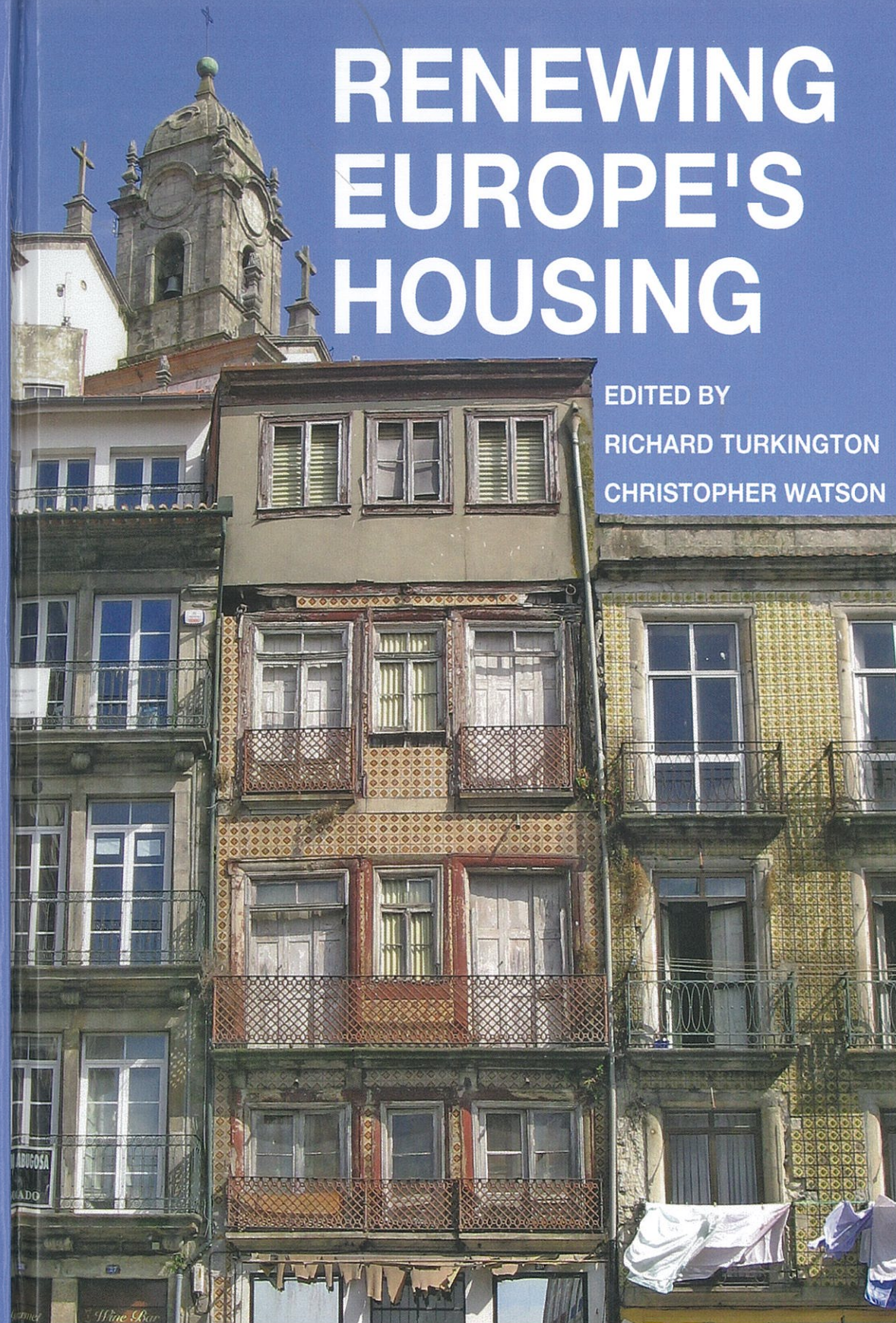


# RENEWING EUROPE'S HOUSING

EDITED BY  
RICHARD TURKINGTON  
CHRISTOPHER WATSON

RENEWING EUROPE'S HOUSING • Edited by Turkington and Watson



account of the challenges presented by an ageing housing stock and policy across Europe fills a significant gap. It is essential reading for those concerned with the future of housing."

*Centre for Urban and Regional Studies, University of Birmingham, UK*

ent overview of housing renewal policies across nine European countries, offering understanding of the barriers to the implementation of more effective and urban renewal policies in different cultures."

*Academy of Sciences of Czech Republic*

of an ageing population and housing stock, housing renewal remains an challenge in European housing policy. *Renewing Europe's housing* elaborates the ng renewal is understood and has developed during the last decennia in nine d European countries. A valuable asset for housing researchers."

*houwer, Delft University of Technology, the Netherlands*

an cities have a shortage of good quality, affordable housing, but this problem less prominent in policy than it should be. This timely book aims to redress that r an introductory chapter, expert contributors provide contemporary comparative housing renewal policy and practice in nine European countries in its physical, social, community and cultural aspects. Shared concerns over energy conservation, tion and inclusion, and the roles and responsibilities of the public and private sectors is of a proposed policy agenda for housing renewal across Europe. The concluding v conclusions from a pan-European perspective and consider the future prospects for er housing.

ractitioners, policy makers and students of housing, urban studies, planning, environmental health and sustainability will all want to read this book.

RKINGTON is Executive Director of Housing Vision, an Honorary Research Associate for Comparative Housing Research, De Montfort University, UK, and a member of tion Committee of the European Network for Housing Research.

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<sup>6</sup> Foment Ciutat Vella is a mixed corporation set up in 1999. It was the continuation of Promoció Ciutat Vella, created in 1988 to promote the transformation of the old centre before the 1992 Olympic Games. The company is responsible for executing all the urban planning and building activities aimed at transforming and revitalising the Ciutat Vella district.

## From squatter upgrading to large-scale renewal programmes: housing renewal in Turkey

*Zeynep Gunay, T Kerem Koramaz and A Sule Ozuekren*

### Introduction

Housing in Turkey has long been seen as a problem of quantity. From the 1920s, through the establishment of new urban centres as symbols of the modern Republic established in 1923, the provision of new housing has played a central role in housing policies as a response to continuous and rapid population growth through natural increase and rural–urban migration. Different formal modes of production have been developed to house citizens in accordance with the law, while until the 2000s, the housing deficit continued to be closed by the citizens themselves through the building of informal squatter settlements (*gecekondu*, literally ‘built overnight’). Attitudes towards these settlements have been reflected in the legalisation and other concessions granted between 1949 and 1983: residents were seen as an economic resource in a then developing country of limited resources. This attitude has provided a continued impetus for further informal settlements, mainly for people moving from rural to urban areas of Turkey, especially but not exclusively to the large cities such as Istanbul. Inevitably, the earliest concerns about housing quality related to the squatter neighbourhoods and prepared the way for the upgrading policies and programmes which have been followed since the 1960s. Although the transformation of these neighbourhoods through the upgrading of their infrastructure improved the residents’ quality of life, it has been argued that the acceptance of these informal settlements, in view of ever rising rents in the formal sector of the urban housing market, has negatively affected the moral codes of society, so that informal arrangements, blurring the boundaries between formal and informal, have also become common in the formal housing sector (Ozuekren, 1998).



The quality of formal housing was not questioned until the end of the 1990s. The meetings to prepare the National Report for Habitat II, the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements held in Istanbul in 1996, marked a significant change in the perception of housing issues in Turkey, however, emphasising the growing need for renewal in both formal and informal housing. The need for the consolidation of existing housing structures was also stressed as an important issue for disaster preparedness. This change of perception did not occur in time and could not prevent the loss of human lives as well as economic resources invested in the buildings demolished by natural disasters such as the Marmara earthquake in 1999, although the lessons drawn from these experiences have highlighted the urgent need to renew the existing housing stock. Academic commentators also have argued for more holistic/integrated approaches in housing renewal to achieve wider social and economic objectives (Tekeli, 2011; Ataov and Osmay, 2007; Koramaz, 2012; Gunay, 2012).

Housing renewal policy and practice in Turkey thus shifted from the squatter settlement upgrading programmes of the 1960s to a much more comprehensive approach in the 2000s. Renewal strategies now form part of both housing and spatial planning policies, and planning legislation has been changed in response to the increasing demand for renewal. There is a questioning of economic approaches that focus on demolition and reconstruction rather than reinvestment, such as rehabilitation and regeneration. Under so-called neoliberal policies for urban space, a property-led renewal approach excludes, evicts and/or displaces low-income groups, regardless of whether they are owners or tenants of demolished housing (see for instance, Keyder, 2005; Bartucandan and Kulluoglu, 2008; Kuyucu and Unsal, 2010; Koramaz, 2012; Gunay, 2012). Present-day Turkey urgently needs to improve the quality of its housing stock, not only for structural durability, but also to make its residential areas more habitable by greater awareness of the social and environmental consequences of each intervention.

This chapter examines the evolution of housing renewal in Turkey as a major component of housing policies especially since the mid-twentieth century; it elaborates on the changes of emphasis over time; and considers prospects for the future. The first section looks at the evolution of housing renewal approaches from 1923 to the present day, from squatter settlement upgrading to large-scale renewal programmes. The second section explores present-day housing renewal through an analysis of renewal programmes in the Istanbul Historic Peninsula. This approach helps to demonstrate the changes of emphasis in housing renewal over time, and to highlight their spatial and socio-economic

implications for future housing renewal priorities in Istanbul, including consideration of the historic built environment, informal squatter settlements, disaster risk mitigation and social exclusion. The chapter concludes by discussing the lessons learnt and the future prospects for housing renewal policies in Turkey.

### The evolution of housing renewal policies in Turkey

Since the foundation of the Turkish Republic, various housing renewal initiatives have been designed to provide new housing, to renovate and upgrade existing older housing and to demolish obsolescent housing. In this section, the evolution of policies is presented chronologically from the 1920s to the 2010s,<sup>1</sup> while Table 10.1 summarises the policy trends influencing the evolution of renewal policies.

#### From foundation to transformation: 1923–45

The first stage in the evolution of housing renewal in Turkey began with the foundation of the Turkish Republic in 1923 and continued to 1945, the end of the Second World War. Characterised by a closed economy based on state investments, policy was centred on the modernity project of the newly established nation-state (Tekeli, 2001). It was a time of rapid population growth, restructuring of the economy, social change and an approach to industrialisation and urbanism in which new centres such as Ankara, designated in 1923 as the capital of Turkey, were developed as symbols of the new Republic. The Housing Bank was established in 1926, followed by major laws relating to urbanisation, housing and public works, including the Law on Municipality in 1930, the Law on Buildings and Roads in 1933, the Land Register Law in 1934 and the Expropriation Law in 1934 and 1939. Although housing and urbanisation issues were not exclusive to Ankara, the most distinctive feature of housing in the years following the decision to make it the capital is that modernist architectural solutions often arose there. New modes of housing provision such as cooperatives were introduced, the first of which, Bahcelievler (Figure 10.1), meaning 'houses with gardens', was established in 1934–39 by high ranking overseas-educated bureaucrats seeking a solution to their housing requirements through cooperative efforts (Ozuekren, 1996a). In addition, the Saracoglu neighbourhood was constructed in 1945 for public officials; it is one of the first examples of mass housing in Turkey.

Table 10.1: Policy trends influencing the evolution of housing renewal in Turkey, 1923–2010

Policy trends	1923–45	1945–60	1960–80	1980–2000	2000–onwards
The political context	Foundation of the modernity project of the newly established nation-state; urbanisation	Closed economy based on state investments, industrialisation. Planning of urbanisation, first wave rural–urban migration	Planned urbanisation, 1961 Constitution, industrialisation, migration	Globalisation, liberal movement, 1982 Constitution, second wave rural–urban migration	Neoliberal urbanism
Housing provision and type	Housing stock inherited from the Ottoman Empire, new housing for government employees and state-owned factory workers, planning efforts in Ankara and Istanbul	First signs of squatter settlements	Build & sell, housing (building) co-operatives, squatters, multi-family housing	Illegal housing & settlements, mass housing, co-operatives and growth of construction firms	Satellite cities, gated communities
Mainstream housing renewal approach	Individual initiatives *Housing as a modernity project	Individual initiatives, clearance of deprived areas for the opening of new transportation arteries *Housing as an economic instrument	Squatter upgrading/clearance	Housing improvement, rehabilitation, bulldozer renewal	Large-scale property-led renewal schemes
Management of housing renewal	Central planning (Law on Municipality, Buildings and Roads, Land Register, Expropriation, Ministry of Public Works)	Central planning (Ministry of Public Works and Settlements, Bank of Provinces, Law on Land Development and Planning)	Central planning (State Planning Organisation, 5-Year Development Plans), rise of private sector	Central planning, (Mass Housing Development Authority), local government reforms, private sector	Local governmental agencies, Mass Housing Development Authority, public-private partnerships
Major concerns	Construction and planning of new urban centres as symbols of the new Republic	Legal and administrative structure, housing shortage for low-income groups, uncontrollable transformation and development	Urban poverty and inequality	Conservation of historic buildings and environment, social classes, urban poverty and inequality	Social exclusion, forced evictions, conservation of historic buildings and environmental sustainability

Figure 10.1: Housing renewal in Ankara: Bahcelievler (a) and Saracoglu (b)



Photo: Courtesy of Cetin Ergand, Goethe-Institute Ankara

Apart from the construction of new urban centres, most of the housing stock during this period dated from the time of the Ottoman Empire, or was new housing for government employees and workers in state-owned factories. The inherited residential buildings from the Ottoman era, particularly in Istanbul, were mostly subdivided informally, to provide more dwelling units for the new inhabitants of the city.

### Planning of urbanisation and housing as a policy: 1945–60

The closed economy, based on state investments, continued from 1945 to 1960. As in the preceding period from 1923 to 1945, the political context was dominated by modernity-led discussions, industrialisation and rapid population increase. Meanwhile there was a first wave of internal rural to urban migration. In contrast to other parts of Europe where the priority was to tackle problems of housing shortage in the aftermath of the Second World War, the priority in Turkey was to accommodate new populations resulting from internal migration to urban areas. Due to the mechanisation of agriculture, helped by Marshall Aid in 1946, and the growing demand for labour in the industrial and construction sectors of the larger urban centres, both population and housing settlement profiles began to change. The first squatter settlements were seen at this time.

The period was characterised also by the planning of urbanisation through further developments in the legal and administrative system, including the establishment of the Bank of Provinces (1945) and the Ministry of Public Works and Settlements (1958); the enactment of



the Law on Land Development and Planning (1956) and the Law on the Board of Engineers and Architects (1954); and the holding of the First Construction Congress (1955). The earliest signs of renewal also appeared, based on the clearance and upgrading of deprived housing areas. The period is sometimes referred to as the Menderes Construction Period, after Adnan Menderes, Prime Minister from 1950 to 1960. Inspired by Hausmann's nineteenth-century redevelopment of Paris, the prominent interventions at this time included the complete demolition of inner-city neighbourhoods, first, to build transport arteries such as the opening of Vatan, Millet and Ataturk Boulevards in Istanbul Historic Peninsula (Figure 10.2); and second, to open up views of the silhouette of major monuments such as Suleymaniye and Emionu New Mosques. The projects caused major concern about the conservation of the historic environment.

Alongside these first renewal efforts were problems of rapid urbanisation and the uncontrollable transformation caused by the growth of squatter settlements. Migration was encouraged in response to the demand for low-cost labour, resulting in rapid population increases in major cities. For instance, from 1940 to 1960, the population of Istanbul rose from 990,000 to 1,882,000<sup>2</sup> and the housing shortage, especially for the urban poor, became a significant issue. The lack of public funds to accommodate the new inhabitants encouraged the growth of self-help housing on empty state-owned land (Senyapili, 1992; Ozuekren, 1998). Thus, the number of squatter dwellings in Turkey reached 240,000 in 1960, accounting for 27 per cent of all housing and 16 per cent of total population; while in 1955, the figure had been 50,000, or 5 per cent of the stock (Keles, 2004, 561). In the Zeytinburnu district of Istanbul (Figure 10.3), squatter dwellings rose from 3,600 in 1949 to 26,000 in 1957 (DPT, 1967).

**Figure 10.2: Complete demolition for the opening of Ataturk Boulevard in Zeyrek, Istanbul in 1941**

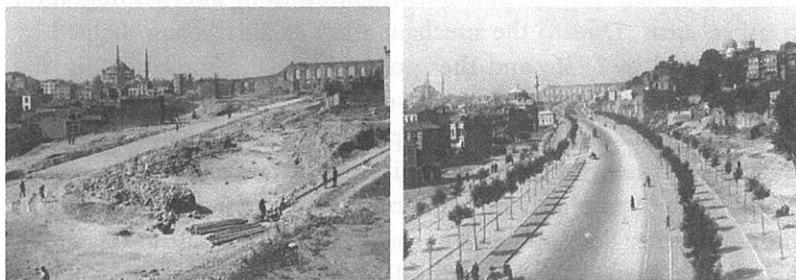


Photo: Anonymous

**Figure 10.3: First squatter settlements in Ankara, Altindag (a) and Istanbul, Zeytinburnu (b)**



Photos: Official websites of Altindag and Zeytinburnu Municipalities

### Squatter upgrading and clearance: 1960–80

The third stage of upgrading and redevelopment was from 1960 to 1980. This was a period between the military interventions of 27 May 1960 and 12 September 1980. The 1960s can be described as the planned era of Turkey, shaped by the enactment in 1961 of a new constitution, which defined housing as a right of citizenship and a responsibility of the state. In 1960, the State Planning Organisation (DPT) was established and began preparing the first Five-Year Development Plan 1963–69. The key political influences affecting housing renewal at this time were industrialisation and squatter development. It was also a period of early attempts to develop a welfare state (Eraydin, 2006). Population growth and migration continued to increase and the size of the housing deficit led to further squatter developments, even though they could not solve the housing problem. Accordingly, the first attempts at area-based housing renewal focused on the rehabilitation of squatter neighbourhoods. The upgrading policy included selective demolition in squatter areas, infrastructure programmes, and preventive measures and rehabilitation plans based on the 1966 Law on Squatters (Law No 775, 30.07.1966). The Law shaped the basic structure of the programmes that focused on the rehabilitation, upgrading and clearance of squatter settlements, and on the provision of housing for low-income residents who had previously lived in these areas. What is important, is that the Law, by providing a definition of prevention zones, opened a new channel for the maintenance and improvement of buildings and the provision of infrastructure; and the renewal of existing housing areas helped to improve the quality of life for residents, without necessarily having to build new housing. Nevertheless, the low level of investment available for renewal could not prevent the continuation of further squatter development.

These improvements were followed by a limited number of aided self-help programmes, sites and services projects and financial support for workers' housing cooperatives. In the case of the latter, research by Ozuekren (1990) showed that individual cooperatives were not homogenous with respect to economic incentives shaping their practices. This was particularly true for the ones in Istanbul, with quite high turnover rates among their members. Some members sold their shares and/or sold or let their dwellings to others, soon after the buildings were completed. Accordingly, it can be said that some workers' housing cooperatives played a role in creating landlords for the private rented housing sector.

Beyond the state-supported programmes and housing provision modes such as cooperatives, the rapidly growing construction sector created its own solutions for building new dwellings to meet growing housing needs, helped by measures such as the Flat Ownership (Condominium) Law of 1965 which provided a legal framework for the authorisation of ownership rights and 'build and sell' system, encouraging, as part of the informalisation of the formal housing sector, 'a rapid process of urban renewal in planned subdivisions' (Pamuk, 1996, 109). Such measures, however, resulted in fragmented ownership rights in apartment type new housing patterns. Most formal housing of this period was built by small enterprises mainly on vacant land in existing urban settlements; or in areas where development rights were greater due to the demolition of old or unprofitable existing housing, in which case, the developer and the owner of the original housing usually agreed to split the title to the new dwelling units. The original owner was compensated for the cost of the land on which new units retained by the builder were located, by acquiring ownership of an agreed number of units (Ozuekren, 1998, 127). This supply process, on the one hand, enabled small entrepreneurs with little capital to undertake construction projects without any initial payments for land; on the other hand, it increased the price of housing units. The process also opened the way for demolition-based housing renewal through private channels in Turkey, and enlarged the number of rental dwellings on the housing market by increasing the number of private landlords. The owners of informal housing also became landlords, extending their own properties by adding additional storeys to create a second or third dwelling.

### Housing improvement and rehabilitation: 1980–99

The fourth stage starts with the military intervention in 1980 and covers the last two decades of the twentieth century. This period was influenced by liberal movements and globalisation through the policies of Turgut Ozal, Prime Minister from 1982 to 1989. The milestones for Turkey's housing during this time include the 1982 Constitution and the 1984 Mass Housing Law. The new constitution maintained that everyone has a right to decent housing while the state must take measures to meet the needs for housing. To help fulfil this task, the Mass Housing Law was passed in 1984 (Law No 2985, 17.03.1984), followed by the establishment of the Mass Housing and Public Partnership Directorate as an autonomous institution to assist in developing public housing projects. The Law also introduced the Mass Housing Fund to provide finance and the required services to meet housing needs at the national scale, and to achieve an orderly process of urban development. The organisation created for the purpose was the Housing Development and Public Participation Administration which in 1990 became the Mass Housing Development Authority (TOKI). As reported in their facility reports, from 1984 to 2003, approximately 43,000 housing units were produced directly by TOKI while 940,000 units benefited from the credit opportunities for housing cooperatives offered by the TOKI Mass Housing Fund. Follow-up evaluations, however, showed that although some cooperative ventures used the Fund for the construction of second homes in coastal areas of Turkey (Seymen and Koc, 1995), TOKI generally was successful in professionalising the members and managers of the housing cooperative movement, particularly through the use of economic incentives to shape reformed practices (for a more in-depth analysis, see Ozuekren, 1996b).

In 1996, Istanbul hosted the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, Habitat II. The contributions of academics and NGOs to the preparation of the Habitat II National Report for Turkey marked a significant change in the perception of housing issues in the country, emphasising the growing need not only for housing renewal but also for an increase in the supply of formal housing. The goals discussed during the preparation meetings included as priorities for action in Turkey: the provision of finance to protect historic sites and the urban fabric; and the maintenance and rehabilitation of the existing building and housing stock, by going beyond the improvement and renewal of squatter areas. The importance of the consolidation

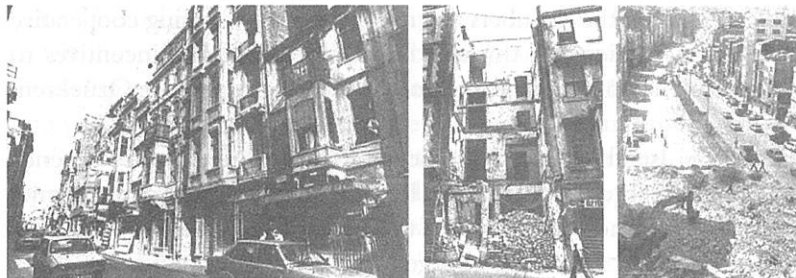


of existing housing was also stressed from the standpoint of disaster preparedness (National Committee, 1996).

The 1980s saw a second wave of internal migration. The rapid and uneven spatial growth within and between cities was largely a result of migration from rural areas where population declined in absolute numbers during the 1980s. Large cities such as Istanbul, Ankara and Izmir received the lion's share of migrants. The new population established themselves either in vacant historic housing in central locations or accessed housing in informally developed neighbourhoods. At the same time, urban transformation was strongly encouraged in waterfront and vacant industrial areas to build up the new 'global cities' as symbols of economic power.

Notwithstanding these developments, major concerns in the period were the conservation of historic buildings, urban poverty and inequality. Despite the rehabilitation of some existing housing areas, especially historic neighbourhoods such as Fener-Balat, Istanbul with support from the European Union, the 1980s was a time of bulldozer renewal, with the clearance of neighbourhoods and industrial areas in the Golden Horn and Beyoglu districts to create a global city image. Just to open Tarlabasi Boulevard, 370 historic buildings, 167 of which were registered, were demolished by the municipality between 1986 and 1988 (Figure 10.4).

**Figure 10.4: Demolition for the widening of Tarlabasi Boulevard in 1986–88, Istanbul**



Photos: Anonymous

### Large-scale renewal programmes: 2000 onwards

The 2000s was a period characterised in Turkey by the growth of neoliberal urbanisation policies and the deployment of renewal as the base of urbanisation politics. Throughout the first decade and more

of the twenty-first century, property-led regeneration has been the driving force of these policies. Until the 1980s, the term 'renewal' was often used to describe the clearance and rebuilding of informal squatter settlements, though its meaning was broadened subsequently to include the improvement and rehabilitation of both formal and informal housing. Unfortunately, though perhaps deliberately, the earlier meaning of 'renewal' was adopted in the 'Renewal Law' of 2005 [Law on the Protection and Revitalisation of Deteriorated Historic and Cultural Immovable Assets (Law No 5366, 05.07.2005)]. The term refers to the wholesale clearance and redevelopment of established urban neighbourhoods which, though attractive for developers, has proved highly controversial, for instance, in the redevelopment (or 'renewal') of many districts in Istanbul and other large cities such as Ankara and Izmir.

Many buildings constructed from the 1960s onwards suffer from corrosion and require either structural consolidation or rebuilding due to problems and defects in construction materials and technology. This is true for most of the reinforced concrete structures built before the end of the 1970s, whether by formal or informal practices. Although ready-mixed concrete has been used in most European countries for a long time, it was not introduced into the construction market in Turkey until the mid-1970s. Even in formal (regulated) housing construction, sea sand was used in concrete without any processing to make it appropriate for construction. These deficiencies increase the risks to people and buildings when natural disasters occur.

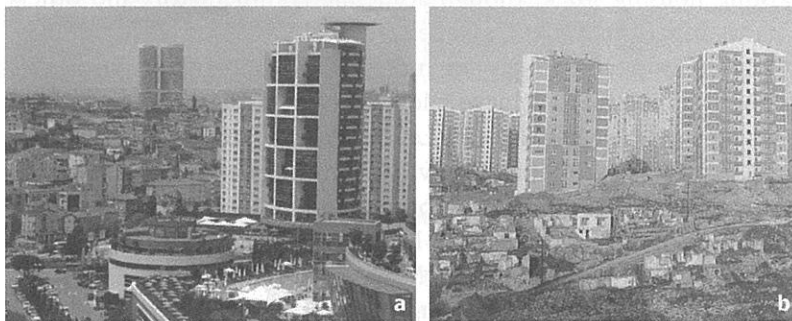
Accordingly, an important reason for the 2005 Law was the 1999 Marmara earthquake in which, according to the Prime Ministry Crisis Management Centre, 18,243 people died and 376,379 housing units were totally destroyed. Especially after the earthquake, housing policies have had added impetus with the wider recognition of housing as a problem of quality. This has highlighted the urgent need to renew existing housing stock, though academic commentators and others (Ataov and Osmay, 2007; Tekeli, 2011; Koramaz, 2012; Gunay, 2012) have argued strongly for more holistic, integrated approaches in housing renewal to achieve wider social and economic objectives.

Changes to the Mass Housing Law, the passing of the 2005 Renewal Law, and the enactment of new building regulations followed the earthquake. In 2001, the Mass Housing Fund was closed, and in 2004, TOKI was transferred from the Ministry of Settlements and Public Works to the Office of the Prime Minister. Law No 5162 (12.05.2004) which amended the Mass Housing Law of 1984, authorised TOKI to realise, prepare and alter all kinds and scales of development plans in:

areas throughout the country determined as mass housing settlement regions. Another amendment Law (No 5273, 15.12.2004) transferred the tasks and liabilities of the Urban Land Office to TOKI. This included the transfer of 64.5 million m<sup>2</sup> of land into TOKI's portfolio: it was said by government that the land would be used by TOKI more efficiently with fewer bureaucratic obstacles. Thus, under the latest legal regulations, the provision of loans and other support for the conservation of historic and rural architecture were added to TOKI's existing responsibilities for renewing squatter areas.

In the early twenty-first century, Turkey still has a shortage of good quality affordable housing. The financial crisis that began in 2008 has not led to uncertainty about the future prospects for area-based urban renewal. The private sector valorised this process, and especially with the new role of TOKI since 2005, the pace of renewal increased with the creation of new housing areas such as Atasehir, Gokturk or Kucukcekmece in Istanbul (Figure 10.5). These followed the transformation of old squatter areas and historic inner-city neighbourhoods into the urban spaces of economic rent and land speculation (examples include: Ayazma, Basibuyuk and Sulukule) (for instance, see Bartu-Candan and Kulluoglu, 2008; Kuyucu and Unsal, 2010). These interventions that were initiated with the partnership of the private sector under the name of 'resource development and revenue-sharing projects' in TOKI programmes were encouraged to raise financial resources for housing projects for lower- and middle-income groups. Other actors in this period include metropolitan municipalities, municipal corporations such as the Public Housing Corporation (KIPTAS) of the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality (IBB), the Special Provincial Administrations (IOI), and the

**Figure 10.5: New developments in Istanbul, Atasehir (a) and Ankara, Altindag (b)**



Photos: Zeynep Gunay (a), Altindag Municipality (b)

Directorate for the Inspection of Conservation Implementations (KUDEB), highlighting the increasingly centralised management of urban renewal. The implications of these projects will be discussed in the following section.

### The Istanbul experience: renewing the Historic Peninsula

This part of the chapter examines the housing renewal approach in Turkey, taking the Istanbul Historic Peninsula as an example. The peninsula is bounded by the Sea of Marmara to the south, the Bosphorus to the east and the Golden Horn to the north. It is locally governed by a single municipality, Fatih Municipality, one of the 39 districts of Istanbul Province, administered by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. Fatih Municipality has an area of 1,593 hectares and in 2010 had a resident population of 431,000. For more than 8,000 years, this area has been the focal point of many civilisations, notably the Roman, Byzantine and Ottoman Empires. Throughout most of its history, it has been the political, cultural and commercial centre of the city, including wholesale and retail facilities, manufacturing, warehousing and housing. With its multi-layered and profound cultural heritage, the Peninsula has both a rich monumental and architectural heritage and a continuity of occupation which can be seen in its traditional settlement characteristics, with their authentic urban and housing pattern. This is why the Historic Peninsula (with its four archaeological and historic zones) was added to the UNESCO World Heritage List in 1985. The Peninsula has also been under national protection since 1995 as an urban, historical and archaeological site (Ministerial Decision No 6848/12.07.1995).

The Historic Peninsula is an area where the conservation of historic assets is often in conflict with large-scale property-led renewal schemes, managed by central and local government agencies and institutions, and private developers. There have been many debates on the social and economic consequences of renewal, the lack of attention to social inclusion, the tendency towards gentrification, and the effect of these trends on the conservation of the historic environment. At the same time, there have been a limited number of basic and micro-scale interventions for housing rehabilitation brought about by individuals and public initiatives. Both activities will be examined in this section.



## Housing in the Istanbul Historic Peninsula

There are approximately 19.5 million households in Turkey, and 3.7 million in Istanbul, according to the 2011 Household Survey (TUIK, 2011a). Sixty seven per cent of households nationally are owner occupiers, 24 per cent are tenants, 7 per cent are living rent free, and just under 2 per cent are living in housing owned by governmental or private institutions. In Istanbul, the percentages of owner occupiers and tenants are 61 per cent and 32 per cent respectively. While the proportion of households living rent free is 7 per cent, the figure in housing units owned by governmental or private institutions is 1 per cent (TUIK, 2011a).

The west side of the Historic Peninsula (the Fatih area) is mainly residential, with high population and building densities (more than 500 persons per hectare), especially in Kocamustafapasa, Sehremini, Karagumruk, Ayvansaray, Zeyrek and Nisanca neighbourhoods (Figure 10.6.a, overleaf). On the east side (the Eminonu area), there are some neighbourhoods with relatively higher densities and with a floor area ratio of 3.0 or more (Figure 10.6.b, overleaf).

The development of illegal squatter settlements in neighbouring areas such as Zeytinburnu (Figure 10.3) in the period 1945–60, and the first wave of employment opportunities in manufacturing, wholesale and retail activities, was a major influence on the increase in population and building densities in the Historic Peninsula and its immediate surroundings. From the 1960s onwards, new residential areas were developed, especially in the planned parts of the city. In the inner areas the growth of employment opportunities attracted especially the lower-income groups, while modern housing developments surrounding the Historic Peninsula acted as a restraining factor for high-income groups. Over time, therefore, the housing structure in the Historic Peninsula changed substantially, with more lower-income households and increasing housing density.

According to the Conservation and Development Plan Report (IBB, 2005) the Historic Peninsula contains 50,534 buildings consisting of 229,438 functional units<sup>3</sup> (Table 10.2). Nearly 56 per cent of the buildings are used for housing, with the average floor area per unit being 95 m<sup>2</sup>. Compared to the average household size in the EU-28 countries of 2.4 persons (Eurostat, 2011), the average in Fatih is 3.25 (TUIK, 2011b), and the average floor area per person is 27.2 m<sup>2</sup>/person, compared with 35.8 m<sup>2</sup>/person for Istanbul as a whole.

Squatter upgrading and housing rehabilitation programmes from the 1960s onwards have not succeeded in solving housing

**Table 10.2: Number of functional building units in the Istanbul Historic Peninsula**

Function (use of building)	No. of functional units	% of total	Area (m <sup>2</sup> ) of buildings	% of total	Average area per unit (m <sup>2</sup> )
Housing	127,909	55.8	12,159,129	53.1	95.1
Commercial	56,826	24.8	4,622,314	20.2	81.3
Manufacturing	9,218	4.0	774,053	3.4	84.0
Warehousing	6,051	2.6	510,077	2.2	84.3
Social Infrastructure	4,656	2.0	2,688,224	11.8	577.4
Technical Infrastructure	669	0.3	201,682	0.9	301.5
Non-occupied	20,067	8.8	1,791,319	7.8	89.3
Others	4,042	1.8	133,404	0.6	33.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>229,438</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>22,880,202</b>	<b>100.00</b>	

Source: IBB, 2005

quality problems, especially for low-income groups in old housing neighbourhoods because until recent years, the programmes did not deal sufficiently with improving infrastructure and the deteriorating physical environment. Buildings and neighbourhoods of urban and architectural quality face problems of neglect and deterioration, with IBB (2005) reporting that of the 50,534 buildings in the area, 82 per cent were in need of renewal or reconstruction, because of their poor condition (Table 10.3).

These figures underline the fact that housing renewal is a high priority for the Istanbul Historic Peninsula, given the large amounts of (a) disaster-vulnerable existing housing, (b) historic buildings in need of careful conservation, rehabilitation and continuous maintenance, and (c) squatter areas requiring rehabilitation in order to improve quality of life standards, and to reduce or eliminate shared ownerships.

**Table 10.3: Building condition in the Istanbul Historic Peninsula**

Condition	No. of buildings	%
Good condition	9,233	18.3
Modest need for renewal or reconstruction	30,175	59.7
Urgent need for renewal or reconstruction	10,126	20.0
Ruined	849	1.7
Demolished	151	0.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>50,534</b>	<b>100</b>

Source: IBB, 2005

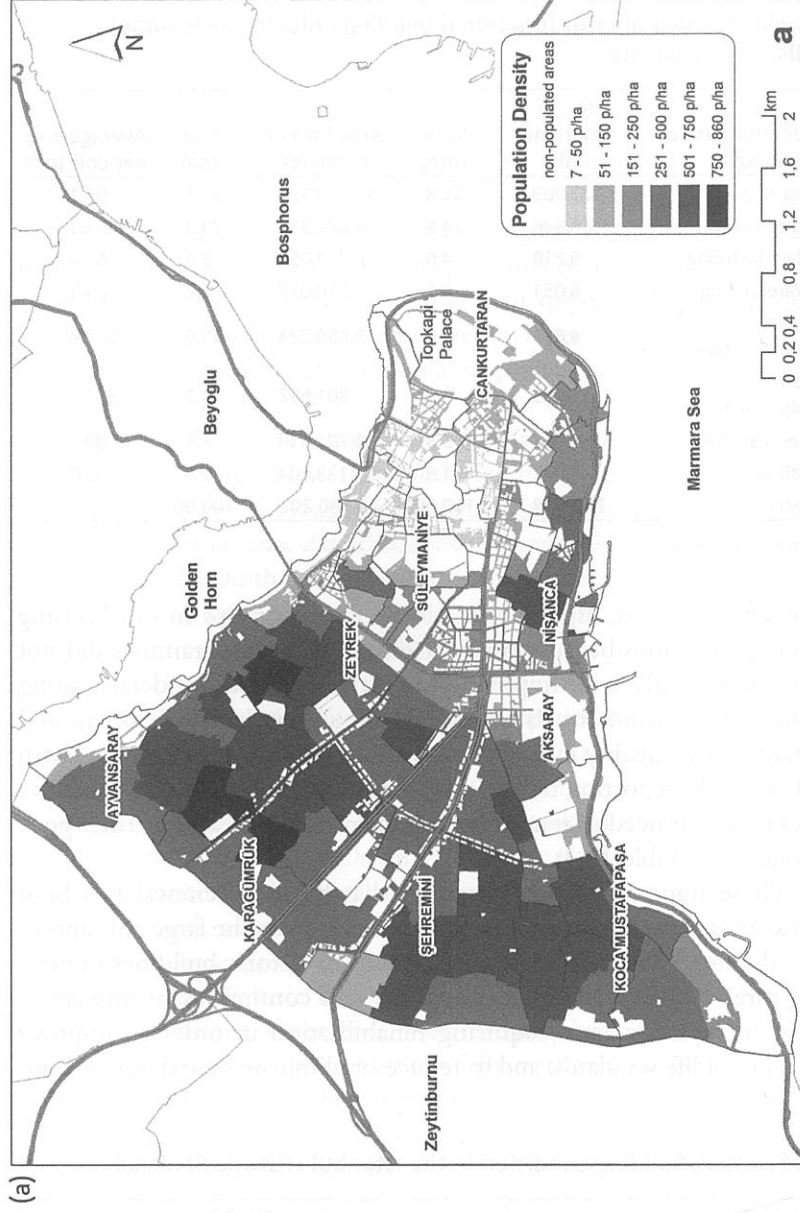
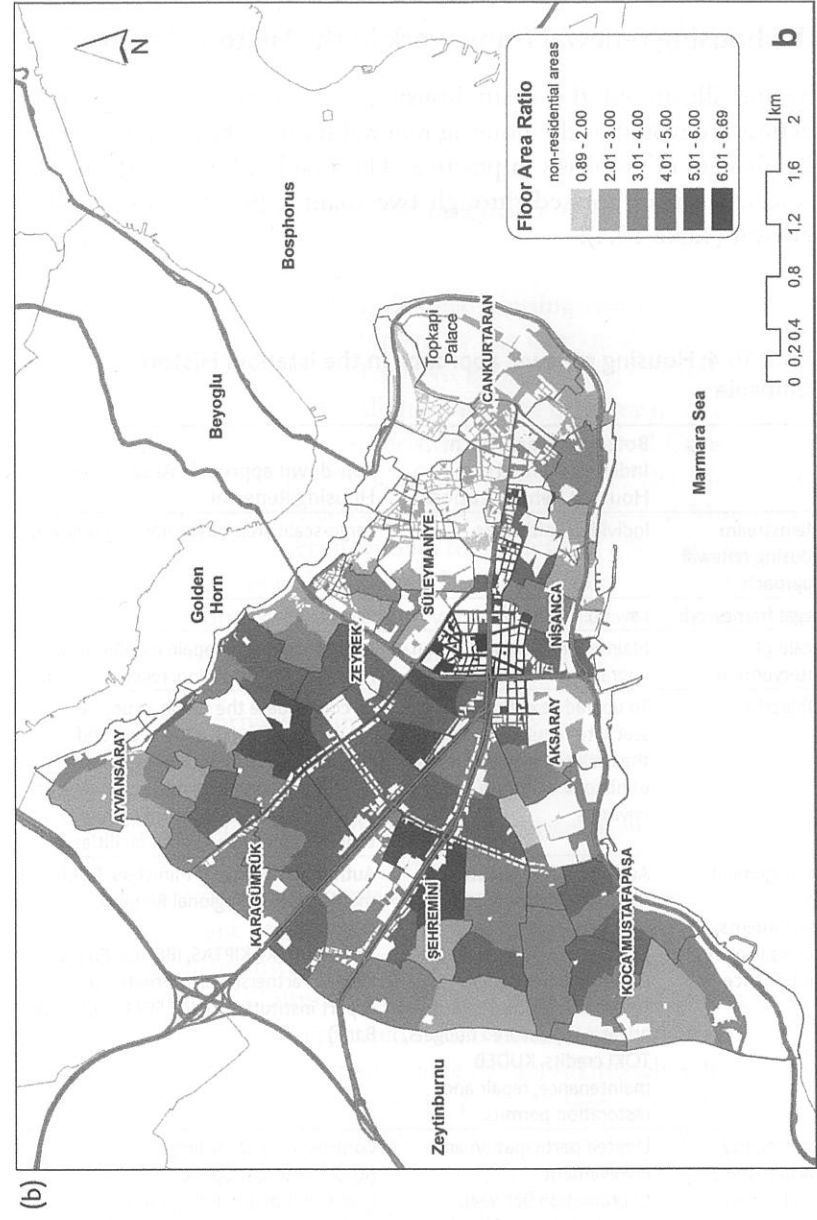


Figure 10.6: Population density (a), and floor area ratio (b) in the Istanbul Historic Peninsula



Mapped with figures from IBB, 2005 and TUIK, 2000



## The housing renewal framework in the Historic Peninsula

Having illustrated the main housing market characteristics, this section is devoted to the housing renewal framework to demonstrate the changes of emphasis in practice. The Istanbul Historic Peninsula experience is elaborated through two main approaches to housing renewal (Table 10.4):

**Table 10.4: Housing renewal approach in the Istanbul Historic Peninsula**

	Bottom-up approach: Individual Efforts on Housing Rehabilitation	Top-down approach: Area-Based Housing Renewal
Mainstream housing renewal approach	Individual initiatives	Large-scale area-based housing renewal
Legal framework	Law no. 2863	Law no. 5366
Scale of intervention	Maintenance, rehabilitation, upgrading, restoration	Maintenance and repair, rehabilitation, restoration, demolition, reconstruction
Objective	To upgrade existing housing stock, to regulate and permit the maintenance and repair of historic buildings and their environs	To consolidate the urban structure for earthquake risk mitigation, and regenerate especially the deprived neighbourhoods of historic city centres through mixed-uses including retail, tourism, leisure and social facilities
Management (basic instruments, actors involved) and finance	Authority: Directorate for the Cultural Assets and Museums under Ministry of Culture and Tourism, Regional Conservation Councils Finance: Individual incentives, privately sponsored budgets, TOKI credits, KUDEB maintenance, repair and restoration permits	Authority: Council of Ministers, TOKI, municipalities, Regional Renewal Councils Finance: TOKI, KIPTAS, IBB, IOI, Public-Private Partnerships, International expert institutions (UNESCO, EU, World Bank)
Community participation – Involvement	Limited participation and involvement Coordination between representatives of local government and other institutions, private companies and individuals Neighbourhood organisations	Controversial according to: (a) Government opinion: YES (participation by asking housing preferences, sharing rent value) (b) Public opinion: NO (participation by getting information, participation in decisions about demolition)
Major concerns	Insufficient financial resources, lack of control	Lack of coordination among responsible authorities, conservation of historic buildings and environment, social exclusion and forced evictions

- bottom-up approaches with loans, grants and other incentives for rehabilitation by upgrading individual houses;
- top-down approaches using large-scale housing renewal through the 2005 'Renewal Law'.

### Bottom-up approaches: individual efforts in housing rehabilitation

The legal framework for the individual housing renewal initiatives in the Historic Peninsula is authorised by the Law on the Protection of Cultural and Natural Assets (Law No 2863, 23.07.1983/amendment Law No 5226, 14.07.2004). All interventions from repair to complete demolition are subject to the decision of the Regional Conservation Council within the framework of the resolutions of the Ministry of Culture and Tourism Directorate for Cultural Assets and Museums.

Loans, grants and other incentives for individual effort are the basic tools of housing renewal in Istanbul and elsewhere in Turkey. They include a contribution from property-tax for the restoration of historic buildings; grants and loans for the maintenance, repair and restoration of old buildings; technical and professional support; and budgets sponsored from private sources. There are other incentives linked to particular events such as the fund marking Istanbul's designation as European Capital of Culture 2010. These supports are assigned to regulate and permit the maintenance and repair of historic buildings and their surroundings.

One of the main instruments at national level in support of renewal is that 10 per cent of the proceeds from property-tax is allocated to the restoration of historic buildings with reference to the Law on the Protection of Cultural and Natural Assets (Law No 2863). In Istanbul, this fund is administered by the Istanbul Governorate which, since 2005, has made 746 grants, valued at approximately €28 million: five of which are for restoration in Fatih Municipality. They have been allocated to public properties such as religious, educational and health services buildings. Government support for housing renewal in Turkey comes mainly through loans for the maintenance, repair and restoration of historic housing. From 2005 to 2012, 307 maintenance, repair and restoration projects were implemented in Turkey with loans of approximately €13 million from TOKI. The loans are known as 'TOKI credits' (Table 10.5; Figure 10.7). According to Law No 5226, at least 10 percent of all TOKI credits that are assigned through the Mass Housing Law (Law No 2985, 17.03.1984) is to be used in the

**Table 10.5: Number of TOKI credit assignments and implemented projects for the maintenance, repair and restoration of historic housing in Turkey**

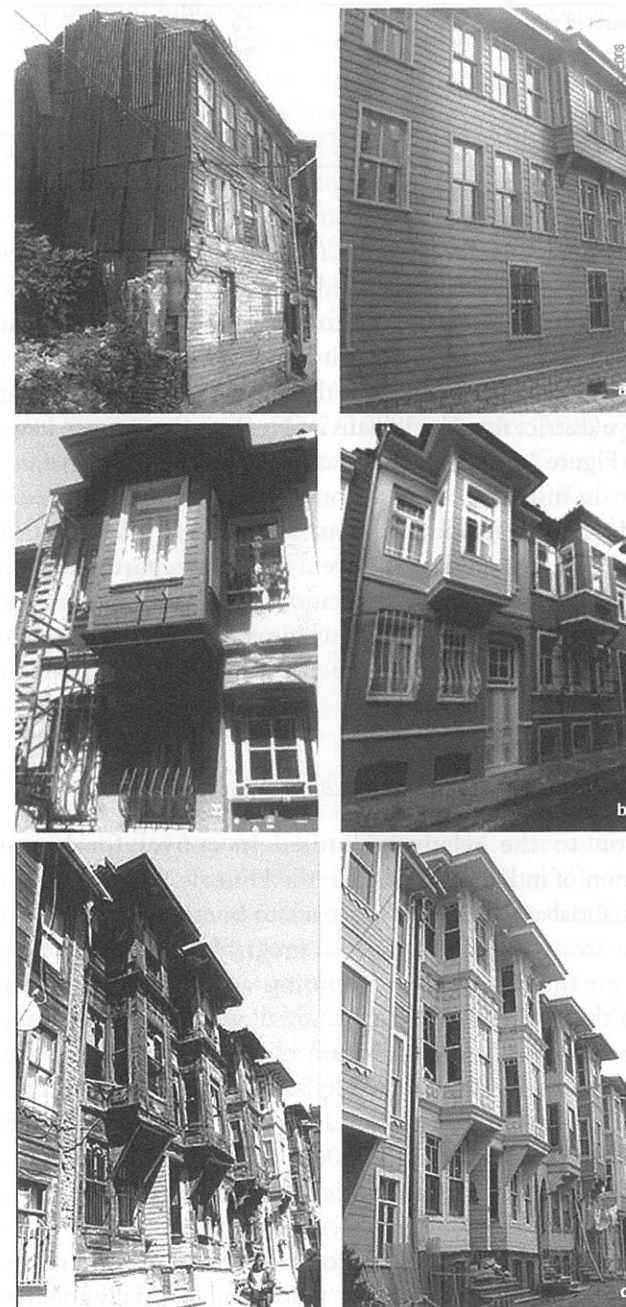
Period	No. of assigned credits	No. of implemented maintenance, repair and restoration projects	Amount of credit approved (€)	Amount paid to projects by 2012 (€)
2005	16	16	734,195	734,195
2006	51	48	1,855,308	1,808,319
2007	34	32	1,537,197	1,474,270
2008	55	54	1,903,534	1,872,053
2009	83	71	2,816,342	2,445,655
2010	42	31	1,606,094	1,253,107
2011	73	36	2,545,656	1,739,590
2012	110	19	4,595,153	1,605,166
<b>Total</b>	<b>464</b>	<b>307</b>	<b>17,593,479</b>	<b>12,932,355</b>

Source: TOKI, 2012

maintenance, repair and restoration of historic buildings. The credit limit of individual application is €45,000 for 2013 (TOKI, 2012).

Among other support for the renewal of historic housing is the provision of technical and professional assistance at local level by KUDEB. It was founded with reference to the Law 2863/5226 in 2005 to regulate and approve the maintenance and repair of historic buildings and their environs. From 2006 to 2011, KUDEB Istanbul Directorate approved 634 maintenance and repair proposals and 234 occupancy permits. From 2008 to 2011, three main upgrading programmes in the Historic Peninsula were supported by KUDEB Istanbul Directorate: establishing training workshops for timberwork craftsmen; privately sponsored budget schemes for façade renovation; and a maintenance and repair programme under the European Capital of Culture Fund (personal interview with KUDEB, 2012). Permits granted by KUDEB Istanbul Directorate for the restoration of historic housing in the Peninsula in the period 2008–11 are shown in Table 10.6. There were 23 privately sponsored schemes: these included 11 façade renovations for a television company, and work on buildings especially in Zeyrek, Suleymaniye and Fener-Balat neighbourhoods for a number of private and international firms headquartered in Istanbul. Thirty-six restorations were achieved through the timber training workshops in Zeyrek and Suleymaniye; and the European Capital of Culture Fund fully financed the rehabilitation costs for 11 buildings in Suleymaniye under the title of 'Cultural Heritage and Museum Projects'.

**Figure 10.7: Istanbul: before and after housing maintenance, repair and restoration projects by TOKI credits in Samatya (a), in Kadirga (b), and in Suleymaniye (c)**



Photos: Courtesy of KUDEB



**Table 10.6: KUDEB-approved housing renewal permits, Istanbul Historic Peninsula, 2008–11**

Housing renewal through	Number of permits	Per cent (%)
Privately sponsored schemes	23	14.5
Timber training workshops	36	22.6
European Capital of Culture Fund	11	6.9
Others (individually funded)	89	56.0
<b>Total</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Source: personal interview with KUDEB, 2012

KUDEB approves applications for individually funded housing renewal and 89 permits were granted from 2008–11. Where necessary, KUDEB and the Directorate for Protection of Historic Environments of Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality assist individual owners to access TOKI credits: a recent example is the case of historic housing in the Sulemaniye district for which loans and technical assistance have been provided (Figure 10.7). KUDEB also regulates and audits maintenance and repairs in historic buildings, for example façade renovation, roof repair and service upgrading; and many individual efforts on housing upgrading and rehabilitation in recent years are reported to be minor interventions. More extensive restoration and rehabilitation is regulated by the Regional Conservation Councils, and is carried out mainly as part of large-scale property-led renewal schemes in designated urban renewal sites.

### *Top-down approaches: large-scale housing renewal*

In addition to the relatively limited incentives for bottom-up rehabilitation of individual houses in the Historic Peninsula, the much more substantial and extensive approach to housing renewal is through large-scale area-based urban renewal programmes. This approach has emerged on the planning and housing agenda especially through the use of the concept of 'urban renewal' with reference to the Law on the Protection and Revitalisation of Deteriorated Historical and Cultural Immovable Assets (Law No 5366, 05.07.2005) for inner-city historic neighbourhoods; and the Law on the Transformation of Areas under Disaster Risk (Law No 6306, 31.05.2012) for the rest. This chapter deals with the former, which has become the main means of implementing area-based renewal within the space of a few years. This law propounds 'renewal sites' to consolidate the urban structure for earthquake risk mitigation, and to 'transform' especially the deprived neighbourhoods of historic city centres through the creation of mixed-

use development including retail, tourism, leisure and social facilities. This often requires extensive clearance, which can be controversial.

The designation of renewal sites is proposed by the metropolitan municipalities and municipalities in the settlements with populations of more than 50,000; and by the General Assembly of Provinces of the Special Provincial Administration in the settlements outside municipal boundaries and the municipal settlements with populations of less than 50,000. In the case of the Historic Peninsula, the renewal site decision was given by the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality and Fatih Municipality. The proposals for renewal site designation are approved at national level by the Council of Ministers.

In the Peninsula, 47 historic neighbourhoods were declared as renewal sites between 2006 and 2010, involving the renovation of existing dwellings or the clearance of obsolescent properties (Ministerial Decision Nos 2006/10299, 2006/10501, 2006/10961, 2007/12375, 2007/12429, 2007/12893) (Figure 10.8). The sites include the neighbourhoods of: Yedikule–Yenikapı Coastline, Fener-Balat Coastline, Kucuk Mustafa Pasa and Haracci Kara Mehmet, Beyazitaga–Eregli, Samatya, Sultanahmet, Ayvansaray, Suleymaniye, Neslisah and Hatice Sultan (Sulukule).

There is a variety of housing renewal interventions designed to both renovate and upgrade existing older housing, and to build new housing through the demolition of obsolescent properties in the renewal sites (Figure 10.9). The size of sites ranges from 5,000 square metres upwards at neighbourhood level and the largest in the Historic Peninsula is 10 hectares in Suleymaniye. Responsibilities for planning and conservation are shared between Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Fatih Municipality and Regional Conservation Council at local level and at national level by the Supreme Board for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Assets under the Ministry of Culture and Tourism. Other responsible authorities become involved when a renewal site has been declared, such as the Regional Renewal Council (Ministerial Decision No 2006/26302), TOKI, and municipal bodies KUDEB, KIPTAS and relevant private sector architecture and construction firms. The renewal projects prepared by the competent administrations are implemented upon a resolution passed by the municipality councils, followed by the approval of the mayor in the case of municipalities or of the governor in the case of special provincial administrations. The projects are implemented after approval by the Regional Renewal Council in the case of renewal sites, and by the Regional Conservation Council in remaining sites.

Figure 10.8: World Heritage Sites (UNESCO/WHC) and Renewal Sites in Istanbul Historic Peninsula

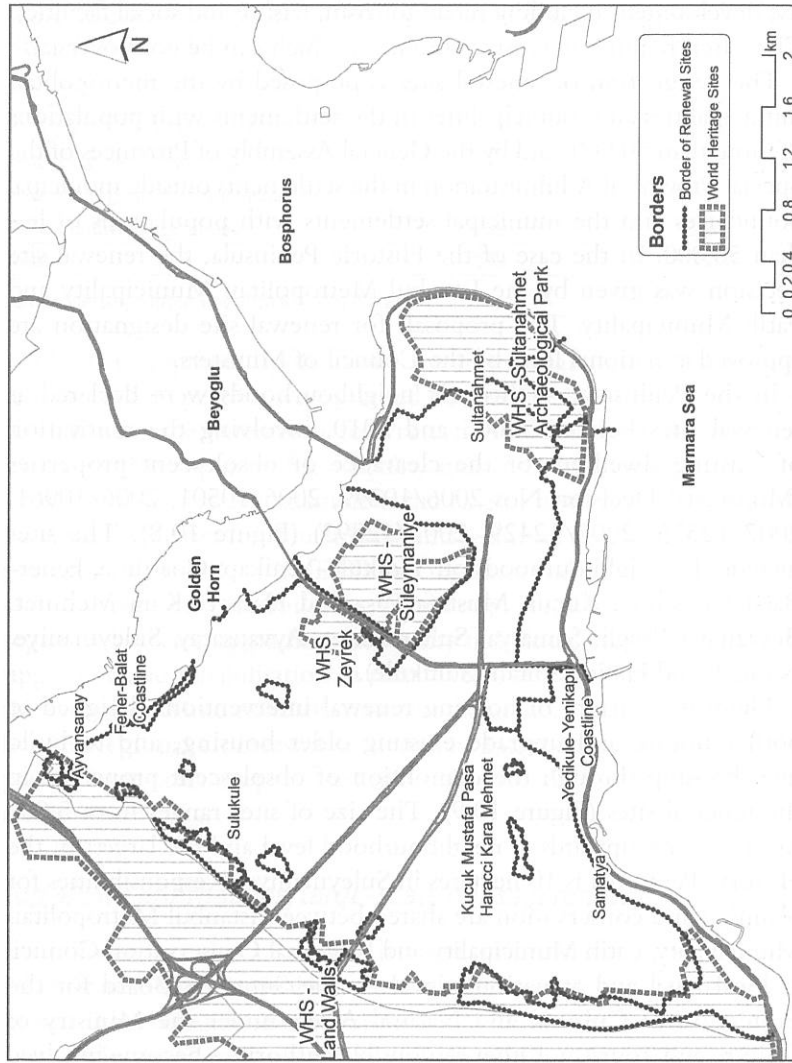
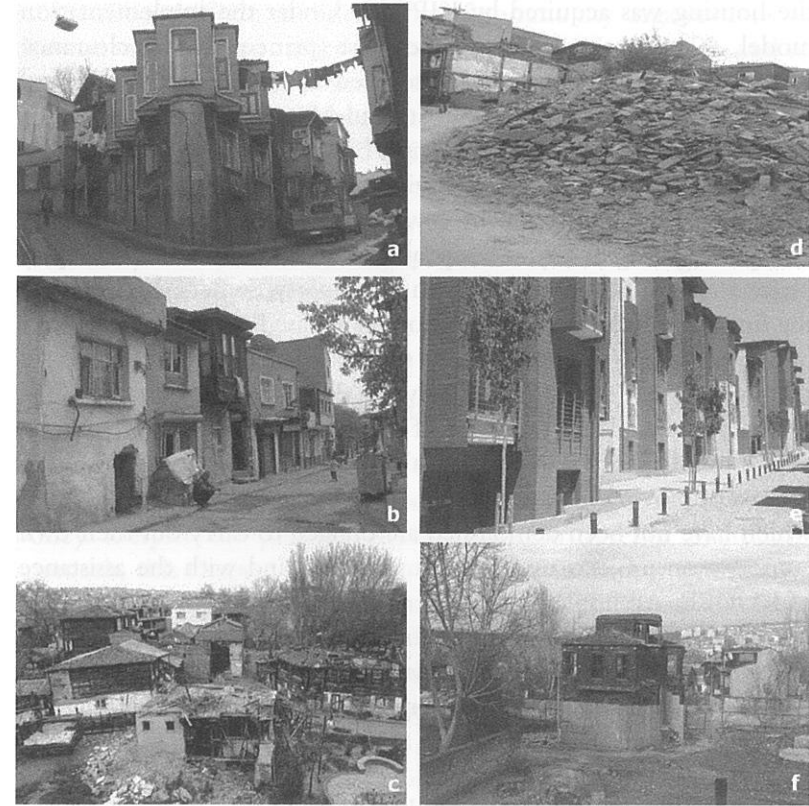


Figure 10.9: Istanbul: housing renewal through complete demolition, Süleymaniye (a), Sulukule (b) and Ayvansaray (c), before demolitions and present situation (d, e, f)



Photos: Zeynep Gunay (a, f), Arkitera Architecture Centre (b, c, d, e)

A number of authorities and actors are involved in the implementation and financing of renewal. The renewal projects are implemented by public institutions such as TOKI, or by the same organisations that declared them to be one of the most important actors in this process. The standard approach in a renewal area is for the public sector to lead the process of implementation, beginning with the rapid expropriation, or compulsory acquisition (often at very low prices), of property within the area. Once designated, renewal projects can be implemented through urgent expropriation decisions, as was the case in Ayvansaray, Süleymaniye, Fenar-Balat and Sulukule. The Law states that negotiation with residents and owners is fundamental in the process of eviction, demolition and the expropriation of property. 'Negotiation', however, can be cursory and does not involve



participation in decision making or the consideration of alternatives to what is being proposed.

For instance, in the Suleymaniye Renewal Area, the majority of the housing was acquired by KIPTAS. Under the implementation model, 40 per cent of the project cost (principally the clearance and preparation of the site) is provided by the Special Provincial Administration, and the rest by Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality. The construction cost (mainly for new building), on the other hand, is provided partly by the Special Provincial Administration (40 per cent) and TOKI through long-term, low-interest loans provided to owner occupiers willing to stay in the project area. KIPTAS and TOKI play major roles in the implementation as property owners. In Sulukule, the financial model for owner occupiers is based on a long-term loan of 15 years. New dwellings can be sold to existing property owners if they agree to pay the difference between the price of the new dwelling to be constructed and the value of their current property, as assessed by the municipality. The municipality can offer rental aid within the process of moving to new housing. The owners of historic buildings, which have not been demolished are obliged to carry out their own conservation projects under the supervision and with the assistance of KUDEB. All implementation costs in renewal areas are free from every kind of tax. The residents who are not granted dwellings in the project areas, are being offered dwellings in TOKI complexes at the periphery of Istanbul (30–40 kilometres away from the city centre) by paying monthly instalments of approximately €200 over 15 years (Gunay, 2012).

Top-down housing renewal in the Istanbul Historic Peninsula has raised many concerns about the management approach and processes involved (Koramaz, 2012; Gunay, 2012). These issues are all the more sensitive because of the historic character of the area and its place in the city's cultural heritage. The focus on 'physical' renewal, associated with market conditions and spontaneous community solutions, results in serious environmental and social consequences with the transformation of conservation sites into reserved zones for new settlement construction. It is estimated that the number of citizens that are under the threat of involuntary eviction is approximately one million, most of whom are currently the residents of historic neighbourhoods (AGFE, 2009). UNESCO (2009, 45), reviewing developments in and around the Historic Areas of Istanbul World Heritage Site which lies within the Historic Peninsula, and referring specifically to its renewal projects, expressed the view that 'a balance must be found between conservation, social needs and [the] identity of

local communities'. A major weakness of the top-down approach has been the lack of opportunity for public involvement and consultation with local residents but some recent developments give hope for the future. They include the formation of community organisations to draw attention to and attract support for the neighbourhoods; and to be an organised voice of conscience against large-scale indiscriminate housing demolition. Examples include the Fener-Balat–Ayvansaray Association for the Protection of the Rights of Owner occupiers and Tenants and Sulukule Platform (see for instance Uysal, 2012). Although they have not been able to prevent the demolitions about which they were protesting, they have succeeded in raising awareness of the importance of a sustainable holistic strategy in future housing renewal.

### Lessons learnt: future prospects for housing renewal in Turkey

Housing renewal is and will remain a priority for Turkish housing policy. Despite the progress already made to develop an holistic approach, this chapter has shown that policy in Turkey still focuses on hard renewal based on extensive physical interventions, from rehabilitation to clearance. The relatively recent introduction of an economic-led approach to housing renewal has emphasised reconstruction rather than reinvestment through repair, maintenance and restoration. In most cases, the main objective is economic, based on the idea that making areas more appealing through a change of function and of image will attract both investment in property and higher income residents. This so-called neoliberal approach aims to transform urban space through property-led renewal.

Property-led renewal excludes, evicts and/or displaces the low-income groups, regardless of whether they are the owners or the tenants of demolished housing. The renewal programmes in historic neighbourhoods, based on the 'Renewal Law' No 5366, are far from resolving the housing problem: by focusing mainly on physical rehabilitation and structural regeneration and often neglecting social objectives, they give rise to other problems such as social exclusion and gentrification. The programmes also displace the socio-economic problems of city centres to the periphery.

The decrease of central/local government investment and the rebalancing of responsibility through the empowerment of new actors, such as TOKI, KIPTAS and the private sector, have added different dimensions to the problem. For example, owners of existing

housing that is subject to demolition may seek to negotiate benefits beyond those of being allocated an improved new dwelling for their own use. An important reason for this is that housing is not only a consumption commodity for households in Turkey but also, through landlordism, it can be an important investment for the owner's social security. The allocation of an additional dwelling to certain re-housed owners may help to increase the amount of private rented housing in a market where social or public rented housing does not exist, but is questionable when it excludes lower-income people from the opportunities for affordable home ownership.

Because of the low structural quality of much of the housing stock in Turkey, housing renewal cannot avoid the need for demolition and rebuilding. Many dwellings from the 1950s suffer from corrosion and require either structural consolidation or rebuilding due to problems and defects in construction materials and technology. Turkey needs to improve the quality of its housing stock, not only for structural durability, but also to make its residential areas more liveable. All interventions have social consequences: and it is better not to demolish and rebuild if this can be avoided. The demolition of old buildings means the economic loss of existing structures, and of environmental sustainability if the ruins left behind cannot be recycled.

Population growth, internal migration and economic development for more than 50 years have contributed to a housing policy in Turkey that has focused on development and new housing provision. It is no longer possible to continue such a policy. The priority in future years should be to limit the further expansion of urban areas and the volume of housing provision, and to rehabilitate/upgrade as much as possible of the existing housing stock to improve the quality of life for all. An holistic approach to this requires consideration of household characteristics and needs, and the value of existing environments especially the historic ones. Moreover, local people have to be more fully involved if bottom-up neighbourhood regeneration is to flourish.

According to the Turkish Statistical Institute (TUIK) there is a housing shortage in Turkey of 3 million dwellings. At the same time, Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality estimates that effective mitigation against future earthquakes means that in Istanbul alone one million dwellings are at risk. Under the May 2012 Law on the Transformation of Areas under the Threat of Disasters (Law No 6306, 31.05.2012) it is envisaged that demolition and rebuilding in targeted zones will take place under the authority of the Ministry of Environment and Urbanisation. This approach raises serious questions about the environmental and social consequences of such large-scale clearance of

housing and neighbourhoods, notably because of the loss of housing that could be saved through rehabilitation; the inevitable displacement of existing residents; and the expected loss of conservation, agriculture and forest areas into zones reserved for future construction.

In future, a less 'development-led' approach would allow the management and implementation of housing renewal to be accomplished through the use of more appropriate instruments and actors. This shift of emphasis is needed because housing problems cannot be treated effectively in isolation from other areas of policy. New legal and administrative models are required to provide existing housing areas and the people who live there with the sustainability and continuity they need, through a shift towards integrated/holistic renewal strategies based on the right to the city.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Although the first concerns about housing renewal appeared in the 19th century as a result of extensive fires affecting the large amount of timber housing stock, especially in Istanbul (see Celik, 1996), the chapter examines the post-1923 period to focus on housing renewal policies and programmes in the Republican era.

<sup>2</sup> For the results of general population censuses, see Turkish Statistical Institute, [www.tuik.gov.tr](http://www.tuik.gov.tr).

<sup>3</sup> 'Functional unit' is the sum of each separate unit in buildings.