

Case Study on Segregation and Access to Housing

İzmir

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Hayat Ünverdi
Wolfgang Bosswick
Doris Lüken-Klaßen

Bamberg, May 2007

European Forum for Migration Studies (EFMS)

Institute at the University of Bamberg

Katharinenstraße 1

D-96052 Bamberg

phone +49-951-932020-0

fax +49-951-932020-20

efms@sowi.uni-bamberg.de

<http://www.efms.de>



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1 Background information on the country: History of migration and composition of migrant populations

By many Europeans, Turkey is seen as the main country of origin of migrants. However, the Turkish Republic is not only a country of emigration: in addition to the emigration of Turkish citizens, an internal migration of the rural population from the eastern areas into cities, as well as the immigration of different population groups into the country are important phenomena. These three components of Turkish migration movements (emigration, internal migration, immigration) as well as the today's composition of migrant populations are outlined in the following paragraphs.

At the beginning of the last century, the Turkish history of migration was strongly influenced by the downfall of the multi-ethnic and multi-religious Ottoman Empire, the Balkan war during the years 1912/13 and the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923. During the first 30 years of the century a large number of Muslims immigrated into the Ottoman Empire and later into the Turkish Republic. At the same time, many Non-Muslims migrated into the Balkan countries. These were mainly Armenian, Greek-orthodox and Jewish population groups. This population exchange mainly occurred due to political pressures and banishments. As a result of the peace treaty of Lausanne, which recognised the new Turkish Republic internationally, approximately 1.3 million ethnic Greeks were resettled into Greece and approximately 500,000 ethnic Turkish were resettled into Turkey in 1923 alone.

In the 1950s and 1960s, the Turkish population grew strongly and pressure on the employment market increased. At the same time, Western Europe's economy was booming and demanded additional workforce. Therefore, Turkey agreed to several bilateral conventions with West European countries and many Turkish people migrated into these countries. 80% of them went to Germany. This workforce migration came to a halt with a recruitment ban in 1973. This was a consequence of the international oil crisis and its economic aftermath. Until that time, more than 780,000 people had emigrated. Many of the labour migrants stayed and brought their wives and children, which led to a demographic change of the migrant structure. To this day, many Turkish citizens still live in Western Europe, mainly in Germany.¹

The 1980s and 90s drew attention as periods of intensified outward refugee movements in Turkey. Due to the military coup and the Turkish security forces' intensified operations especially in east and southeastern regions to counter increasing terror incidents, migration movements were experienced, in which predominantly Turkish nationals with Kurdish ethnicity held place. The most important receiving countries were Germany, France and the United Kingdom.

The second important component of the Turkish migration movements is the interior migration. The reason for the migration into cities since the 1950s is, on the one hand, a rapid growth of the population and the state of economic underdevelopment and poverty in the rural areas, and on the other hand a one-dimensional state eco-

¹ In 2006, 1.74 million Turkish citizens lived in Germany.



conomic policy, which aids the development of cities. The primary destinations for the rural population were Istanbul and surrounding areas, the Greater İzmir area, the capital city Ankara and the Greater Adana-Mersin. Due to significant housing shortage in the cities, so called *gecekondu* – socially and regionally marginalised residential settlements – were formed illegally. Over time, the *gecekondu* were joined with the urban infrastructure; from the 1980s onwards some of these residential settlements evolved into modern suburbs.

During the years 1995 to 2000, nearly 4.8 million people (8% of the population) migrated between provinces. The proportion of the migrant male population is approximately 20% higher than that of the female population. Almost half of the interior migrants are younger than 24 years old. As part of the population census in the year 2000, these migrants were asked for the main motives for their migration. Family reasons were most frequently named (26%, proportionally greater for women), but employment opportunities (20%) and designation/appointment reasons (13%) were also significant. Since the population census in 2000, approximately one year after the Marmara and Düzce earthquake in 1999, around 147,000 people migrated because of the earthquake.

Towards the end of the 1970s Turkey also became a target country for migrants, especially for transit migrants on their way west, and for refugees and labour migrants. The annual immigration numbers for the early years of the millennium are estimated to be around 100,000 people for illegal workforce migration and around 150,000 people for the legal immigration. Between the years 1995 and 2000, the largest group of immigrants (one third of the about 234,000 immigrants) came from Germany; most of these migrants are Turkish citizens or German citizens with a Turkish background. They are followed by migrants from Bulgaria (12%) and from the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (6%). The majority of migrants are between 20 and 39 years old; immigrant women tend to be younger than the immigrant men.

Turkey has a total population of around 70 million inhabitants. Between 1995 and 2000, the proportion of immigrants from abroad was, according to the population census of 2000, 0.38% of the total population. Other sources show the proportion of the population born abroad to be between 0.2% and 1.9%, the largest group being Bulgarians with 481,000 people in Turkey, followed by German born Turks with 274,000 people.



2 Background information on the city

Since the day it has been founded, the city of İzmir has displayed a settlement practice based upon migration. As the city attracts a variety of different communities owing to its strategic location as well as its local and regional potentials, its physical layout has been shaped by different social interactions experienced in the course of time. Such social effects that make up the city of the present time can be depicted in different periods where the first period pertains to migration of foreign minorities prior to national war of independence; the second, the new population transfers to the city and region during the post-war years of reconstruction; and third, the internal migration flows that mark the urban developments after the 1950s. The city of İzmir displays an important urban experience as embodied in different reactions against the social dynamics emerging with and the different political preferences and institutional structures of each period.

2.1 General structural data of the city

Located on the western coast of Turkey, İzmir is the 3rd greatest city of the country. As results of the 2000 Census reveal, total population of the area covering boundaries of the Municipality, within which the city centre takes place, and the rural settlements, amount to 2.344.322 persons. The governmental status of the central city, including sub-provinces of Konak, Karşıyaka, Bornova, Buca, Cigli, Gaziemir, ç, Narlıdere and Guzelbahce, has changed with inclusion of 19 sub-provinces and 38 first tier municipalities located within a radius of 50 km as stated in the Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 5216 enacted in 2004.

The central city of İzmir is located at the western end of provincial lands, on the Aegean coast and the inner part of the İzmir Bay. Shaping of the urban macroform has been greatly affected by the massy mountains framing the bay in three directions. The increasing population and resulting demands for new settlement areas have caused an urban pattern, were – limited by being situated between the bay and the mountains – settlements extend outwards in north, south, east and west directions in the form of linear development corridors to the extent as permitted by geographical limitations. The İzmir urban pattern appears to be expanded up to the geographical limits, resulting in disjointed new urban areas, incrementally developing in corridors.

Having become one of the most relevant export ports of Turkey, the city has attained a status of being the most important point of attraction owing to its population as well as its functions of trade, industry, education, culture, entertainment, health, finance, transportation, tourism etc. on the one hand, and the institutions and organisations serving the core of a great hinterland in mentioned fields, on the other.



2.2 History of Municipal Migration and Composition of Migrant Population

Because of the strategic role attributed to the city as being the final port of trade routes from Anatolia, while the city was initially a small coastal town, it has, in the course of its history, rapidly grown with the beginning of 17th century to become the most important settlement of the Ottoman Empire after Istanbul in 19th century. Those developments which have caused the city become one of the most important centres of trade and industry as a gate opened to the west have also prepared the grounds upon which the multi-national setting with different communities grouped in context of their social, cultural and religious organisations have emerged. Related references reveal that population of İzmir has continuously risen in that period, and that whereas it was 180.000 in 1857, it has risen up to 207.547 in 1891 and 250.000 in 1910.

For the city of İzmir it has been critical that it received considerable immigration of skilled foreign labourers which contributed to an economical gap between the well-being of foreign minorities and the poverty of local inhabitants. This economical gap has been reflected also spatially within the city. Within the second half of 19th century, a new pattern of migration merged in which migrants from nearby rural areas migrated into the city to find jobs. This pattern also contributed to the imbalance. Despite all control attempts during this period, the majority of migrant populations from rural areas have begun to settle at parts of the city nearby the centre forming a squatter-like pattern similar to contemporary areas, quite different from the existing city neighbourhoods of this time.

The most important phase of the migration into İzmir has been during the war of independence. Following the out-migration of minorities who held local economic power in their hands, the efforts to overcome the conditions of crisis due to losses brought by war have entailed a period of restructuring. This period resulted in İzmir being the second largest city after Istanbul with regard to industrialisation on the one hand, and in rendering the city being subject to intense flows of migration towards the West of Turkey on the other. As a consequence, İzmir had increasingly to deal with populations who originally made their living from subsistence farming, were unskilled, and usually became unemployed after having migrated. İzmir faced the creation of illegal and poor-quality built housing to the extent that rental incomes from existing housing could not be maintained.

However, the most relevant migration movements leading to the emergence of built environments called “squatters” or *gecekondus* that mark the urbanisation process in İzmir have begun in the 1940s. The impacts of the Second World War and the new state policies have, to a great extent, changed the structure of agricultural groups in Turkey and as a result of these changes, the technological advancements affecting the activities in agricultural production on one side, and the process of withdrawal from rural areas created by the attraction of cities on the other, together have brought by the phenomenon of a serious flow of internal migration. The first important process of migration took place as flows of population towards dominant cities, namely rural-to-urban migration during in the period of 1950-1980; during this



period, policies of national development prevailed. The second and currently last process of migration took place as an urban-to-urban migration in the post-1980 period during which transition to economical liberalism and internationalisation of economy created multilateral and complex relations that brought by the need for restructuring the city of İzmir.

Period of 1950-1980: During this period during in which investment preferences started to be determined by the private sector, and the rise of Istanbul altered all balances in the country, İzmir has been given a new role as being dependent upon the dominance of Istanbul. As capital has increasingly been accumulated in metropolitan cities, industrial investments have seen a rise in İzmir as well (Altınçekiç, 1987, p.67). These intensive industrialisation movements took place in İzmir during the 1950s and resulted in a considerable transfer of labour demand to the non-agricultural sector. The rate of employment in non-agricultural sectors doubled nation-wide during this period. As for the demographic structure in the city of İzmir within such a framework, the nationwide trends of urbanisation were to a great extent in parallel with those of the city and following the 1950s, there has been a rapid rise in population just as the figures of most other great cities in Turkey would reveal. To the same extent, the urban population, which was 153.845 in 1927, has been subject to a serious rise to reach 293.616 in 1950. During the two decades between years 1950-1970, the urban population has seen an absolute rise of 314.489 persons, reaching up to 554.105 persons in total (Sevgi, 1988, p.39).

During the 1960s, those policies which based capital accumulation on industrial production have also dominated the development of İzmir and until the energy crisis in 1974. İzmir had acquired a powerful position as industrial city. Such affirmative conditions for industrial development, with the food sector taking the lead, have resulted in increasing particularly the functional benefits of the city after 1970s as well. Within this context, as a reflection of the surplus value obtained from agricultural and industrial products on urban development, there have been substantial advances experienced in some sectors, firstly of manufacturing, and then of construction and commerce, followed by a rapid growth in the services sector as well. Such sectoral developments which are not directly based on consumption, but instead on local production, have increased the employment opportunities and have been the cause of crucial structural changes in the urban setting. These changes rendered İzmir as a even more migration attracting city than others Turkish cities. The figures of this period indicate that the rate of those living in squatter settlements among the total population of İzmir has reached one third.

Post-1980 period: Those developments which give the post-1980 period a special importance with regard to İzmir, have been shaped not only in context of the internal flows of migration, but also due to characteristics of the migration. According to the migration statistics of State Statistical Institute for the year of 2000, it can be monitored that the highest rate of 73.7% rise in population flows within the period of 1975-80, has been slowed down to some extent, but still has continued in the follow-



ing years and especially during the period of 1985-1990, there still has been a high rate attained with 63,80% (cf. Table 1).

Table 1. Net migration rates of İzmir during the period of 1975-2000

1975-1980		1980-1985		1985-1990		1995-2000	
Net migration	Rate of net migration (‰)	Net migration	Rate of net migration (‰)	Net Migration	Rate of net migration (‰)	Net migration	Rate of net migration (‰)
119 896	73,7	82 173	41,9	146 208	63,8	120 375	39,9

In addition, the migration that has continuously been accelerated by years have not only reached the highest figures, but beyond that, just as data of 1986 indicate, has reached 44,7% share within the urban population of İzmir and this has been spatially reflected as an expansion where out of 245 neighbourhoods, 110 were of migrants, amounting to almost half the entire city (Sevgi, 1988, p.129).

It is evident that the internal migration has profoundly affected the demographic profile of the city since it caused serious population transfers until the period 1990-1997, during which migration to great cities appeared to slow down in the whole country. Additionally, since the city has, since the day it has met migration, become more and more crowded in quantitative terms and diversified in local terms, it has been regarded as one of the preferred destinations of internal migration under unexpected circumstances where regional imbalances resulted in increasing disturbance threatening the livability of Eastern and Southeastern provinces. Therefore, the migration flows starting after 1965 from Eastern and Southeastern Anatolia, continued during the post-1980 period with flows from close-distance provinces in majority, but also accompanied by immigrants from far provinces like Konya, Ankara, Erzurum, Kars and Mardin. The demographic profile of the city changed considerably to the same extent.

The data of “place of birth” among the results of 1990 Census by State Statistical Institute indicate that the characteristics of migration in İzmir are largely dependent upon flows from nearby provinces in the Aegean region, but additionally that there has been a serious rise in receiving migrants particularly from Eastern Anatolia. Similarly, the population data of 1997 also reveal that only 35% of those living in İzmir are born in the same city and that the remaining 65% have come from provinces outside the Aegean region and particularly from those provinces of the Eastern and Southeastern regions of Anatolia with a rate of 17%.

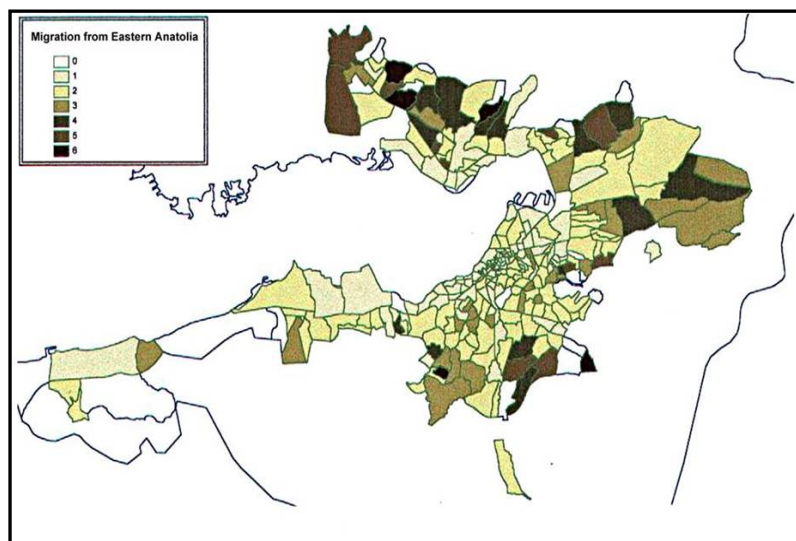
Table 2. Rate of migrants among total population of İzmir (Census of 1990)

Places of Birth by Regions	Rate of Migrants (%)
İzmir	87,42
Aegean Region	2,16
Inner Anatolian Region	2,08
Eastern Anatolia	2,03
Marmara Region	1,85
Black Sea Region	1,22
Mediterranean Region	0,84
Southeastern Anatolia	0,77
Foreign countries	1,63
Total	100,00



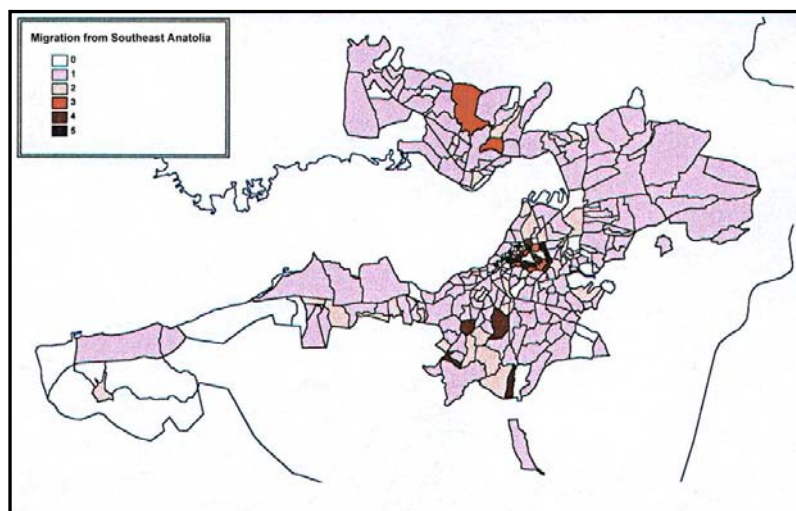
Research into the distribution of these figures (based on data of sub-provinces) by the total number of 178 neighbourhoods in İzmir, in other words, the spatial distribution of migrants from various areas of origin, reflects the structure of the living environments the migrants have attained during the period of 1985-1990. Since this period, social relations being primarily built upon the basis of family relationship and/or regional origin as having been necessary at the beginning of the integration process are still prevailing. The social and spatial mosaic and therefore groupings based on the region of origin stabilized to an extent of manifest diversity in population structures of the various neighbourhoods (cf. Maps 1-2).

Map 1. Migration from Eastern Anatolia



Source: Ünverdi, 2002, p.212

Map 2. Migration from Southeast Anatolia



Source: Ünverdi, 2002, p.213



As can be monitored in the maps, all of the 178 neighbourhoods within the Metropolitan Area of İzmir have been subject to intense flows of migration during the 1985-1990 period. Within a social topography displaying a diversified structure of those migrating mainly from two different geographical regions, those migrants from the region of Eastern Anatolia appear to have settled, as if creating a belt that circumscribes the city in all directions with the tendency to get denser in the outermost periphery. As for the migrations received from the region of Southeastern Anatolia, they are, unlike those from Eastern Anatolia, located mainly in the slum areas surrounding the city centre, in other words, concentrated at the core. Such a result is, above all, the most important indicator of those circumstances which mean that relationships based on relativeness and region of origin are still issue as the everlasting main determinant in the course of so-called 'precipitation' of migration in the city. Thus, migration-based settlement practice in İzmir has attained such a spatial structure that is regionally diverse and manifest in ways of its diversified groupings as well.

2.3 Municipal integration policy

In all Turkish cities including İzmir, the problem of "integration" has been set forth within framework of those problems which have emerged after the 1960-80 period, a time period outstanding for intense levels of internal migration flows that is also defined as the second phase in squattering in particular. While it has been this period during which the phenomenon of migration has first begun to be based on different interactions in context of demographical as well as socio-economical characteristics, the emerging social, economic and spatial structures have attained the status of being the basic determinant of resulting urbanisation dynamics.

The first issue to be mentioned among these structures pertains to the "marginal labour market". The illegal labour market, which has been created in a period during which those resources to encounter the needs of migrants from rural areas were scarce, has constituted the economic grounds upon which the city may prosper on the condition of rapid inclusion of large social groups within a short time span. Research indicates that in the 1960-68 period there were intensive groupings of street vendors and peddlers around the city centre of İzmir.

The second issue is the emergence of squatters as a way of encountering the need for shelter of the poor family, namely the "illegal housing market". In this period, the formation of simple houses which were originally shaped on basis of merely solving the problem of need for shelter of poor migrants in a short period of time, changed in terms of extensions and rises in height on the one hand, and spatial distribution of this development to become widespread in neighbourhoods of the city on the other, both have resulting in the emergence of a new housing market. Accordingly, displaying a prevalence of 33.42% within the total population of the city in this period, the squatter settlements have increased in size and in number of different units and risen up in height with construction of new storeys.



The third and the most important context to be mentioned as an issue to be elaborated is concerned with “social adaptation problems” of the migrant populations. In this period, during which the modern city had to confront different cultural values and living styles of the rural, a living style to be later called “arabesque culture” has been created in an environment where values to be represented were neither of the city nor protected as brought from the county. Within such a framework and depending on the different forms of life carried out in squatter settlements, which circumscribe the city in all directions, the city of İzmir has as well undergone a period of new cultural interactions. However, even more evident than that, the social and cultural differences have interacted with the specific dynamics of the city and created the physical space of the distinctive local.

What is especially interesting with many Turkish cities and with the experience of İzmir is that these three different modes of relations manifesting themselves as an expression of the inability to get integrated with the city, over time have become the most important components of the system. In other words, as the marginal labour market occupies a crucial role by supplying the cheap labour the system needs, and the squatter settlements, by solving the housing problem of the sub-cultures that are in serve of the city, such a social order has functioned as the resource of the system via the popular culture imposed. Therefore, during this period, all that seems to be outside has in fact taken their positions within the system as integrated sub-parts of it. As for integration, it has only become a way of organisation that provides new flows of resources required for the benefits to be attained under mentioned circumstances of functioning within the system.

Under such circumstances, whereas the squatters, which created the spaces of cheap labour that made İzmir one of those cities with the highest capital accumulation, were regarded as a usual course of development, they have contrarily begun to be seen as the reason for urban problems since the beginning of 1960s, during which there have been over-densification of squatters; and the first strategies for integration have then been considered in context of mere physical transformation of the areas in question. Although the following processes of urban renewal and formation of multi-storied apartment buildings have resulted in improvement of the inhabitants’ economic conditions and increased the housing standards of previous squatter settlers, they, more than that, have provided a crucial flow of capital concerned with immovable properties of the city.

When considered in social terms, the squatter settlers of this period consisted of those who can freely move within the housing market and, more important than that, who have the hope and opportunity to alter current status with their high dynamism in employment and in ways of residing. Different to national conditions as well as those of other cities with regard to local dynamics, İzmir realized this new experience based not on exclusion, but instead, on internalisation of migration processes, which has resulted in the opportunity of avoiding critical developments that required severe interventions into local social life.



By the beginning of the 1980s, the physical urban pattern of İzmir appears to have been decorated with all instruments of the modern city at the centre, being surrounded by migration-based residential areas at peripheral areas. At some points outside this dual spatial order, there still are squatter settlements currently being developed by ongoing migrations, albeit with lesser intensity. The existing spatial urban pattern that is shaped initially by residential areas surrounding the bay in three directions in parallel to the bay's extended form and later grown to rear areas in the course of the city's history, is distinctive in the sense that it is determined by a unique geography upon which all socio-economical and spatial differences take place at equal distance to the centre in the form of as if concentric belts interrelated with one another.

With regard to the developments upon the above-mentioned urban pattern that carry İzmir to the position of experiencing a breaking point in the post-1980 period, there have emerged great spatial development operations determined in line with political preferences on both national and local scales. During a period in which the focus shifted to immovable properties in order to overcome the capital crisis, there has been a great increase in the number of building permits, such that while there has been merely 8.128 permits given in 1980, the same figure amounts to 27.393 by the year 1985 (DEU, 1996, p.46).

These developments which resulted in construction of multi-storied buildings within the city were accompanied by mass housing projects that have been realized at peripheral areas as a form of housing supply specific to the period. With Act No. 2805 dated 1983 on "Amnesty of Development and Squatters" and Act No. 2981 dated 1984 on "Laws Related with Operations for Buildings Amending Squatter Housing Laws", the squatter areas that have become rather widespread in urban development have then been legalized. In this context, large numbers of legalisation applications have been filed at the first stage of spatial development operations. The figures indicate that, by the end of 1987, there have been 20.872 applications in total made for detached building permissions on owned property in İzmir. As for the jointly-owned properties or lands, there were 73.059 applications, which is a figure that rises up to 187.631 when it comes to squatter areas, in other words, in public or privately-owned areas illegally occupied (Koç, 2001, p.114). In the second stage of the operation, between the years 1985-1994, an area around 3437 hectares have been included within the boundaries of a related slum reclamation plan of İzmir. These comprehensive planning operations that cover considerably large amounts of urban land, corresponding approximately to one fourths of the entire built environment and more than half of the residential areas in the metropolitan area of İzmir, were implemented mainly between the years 1985-1987 (cf. Table 3).

**Table 3. Slum Reclamation Plan Operations in Metropolitan Area of izmir**

Distribution of Approval by Years (%)								
Sub-provinces	1985	1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991	1992
Konak	19	43	31	3	-	-	-	4
Buca	-	10	84	6	-	-	-	-
Karşıyaka	18	80	-	-	-	-	2	-
Konak	25	75	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	15	52	29	2	-	-	1	1

Source: (DEÜ, 1996, p.48)

In this period, even though, such operations that are concerned with legalisation and registering, have aided in taking crucial steps with regard to physical and legal integration of living areas created by migration, they have failed to mediate in achieving an integration at the societal level. In other words, these operations have entailed developments that could be regarded as advantageous and disadvantageous both. Nevertheless, under such circumstances, while there were those who could improve their living conditions by way of obtaining rental value from the market of immovable properties on the one hand, there also were those who were excluded as being stuck in state of being the “other” and those who had no hope to, in any way, accumulate benefits from living in an urban environment.

The 1990s are the years during which those developments which are related to the squatters have entered a new period of interaction with new dynamics. It has been this period that the social structure has entered a new period in context of poverty and cleavage accompanied by employment opportunities getting gradually scarce, living conditions becoming even more difficult with new modes of consumption and a spatial pattern representing such modes. The changed structure of migration based on obligatory circumstances has therefore created a segregated pattern in context of the duality of “suburban” and “urban”.

As for the recent times after 2000, the regions of poverty, which are organized in an enclosed manner and have lost the opportunities for integration within the city, albeit via illegal processes, have had to confront new strategies of development. The underlying reason pertains to the new urban agenda where large scale renewal projects called “urban regeneration”, which has taken start in Ankara and Istanbul in order to cover critical operations with the purpose of realizing the economical targets via the market of immovable properties, have also begun to direct the agenda of İzmir in a short period of time. These multi-party and large scale organisations that define integration to a large extent by physical alignment, have begun to realize some specific parts of the city as important objects of strategies for urban growth.



The Projects of Limontepe and Örnekköy may be mentioned as the first of such projects that aim at a regeneration of Kadifekale and Yamanlar neighbourhoods, which have been erected by migrants and have various problems within their low-quality built environments. The specific conditions of this period, however, have also entailed some social projects that aim at social integration during the stage of implementing large-scale regeneration projects. In different regions of poverty, particularly by way of those projects targeted at women and children, there have been services provided predominately in the areas education, skill development and vocational training.

3 Housing situation of the city

Housing developments in İzmir have been shaped within the framework of national policies implemented during different periods, have been integrated within the distinctive dynamics of the city as well as with implementations of local and central governments, and resulting in the creation of dense physical patterns. According to the Master Plan report dated 2006, the settlement pattern that has developed spreading around the central city and the main axes has reached such a building density that the city experienced a housing surplus. This surplus of supply, which may be regarded as the product of growth strategies of sub-areas within the city of İzmir and the competition emerging in due course, characterizes the physical formation of the city during the post-1980 period.

According to State Statistical Institute results of Buildings Census, the total number of buildings in İzmir was 325.092 in 1984, reaching 522.243 in 2000. Therefore, the corresponding rate of increase amounts to 1,6 times within a period of 16 years. Similarly, the statistics indicate that the number of houses for the same period of 16 years in İzmir has displayed a rate of 2,1 times increase from 536.988 in 1984 to 1.140.731 in 2000. Among this large housing stock of 922.729 households in total, the rate of property ownership is 64%, and of rented properties, 27%. According to the statistics, the following data can be given:

- ▶ The distribution of building ages indicate that the most rapid construction activities have taken place after 1970. Among the buildings identified, 77.3% have been constructed after 1970.
- ▶ Of the buildings, 91.9% have been constructed by the private sector, 3.6% by the public sector and the remaining 4.2% by housing cooperatives.
- ▶ According to their structural properties, 48.4% of the buildings are made up of reinforced concrete and the remaining 51.1% of masonry. The rate of those buildings constructed with tunnel shuttering amount to 0.1%. As for the type of fillers in constructions, the greatest share belongs to brick with 59.6%. This figure is followed by cement block with 18%, stone with 9.8% and sun-dried brick with 7.9%.



3.1 Housing stock and housing market in general

An analysis of the characteristics of the İzmir housing market requires a holistic perspective that considers the national policies in parallel with the changes taking place in demographic structure and the inner dynamics specific to the city. In this respect, two periods, which similarly outweigh others in terms of migration received, are also relevant for the housing market as well. During the first period, namely the 1950-1980 period, modes of housing production and supply have displayed a dual structure with supply mechanisms of “squatters” on the one side and of “build-sell” on the other.

In the second period, namely the post-1980 period during which Turkey has become internationalized in both political and economical terms, there also have been new modes of housing supply since those dynamics that were determining urbanisation were subject to rapid changes in their direction. While the mode of housing supply that is based on small scale production via the “build-sell” mechanism loses its dominance, it has been replaced by mass housing and cooperatives that render ordered development of larger pieces of urban land as possible. In addition, at the stage being final in the sense that urban development has met its limits, with the intention to create new opportunities for building on the one hand, and to renew the unsound living areas within the city on the other, large scale housing investments have begun to be implemented under the name of “urban regeneration”.

As a city that has spatially developed towards the periphery in the form of concentric rings forcing the natural thresholds, the city of İzmir has in due course gained a rather dense building pattern consisting of different modes of housing supply. The gated living areas located at those lands which are in proximity to natural beauties of either forestry, sea or lakes etc. at the outermost periphery and which belong to upper / upper-middle classes with special security systems; the residential areas of middle classes, who usually take part in share of urban rental value by way of cooperatives or the build-sell mechanism; and the illegal and poor-quality houses of new, poor squatter areas, which embody the endeavour to sustain the relationships with functions and relations that differ from those of the past, altogether constitute the significant physical components of the urban pattern. Nevertheless, the housing pattern of the historical city centre that has been subject to economic and physical obsolescence has begun to be used as one of the main parts of the housing stock occupied during the 1985-90 period as living areas of poor migration flows.

When taken in terms of the characteristics of residential areas, the residential areas display a layered structure where the lowest layer consists of the obsolete historical pattern in the city centre and of newly-emerging squatter buildings of the last period at the city periphery. Since the squatters of the previous periods, on the other hand, have been developed via plans made upon the existing ownership framework in the phase of their legalisation, they appear to be listed in the second layer which pertains to living areas that are extremely dense and insufficient in terms of urban facilities. The data of State Statistical Institute on housing characteristics for the year 2000 displays that of the total number of 922.729 houses in İzmir; approximately 4%

**Table 4. The number of mass housing estates in İzmir**

Mass housing estates	Place	Number of units
Evka 1	Buca	4.588
Evka 2	Çiğli	3.120
Evka 3	Bornova	1.438
Evka 4	Bornova	5.259
Evka 5	Çiğli	3.377
Evka 6	Çiğli	999
Evka 7	Gaziemir	999
Izyuva	Bornova	740
Izkent	Pınarbaşı	228
Izkent	Buca	964
Izkent	Çiğli	960
Izkonut	Buca	2.046
Egekent 1	Çiğli	8.548
Egekent 2	Ulukent	1.417
Egekent 3	Buca	848
Egekent 4	Ayrancılar	1.500
Egekent	Seğrek	400
Konkent	Eski İzmir	2.702
Borkop	Bornova	2.800
Buca Koop 1	Buca	2.300
Çiğli Koop.	Çiğli	2.000
Narkent	Narlidere	860
Emlakbank Bostanlı 1,2	Bostanlı	6.528
Emlakbank Gaziemir 1,2,3	Gaziemir	6.425
Universiade	Balçova	934
TOKI	Konak	3.080
TOKI	Karşıyaka	808
TOKI	Asarlık	752
TOKI	Aliağa	500
TOTAL		67.120

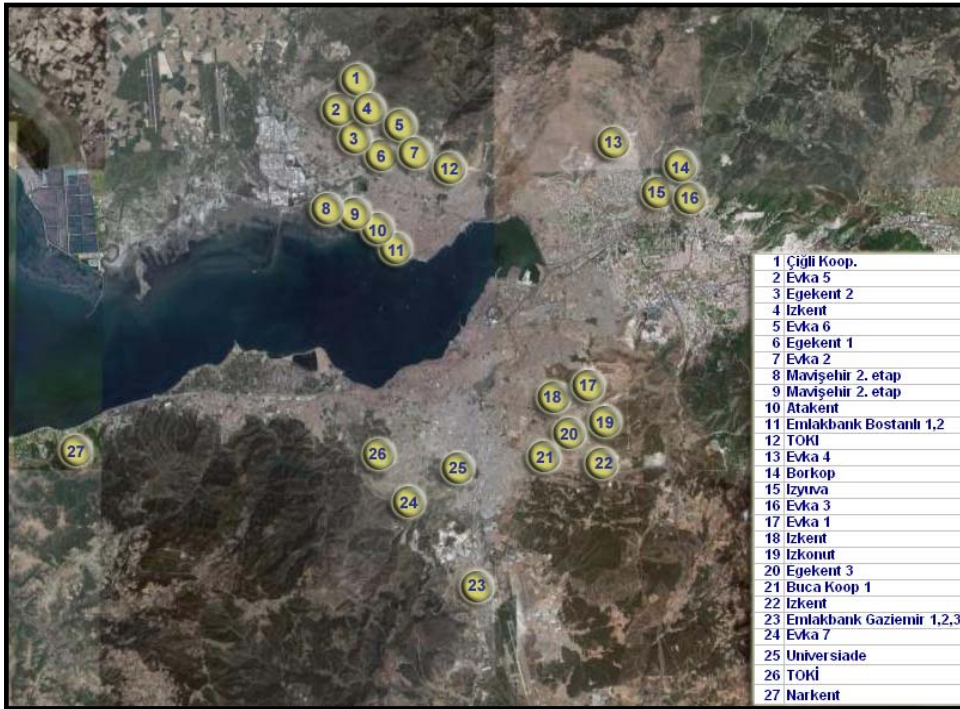
Source: 2006 Master Plan Report of Metropolitan City of İzmir

has no sanitary units like toilets, bathrooms and kitchens. The same statistics indicate that 14% of the households use toilets detached from their houses.

The build-sell market that is prevailing in areas apart from those of poor quality has resulted in an incessantly differing order of physical quality within framework of the location demands that emerge on basis of specific classifications, which are determined by the value of houses varying by their locations within the city. The mass housing implementations of the post-1980 period, on the other hand, have been articulated to such a layout in terms of two different frameworks offered (cf. Table 4). The first one of these pertains to implementations of “social housing”, which aim at providing low-income groups with affordable houses, and therefore have mainly been located at cheap lands at peripheral areas of the city. The building qualities and site planning of these areas usually involve minimum standards. The second framework belongs to creation of luxurious housing estates, which have become segregated from residential areas of high-income groups within the city as shaped by demands of gathering with



only the ones alike. These “commercial housing” estates that involve spatial alignment of high-quality with special facilities offered also create distinctively designed buildings with regard to their housing characteristics (cf. map 3).



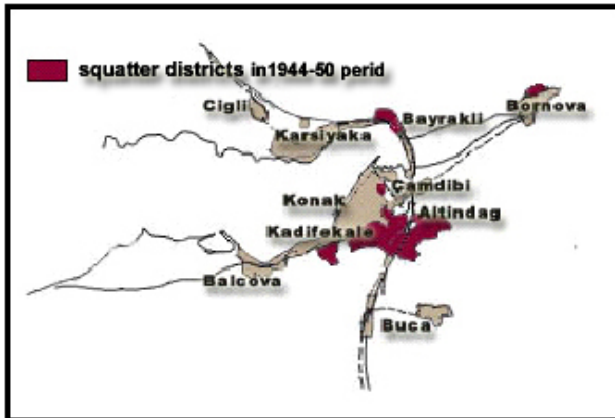
Map 3.
Mass Housing Estates in İzmir

Source:
2006 Master Plan Report of Metropolitan City of İzmir

Mass housing estates made constructed by Emlak Bank, namely Bostanlı Atakent, which has been erected between 1988 -1990 and Bostanlı Mavişehir, which has been constructed in varying phases since 1993, today constitute the most prestigious housing estates in city of İzmir. Furthermore, owing to the fact that the northern axis, where such developments are present, has been allocated to residential areas of high-income groups within a future perspective, construction activities of large firms have become widespread in near surrounding. Investments of great firms like Soyak, Albayrak or Bozoğlu, can be named among constructions of housing estates as such.

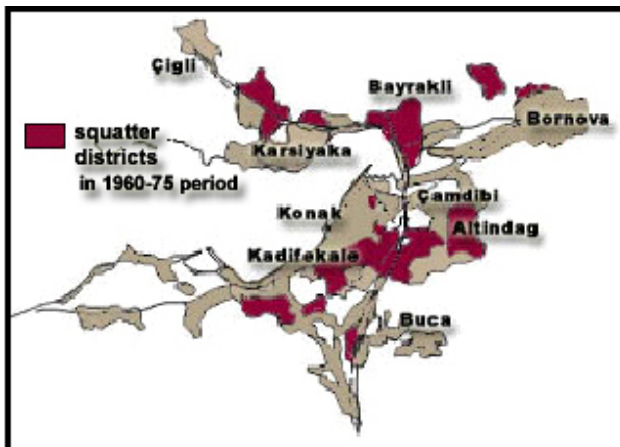
3.2 Housing situation of residents with migration background

The intense flows of migration, which have been determining the formation of the settlement pattern in the city of İzmir, have changed after the 1940s. Initially, the migration flows were directed to those areas with illegal buildings of the post-war years (National War of Independence), but then, in a short period of time to follow, locations that were chosen were at proximity to non-residential areas, with illegally developed surroundings of poor quality, also lacking any infrastructural facilities, which, in light of these characteristics, can be named “squatters” (*gecekondus*) as newly emerging residential areas of the city (cf. Figure 1).



Since migration has gradually become the most significant component of the city due to its ever-rising intensity, migration-based residential areas have also begun to rapidly invade public lands of treasury by the end of 1950s. This period is the one squatters were yet constructed with the mere intention to meet the immediate need for shelter and there, yet, were no specula-

tive activities on lands squatters were occupying. Therefore, planned developments were still out of question, meaning that no processes of transformation were initiated for the squatter settlements at this time.



During the 1960 -1980 period, the rises in population as brought by industrialisation in the city have caused squatter settlement areas reach enormous sizes. Preferring particularly the cheap lands with shared deeds and the vacant lands of treasury both located rather at peripheral areas of the city, migration has continued with rises in intensity mainly along the axes of planned industrial development. In this period, as the industrial devel-

opment areas were planned rather at areas surrounding the city centre, the agglomerations of population and therefore housing have also been located in juxtaposition (cf. Figure 2).

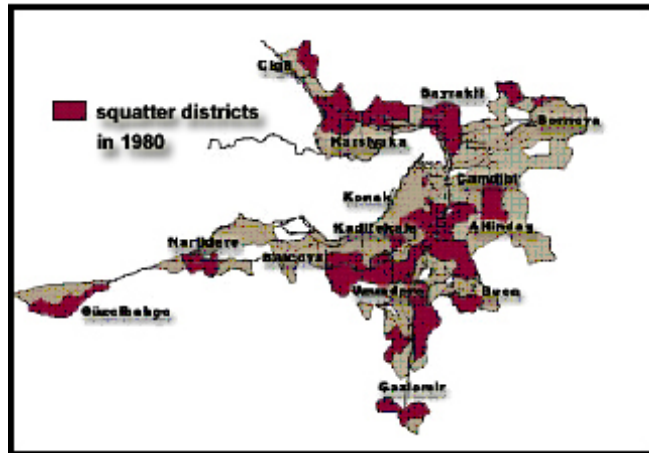
Among the developments that initiated the processes of being a municipality, those strategies to overcome the problems created by urban growth and squatting have become prevailing as basic dynamics of the period. In a stage as such, “planning” has gained great importance as the most significant instrument for integration processes in parallel with the national policy. Planning has failed, however, to achieve the expected success in time. Although legalisation of squatter settlements have resulted in upward mobility of their owners and in strengthening of their status in society, the emergence of new squatter areas have continued and their physical insufficiencies and lack of urban amenities could not be solved completely albeit having been planned. It has for the first time been in this period that squatters, which were not constructed with efforts of their owners and were given for rent rather expensively, have begun to get denser in parallel with the new market that is



supported by the selling of joint properties and continued on to expand towards lands of treasury in their near surrounding.

In 1980s, İzmir appears to have become an over-crowded city with on-going migrations on the one side and problems resulting also from national circumstances on the other. Due to changes in municipal boundaries, investments on public lands at peripheral areas of the city and lack of lands belonging to treasury, the squatter settlements, which may be regarded as one of the most important components of afore-mentioned problems, have begun to be located at extreme ends of urban lands or spatially extended towards hills with high slope. The slopes in between Çiğli and Menemen, Bornova – Işıkkent – Pınarbaşı, areas between Kavaklıdere belt and Gazemir – Karabağlar, and the western parts of İzmir – Aydın expressway, have all been places where squatters have developed further. Within this picture of on-going migration, the squatters have, for the first time, begun to densely locate at those areas which are not at proximity to any industrial premises, but rather at where cheap land and joint properties could be found (cf. figure 3).

This period appears to be the one during which regeneration of squatter settlements via planned development is put on the agenda, for these areas have gradually been left in central areas of the city, although they originally were located at urban peripheries, meaning that they have gained value in terms of the land market. The operations that are initiated with development amnesty laws and regulations for



slum reclamation have focused on encountering infrastructural problems in particular. These operations, which brought by great financial burdens to local governments, were followed, in the second stage, by physical alignments like creation of green spaces and urban amenities or widening of narrow and inaccessible roads. Nevertheless, as slum reclamation plans were based on the intensely located and small-sized property ownership patterns that are legalized by amnesty laws, they have failed to achieve creating physical comfort. For this reason, in planning studies of the period, where a legal identity has been attained for the first time, strategies have been altered from strategy of “spread development” to that of “elevated density” for reclamation of squatters. This dual development has paved the way for creation of a framework based on segregation throughout urban space, a segregation of social and spatial terms both.



3.3 Segregation: Spatial concentration of residents with migration background

In İzmir, those conditions which caused the social and spatial pattern of segregation have emerged with the changing urban dynamics and the changing context of migration in the post-1980 period. The characteristics of the acquired social status are being shaped according to education, skills, financial resources and alike features that are being brought to the city. Parallel with this, the statistics for the post-1980 period on İzmir reveal that the rate of migration to the city from provincial centres have decreased about 10% in comparison to figures of the previous period. The fact that the source of migration has shifted towards rural areas can be taken as an indicator for an increased dominance of rural characteristics among the migrants compared to those having migrated two decades ago. Similarly, the most evident change in migration structure of this period pertains to the considerable increase of migrants from villages of Eastern and Southeastern regions causing the city of İzmir to become one of the main places of arrival for migration caused by the situation in these areas.

In terms of the distribution of income, İzmir is a city where the share of high-income groups within the total urban population is lower than that of other great cities. In contrary, there appears to be a concentration of lower-middle, middle and upper-middle income groups. Furthermore, depending on having lesser distances between income groups when compared with figures of other cities, the city of İzmir tends to display such a local structure that bears positive characteristics with regard to providing easy living conditions and building sound social relations. Despite this, however, the living conditions have gradually become difficult due to the economic crisis affecting the entire country in recent years. The fact that urban land has become an important tool of investment after 1980s has accelerated this process and further increased the gap between different income groups.

The group most affected by these developments has been the migrants living in squatter areas, the majority of whom are employed in low income jobs. These groups who are devoid of any social security have started to find it difficult to afford living in the city. Data of 1988 indicate that, regarding the total population living in squatter areas of İzmir, 34,8% do not have any social security, 26,5% are workers and 23,2% belong to elderly, retired, unemployed or students who do not work at all (İBŞB, LA21, 1998, p.12). Therefore, in such a time during which increasing urban poverty influences masses of people and even threatens the middle income group of the city, it is possible to define a cleavage related to the migration background.

As poor-quality squatter areas have expanded to slopes of the hills surrounding the city in all directions and have become conspicuous all around, the urban poverty areas have developed an increased need for more solidarity relations to struggle against the harsh conditions of life. Ironically though, the construction activities, which have made the market of immovable properties become much more coarse and destructive, have started to alter such a spatial order of segregation by way of bringing contrasting uses side-by-side and further increasing spatial contradictions.



In recent years especially, the renewal or re-development projects that have directed upper income groups from coastal areas of the city to peripheral areas, have brought different ways of living to locations neighbouring one another. In this context, the urban pictures full of contradictions have become widespread at residential developments in Karşıyaka on the northern, Bornova on the eastern, Buca-Gaziemir on the southern and Güzelbahçe-Narlıdere on the western axes, and in areas where these housing developments intersect with the surrounding squatter settlements.

In addition, the pattern of spatial cleavage, which manifested itself in the belt of squatters that have illegally been developed in İzmir, affected also the new life style within legal housing estates placed in central areas of the city. Under emerging poverty resulting from the developments of the post-1980 period, the historical centre of İzmir called Kemeraltı and its near surrounding developed a new role representing the spatial cleavage resulting from migration. In this context, it has been segregated from other parts of the city with its social structure where the majority of inhabitants have migrated from Southeastern Anatolia.

In this period, such a local grouping pattern created by impacts of migration upon the city cannot be deciphered via solidarity relations only. Even though such consequences point to strategies of making a living by standing together in order to struggle against urban living conditions that get even harsher, more manifest than that, the characteristics of poverty underlying migration of the latest period appear to become rather evident. Since İzmir's city centre and its near surrounding can be described as a slum area that offers quite low costs of living, it has been occupied by those who escape from lack of peace in the Southeastern Anatolia and prefer living there though as the poorest and most desperate groups of the city.

Nevertheless, the poverty-based cleavage experienced in the city centre differs from that experienced in squatter settlements at urban peripheries by their environmental characteristics, i.e., physical conditions of the area on the one hand, and by the social and economical conditions of inhabitants on the other. Manifesting itself via unemployment, high rates of crime and existence of children and elderly in need of care, the city centre becomes an "excluded" district due to these factors. In other words, an urban district with these characteristics do not possess any social structure to get organized against the cleavage followed by exclusion or to resist by way of fostering solidarity relations (Sönmez, 2001, p.275).

Squatters in peripheral areas of the city could resist against harsh urban conditions by relying on solidarity relations and by using networks for coping with the process of spatial exclusion. This experience of squatter settlements in the periphery differs from afore-mentioned developments of the city centre, namely Kemeraltı and its near surrounding. Those groups who lost the opportunity of transforming their conditions of poverty into new developments, and who are re-producing the conditions over generations, are in a different situation. While residents of peripheral squatters could benefit from the market of immovable properties and could improve their current status in many cases, they may move into better conditions through processes of planned development. In contrast, the poor residents of the inner city may experi-



ence mobility only to another squatter settlement, and therefore, a move into another framework of cleavage pattern.

3.4 Accessibility of the housing market for people with migration background

The demands for housing in Turkish cities have been met after the 1950s within a dual mechanism of two housing markets that are of equal value operating in parallel to each other, namely the informal and formal housing markets. The data of 1997 support this statement such that in İzmir, the spatial environment built with the permission of local government gives a percentage of 43%, and this is followed in the second row by “partial squatter areas”, which were constructed as squatters but have, in the course of time, evolved with relative improvements, giving an almost equal figure of 42,6% and finally the “squatter areas” giving the figure of 14,4% in total. Therefore, within a distribution as such, the living areas as products of informal processes amount to a rate of 57% in total (Peker, 1997, p.46).

There exist plenty of factors which render widespread preferability and continuity of the informal ways of housing production feasible, which cover about half of the existing housing supply in recent periods. As the informal housing market primarily provides housing supply per se, which otherwise will not have been supported by resources of the public that remain insufficient in encountering the needs for shelter in a migration-intensive period of the time and thus eases the burden upon the public sector to a great extent, it has further established itself as a mode of production not being subject to intervention at all. Development of the housing market in the course of this time is secondly supported by provision of considerable amounts of land stock in the possession of the state. Invasion of public lands by massive amounts of migration in demand for new housing has been subject to populist policies at the stage of transition into multi-actor period.

Under these circumstances, in the course of about three decades that mark the ongoing urbanisation processes in Turkey, almost all publicly-owned lands have been lost and the fact that about half of housing production is obtained via informal and non-standardized structure of land has caused processes of land development be re-structured in line with habits and behaviour of the society. By means of this, the relationships of land ownership that were legally standardized after declaration of the Republic have become interrelated with non-standardized practical modes of land and housing production, a mutual interaction fostering an influential and mobile market.

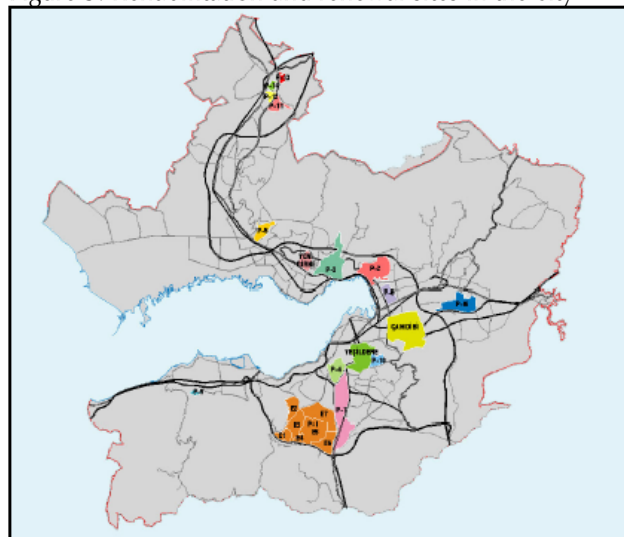
In parallel with these developments, the city of İzmir has, to a great extent, lost the land stock the state could have allocated. The public lands that were in the hands of either municipality or the treasury, have begun to be filled with squatter settlements until 1985 and neighbouring the squatter areas, by mass housing estates built under control of the Metropolitan municipality and municipality of sub-provinces, coopera-



tives, and Emlak Bank after 1985. In addition, within such an existing structure of widespread and chaotic housing market that is shaped as determined by national conditions, there have been no possibilities left to make any public projections for the future. Because of the scarcity of urban lands consumed to the limits, the continuously spreading and rising squatters have begun to occupy lands that are dangerous to be settled, creating unhealthy areas of living in the city. On the other hand, those implementations of mass housing firms and cooperatives which do not relate to any need in social terms, have, until today, limited the involvement of low income groups within the housing market.

Under conditions as such, the search for new modes of housing production has been put on the agenda. Besides, under current problematic circumstances of the metropolitan area of İzmir, those conditions which necessitate production of new housing areas have also been changed and large-scale organisations were initiated for regeneration activities based on purposes of improving the unsound conditions of urban life or refinement of geologically dangerous areas. The 2006 Master Plan has also been phased in line with the fundamental goals that involve consideration of these rehabilitation and renewal areas (Cf. Figure 5). Therefore, urban structuring in İzmir of the current times appears to confront the implementations that will carry the city to a new stage of development. As for the long-term results of these implementations with regard to urban spatial environment and the social life, there may be advantages and disadvantages to be further discussed on the urban agenda. Such issues as the structure of mass production organisations, the physical characteristics of final products, the ways of integration of these new physical structures with the urban spatial environment, the conditions of meeting spatial regeneration with social regeneration and the modes of distribution in economies to be brought by regeneration activities, are to be emphasized in terms of cost-benefit considerations and absolute need for creation of multi-faceted set of balances.

Figure 5: Rehabilitation and renewal sites in the city



Source: 2006 Master Plan Report of Metropolitan City of İzmir



4 Institutional setting and relevant actors

There have been two important developments that have influenced the local institutional setting during the latest period in İzmir. The first one of these is the Act No. 3030 enacted in 1981. This law has given cities of Istanbul, Ankara, Adana, Konya, Kayseri and İzmir the status of becoming a metropolitan municipality (greater city municipality) by re-formulating the tasks and duties as well as transferring the duty of making and approving plans to local governments. The second important development is the Metropolitan Municipality Law No. 5216 that has come into effect in 2004. As per this regulation, which involves amplification of the scope of responsibilities where the local governments gain power, the Metropolitan Municipality of İzmir has become an important centre responsible for a multi-relational system where it will have to interact with 19 sub-provinces and 38 first-tier municipalities within a radius of 50 km in area.

This new setting entails significant results. Such way of growth and empowerment of the local authority primarily points to a kind of threat where İzmir as a great metropolis will have to face a greater magnitude of urban problems as well. On the other hand, following this change in scope of responsibilities, there will also be new demands for development put on the agenda. The city will henceforth have to encounter the new demands of development on the one side and extend the scope of its works with consideration of a dual strategy to solve the existing urban problems on the other.

It is this dual strategy, which has gained currency under national circumstances that carried “Urban Regeneration” projects to the agenda of İzmir. The implementations of regeneration that intend to create new areas of development in cities of Istanbul and Ankara are multi-actor large-scale organisations supported by the central authority. Among these organisations the Republic of Turkey Prime Ministry Housing Development Administration – HDA (TOKİ), which has been established in 1984 with the purpose of encouraging housing production, has undertaken crucial roles. The current implementations that have been initiated by HDA and gained pace with investments of the private sector bear such characteristics that tend to leave significant impacts to regenerate specific parts in the city of İzmir (cf. Table 4).

Institutions that subsidize housing production since 1980 may be grouped into five: the central government, banks, social solidarity associations, housing cooperatives and local governments. These institutions have initiated their work in different time periods and they have provided financial support sometimes in corporation, other times on their own. The year of 1985 has witnessed the rise of housing productions by cooperatives, which were initiated or supported by the Metropolitan Municipality in İzmir. These organisations aim at providing particularly affordable housing of good quality and creating healthy housing environments (Koç, 2001, p.243).

**Table 4 Projects of HDA (TOKI) in İzmir**

Project Title	Project Type	Project Status	Contractor	No. Of Houses	Level
İzmir Konak Uzundere 3 rd Part	Urban renewal project	Under construction	Kuzu Corp. and Bozoğlu Construction INC.	616	93%
İzmir - Torbalı-Yazıbaşı 1 st Phase + (Primary school 24, Trade Centre) (400 dwellings – low income)	Administration – dwelling construction	Under construction	Ve-Na Construction Industry and Trade Corporation	840	3%
İzmir Aliağa (140 dwellings – low income)	Administration – dwelling construction	Under construction	2001 Building Elements Industry and Trade Corp.	500	71%
İzmir Karşıyaka Mavişehir 1 st Part (Mavişehir)	Emlak Real Estate Investment Company	Under construction	Soyak Construction and Trading Corp. - Soyak Housing Development Partnership Initiative	1.568	44%
İzmir Karşıyaka Mavişehir 2 nd Part (Emlak Real Estate Investment Company)	Emlak Real Estate Investment Company	Under construction	Bozoğlu Construction INC.	700	17%
İzmir Karşıyaka Mavişehir 3 rd Part (Emlak Real Estate Investment Company)	Emlak Real Estate Investment Company	Under construction	Albayrak Construction INC.	530	21%
İzmir Karşıyaka Mavişehir 4 th Phase 5 th Zone (7 villas+ 56 dwellings under construction)	Emlak Real Estate Investment Company	Under construction	Cengiz Construction Industry and Trade Corporation	63	0%
İzmir Karşıyaka Mavişehir Trade Centre and Office Blocks	Infrastructure and social facility building	Under construction	Cengiz Construction Industry and Trade Corporation		0%
İzmir Karşıyaka Örnekköy	Urban renewal project	Under construction	Gül-İş Construction Industry and Trade Corporation	808	98%
İzmir Konak Uzundere (Primary School 44, High School 38, Trade, Village Clinic, Mosque) + Örnekköy (Primary School 32, High School 32, Sports Hall, Trade)		Under construction	Esha Construction Industry and Trade Corporation		13%
İzmir Konak Uzundere 1 st Phase	Urban renewal project	Under construction	Ve-Na Construction Industry and Trade Corporation	672	87%
İzmir Konak Uzundere 2 nd Phase	Urban renewal project	Under construction	Ekşioğlu Construction INC.	1.176	74%
İzmir Konak Uzundere 4 th Phase	Urban renewal project	Under construction	Kuzu Con. INC. - Bozoğlu Con. INC.– partnership initiative	616	81%
İzmir Menemen Asarlık (160 dwellings – low income)	Administration – dwelling construction	Under construction	İhe Construction INC.	208	41%
İzmir Menemen Asarlık 2 nd Phase (544) + social facility (Primary School-8, Mosque, Ablutions Fountain, Trade Center)	Dwelling + Social facility building	Under construction	Fetih Construction INC.	544	0%
İzmir Merkez Dere Neighbourhood. (Ahiska Turks) + social facility buildings (Primary School 24, Trade Center, Mosque, Ablutions Fountain, Dining Hall, Social Facility building)	Low income group	Under construction	Günsayıl Construction Industry and Trade Corporation	568	6%
İzmir Seferihisar Turabiye	Emergency dwelling	Construction completed	Pakt Construction and Trade Corporation	180	100 %
İzmir Tire Dwelling + Primary school + Trade Center	Dwelling + Social facility building	Bids to be evaluated		320	0%
İzmir Urla	Emergency dwelling	Construction completed	Ekintaş Construction Industry and Trade Corporation	72	100 %
İzmir-Urla, Seferihisar (252 Dwellings - consultancy)	Consultancy	Construction completed	Su Building Engineering Consultancy Corporation		100 %
Total (20) projects, Total (9.981) dwellings					

Source: HAD (TOKI) website at <http://www.toki.gov.tr/programlar/uygulamatakip/ilharita.asp>



The post-1980s is already the period during which those squatters that were illegally constructed with low-quality have been legalized and restructured as planned developments. Parallel to these developments, the atmosphere brought by amnesties and slum reclamation plans have resulted in illegal construction activities in the remaining vacant and privately-owned lands. Still however, due to such reasons as the high costs of developing lands via land invasion, and the enormity of the benefits available, a different mode of organisation appeared to emerge. Called “land mafia”, this different mode of organisation defines a market within which multi numbers of actors compete with one another (Işık, 2001, p.170).

5 Discourse, concepts and policy concerning housing

The housing productions in a city are expected to be in harmony with components of the “social housing policy”. In other words, the adopted housing policies shall offer effective measures primarily for those communities in most desperate need for shelter. However, the success in housing policies is not confined to this statement merely. The multi-dimensional context of the issue necessitates specific balances to be kept:

- ▶ policies on a national scale and development goals of the city and region on a local scale
- ▶ actors steering the process in practice
- ▶ urban economy and the public benefit
- ▶ need for housing and economical resources
- ▶ the city and the residential pattern to be newly-developed
- ▶ quality of housing and the demand by the user, and
- ▶ dwellings and characteristics of the environmental.

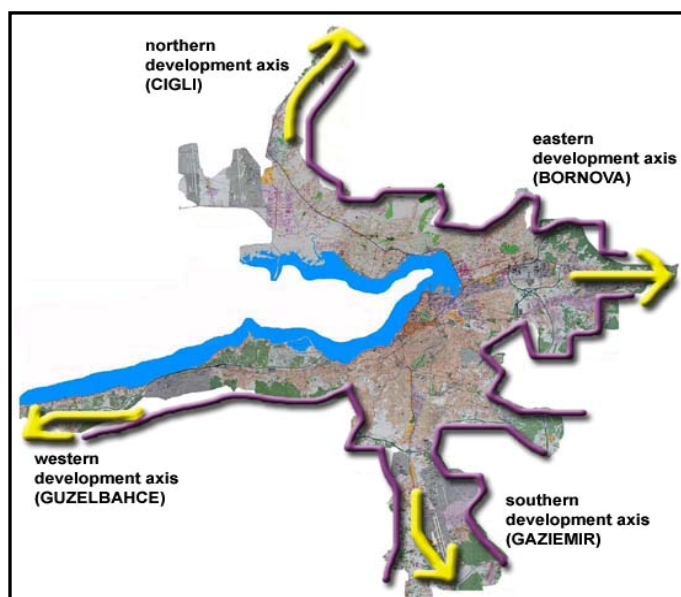
5.1 Vision, concepts and policy of administration and Local Council on the issue of access to housing, segregation and integration of migrants

Those policies that will be determining the future of the city and all the technical studies formulated in light of these policies interact with the current spatial and social structuring as well as the past experiences that have contributed in their formation.

In fact, since the day it has been erected as a city, İzmir has continuously been interacting with its local geography, which is shaped mainly by the bay and the surrounding hills that provide a spatial environment available to be settled. With the effect of demographical concentration accompanied by physical developments, the city leans on its natural thresholds, benefiting from the possibility of expansion towards the western, northern, eastern and southern directions upon which the urban development corridors constitute the city’s macroform in the current setting (cf. Map 4). Accordingly, the resultant physical urban pattern with its varying densities and



Map 4. Spatial Structure of İzmir



differences in quality, as also weaved by limited facilities and infrastructure in its development which is almost devoid of any vacancies at all, has been built up to its limits.

Under such circumstances, it is evident that the future layout of the city cannot be shaped as independent from afore-mentioned characteristics. In shaping the physical spatial environment, the existing setting has brought two different alternatives in preference to one another, namely of, either determining the new devel-

opment goals via further focus over the central city or of heading towards long-distance decentralisation. The newest study that will be determining the future developments in the city, which is the 2006 Master Plan by the Metropolitan Municipality of İzmir has evaluated the probable results of the mentioned two different alternatives with regard to their advantageous and disadvantageous aspects and has consequently adopted the alternative of concentrated development in the centre as the main strategy upon which all studies to follow will be based. While this strategy emerges as a much more coherent alternative from a retrospective analysis that considers spatial settlement practices, thus the past experiences of the city, it still involves specific drawbacks. The underlying reason is that depiction of any urban development over concentration of the city centre at the same time means bringing new loads upon the already-densified urban pattern. The reasons hidden behind this statement may today become manifest for İzmir as follows:

- ▶ Urban land is much more scarce and more valuable than ever before.
- ▶ A part of the existing urban pattern and the mass housing areas on the peripheries already consist of multi-storey buildings and for this reason, do not embody any capacity to receive further population.
- ▶ A part of the urban setting, which has initially been built as migration-based neighbourhoods that are later involved in planned development processes, are yet not considered in terms of any contractor formulations based on stakeholders where insufficiency of facilities and problems of weak infrastructure may be overcome.
- ▶ The historical urban pattern of the city centre has been subject to economic and physical obsolescence, creating deprived urban neighbourhoods where poor communities live.



- ▶ The distinctive parts of the city which are crucial in terms of the natural environment, namely, wetlands, river basins, or areas with landslide danger, etc., are threatened by the intensity of illegal building activities.
- ▶ The most deprived outer ring of the city, which has developed as the physical environment of migration in recent times, has emerged as such part of a city that is disintegrated and weaved with solidarity relations that are further reinforced in proportion to the way poverty gets deeper.

5.2 Public discourse on housing, segregation and integration of migrants

The objectives of the master plan which sees the future of the city of İzmir in concentrated development of the central city may be regarded to be far from creation of physical and social fragmentation. The general principles have even been identified as:

- ▶ INTEGRATION as referring to proper use of regional resources of the metropolitan area. (Integration points to the need for re-organisation of the urban/regional land use pattern that has been fragmented due to the changes city has gone through in the course of its historical time.)
- ▶ BEING LOCAL in terms of a just share of risks and benefits.
- ▶ FLEXIBILITY as related with the capacity of different authorities to work in collaboration. (Flexibility bears importance in terms of coordination problems that may be in question during consideration of the plan decisions by different authorities.)

Depiction of the principles as such aims at making strategic interventions over development of the city and providing solutions to the problems that are at issue not only for today, but probable for the future as current tendencies may reveal.

Within such a framework, it is manifest that the market of immovable properties will again undertake a crucial role with regard to the urban economy that will offer mainstream dynamics determining the impacts upon social processes and the physical spatial environment. Particularly in the course of time where development will primarily be defined by potentials of the central city, it is definite that urban land will be subject to much more rapid changes in value under an interaction environment much different from that of the present times. Those practices, which target at rehabilitation of the physically problematic areas of the obsolete districts of the city and endeavour to solve the problems by making transfers of property ownership, will be re-formulating the existing network systems of the city and entail a completely new pattern of segregation. These will further be followed by new habits of consumption of the new times where the model lives and aesthetical values will play an influential role in facilitating the functioning system of the market.

The conditions for successfully reaching the targets put by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality in the recently approved master plan is to a great extent being limited



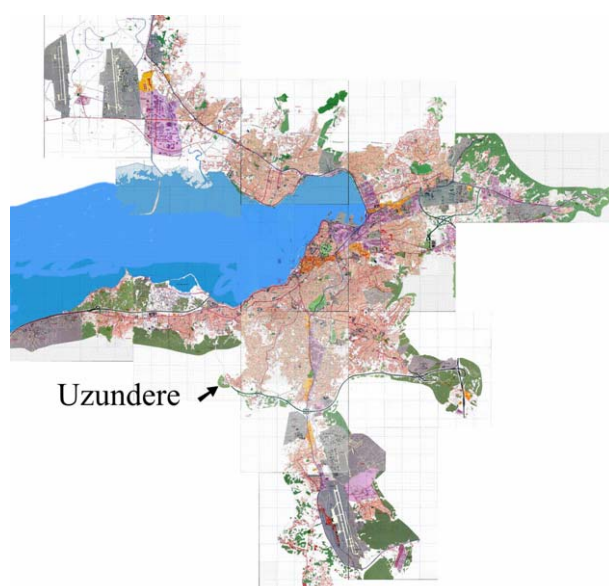
by the market mechanism and local dynamics. For this reason, it remains crucial for the city of İzmir to avoid such developments that interpret the mainstream dynamics of regeneration merely in physical terms, and to proliferate the number of social projects as much as the level of their effectiveness, since they already have been initiated in urban grounds.

6 Interventions on housing and integration: measures and projects

In this chapter, selected measures and project being relevant for the integration of resident population with migratory background (Turkish nationals from East and Southeast Turkey) and resident minorities (Roma of Turkish nationality) are discussed.

6.1 Interventions to improve access to housing for migrants

In several areas of İzmir, there are projects implemented for dealing with degraded housing stock and to improve the access to affordable and decent housing for the residents of these neighbourhoods. These neighbourhoods usually have a large percentage of poor housing quality, many of the one to three storey houses originally erected illegally and becoming legalized later (*gecekondu*, meaning “built overnight”, but used for degraded neighbourhoods in general). Some of the residents living in these neighbourhoods are internal migrants from Southeast Turkey of Kurdish or Arab ethnicity who moved to İzmir during the seventies and early eighties. Out of the ongoing projects in İzmir (Konak-Gürçeşme, Konak-Limontepe, Çiğli Güzeltepe, Karşıyaka-Onur Neighbourhood, Buca, Konak-Uzundere, Karşıyaka-Örnekköy), two projects which are in a very progressed state (the Konak-Uzundere resettlement and the Karşıyaka-Örnekköy resettlement) as well as one project in the early planning phase (Konak-Gürçeşme resettlement) will be discussed.



6.1.1 Konak-Uzundere resettlement project

The project is legally based on a protocol signed between the Housing Development Administration of Turkey (HDA), the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality (IMM) and the Konak District Municipality. The construction of public housing units at the resettlement area Uzundere is funded by the HDA, while the accompanying social policy measures and infrastructure provisions are funded by the IMM. A total of 3080 housing



units are built in Uzundere, a hillside location in the Southwest of İzmir. The new buildings are standardized twelve to sixteen storeys high blocks which feature housing units of three standard sizes ranging from 64m² to 104m². The new units are built according up-to-date quality standards for housing units for the middle price segment of the real estate market. All units will be sold as a private property. Although the Uzundere hillside location is at the periphery of the urban building area, it is situated quite near to the city centre due to its position between the Western (Guzelbahce) and the Southern (Gaziemir) development axis. The city centre is less than fifteen driving minutes away, and public bus lines as well as private bus taxis will provide a quick link to the İzmir downtown area.

A small part of the Uzundere housing area will be sold on the private real estate market, but the largest share is reserved for the resettlement from a nearby scattered neighbourhood in the valley ground affected by flood risks, and primarily for the resettlement from the Kadifekale *gecekodu* in the Konak district. The Kadifekale neighbourhood is one of the oldest *gecekodu* around a historical site on a hill top just South of the city centre.



Especially the larger Southern part of the neighbourhood is strongly affected by landslides which cause structural damages to the building, already resulting in the collapse of several buildings. Due to the high risk for its inhabitants, this neighbourhood has priority of all *gecekodu* resettlement projects.

Most of the 1845 families still living in this neighbourhood are internal migrants from Southeast and East Turkey with a Kurdish background. 1110 families stem from two cities in Southeast and Central Anatolia Regions in Turkey respectively (Mardin/907 and Konya/203), and a minority of 383 families stem from İzmir.



The existing housing stock is quite degraded and to a large extent seriously damaged by the landslide. The infrastructure provided by the city (water, electricity, sewage) is complete, however requiring frequent maintenance due to the landslide. The neighbourhood has a good infrastructure of small shops and small enterprises; a primary and a secondary school are located in Kadifekale. Small greens between the houses are used for growing vegetables and for small productive livestock (urban village structure).



Main income source of the neighbourhood is processing and selling of mussels which are cooked and stuffed with a traditional filling under usually quite primitive conditions. The stuffed mussels are sold by male residents of Kadifekale downtown in the tourist and promenade areas.

The houses are inhabited by their owners, but to an unknown share also by tenants who rented the house from owners who may still live in Kadifekale or have moved to a better-off neighbourhood. Most of the house owners hold also a title on the ground since the houses build on public ground became legalized in the 1980s.

A part of the neighbourhood which has been affected most by the landslide has been demolished already.

2400 houses in the landslide area of the Kadifekale neighbourhood and some small areas of the neighbourhood not affected by the landslide will be moved to Uzundere at the end of 2007. The freed space will be converted into a recreational area and a park as demarcated in the 2006 İzmir Master Plan since it has quite centrally located historical sites such as Kadifekale (Velvet Castle) in its middle at the hilltop and the antique



theatre which will be excavated once the inhabitants of respective gecekondu will have been shifted to public housing. Although there are rumours among the Kadifekale residents that the resettlement has the purpose of clearing centrally located space for new buildings, new residential buildings are not planned in the area.

The residents of Kadifekale shall be resettled to the Uzundere housing units. Owners of a house or a house including the ground at Kadifekale will receive a compensation for their expropriated property. This compensation could cover the costs for the purchase of a housing unit at the Uzundere building area, since the price of the housing units will be subsidized by the profit-making sector of HDA building real estate for the free market, allowing a price per unit which merely covers the construction costs. In cases where the compensation for expropriated property at Kadifekale does not cover the purchase, the municipality will provide a subsidized mortgage scheme with a repayment duration of up to 15 years. The municipal officers assume that this combination of compensation payments and subsidized mortgage will ensure the feasibility of a purchase of a new housing unit at Uzundere for the resettled residents of Kadifekale.

In cases where the owner of the Kadifekale house moved out of Kadifekale and rented the property to a tenant, it is assumed that the then owner of the Uzundere housing unit will rent it to the former tenant, thus ensuring a resettlement also for those residents who do not own real estate in Kadifekale. There are, however, no



provisions ensuring such arrangements. The owner of a new housing unit at Uzundere may well decide to move in himself, or to sell the unit at the free market. There are no regulations for sales of the subsidized housing units at Uzundere on the free market such as an obligation to repay the difference to the market value to the HDA or the municipality at a discounted rate in case of a sale within a certain period. Thus, it seems that there is a certain risk that a share of the units allocated for the resettlement from Kadifekale will be instantly sold on the free housing market, resulting in private gains for the owners from the publicly subsidized resettlement scheme, and leaving especially tenants from Kadifekale in a quite vulnerable position.

Another important aspect of the resettlement project, however, seems to be well tackled by the municipality. Since the economic basis for many Kadifekale residents is the mussle processing, the municipality plans to build at Uzundere facilities for a mussle processing factory providing installations at an up-to-date hygienic standard for the small family businesses making their living by the sale of stifed mussels. Small shop owners from Kadifekale shall get the opportunity to continue their business in a newly built bazaar at Uzundere. Via these provisions, the municipality aims at ensuring that the current economic basis of the Kadifekale residents may be transferred to the new Uzundere resettlement area as well, allowing for sufficient income for making their living and covering the mortgage payments.

These two measures implemented by the municipality will be complemented by further infrastructure measures in the Uzundere building area. The plans developed by the national HDA provide for several areas within the neighbourhood dedicated for infrastructure such as playgrounds, sport fields, social and educational facilities. Two of these areas will be used for the mussle factory and the bazaar, the others will be used according to demand raised after the resettlement. Since the planning, construction and financing of the housing area is solely up to the national HDA, and all accompanying social policy measures as well as the provision of necessary local infrastructure is up to the municipality, this strict division of responsibilities may cause frictions in coordinating the resettlement process. The leeway of the municipality for influencing critical developments in the Uzundere project seems to rather be limited.

An important aspect of the Kadifekale – Uzundere resettlement project is gaining the support and acceptance of the Kadifekale residents for the project. In this respect, the municipality undertook major measures to inform the Kadifekale residents in advance and to promote support for the project.



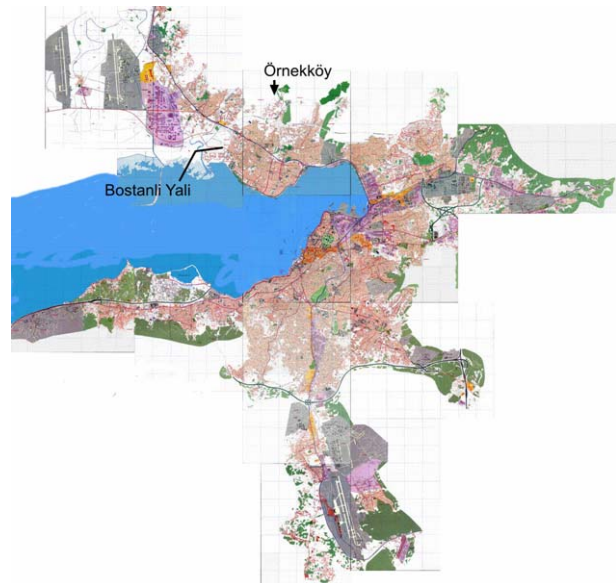


As preparation of the project, the municipality installed a project information shop in the Kadifekale neighbourhood staffed by municipal officers which is open to the public. In this office, maps, models of the housing units at Uzundere and further information of the project is displayed and the officers respond to questions by the visitors. According to the officers, the information office met quite some interest by the residents, and is visited frequently. Via this information office, a weekly tour to the Uzundere site for residents of Kadifekale is organized, featuring a free bus ride and a guided tour to the construction area and into housing units which are already completed. According to the officers, especially these tours are well accepted by

many residents, some of them using it for already planning details of furnishing the new house. These information activities seem to constitute an important part of the project preparation by the municipality for preventing conflicts potentially raised the resettlement project. However, since all construction planning is up to the national HDA and, consequently, the municipality has little influence on the planning process, participation by the future residents in the planning phase has not been feasible beyond the areas of responsibility of the city of İzmir.

6.1.2 Karşıyaka-Örnekköy resettlement project

The project is based on a protocol signed by the HAD of Turkey, the IMM and the Karşıyaka District Municipality. Within the project, 808 housing units have been constructed in the Örnekköy neighbourhood of Karşıyaka, the district at the Northern shore of the İzmir bay. The public housing construction in Örnekköy is completed. The new housing units are dedicated for the resettlement of the residents of the Bostanlı Yali neighbourhood, a



gecekondu area with a considerable share of Roma people. They shall move to the public housing in Örnekköy in the second half of 2007. The public housing units in Örnekköy are of standard quality comparable to the Uzundere units. A nearby school centre, a bazaar and a mosque are nearly completed. The area is built at the northern periphery of existing residential areas nearby the hillside.



The Bostanlı Yalı *gecekondu* is situated in an area nearby the northern shore of the bay which bordered swamps at the coast line, and has considerably free greens around the buildings which are partly used for growing vegetables and for small productive livestock. The swamp area became developed in recent years, and a major new housing area for upper middle class residents has been built between the *gecekondu* and the shore line. The new building area is currently expanding into the *gecekondu* which shows quite bad physical conditions of the housing stock. A considerable share of the residents in the Bostanlı Yalı *gecekondu* has a Roma ethnic background and has build their

houses on public ground with a long term lease of the ground not owned by the residents. Thus, the compensation payments for the expropriation will usually cover the house only, and, different to the Uzundere project, a large share of the resettled residents will have to fully rely on the subsidized mortgage to afford the new housing at Örnekköy. The average monthly rates are expected to amount to approx. 180 € per month. This is especially problematic for the residents with Roma ethnicity since they often experience only limited access to regular employment and have to rely on the informal sector to make their living. Although the public housing at Örnekköy has been subsidized as well, representatives of the Roma residents expect that they will have to move out after some months due to the inability to raise the mortgage payments, resulting in a move to other *gecekondus* in the İzmir periphery. For preparing the resettlement, the municipality also installed an information office at the Bostanlı Yalı neighbourhood.



6.1.3 Konak-Gürçeşme resettlement project

The Ege neighbourhood in the Konak district is an old building stock nearby the city centre encircled by a train line, a highway and an industrial area. The housing stock belonged to residents of Greek ethnicity which emigrated during the war of Turkish independence. The vacant and degraded housing stock has then been occupied by Turkish Roma that form a Roma settlement in the central area of the city. Until the mid-1990s, the nearby leather industry caused heavy pollution of the area, a situa-



tion which has been completely improved during the last decade. The residents of the Ege neighbourhood are living in 250 housings in a very bad physical estate. Most housings are owned by Roma and non-Roma residents of İzmir living outside the Ege neighbourhood; some housing with extremely bad conditions (partly collapsed roof) are inhabited for free, others with some better estate are rented to tenants for usually quite overpriced rents (i.e. 150 € per month for approx. 30qm without any sanitary or cooking installations). The municipality is currently planning to move the residents of the Ege Neighbourhood to a new residential area in Gurcesme. The future use of the cleared Ege area is planned for recreational purposes. Differing to the Uzundere and Örnekköy housing areas which are planned, financed and constructed by the national HAD, all of the public housing in Gurcesme will be constructed by the municipality of İzmir (IMM). The Gurcesme area, approx. 10 km from the city centre, 275 public housing units are currently planned.



The Roma community in Ege is currently trying to negotiate an alternative plan with the municipality. Representatives of the community stated that the current housing conditions at Ege are clearly unsustainable and have to be improved. They argue, however, that the location of Ege situated nearby the city centre, relevant infrastructure and the cultural centre with the city park allows for multiple opportunities for small business and provides for a good inclusion into the public life of İzmir. Since the Gurcesme area is comparably remote, these opportunities being relevant for the economic activities and the quality of live of the Ege residents would be disrupted. They propose to build new small sized housing in adjacent areas which were occupied by industrial sites and are now vacant.

According to the municipal officers, the resettlement is not finally decided yet, although the planning is already quite progressed. Due to the unique character of the ethnic neighbourhood and the quest of the neighbourhood civil society structures for an alternative, this neighbourhood could be well a model project for an alternative urban development strategy which preserves the grown social and economic networks of the neighbourhood by building new dwellings in the vicinity. Since predominantly Roma as an ethnic group are affected, and since the local organisations seem to be willing to actively cooperate in an alternative development project, such a model project has a potential to raise international interest and probably also project funding from EU sources. Such model project could also raise the hitherto very stigmatized image of the Ege neighbourhood, according to some residents an important factor for exclusion patterns at the labour market.



6.2 Local policies managing spatial segregation

6.2.1 Promotion of the Roma by a Theatre Play

This measure funded by the municipality of İzmir (IMM) with a support from a European Union Fund aims at contributing to raising awareness in the community about the concept of diversity and developing cultural tolerance. The measure focuses on local Roma who constitute one of the identity features of İzmir. It aims at recognising and promoting the Roma culture via the medium of a theatre play. Within the project, a project team has been established which developed the performance script. A staff including performers has been formed out of local Roma, many of them from the Ege neighbourhood. Basic skills of theatre performance have been trained to the performers of the play by professional theatre artists and a professional regisseur, and the performance of the developed play has been exercised.

As part of the public relations activities for the project, a press campaign has been implemented in which the project and EU support for it has been presented. Brochures and posters have been developed and disseminated.

The play will be primarily staged on the 6th May 2007 Roma Festival in the Cultural Centre in downtown İzmir. The theatre team will then participate in festivals of district municipalities affiliated with the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality and of surrounding cities and districts.

Part of the project is a survey among the audiences, collecting information upon their assessment, and the preparation of a final report which summarizes and discusses the experiences from the project.

The project is implemented by the Roma Culture Social Solidarity Association and the IMM Cultural Advisor. Voluntary performers of Roma citizens are acting in the play. The voluntary performers were recruited with the help of local mukhtars (elected heads of neighbourhoods).

The core aim of the measure is to deal with the fact that the socio-economic conditions and education levels of the Roma citizens, who until today are subject to various negative images, are low. A small survey on a random sampling of 90 Roma concluded that the education level among the Roma living in İzmir is quite low. From a total of 90 persons, 26% were illiterate, 18% dropped out of compulsory primary school, 38% completed compulsory primary school, and 12% continued post-compulsory education. Taking the relation between education-level and gender into consideration, male participants scored a higher ratio in terms of education levels. The basic problems effecting low education levels in general are depicted as the low education levels of parents, impracticability of the conditions of their socio-cultural environment, inability to meet the demands of training tools and materials, and conflicts in school life. Roma usually work in socially low-prestigious occupations, resulting in affecting their social status and image among the İzmir community. The Roma are in many cases porters, waste collectors, shoeblacks, fruit and vegetable sellers in markets, and musicians. The greatest problem for most of the Roma today is un-



employment and employment without social security. Low education levels define both occupations undertaken and incomes earned.

The project aims at contributing to a change in the perception of the Roma, who are often identified with nomadic life-style. It shall provide a publicly visible example of Roma showing that they can be successful in prestigious jobs, thus combating prejudices and at the same time, communicating information about their own ethno-cultural structure.

By the completion of the project, the Roma Culture Social Solidarity Association is expected to become a reference point for the Roma citizens about getting to know and promoting their culture. The project is expected to develop the knowledge and experience, as well as the technical capacity of the association.

The project further aims at establishing a cultural dialogue between the Community of İzmir and Roma citizens since the future of intercultural assimilation and exchange rests with the convergence and synergy between the community and different cultures living in the city. This partnership is expected to increase the visibility of cultural differences but, however, to promote an intercultural synthesis by a diversity approach. It aims also at improving the stigmatized image of Roma neighbourhoods such as Ege by providing a publicly visible forum for local Romas and promoting a positive image of the diversity within the İzmir population.

6.2.2 Training of the elected heads of neighbourhoods (Mukhtars)

The project aims at activating neighbourhood administrations and at training of the elected heads of neighbourhoods (Mukhtars) in the process of restructuring in public administration. It implements a training of Mukhtars in governance, public relations and service provision.

Mukhtars are elected representatives of a local neighbourhood and form a parallel representation structure based on national regulations and acting independently from the municipal administration and the administrations of the districts of the municipality. The Mukhtars are directly elected in their neighbourhoods of approx. 500-800 households and act as local contact person for legal and administrative matters, mediators and as representatives and speakers of the local neighbourhood.

The project is implemented by the IULA-EMME (International Union of Local Authorities - Eastern Mediterranean and Middle East region and managed by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. The project acts in the context of the The Local Agenda 21 programme implemented in cooperation with the UNDP Turkey and the Head of the UNDP Governance Programme.

The implementation is facilitated by participation of nine lecturers from the Eylul University of İzmir who participate as trainers.

Within the project, more than 250 neighbourhood Mukhtars from the city of İzmir and representatives of national Mukhtar associations have participated. The Mayor of



İzmir, the Governor of Usak and the National Programme Coordinator of the Local Agenda 21 have contributed as lecturers. 90% of the project budget is contributed by IULA-EMME and 10% by public and private institutions as well as other local partners.

6.2.3 Medical services in the neighbourhood

The İzmir Metropolitan Municipality funds a central hospital which is apart from the regular public medical service also a medical centre for residents who have no health insurance (unemployed, not yet insured by the employer during the first 4 months of employment, not public medical aid – ‘green card’). These residents may register and receive full health service funded by the municipality.



The history of this hospital is as follows: Syphilis was one of the frequent diseases due to İzmir’s being a city of commerce and maritime. The Emraz-ı Zühreviye (Venereal Diseases) Hospital came in to service in 1908 to cope with it. Owing to the

great efforts of former Mayor Eşref Paşa, the hospital was named after him in 1913, and has since been called the Eşrefpaşa Hospital. On the 1st of February 1950, the Special Provincial Administration conveyed it to the then İzmir Municipality.

It is currently renovated and expanded and has a staff of about 500 persons (75 doctors, 110 nurses). It functions as a regular hospital, providing also services to private patients who visit the services due to the lower costs compared to other hospitals. However, the medical service for residents with no health insurance is an important part of its work. Patients without health insurance are primarily families living in *gecekondus* with a migratory background. Children receive all services free of charge, adults have to cover the costs of medication only. The Esrefpasa hospital is the only hospital in İzmir which treats uninsured patients. Currently are about 5000 families registered who receive treatment free of charge funded by the municipality.

The hospital offers also local services in the neighbourhoods by performing health checks and screenings for hepatitis B and other diseases in local schools, especially in *gecekodu* neighbourhoods. These health checks take place for during days. Part of this local programme moving from one neighbourhood to the next is a medical service for parents also receive instructions on hygiene and are screened.

Until 2004, the Esrefpasa hospital has been providing these services for the 24 districts of the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. Within this area, public transport and



relatively short distances allowed for easy access to the service. Since the expansion of İzmir to the greater metropolitan area encompassing a total of 57 districts in a range of 50 kilometres around the city centre, according to the officials a sufficient accessibility cannot be ensured by a single central institution anymore.



The new challenges which the city of İzmir faces as a consequence of the expansion by the 2004 law can be shown by the example of the Roma community of Çirpi. The Roma neighbourhood is located outside a small village which is situated about 45 km southwest of the city centre of İzmir. The neighbourhood of about 500 Turkish Romas is the only one of several Roma settlements in the greater İzmir area where Roma language is still spoken. The residents work as day-labourers for local farmers during the four to five months farming season. Half of the neighbourhood has houses of basic standard with sewage and water installations, the other half has no installations at all, relying on a single water tap on a small green in the settlement. One of the most critical problems in the neighbourhood is access to the medical services. Several deaths caused by major delay in accessing medical treatment have been reported during recent years, mainly affecting women giving birth and children. With regard to medical services, the settlement has to rely onto a small medical outpost at the nearby village which is in service only during daytime, and which has to transfer any serious illnesses to a hospital in İzmir. Such transfers raise major problems for the family members: A bus ride from the remote location is lengthy and costs about 7 Lira (ca. 3€50) one way, a full day wage for the day-labourers of the community.



Since the responsibility for public infrastructure is now transferred to the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality due to the 2004 legislation, the local medical station belonging to the national Ministry of Health will shut down. For the residents of the Cırpı Roma settlement as well as for other poor rural communities in the large area around İzmir, it would be extremely difficult to rely on the Esrefpasa hospital as central medical facility only. Thus, in addition to general infrastructure and socio-economic problems in the new districts, the city of İzmir has to meet the demand for a basic health infrastructure in those areas which are located quite remotely, thus requiring local services and likely some decentralized installations in the periphery.



6.2.4 Cultural and social centres

To improve the social cohesion in disadvantaged neighbourhoods and to promote cultural and social activities, arts and sport, the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality supports cultural and social neighbourhood centres, mainly located in *gecekondu* areas. Most of these centres are managed jointly by the NGOs *Aegean Foundation for Contemporary Education* (EÇEV) and *Education Volunteers Foundation of Turkey* (TEGV), and the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality.



The low-threshold neighbourhood centres are equipped with meeting rooms for children, adults and youths and have class rooms for a variety of courses such as promoting literacy and handicrafts. The larger centres include a library, a multi-purpose gym and cafeterias; some of them feature also painting and sculpture ateliers and exhibition halls. A series of neighbourhood centres is already active, some larger centres are under construction or in planning.

6.2.5 Vocational Training & Skills Courses

In Turkey, occupational qualification is mainly gained 'on the job'. However, for people without necessary basic qualifications, it is very difficult to get entry to the labour market and to get a (first) job that would enable to gain these important skills. To



break this vicious circle, the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality organises vocational training and skill courses in four centres. By these courses, the city contributes and supports the employability of unemployed low-qualified persons; often migrants from the east and southeast of Turkey.



Professional formation is provided by dedicated schools, and the entry into such professional schools is subject to a complete primary and secondary school career with good final exams. Since women in rural areas, especially in South-East Turkey which is the origin of a considerable share of the İzmir *gecekondu* residents, often do not attend to the full school curriculum, they are not entitled to enter a professional formation. For this

target group, a pilot programme supported by EU funds in the Çamdibi Training Cent offers professional training courses which leads to a professional certificate, and which is also accessible for person who do not meet the entry requirements of the regular professional schools. This programme provides access to a professional certificate for residents of disadvantaged neighbourhoods, mainly women with uncompleted school career.

The projects are managed by the Department of Culture and Social Works of the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. To develop and implement the courses, the project teams coordinate their activities with the İzmir Chamber of Mechanical Engineers Mühendisleri Odasi and cooperate with the Ege University; trainers and instructors are volunteers or employed through NGOs.

Since there is a high demand for these training centres, the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality will open 6 further centres in 2007.

6.2.6 Children Training Centre in Karşıyaka

The municipality of İzmir sustains several training centres for children which aim at offering the children during their school-free time (morning or afternoon depending on the class) mentoring and leisure activities to prevent the children from being on the streets, thus also reducing the risk of gang affiliation and petty crime involvement.

One of these projects is the centre Ege Çağdaş Eğitim Vakfı, financed and organised by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality (IMM) in cooperation with the NGO Aegean Foundation for Contemporary Education (EÇEV). The centre is visited by 200 children of all ages per day who are supported by 10 teachers recruited from pedagogic students of the Ege University at İzmir. Most of these children are socio-



economically disadvantaged, living in a nearby *gecekondu*. Some come on their own accord, others are sent by their schools. To make their attendance possible, the centre offers bussing picking up the children at home and bringing them back after classes have finished.

The teachers offer computer and language (English) classes and assistance for homework. In addition, the children can participate at a variety of activities like music, poetry, handicrafts and theatre. The aims are, on the one hand, to provide the children with certain skills; on the other hand, the project aims at providing them with more self-conscience and self-confidence: they shall be able to defend and organise their life themselves.

6.2.7 Sister, Brother & Young Children Project

‘Sister, Brother & Young Children’ is an ambitious volunteer university student project with some hundred participants: 500 students (so-called ‘sisters’ and ‘brothers’) will regularly meet 300 young children from disadvantaged socio-economic background, among them Turkish children of Roma or Kurdish ethnicity. The number of sisters, brothers and young children are not constant and are on steady rise. The core idea is to have the students acting as role models for language, behaviour, hygiene as well as concerning education, formation and literacy. The aim of this project, however, is twofold: on the one hand, it aims at improving the situation of socio-economically disadvantaged children. On the other hand, it aims at sensitizing students to living-conditions and problems of certain groups within the city of İzmir and hence raises their consciousness and awareness of the city and their population as a whole.

For four months, a pair of two students meets one or two children during two hours per week. The programme, which is the same for all participants, includes a variety of activities: games for promoting better writing or for developing creativity, excursions into other parts of the city and the outskirts, planting trees and activities as reflections about ‘things I am talented in’ for develop a better self-consciousness and, in particular, self-confidence. Besides the volunteers help their brothers and sisters in doing their homeworks.

Furthermore, big meetings take place in which all participants participate. The meetings take place in the children’s neighbourhood: several so-called ‘leader families’ (with or without own children) open their private house for the ‘sisters, brothers and young children’. The children in need as well as the ‘leader families’ have been found upon recommendation and mediation by 95 *mukhtars* (elected heads of neighbourhood) involved in the project as well as by activities of local associations and clubs such as women or Roma organisations.

The 500 ‘sisters’ and ‘brothers’ are students from the Ege and Dokuz Eylül Universities, most of them receiving a fellowship by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality. The



fellowship involves an expectation – but no obligation – to engage voluntarily in activities for the public good.

To prepare and support the volunteer students, the project leaders provide five training units:

- ▶ adolescent period and related physical and psychic problems as well as violence and anger management,
- ▶ communication and crime,
- ▶ critical reading,
- ▶ intelligence aspects and different learning styles,
- ▶ study techniques, time management and target orientation.

This training supports the students in working with the children, but also contribute to their own skills. In the course of the project, the students write short reports once a week. They are supervised by the project leaders, and there are three employees (employed by the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality) and 20 volunteers that act as consultants for the students in case they need assistance or psychological help.

Within this time, they have altogether participated in collectively organised activities such as concerts, boat trips, tree plantings, and picnics. Besides there have also been visits to organisations such as children’s hospitals, rest homes, kindergardens, and training parks.

7 Highlights and Failures: Learning for CLIP

İzmir is the 3rd greatest city of Turkey, having about 2.3 million inhabitants in 2000. The city is located on the Aegean coast and the inner part of the İzmir Bay. Thus, the urban pattern is geographical shaped by the bay and by the massy mountains framing the bay in three directions.

İzmir is one of the most relevant export ports of Turkey, and the city has attained a status of being the most important point of attraction owing to its population as well as its functions of trade, industry, education, culture, health, finance, tourism on the one hand, and the institutions and organisations serving the large hinterland, on the other.

It is also a preferred destination of internal migration: in the end of the 1990s, only one third of the people living in İzmir were born there. The other residents stem from provinces nearby, as well as from provinces of the eastern and south-eastern regions of Anatolia; a relevant part of these migrants are Turkish nationals of Kurdish ethnicity.

Due to the increasing population, an increased housing stock has been needed. The increased demand for housing has been met within a parallel supply by an informal as well as a regular housing market: in İzmir, more than half of the living areas are



products of informal processes, i.e. built without the permission of local government. In the 1980s, however, the squatter areas – *gecekondu* – that have become rather widespread in urban development have been legalised. The housing quality has been improved and some of the former *gecekondu* areas became regular modern parts of the city. Other *gecekondu* provide only poor living and housing conditions.

To improve the access of these people and to manage segregation, the Municipality of İzmir organises and supports a variety of measures. Some good practice examples shall be summarized in the following.

The resettlement programmes implemented by the HAD of Turkey, the IMM and the related District Municipality predominately focus on physical improvement of the housing conditions. The intensive information activities for the residents of the Kadifekale *gecekondu* (information office in the neighbourhood, frequent tours to the new housing areas) constitute an important accompanying measure. The consideration of the economic basis of the *gecekondu* residents (setting up of a mussel processing facility at the new area) may be considered as a highly relevant good practice which may serve as a good example also for other CLIP cities in Europe. Problematic seems to be, however, the distribution of responsibilities among national and local actors, potential coordination problems caused by this structure, and a very limited leeway for involvement of municipal authorities and the affected population in the planning process. Another potential risk seems to be the impact of the housing unit allocation by a random distribution system which may affect the productive social networks being a crucial resource for these disadvantaged groups. In the case of the Örnekköy resettlement project, there seems to be a high risk that a part of the residents of the current Bostanlı Yalı *gecekondu* will not be able to raise enough income for paying the mortgages since especially Roma residents at Bostanlı Yalı do not own the ground. The lower compensation for the house only and the difficulties to find a paid job may render this group very vulnerable.

One good practice example is the Children Training Centre in Karşıyaka. This centre financed and organised by the municipality of İzmir in cooperation with the NGO Aegean Foundation for Contemporary Education (EÇEV), offers mentoring and leisure activities to socio-economically disadvantaged children living in a *gecekondu*. On the one hand, the teachers improve the children's skills such as English and computer knowledge; on the other hand, the children are provided with more self-conscience and self-confidence, and may participate in a series of positive activities preventing them from staying on the street during school-free times of the day and becoming involved in petty crime and youth gangs.

Another approach is the volunteer university student project "Sister, Brother & Young Children". Students regularly meet children from disadvantaged socio-economic background, provide several activities and act as role models. The aim is twofold: Firstly, it aims at improving the children's living situation; secondly, it aims at raising student's consciousness and awareness of the city and the city's population as a whole.



Another good practice to mention is the neighbourhood related provision of vocational training, especially for women stemming from communities with a rural history. Since members of these communities often do not have a completed school career, a certified professional formation is not accessible for them, rendering them in a very weak position on the labour market. Both, training courses in neighbourhood centres for small business opportunities, as well as professional training course for certified professional skills in training centres constitute a valuable approach to improve to socioeconomic situation of residents of disadvantaged neighbourhoods, and to prevent the replication of this weak situation over generations.

The same holds true for the activities of the İzmir Metropolitan Municipality to improve the image of Turkish residents of Roma ethnicity by cultural and public relation activities. The Roma theatre project is a good example for such measures, and has the potential to contribute to important developments. Since Turkish Roma seem to face much less exclusion than their counterparts in Eastern and South-Eastern Europe, their socio-economic position may be addressed successfully by targeted measures influencing the discourse of the mainstream society and related stereotypes. The setting at İzmir with its substantial Roma population and developed civil society structures within their communities offers an opportunity for a positive approach to their cultural specifics, contributing to the image of İzmir as a whole. An improvement of the housing and living situation in the quite central Ege neighbourhood without relocation to the periphery by a model project has the potential to contribute to image of İzmir as a modern city managing diversity well, and may attract interest and recognition also on an international level.

Although the specific situation of İzmir as a major city in Turkey differs considerably from Western European cities with regard to the integration of migrants, challenges as well as solution approaches on the micro level seem comparable. Some of the measures reported in this case study may well provide for valuable insights and new ideas for other cities in Europe. An important aspect of this case study is, last but not least, that İzmir contributes a double role experience for the CLIP project: On the one hand, the city of İzmir is a home for a large migrant population which – although being internal migrants – raises similar challenges for the local infrastructure and policies like the external migrants in many other European cities. On the other hand, Turkey, and İzmir as well as other cities in Turkey, has been a major source of migrants emigrating to these European cities. This double role, experiences from and points of view of the city of İzmir thus may provide very valuable contributions to the CLIP project as a whole.



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