THE EFFECTS OF PROPERTY RELATIONS ON URBAN RENEWAL PROJECT

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Abstract

The concept of property, since the beginning of its existence, has played a fundamental role in social life both in physical and moral aspects. That is the point where the issue becomes that much important. In Turkey especially for the last 40 years there has been a massive migration from the rural areas to the urban ones. In parallel with this rapid urbanization, it has been reported by the DIE (State Statistics Institution) that Turkey’s population increase rates are expected to decrease gradually and by the 2050’s the total population is expected to reach and stabilize as 100 million people. This projection of a stable population structure, government policies aligned with this projection, for example issues taken into the agenda like the renewal of the “gecekondu” areas within the next 10 years; these are all some certain clues for the forthcoming stabilization of the urban improvement and future significance of the concept “urban renewal”. For this reason the research will focus on the concept “property” which is an effective factor in the urban renewal projects.

It has not been possible to speak of a rational policy of planning that has been followed in our country so far. This lack of planning reflects to the cities under the impact of governmental disorganizations. The lack of experience that our country has faced in city government and planning has led to acute consequences for our cities. These outcomes can be outlined as illegal constructions, scatter areas, failure in the preservation of cultural heritage and even its disappearance, birth of unhealthy urban systems, the problems in transportation and traffic, and the problems caused by unbalanced urban growth and faulty selection of settlements.

Such problems as experienced especially in big cities and metropolises show the importance of urban renewal and the need for it. The fundamental idea behind this study is the necessity
to stop the process of urban decay that we face as the problem of big cities and metropolises, and to find solutions. In this respect, this study focuses on the opportunities and approaches of urban renewal in Ankara, where the process of urban decay is being experienced very speedily and acutely.

Introduction

The process of urban renewal continues under more complex conditions in comparison with many other countries. It would be right to search for the reason of this in the socio-cultural, economic, and legal-government identities of our country. Especially the process of immigration to cities that broke out in 1950s is the main reason underlying all the urban problems. It is unfortunate that Turkey has not been able to pursue a policy of planned population and urban development. It has not been possible to form a policy of urban development neither with five-year development plans nor with regional and city plans. The laws and governmental system have influenced this negative process and resulted in the rise of urban problems. Lack of supervision, which is one of the fundamentals of governmental systems, and the construction exemptions that have passed in the parliament have had the primary roles in making illegal constructions legal in our country.

Another factor that has been influential in bringing the concept of urban renewal to the agenda in our country is the phenomenon of earthquake. Especially the Marmara quake in 1999 made many people understand the degree of seriousness of the quake factor in big cities. This condition depicted the drawbacks of unhealthy constructions strikingly; and in this way, the importance of urban transformation has always been kept on the agenda. Although urban renewal is not a new concept for our country, the principles of renewal have not been discussed fully yet and there has been no compromise on this issue. It is also observed that there have been no sanctions from the perspective of law and government. Hence, this study looks at the present condition of urban renewal in our country. In this respect, in one hand, the government structure of our country and the present laws are reviewed; on the other hand, the planning dimension of renewal in our country is focused on.
The Conceptual Expression of the Phenomenon of Urban Renewal

Once the meaning of the phenomenon of urban renewal has been looked on, it is possible to find various concepts of renewal. According to one definition, renewal is the process that makes it possible to change the old and decayed parts of cities in time and renew them in line with the socio-economic conditions of the time (Atalık, 1985). In other words, urban renewal is defined as planning the cities in order to redesign and suit them to the necessities of our time (Hasol, 1998).

As can be seen, a dynamism, as expressed with terms such as change, transformation and regeneration, constitutes the essence of the concept of urban renewal. On the basis of these definitions, it is possible to define urban renewal – with its most general definition – as “the action of changing, regenerating and redesigning the old and decayed tissue of a city and its infrastructure in parallel to today’s socio-economic and physical conditions by means of a strategic approach formed according to social and economic programs.

Phenomenon of Urban Renewal in European Countries

It is known that Europe has had a great contribution to the birth and development of urban renewal. Especially during the post-war period, redesign of the destroyed cities after the Second World War, restoration of the rich cultural heritage which had been destroyed and the obligation of regenerating the economically-decayed areas with their new functions all proved the importance of the concept of urban renewal; and in this way, this issue started to be discussed by related groups. It is known that the first urban renewal actions started with the clearance of the slums in 1950s, known as the nests of poverty (Andersen, 1999). In 1956, Leo Grabler published his research on the reconstruction of the cities which were bombed during the war in Western Europe (Dieffendor, 1989). In 1960s, it was witnessed that there was also a huge investment in housing, which guided the private sector’s investments to the rehabilitation of houses (Andersen, 1999).

In 1980s, there was a new and unexpected urban renewal issue which originated in big social housing areas. The problems which were faced in such areas resulted in technical faults, and the social chaos compelled the public authorities to interfere with the problem. This experience required the authorities to make changes with an understanding which aimed at
solving the social and physical problems at settlements simultaneously so that they can be sustainable (Andersen, 1999). In mid-1980s, a great many scientific studies were carried out on reconstructing all over Europe. In 1981, the European Council started a campaign called “urban renewal”. However, since this term meant knocking down a building and reconstructing it and since it caused anxiety, the name of the campaign was changed to “Urban Renaissance” (Çubuk, 1995). The aims of the campaign can be given under four headings:

1. Improvement of the living conditions in cities.
2. Definition and discussion of present and future roles of cities.
3. Application of available laws and obtaining new legal supports to improve the city life.
4. Development of managerial and technical methods related to solving the city problems.

The comparative studies carried out on the reformation of the housing areas and urban renewal in Western Europe were strengthened with the establishment of the working group called “urban renewal and housing rehabilitation”, which was founded after the conference organized by European Network for Housing Research-ENHR in September 1993, in Budapest. Also, the conference which was held in April 1994 and then the ones held in Glasgow in August and September contributed a lot to these efforts (Elander, 1995).

As can be seen, the regeneration of the urban area was one of the fundamental goals of the governments in Western Europe in 1990s. The experience of Western Europe in urban renewal depicts the following perspective once reviewed in a chronological order.

**Urban Renewal Strategies**

Urban renewal requires a strategic approach. The functions expected from a renewal area in the future are to be determined in line with the strategies to be developed for a particular area. The renewal strategies which are developed independently from the other strategies related to an area will lead to a failure for the local governments and their partners who collaborate with them in renewal applications. The renewal strategies that are not supported by such strategies and have no application in practice cannot be expected to be successful. New Jersey and London can be shown as good examples for this. Urban settlements can be resembled to
organisms which continue to exist by changing and transforming as required by their nature. However, it does not seem possible for various branches of science to monitor, guide, and limit this change and transformation and then to realize it in a collaborative relation that they will organize at the local and central levels. The characteristics and needs of every urban sub-region determine the method to be used. On the basis of the idea of evaluating each city’s present construction potential, specific identity, and population, such methods help us to gain back the cities successfully which are undergoing a period of decline. The most important step in creating sustainable cities, which is often stressed in the process of accession to European Union, can be taken by gaining back the decayed regions of available urban areas. In this step, the main purpose is to overcome lack of urbanization and to provide the city dwellers with better, more quality and healthier environment to live in; and in order to do this, using the available stock in hand is of prime importance. In this process, planning seems to be an important task. It would be possible to keep urban transformations and renewal under control only through realizing them in a planned way. In this respect, the most important thing is to determine primarily the principles and policies of urban transformation and renewal. The principles and policies determined at local and central levels differ from each other in certain points. Under these policies there must be other policies and principles relating to the areas which have special importance with respect to their different qualities and functions.

Urban renewal strategies must be perceived together with the whole urban area and designed with high level decisions; and therefore they must offer the opportunity to form integrated renewal policy parameters. When we approach this issue by giving examples from European countries, it is then possible to talk about three basic strategies (Andersen, 1999).

1. General Strategy of Improvement of Housing

These are strategies which are typically characteristic of Austria, Denmark and Sweden, which have highly general housing improvement policies. They own few central regulations on which housing areas to be renewed and how it will be done. The local governments are in charge of such issues in Denmark and Austria, but in Sweden it is in the responsibility of land owners. In these countries, it is known that strategies are fully in line with the general housing policies.
2. The Strategy of Powerful Central Priorities

England and France, in particular, are the countries which adopted this strategy. Also, Norway and Ireland show similarities to these two countries. It is known that all these countries have developed complex systems involving various programs directed at the selected parts of housing stock. Especially in Norway and England, it is a striking fact that housing is viewed as a private asset rather than public. In most of these countries, particularly in England and France, there seem to be physical problems regarding old housing stock. However, in Norway and England, the reasons of this issue are to do with the lack of sources being used and the low level of support.

3. The Strategy of Limited Participation by Central Government

The programs are rather limited in Switzerland and Germany in particular. Apart from the urban renewal program in Germany, where urban reconstruction is aimed at rather than the rehabilitation of the housing areas, an indirect interference is a rule. Local governments seem to have a great impact regarding this issue. Germany is a country which supports every kind of investment in housing with special tax aids. For this reason, there is little need for indirect interference. It would be correct to approach this issue by giving the vision and strategy of Birmingham for 200-2001 since it is accepted as one of the most successful examples among the urban renewal applications. According to a report prepared by Housing Consultancy Team of Birmingham Municipality Council, the vision and strategies of the city can be listed as follows (Birmingham City Council Housing Department, 2000):

- To increase the number of clean and convenient houses for available and potential customers.
- To provide adequate housing in order to support Birmingham’s economic and social reconstruction during the next 20 years.
- To encourage the partners to contribute to the development of strategic targets by managing and coordinating the investments based on the agreed goals.
- To enable the development of a balance between the local and regional housing markets, sustainable societies, and social participation.
- To help the effective and competent management and continuity of available housing in line with modern expectations and best value.
As can be seen, the strategies that the city of Birmingham has determined for a period of 20 years can be summarized as social, economic, environmental and design strategies.

Selection of the Urban Renewal Application Method

Following the announcement of an area as the urban renewal area, a vision of the place which will determine its future function and identity must be formed by considering that area’s physical, socio-economic and local conditions. The method of application to be selected has to be of a kind that will help to reach the targets anticipated by this vision.

It does not seem possible to realize change and transformation by means of a single method. Based on the fact that a city’s present housing potential and original identity must be evaluated together with its living population, the characteristics and needs of every urban sub-region do help in gaining back the cities which are undergoing a process of decline.

Behind each successful renewal model, which is often observed in European countries and the U.S.A., there seem to be a strong government, effective entrepreneurship of the local governments, a rational program that offers guidance on the method to be followed, a plan with definite targets, a strong and effective finance mechanism, and a conscious mass of people. With reference to the issues discussed so far and by getting lessons out of them, the central and local governments in our country, which are organized and gain effectiveness in the course of time, must accept that discipline in planning is a means in the direction of development of unique principles and policies for urban settlements.

The Experiences of Turkey in Urban Renewal

From the past up to now, Turkey carries a characteristic of a country which has been a stage of highly rapid socio-economic, cultural and space transformations. These transformations are reflected to the urban spaces under the influence of political conditions. Therefore, it is not easy to carry out the transformation process in our cities which are full of rich cultural heritage but which suffer from the pressure of illegal and unhealthy constructions. In spite of this, the concept of transformation and the phenomenon of urban renewal have started to be discussed as a result of the earthquake factor. It is also to be stressed that there are not many big-sized and multi-dimensional urban renewal experiences in
our country. On the other hand, the private sector has not had any serious interest in urban renewal so far either. The private sector owns the viewpoint of reaching the maximum profit in the shortest time. They are not much interested in long-term interests and projects.

Dikmen Valley Urban Renewal Project

Dikmen Valley Project is one of the multi dimensional urban renewal projects and is an important component of the Ankara metropolitan area cultural and recreational system. A study for the project has started by October 1989, and is still continuing. This project is the biggest squatter settlement renewal project. In this valley there were 2000 squatter dwellings and approximately 10000 people had lived.

The major objectives of the project are defined as;
- To maintain cultural, recreational, commercial and social center which will serve the whole city and become a well planned contemporary urban part of the city,
- To generate a green corridor including open and recreational areas which make important contributions to elimination of the inadequacy of open and green spaces in Ankara,
- To provide healthy and high quality housing areas with upgraded urban technical and social infrastructure by using basically self financing mechanisms and participatory planning approaches,
- To identify all the stake-holders and to give them right to participate in processes of the project as they are influenced from this change directly or indirectly,
- To operate public private sector collaboration.

The Ankara Greater Municipality has designed an inter organizational collaboration model. Metropol İmar Joint Stock Company has been established by the local governments as a jointly owned company in order to take care of the project preparation and urban management processes. The reason behind this collaboration is that problems in the valley require the resources of several stakeholders - those individuals, groups and organizations, because they are directly affected by actions of the others. (Kovanci, P. 1996)
Figure 1. Location of Valleys in Ankara.

About 2200 squatters existed in the valley. About 1500 of these squatters were built before 1985 over either public or private land. They benefited from the 1985 Amnesty Law for unlicensed constructions and therefore constitute the figure for which the Municipality has to consider resettlement in the project area.

The people presently living in the valley shall benefit from a general upgrading of their living conditions. For the people who lives on the two side of the valley, the project will create a beautiful front yard. They will provide by new urban facilities in their immediate vicinity. The valley has a very rigid barrier between two sides where two different income groups are settled. This severe segregation of social groups is further aggravated by the total lack of any physical spatial means of connection.

At the beginning the stakeholders did not want to participate to the renewal schema, because for about 40 years the municipality wanted to remove the inhabitants from there. But after a while they assured that the municipality now consider their situation and tries to establish a schema that they can profit from it. So mostly of them participated.
In the structuring process, the project management company has designed the plans and the programs. The project management company formed brochures which describe the project are being distributed to the valley dwellers. Under these circumstances valley dwellers have established cooperatives. Leaders of cooperatives have been representing the dwellers. They discuss and make decisions with the members of the municipality. For example dwellers have given petitions to the municipality about the under organization of the institutions during the demolition of the houses.

“For the people who constructed their squatters before 1985 legally deserved a housing unit and they joined the schema. But the organization did not ignore the tenants and the people who built their squatters after 1985 and municipality prepared a plot with infrastructure in another part of Ankara for those people to build their own dwellings. As a result of housing policy of social democratic party, housing units in the project are planned according to the real necessity instead of luxury consumption. And for financing of the squatter dwellings rehabilitation some commercial units around the valley and culture bridge in the middle of the valley are planned.” (Ozbay, A. 1992, p.68)

Metropol İmar Joint Stock company established with a collaboration of municipality, stakeholders and developers, but after a while 99% of the company is owned by the municipality. So one of the objective of the project that is participation now seems to be lost.
The 1/1000 scale development plan approved by the City Council have determined the type of developments in the Dikmen Valley. The table shows the distribution of land among different uses.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>USE</th>
<th>AREA (ha)</th>
<th>%</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Housing</td>
<td>22.99</td>
<td>14.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Education</td>
<td>3.46</td>
<td>2.18</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Health</td>
<td>0.93</td>
<td>0.59</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Commerce &amp; Services</td>
<td>7.69</td>
<td>4.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Green &amp; Services</td>
<td>103.49</td>
<td>65.26</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Roads</td>
<td>20.02</td>
<td>12.62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>158.58</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1. Land use in Dikmen Valley Project.

About 18 ha. of the area is the first application zone. The housing units line the Valley in two directions. One extending parallel to Yukarı Ayrancı, Hışdere Avenue and the other to Dikmen Avenue. There are eight apartment complexes. Two in the Yukarı Ayrancı section named Kardelen, Açelya, Yasemin. There are different numbers of housing blocks in each complex; 4 in Kardelen, 4 in Yasemin, 3 in Açelya, 2 in İğde, 5 in Palmiye, 3 in İtr, 5 in Kayın and 3 in İlgın. There are two housing units at each blocks are 7-story each. The construction of 404 housing units, 178 are the original settlers of the area (44.06%), 134 are rented (33.17%), 9 had been sold to people from other parts of the city (2.23%), 66 are owned by the municipality (16.34%), 12 dwelling units are vacant (2.97%).

404 housing units had been built by Met-Ok JS Company, Dikmen Bridge and housing towers had been built by Günel İnşaat JS Company, 1. and 2. regional road, infrastructure had been built by Özgü İnşaat Company.

Despite many significant goals, objectives, and positive instruments of the project preparation and urban management aspects, today the continuing process is quite different from planned and desired process. The most important indicator is the high rise and high density residential uses and the increased supply of luxury housing for speculative purposes. These speculative purposes have changed the general planned framework of the project. This attitude also leads to a disintegration between existing housing pattern and planned residential areas. The project
area has returned to be a speculative housing site in the urban land market since a new administration was elected in 1994 (Kovancı, P. 1996).

**Portakal Çiçeği Valley Urban Renewal Project**

Portakal Çiçeği Valley is an area approximately 11 hectares, situated in the proximity of high income residential areas, modern shopping centers and embassy buildings in Ankara. The valley is at the southern and highest point of Ankara. The valley is at the southern and highest point of Ankara and joins a series of valleys, that are Dikmen Valley, Seğmenler Park, Botanik Garden. In respect of the area Portakal Çiçeği is the second largest valley in the region.

The first parcellation plan for Portakal Çiçeği Valley was made in 1950. Treasury had owned almost all the valley before this plan. According to this plan, private ownership had been increased. Increasing private ownership had encouraged speculative activities. Before the project nearly two people who bought the land for the speculative aims owned one quarter of the valley.

After 1950s by the rapid urbanization, many squatter housings appeared in the valley. In 1970s the number of squatter settlements reached to a maximum number. Then with the increasing land values and by the high income families, who started to settle down around the valley. It caused squatter settlement reduction. Luckily, because of the existing of the squatter houses private landowners did not build any buildings. And then landowners waited with a greater speculative aim, only people around the valley used their development rights.

In 1985, all construction rights were cancelled and the whole valley was designated as green area. However, this plan could not be implemented because of lack of financial funds of the Municipality to effort the expropriation costs and the lack of an alternative model to solve this problem. (Gokbulut, O. 1995).

Implementation of the conventional compulsory purchase was impossible for Portakal Çiçeği Valley. So instead of this conventional model the new contemporary model should be the sharing of the profits that comes from the project, and it is implemented in this project. Portakal Çiçeği Urban Development Project is one of the green area projects of the
municipality. Public and private partnership had tried to be established by project management and land development. Also the model of this project is planned to be a self-financing model.

In 1991, Portaş Joint Stock Company was established. Portaş had an organization of land development, project management and urban renewal. 49% of the equity is owned by the Municipality, the remaining 51% of the shares are owned by the developer and the people possessing land in the area and participating in the project, no single shareholders has a full majority. The simplified project process table is given below.

The success of the project depends on the consensus among different interest groups. Therefore, the realization of this project involved a very long negotiation period. The participating groups have different expectations about the project. The municipality would like to create a contemporary cultural commercial center and high quality housing and infrastructure in the valley. And also municipality mainly wanted to implement the project without any compulsory purchases and without investing big capital.
The landowners wanted to share the profits that come from the project, and being in the administration of the Project Company. The developer would be involved in realizing such a prestigious, profitable, complex urban project without investing a big capital and without taking great risks. Squatter dwellers have no legal rights and lived in an unhealthy environment so they wanted to get lots in the planned area. City dwellers wanted to obtain more green areas, abolishment of the unwholesome infrastructure conditions in the area.

The meetings with the landowners organized by the entrepreneur, planners and project managers showed the importance of the collaboration to obtain positive and constructive solutions from the project. It took eight months to reach a consensus among these different interest groups.

“Three significant opportunities were provided for those squatter dwellers, without making any difference between tenants and house owners. First of all 250 m² lots were provided with complete infrastructure in the Karapürçe. The 1/10 of the cost was to be paid in advance and the rest would be paid in installment within 10 years. Also sample design projects and building permits given to them. Secondly, costs of demolition of their houses were immediately paid to them. Lastly, the squatter dwellers were allowed to retain their wreckage. They moved to their new houses in 20 days”. (Gokbulut, O. p.75, 1995).
The expenses of project expenditures would be covered by the contractors. All the investment up to then had been covered by the investor. The rents would be distributed to the shareholders according to their shares. In other words the rents would be taken from the constructor in return for flats. This profit would also be distributed to the shareholders. The estimated cost of the project in 1993 was 45 million USD.

At the beginning landowners did not want to collaborate but after the negotiations, landowners confidence had been strengthened and following basic principles of this negotiation established, and only two big landowners did not participated;

- None of the landowners neither the municipality nor the persons allocated any funds for the realization of the project, that is, the project would create its own funds,  
- Treating each square meter of all the lots in the valley equally, disregarding their location and any development right granted them in the past.  
- Reducing the development ratio in the valley, however, compensating the loss of the landowners by creating an environment with high urban standards and high quality constructions.  
- Maintaining 80% of the valley as a green area.  
- A broad of directors and auditing committee will be made up of the developer, representative of the landowners and the members of the municipality.
• The property will be allocated to the shareholders through a points system according to the Law of Apartment Ownership. For this allocation, priority of the points from the smallest shares. The profit of Portaş will be distributed according to the percentage of the shares that are in proportion with the size of the lots.

• The landowners will receive a share from the gross area of buildings corresponding to 0.50 of their lots plus a share from the corporate profit.

• The realization of a cultural and commercial center to be open public usage.

This project had been designed with a flexible and dynamic design approach. General objectives of the design are; (Goksu, F. 1994)

• At least 70% of the valley will be planned as green activities,
• Natural water flow will be preserved,
• Green spaces will be planned to meet the recreative needs of Ankara citizens,
• The landscape design at the green space should be suitable for improving climate of Ankara positively, such as arboretum, threes of Ankara etc.
• There will be a building (that is Ansera), which serves as a landmark,
• In Ansera there will be commercial and socio-cultural activities,
• Housing blocks will be luxury and will contain indoor car parks, swimming pools squash saloon, etc.
• Transportation system will be integrative to the existing structures,
• Urban image points such as squares, urban terraces, valley entrances, urban water falls, Urban stairs, etc. will be stressed in the project,
• General parking lots and urban infrastructures will be provided,
• Project will not only consider the project area, it will also tries to consider its surrounding.

Three construction firms took the implementation of the project, one for construction of building blocks, one for construction of landscape and one for construction of Ansera culture and commerce center. The construction was begun in 1992. The construction would be 130-160 m² in the valley. 55 new dwelling units would be built in three apartment blocks and a few low rise apartment blocks would be distributed to the landowners, municipality and constructor.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>OWNER</th>
<th>NUMBER OF LOTS</th>
<th>NUMBER OF SHARTES</th>
<th>AREA M2</th>
<th>AREA M2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Municipality</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>58.753</td>
<td>53</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private Person</td>
<td>41</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>46.398</td>
<td>42.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Treasury</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>2.334</td>
<td>2.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>İş Bankası</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>3.694</td>
<td>3.0</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>111</td>
<td>111.179</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


“The financing of the project wanted to be a self-financing one. But even for the self-financing projects there is a need for starting budget. In this project, until Portaş established the Developer Company accepted to cover all the expenses. After Portaş established, total 1,090,000 USD expenses had been covered by the housing blocks Constructor Company and the rest of the expenses had been covered by the foreign loans”. (Goksu, F. p.79, 1994).

The project faced with vast reactions. The Chambers of Architects was applied to the court and present plot ratio area changed from 1,20 to 0,60. After that reduction all the shares in the company changed but the promises to the squatter owners, tenants and landowners stayed still. Before the 1994 elections the entrepreneur sold his share to the municipality, so he guaranteed his future about the project. Also private shareholders transferred their shares to municipality and got their title deeds. So all the shares of the firm owned by the municipality. The project continued at the new municipal administration period.

**GEÇAK Urban Renewal Project**

Geçak has been proposed by the Municipality of Çankaya for solving the squatter housing problem. A model of building cooperative was supported. Cooperatives were to solve the problems between property owners with share differences. This project was put into application to be terminated on 25. 7. 1993.

Geçak Project was developed with three basic principles:

- To preserve the squatters in their existing locations;
- To change the urban structure;
- Organization of the squatters in cooperatives.
In this project the cooperatives and the municipality are the two parties coming face to face in all project discussions. Later a protocol was signed between the Municipality of Çankaya and The Union of Building Cooperatives of Ankara Squatter Improvement on the Existing Location on 4 March 1994.

Figure 7. GEÇAK Renewal Project  Figure 8. GEÇAK Renewal Project.

The GEÇAK project has been applied in four different areas of intervention;

1. The old developed areas. (30-40 years residents). These parcels of land would be transferred to the municipality. And then the dwellers organized in cooperatives. The residents become owners of housing units in the same locations. Every squatter would own a dwelling unit. The municipality would have land for the public services. Koza Street is an example to this type of application of GEÇAK. In 1990, 90 housing units have been built, 600 more will be added soon.

2. GEÇAK is applied to improvement areas. The properties of the squatters in improvement areas are divided into shares with the municipality. There can be 3-4 shares on a 800-1000 m² plot of land. The municipality of Çankaya applies GEÇAK in order to solve these problems. The Municipality gathers the parcels and encourages people to organize in cooperatives. The examples of this type of application are in Huzur, Yıldız, Cevizlidere and Çukurca.

3. A third application is in the squatter housing areas. Improvement plans have been applied as in Karapınar, Gökkuşağı, Şehitler, Ata Neighborhoods. The municipality gathers the parcels and urges people to organize in cooperatives. The municipality has accelerated its 1/1000 plan revision in order to transform these projects in the scale of parcels. This process becomes more difficult than the previous two. This can be done with the help of cooperatives.
4. The last GEÇAK area is the developed neighborhoods with low rate of urbanization. These neighborhoods do not fit to a contemporary urban structure. Cooperatives are seen as the only way of improving these areas.

Process of the GEÇAK Project;

- First, the projects are all large-scale projects. (2000 housing units.)
- Secondly, they work with big housing contractors like TEPE and MESA.
- Thirdly, they develop citizen participation in project evaluation within a system of cooperatives.
- Fourthly, they give 90-100m² houses. They satisfy the needs of people to make them live in a contemporary environment.
- Fifth, They consider the social aspects of planning and this is reflected on the area with the help of cooperatives. For instance in Dikmen Valley Project the basic aim, creating a green area, improvement of the squatter houses was an auxiliary aim. Dikmen Valley project lack of this consider social aspects.
- Sixth, They try to give houses to the participants. In other word the dwelling unit which will be sold to a person mostly from another income group by a contractor and the dwelling unit of the squatter will be close to each other, sometimes in the same apartment block. This will prevent ghetoization.
- Lastly, they do not think that project participants will sell their houses. Because they have made a lot of meetings, 2-3 times a week in order to make these people devoted to this area.

Occasionally, all squatters in the project areas are willing to participate. There are one or two people who did not accept to be organized in a cooperative. These people were relocated in an improvement area by the municipality.

As a matter of fact, squatter housing areas appear to be most problematic areas. transition areas show different characteristics from squatter housing areas.

1. They compose of apartment blocks rather than 1-2 storey houses, in this respect their renewal is more difficult.
2. Their populations can not be organized easily.
3. There are different values, therefore, those areas are not easy to manage under an administrative structure.

High-rise buildings constructed through build-and-sell type of housing. On the other hand, squatter housing areas were created with the aim of owning a shelter, transform to be areas of rent with the entrance of build-and-sell of construction into the area. In fact, housing is a basic need. It becomes the subject of speculation.

As a result, our examples shows; the local governmental action can channel the benefits of growth and the costs of decline in a renewal project. Common characteristics of our examples are all the projects initiated by a local government. The renewal process mostly depend upon the spatial displacement of lower-income. This relocation process is caused reactions in most of the examples. And the projects, where the community participation realized successfully, these reactions could be minimized. Participation, decentralization, localization and civil societies are very important in contemporary transformation process of cities. Within this perspective urban renewal project appear with their predetermined problems and participants directly intervening into the process.

And other important factors, the definition of target population became an important topic in urban renewal. All of the successful examples have planned for local interest groups. But, huge relocation of poor people create a tension within the city.

**Results, Assessment, and Suggestions**

As a result of the immigration from the rural areas to the cities in 1950s, the issue of housing took its place on the agenda in Turkey. Unfortunately, there have not been any effective control, lasting solutions, and stable policies up to now against the population who tend to try to solve this problem on their own.

The construction exemptions given one after another made the problem even worse. Especially in big cities which are prone to a great deal of immigration, lack of planning that is commonly observed led to the increase in the number of unhealthy city areas. It must be accepted that it is a contradiction to suffer from lack of spaces for housing in contrast to this
so-called unhealthy construction stock. The lack of housing space within a city leads city governments to supplying such areas in the outer parts of the cities, and the investors tend to realize their investments in such places.

The new life-style that this approach imposes on cities can be summarized as living in healthy, clean and modern houses within green environment far from the city. As well as the advantages, such a life-style also brings about disadvantages such as transportation, density in traffic, additional air-pollution that the traffic density would cause, loss of time and effort, and cost of transport.

Since 1940s, the local governments in both the U.S.A. and European countries have been renewing their cities by means of improving and regenerating the city centers. They have been doing this by forming strong social and economic programs, but not only as physical renewal. As part of the research, in order to show objectively the capacities, infrastructures, and the views of the local governments regarding urban renewal in our country, a field study was carried out in Izmir-Konak and Ankara-Çankaya municipalities. The results obtained from this field study can be summarized as follows:

- At least two of the problems, such as loss of the identity, declining economic vitality, unqualified physical environments, unhealthy housing and environmental problems which all necessitate urban renewal, seem to be dominating in almost all settlements.
- The units in local governments seem to perceive urban renewal as an application of a small-sized classic housing plan. According to them, renewal is an application of increasing the number of areas for facilities, constructing modern roads, and solving the problems of infrastructure.
- The units in local governments are in general inexperienced in creating alternative financial sources for urban renewal, and they are unable to make any effort to overcome the lack of such sources, which they show as the main reason behind their failure in renewal applications. One of the biggest negative sides in urban renewal is that not enough personnel who are expert in the field of urban renewal are employed by the local government to work in their units. However, this seems to be an important problem that must be eliminated for the local governments which invest in the future.
• Our local government units do not seem to be prepared to act for urban renewal. In addition to such deficiencies as sources, know-how, and experts, there is no definite preparation for infrastructure. Under the light of renewal principles, it seems to be impossible to guide the rapid transformation that is being experienced in Turkey – with the laws in effect and facilities within Turkish public government system. Above all, it also seems that urban renewal is primarily a matter of vision and perspective. Hence, in order to settle a systematic and healthy urban renewal in our country, there seems to be a need for a set of plans, regulations, and government-based strategies.

It is essential that the actors who are involved in the field of renewal and their roles be determined. Identifying the authority and responsibility in the management and organization of a renewal area will definitely help to prevent possible disputes over the use of authority. Local governments must be helped to become conscious on how and in what way to use their authorities provided to them by laws. The reason why the local governments do not have much experience in urban renewal is that they suffer from lack of sources and teams of experts. For this reason, local governments have to search for new sources. To do this, development of ‘partnership’ model, which is commonly observed all over the world, is suggested. For this model, in general, collective partnership, limited partnership or joint venture – which is often realized within companies – must be preferred.

Local governments must also make effort to encourage the investors directly to the area of renewal, and form a renewal team made up of experts. Such teams must be equipped with a vision, must be prepared to take risks, must be flexible enough, and must own knowledge, experience, and expertise, and finally include such various disciplines in their bodies as architecture, landscape architecture, sociology, and industrial design. In case their own staff is not satisfactory, they must apply to universities for consultation, support, and contribution.

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