6			

VAR 71 Negative effects of the other houses by  
VAR 9 Home ownership

Count VAR 71	VAR9		Row Total
	owner	renter	
1	4	2	6
crowding			10
7	24		24
3 and 4			40
9	2	28	30
no effect			50
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	47.2	2	0
Minimum Expected Frequency 3			
Cells with Expected Frequency < 5 2 OF 6 (33.3%)			

**Table C.11 Results of the Cross Tabulation Related with the Inhabitants' Projections About Wishing to Continue to Live in the Valley**

VAR 73 The Inhabitants' projections about wish to continue to live in the Valley by  
VAR 9 Home ownership

Count VAR 73	VAR9		Row Total
	owner	renter	
	1	2	
1	6	3	9
due to economic factors			15
3		13	13
due to environmental factors			21.7
6	12		12
1 and 5			20
9	12	14	26
do no wish to continue to live			43.3
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	26.15385	3	0.00001
Minimum Expected Frequency 5 2 OF 8 (25%)			

**Table C.12 Results of the Cross Tabulation Related with the Inhabitants' Projections About Wishing to Move out from the Valley in the Case of Having Better Options**

VAR 74 The Inhabitants' projections about wish to move out from the Valley by  
VAR 9 Home ownership

Count VAR 74	VAR9		Row Total
	owner	renter	
	1	2	
1		12	12
due to socioeconomic status of the neighbors			20
2		2	2
due to problems related with the dwelling			3.3
5	12		12
3 and 4			20
9	18	16	34
do no wish to move out from the Valley			56.7
Column	30	30	60
Total	50	50	100

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	26.11765	3	0.00001
Minimum Expected Frequency 1			
Cells with Expected Frequency < 5 2 OF 8 (25%)			

**Table C.13 Results of the cross tabulation related with the inhabitants' preferred/ideal environment**

VAR 75 The Inhabitants' preferred environment to live in by  
VAR 9 Home ownership

Count VAR 75	VAR9		Row Total
	owner	renter	
	1	2	
a high socioeconomic status area	2	20	22
1 and 2	4	2	36.7
in a "gecekondü" again	5	9	2
close to old friends and neighbors	6	7	3.3
in a large house	7	5	9
here	9	7	15
Column	30	30	7
Total	50	50	11

Chi-Square	Value	DF	Significance
Pearson	35.39394	5	0
Minimum Expected Frequency 1			
Cells with Expected Frequency < 5 8 OF 12 (66.7%)			