



Internal Migration Resulting in Squatter Settlements in Turkey: Gentrification in “Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions” in Istanbul

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Keywords

Migration,
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Istanbul.

Abstract

In Turkey, regional inequalities in terms of socio-economic differences have been obvious for many decades which have been resulted in internal migration from eastern to western parts of the country. Unemployment, lack of priority in agricultural production on eastern regions, desire to increase wealth, blood revenge, desire to have better education, political reasons and terror seem to be main reasons for internal migration. In addition, many significant problems have emerged due to internal migration such as unauthorized housing with squatter settlements, conurbation, cultural degeneration, unemployment, education, health and physical infrastructure problems, and increasing crime rate. Most of these immigrants created their own living spaces by themselves as squatter settlements in an illegal manner and created informal housing. Istanbul in Turkey is the most prominent global city in Turkey, and at the same time, one of the most affected cities because of squatter settlements. In this research, Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions in İstanbul will be studied. This neighborhood was created by immigrants from eastern parts of Turkey as an informal housing area. The residents in this area have suffered from gentrification and its results on existing residents by being forced to involuntary displacement, which will constitute the main content of research. In this research, pre-determined concepts will be discussed over Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions, and in which way the people living in this region were affected will be evaluated.

1. Introduction

In this study, investigation and analysis will be made under four main parts. Evaluations of each part are based on the effects on people. In the first part, regional inequality and its consequence of migration are evaluated. Later, internal migration and reasons of migration between the regions in Turkey are explained shortly. Finally, migration and its negative impacts on people are mentioned. One of the negative impacts of migration is gecekondu (squatter houses). In this study, gecekondu problems due to internal migration are selected and analyzed based on determined area which is Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions. In the second part, location and history of Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions, which consists of squatter settlements, are mentioned. In the third part of this study, gentrification and its effects on the people living in transformation area are explained. Later on, Ayazma-Tepeüstü

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Regions are evaluated based on gentrification concept. Lastly, negative consequences of gentrification, devastating effects of gentrification on people and rebellion created by initial residents living in the area are mentioned. In the final part, concluding remarks are revealed considering the effects of gentrification on the lives of people and the environment in which the people live.

2. Regional Inequalities and Internal Migration

Today, almost all countries struggle with regional inequalities. Regional inequality is considered as different kind of inequalities in different parts of the same area (Bayraktutan, 1994). Regional inequalities are also semitized as economic and social disparity of opportunity. Economic inequality is described as inequality of job opportunities and disparity of wages; in addition, social inequality means different opportunities between the fields of education, health and culture. According to Rostow (1966), modern technology is unable to be used equally by each region or each economic sector in developing countries; due to this reason, improvements are different between the region and this differentiation can be seen normal. In Turkey, inequalities between the regions also exist, and its reasons and consequences will be mentioned in the following parts of research.

2.1. Regional Inequalities in Turkey and Its Reasons

There are three main reasons causing regional inequalities in Turkey which are determined as historical reasons, geographical reasons and economic reasons.

- **Historical Resasons:** Origin of regional inequalities is based on Ottoman Empire Era. In 18th century, industrial revolution was occurred. Ottoman Empire was unable to lag behind this revolution and fragmentized rapidly. Regional inequalities in Ottoman Empire mainly based on commercial agreements between more developed countries especially in England. These commercial agreements resulted in the creation of externally depended settlement structures (Yılmaz, 2001). Differences in the level of development between the regions are increased incrementally with years.

- **Geographical Reasons:** Natural conditions, climate, underground resources, transport, communication can be seen as the reasons of regional development. Regional developments are influenced negatively or positively from these geographical factors. Once location of developed countries is analyzed, it is seen that except the Australia all developed countries are located on north hemisphere. On the contrary, most of undeveloped or developing countries are in tropical regions (Dinler, 1994). In Turkey, when the all the geographical elements such as; height, vegetation cover, surface features are examined, it is seen that East Anatolian Region is less advantageous in between the other regions; for this reason, this region has fallen behind compare to other regions.

- **Economic Reasons:** Reasons of inequality between the regions in economic sense are; unbalanced distribution of manufacturing industry between the regions, productivity of laborforce in manufacturing industry, productivity of laborforce in agriculture, improvement of internal terms of trade against agriculture, high fertility rate in disadvantageous regions and low laborforce participation rate.

As understood from these statements, regional inequalities exist in Turkey, which causes some problems. The most prior one is migration to metropolitan cities. Together with migration, metropolitan cities are unable to meet basic requirements of immigrants. As a result, some problems have occurred in metropolitan cities which are increase in unemployment rate, lack of physical urban infrastructure, decreasing public order and environmental problems. Besides, underdeveloped regions suffer from economical slow down and lack of service and investments.

Migration concept cannot be considered as a basic population movement from one region to another. Actually, this concept causes some effects on people in terms of society, human psychology, economy and culture. Especially, migration results in enormous changes such as population structure of country in terms of gender and age. Besides, migration has an influential power on improvement level of small societies and countries. According to Özer (2004), migration is a movement of changing process of geographical spaces. Therefore, migration causes the change of society structure in terms of social, political, cultural, and economic dimensions.

2.2. Problems Caused by Migration

- **Gecekondu Creation Process:** Gecekondu is an indicator of insufficient policies of central and local governments about migration issue. Immigrants needed to produce their own solutions about their living units, because governments were unable to deal with aggregate amount of immigration. One of the most common solutions, produced by immigrants, is gecekondu. Once immigrants come to metropolitan cities, their one of the most prominent need is shelter. In 1950's and 1960's, need for laborforce decreased in rural areas because of industrialization. Peasantry became unemployed, because of this reason they were forced to migrate to urban areas. When they reached urban areas, they did not have enough money; therefore, they built gecekondu which is rambling houses. This gecekondu is built in one night, because of the fact that it can be directly translated as "night settle".
- **Irregular Urbanization:** Irregular urbanization is occurred in migrated areas together with gecekondu construction by individual families, and this situation creates significant problems for the urban areas. Particularly in metropolitan areas such as İstanbul and Ankara, irregular urbanization has been observed almost recent fifty years due to gecekondu as housing place of mostly immigrants.
- **Cultural Degeneration:** Urbanization has several positive effects on family structure, education, culture, technological opportunities; on the other hand, it causes weakness of family bonds, increase in divorces, increase in tendency of crime, and increase in extramarital affair.
- **Unemployment:** One of the most important reasons of migration is unemployment in immigrants' initial living environment. Although people migrating to urban areas possess their hope to find a job, it is not easy to mention that they achieve to be employed in a proper job to maintain their livelihood as desired. Therefore, immigrants experience unemployment or tendency to informal sectors. Considering increasing unemployment rate in the cities getting quite high number of immigrants, it is obvious that the possibility to own a job has become limited

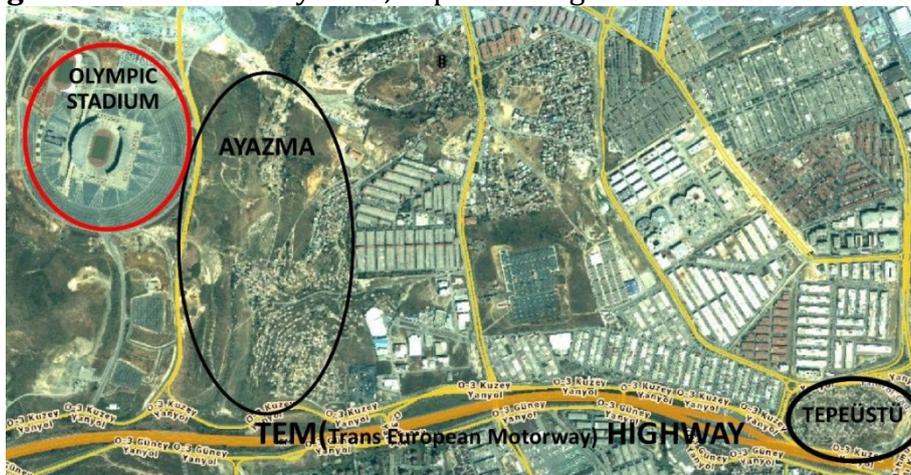
eventually. For this reason, children of these immigrant families have to work illegally as shoeshine boy, tissue or chewing gum seller and as garbage collection staff.

Problems in education, culture and infrastructure: Immigrants face to several problems, and the most prominent ones can be mentioned as in education, culture and infrastructure.

- **Foregone Conclusion; Crime:** When people migrate to metropolitan cities, they experience several significant problems as a result of non-adaptation to new living environment and culture. For example, father or mother do not succeed to find a job easily and children need to start to work; thus, this overloaded working conditions causes psychological and physical problems on children who might have a tendency to crime. Selling of narcotic drug, robbery, smash and grab and ganging are commonly seen among these children. Moreover, there are significant increases in incest relationships, honour killing, domestic violence, child marriage, being mother as a child, suicide of woman among the immigrants.

The primary reason of migration is considered to be industrialization in 1950's and 60's in Turkey. In addition, other prominent reason of migration is terror which caused the movement of immigrants called as forced migration in mid of 1980's. Together with the decision of evacuation of villages because of terror attacks, peasants were also obliged to migrate to other cities. In 1990's Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions, exist in Küçükçekmece District in İstanbul, are affected from this obligatory migration from eastern parts of Turkey to metropolitan cities. Kurdish people migrated to these two regions and started to build their gecekondu as basic sheltering need of their families. In this study, these people, migrated to Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions, are analyzed in terms of the effects on these people due to urban transformation process. In addition, urban transformation was started to apply in these regions in 2004, and this study tries to explain experiences of gecekondu residences who were deeply affected from this urban transformation process. In Figure 1, the exact location of Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions from the satellite as of 2006 (before urban transformation) can be seen.

Figure 1. Location of Ayazma, Tepeüstü Regions in İstanbul as of 2006



Source: (<http://sehirharitasi.ibb.gov.tr/>)

3. Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions

In 1990's East and South East Anatolian immigrants came and settled in Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions in İstanbul. For this specific area, the reasons why they decided to migrate are different than the other kind of immigrants; they were forced to migrate from their vilages because of the security concerns. They faced several problems as being exposed to government pressure, burn of their villages, pressures by fire wardens, and terror attacks was occurred. Because of all of these security reasons, they had to migrate in a short time unpreparedly and en masse. Thus, they neither adapted to city life without establishing relationship networks with other people, nor saved enough money in this process.

Contrary to other immigrants, they had no chance to get significant basic supports in terms of food and commodity from their villages since their villages had been evacuated. Therefore, they had to deal with the obstacles of city life by themselves and they try to clutch onto the life. Therefore, victims of forced migration in 1980's became the new face of urban poor (Uzunçarşılı, 2013). The reason why Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions were selected by immigrants is that these lands were cheap compared to other central places and exist close to the factory area.

A significant proportion of immigrants, who arrived to the area in 1980's, bought their gecekondus from new comers of these areas, and others built their gecekondus with their relatives by themselves. These immigrants were self-enclosed and their social relationship with the outside environment was quite weak. Some of them were not even speak Turkish properly and tried to follow Kurdish streams on TV because of owning the origin of being Kurdish. It is also difficult to consider Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions as the part of İstanbul since these areas gives the impression to the people as if they come to a village. They also did not have any social security, and most of them have just primary school graduate. Most of the residents in these regions worked in service sector, and they tried to maintain their lives under challengeable conditions. They were deprived of basic necessities of electricity and water in their gecekondus; moreover, sewage was also passing through the middle of Ayazma Region. Until 2004, gecekondu resident in these two regions managed to sustain their livelihood despite difficulties in urban life; however, the area was announced as "urban transformatin area" in 2004 officially. After this announcement, immigrants were relegated from their living environment. In other words, "gentrification" was ocured in Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions, and in this process, immigrants, who were exposed to gentrification were aggrieved. Consequently, main story has started with the insurrections of gecekondu residents in the area who had been forced to become immigrants beforehand.

3.1. Urban Transformation of Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions and Gentrification

The area of Tepeüstü Region is 24 hectar (Figure 2 and Figure 3) and 1 hectar of this area belongs to one single person as private property, the remaning part of the area was public land. On the other hand, the area of Ayazma Region is 115 hectar in total (Figure 4), and 55 hectar of this area is public land and 60 hectar of it belongs to one single individual. Once immigrants came to these regions, they started to construct their gecekondus illegally, and these gecekondus also lacked of

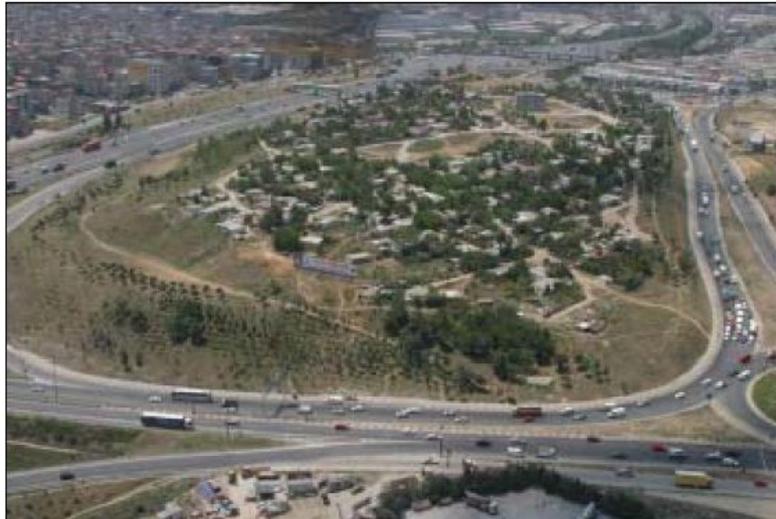
some basic physical infrastructure. These Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions, which was formed without planning, could be called as a socially declined area in which mostly low income immigrants were living.

Figure 2. A View of Ayazma Sub-Region, before the transformation



Source: (Eraslan, 2007)

Figure 3. A View of Ayazma Sub-Region, Before the Transformation



Source: (Eraslan, 2007)

Figure 4. A View of Tepeüstü Sub-Region, Before the Transformation



Source: (Uğurlu, 2014)

In 2004, Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions were announced as an “urban transformation” area, which enabled the reconstruction process legally. Project was carried out as a public-private partnership between the İstanbul Metropolitan Municipality, Küçükçekmece Municipality and TOKİ2. At the beginning of the process, Project was aimed to fightback against gecekondu areas and affected 1.800 families. Within the context of the project, 2.640 social houses were constructed in total. (Kentsel Dönüşüm Platformu, 2012).

Until the year of 2004, Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions, which Atatürk Olympic Stadium was positioned on eastern side of the area, were within the boundaries of Olympic village. These regions were developed illegally until 2004, and after that year, the implementation of urban transformation process was started. Aim of the project was determined as annihilating low living standarts and helping socially excluded people. Project area involves 1856 dwellings and 10.675 people in total. The efforts were put forth in order to increase living standarts within the area; besides, one of the main aim of the project is making the area become an Olympic Village (Turgut & Ceylan, 2009).

According to urban transformation project; Tepeüstü sub-region (Figure 5) was planned to transform by means of clearance of gecekondu in terms of location and environmental functions. In addition, new functions were projected for this area such as new commercial, cultural and social activities (Küçükçekmece Mekansal Stratejik Planı, 2006).

Figure 5. Current view of Tepeüstü Region



Source: (<http://megaprojeleristanbul.com/#tepeustu-kentsel-donusum-projesi-mall-of-istanbul>)

In addition, similar to Tepeüstü Region, Ayazma Sub-Region (Figure 6) was also planned to transform by means of clearance of gecekondu, and additionally, to change the residents living in -making the area more oriented to middle and upper middle income level people-, and to create a living environment as a modern neighborhood (Küçükçekmece Mekansal Stratejik Planı, 2006).

Figure 6. A Current View of Ayazma Region



Source: (www.googlemaps.com)

Ayazma - Tepeüstü Urban Transformation Project is the first far-reaching project in İstanbul, and at the same time quite high amount of population were resettled as a whole for the first time together with this project. TOKİ Houses in Bezirganbahçe were designated to old residents of Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions namely to gecekondu residents.

In conclusion, people who live in Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions were entirely removed from these regions, and new commers, who own middle and high income socio-economic level, were placed. In other words, gentrification was occurred in these regions. In this context, gentrification concept is needed to explain

essentially, and people who have suffered from gentrification process is needed to be evaluated.

3.2. What is Gentrification?

Glass (1964) is the person who firstly mentioned gentrification as a new concept for the changes happened in social structure and housing market in London as:

One by one, many of the working class quarters of London have been invaded by the middle classes -upper and lower. Shabby, modest mews and cottages -two rooms up and two downs- have been taken over, when their leases have expired, and have become elegant, expensive residences. Larger Victorian houses, downgraded in an earlier or recent period -which were used as lodging houses or were otherwise in multiple occupation- have been upgraded once again. Once this process of “gentrification” starts in a district it goes on rapidly until all or most of the original working class occupiers are displaced and the whole social character of the district is changed (Glass, 1964).

Gentrification concept of Ruth Glass was realized to be adopted to the neighborhoods having the similar characteristics; later on, the shift and invasion of high-income people to a certain area which hosts other low income people, namely old existing residents, before transformation process. These developments and move of new comers are believed to create high quality of life in the area. Consequently, old residents cannot stay in the area for mostly economic reasons and, their displacement from their homeland occurred. As a proof to these explanations, Clark (2005) describes gentrification as:

Gentrification is a process involving a change in the population of land users such that the new users are of a higher socio-economic status than the previous users, together with an associated change in the built environment through a reinvestment in fixed capital.

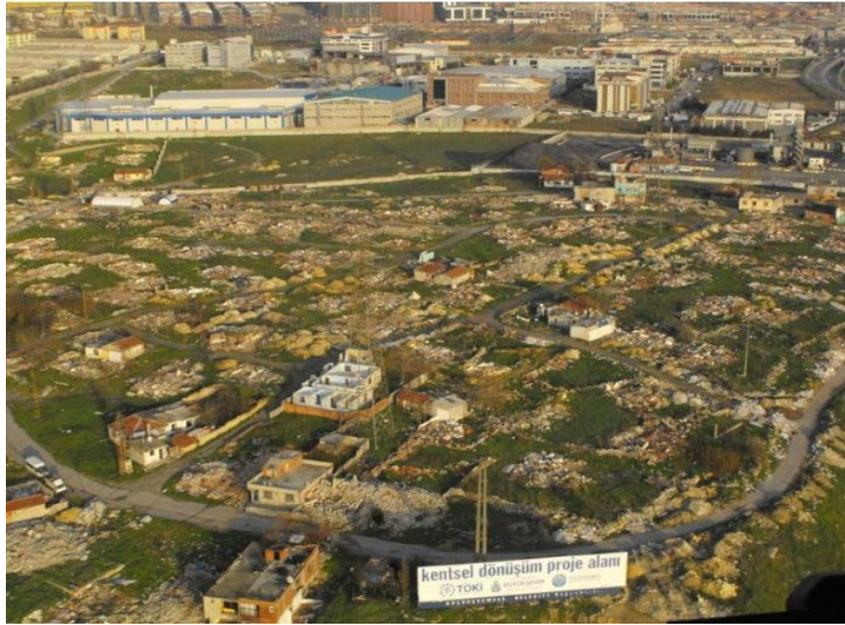
There are too many incentive factors to implement gentrification which means that the process cannot begin by itself. According to Gonzales, many triggering elements are required for the beginning of gentrification process. Firstly, a gentrification industry composed of construction companies, insurers and entrepreneurs eager to earn revenue; secondly, a neighborhood having an attractive location and a housing stock which is preferably neglected but having a considerable architectural value; thirdly, low income local residents who does not have any political or economic power to protect their district; and finally, young professionals without any children who have money to spend to move the area and look for location and movement in urban area (cited in Ergün, 2006).

3.3. Gentrification Caused by Urban Transformation in Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions

Considering these descriptions of gentrification, it can be revealed that gentrification obviously occurred in Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions. One of the reasons of gentrification is revitalizing construction sector, and this situation is proven in Ayazma-Tepeüstü Region. Construction sector and economy were vitalized in the end by creating a new cultural center and construction of a new shopping mall in Tepeüstü Region. In the same way, Construction sector and economy were also

revitalized by means of producing houses for middle and high income people in Ayazma. In addition to this, one of the reasons of gentrification is the desire to transform the area into an attractive place. With this urban transformation project, regions became an attraction center -also under favor of the proximity to Olympic Stadium. In addition, one of the most prominent indicators of gentrification is the desire to achieve the clearance of the area from the gecekondu. This aim was also fulfilled with the entire demolition of gecekondu (Figure 7). In the end, it can be obviously seen that gentrification was experienced in this area as a result of urban transformation process.

Figure 7. An Old View from Urban Transformation Area



Source: (Perouse, 2013)

In Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions, urban transformation was carried out by means of creating a completely new attraction place for mostly high-income people, revitalizing construction sector and economy, and finally a complete removal of gecekondu. However, one of the factors, maybe the most significant one, was almost completely ignored which is human. In the area, gentrification was experienced by old residents and they forced to migrate to another district of İstanbul called Bezirganbahçe. Not only the living environments of old residents but also the life styles of them to survive in such a big city were completely tousel. In addition, the collaboration and social relationship network in between old residents became untied because of forcing economic conditions in Bezirganbahçe and the requirements imposed by the life in enclosed housing clusters -completely different from their old architectural style of gecekondu-. Moreover, within the restricted amount of public spaces inside these housing clusters and repressive atmosphere in Bezirganbahçe, it has been impossible to organize their habitual cultural activities. As a result, they have started to become atomized individuals. New living environment in Bezirganbahçe seemed not compatible with the life practices of old residents -namely old gecekondu dwellers-. This negative condition has also been worsen because of having the ethnic identity of being Kurdish within the place in which majority of people are Turkish. Most of their

social and cultural life practices have become impossible to experience anymore; therefore, this condition has resulted in victimization for old residents and violation of the rules of living inside of an enclosed housing cluster. Consequently, imposing Ayazma-Tepeüstü old gecekondu residents to adopt apartment block life style inside enclosed clusters as a 'civilizing project' after urban transformation has not given successful results until recent years (Uzunçarşılı, 2013).

There is also a specific group of people who lived as old gecekondu residents called renters. Bezirganbahçe housing units have also never been indicated as new living environment to these groups of people who got suffered from the process of urban transformation and gentrification at most. Once they could not even find a sheltering place for themselves, they revealed their own solution as rising up against policy makers of this process and as trying to mention their problem.

3.4. Rebellions Emerged together with Gentrification

It was decided that 1474 families, considered as right owners in Ayazma Region, were decided to move to TOKİ houses in Bezirganbahçe. On the other hand, 42 renter families, who could not benefit from being right owner in this process, were completely ignored. In other words, state struck an attitude as if denationalizing all these renters from Ayazma; therefore, these renters did not have any other place to live in. Besides, the ugly view of the region created by the existence of gecekondu living environment was thought to disturb new upper class residents of the area and to threaten urban image for the sake of that billions of money was spent. After a while, the region was demolished in Ayazma which had been established under challengeable social and political context of that time. The demolishing forces had come as if they were there to conquer the area by making swoop at midnight by frighetening all the people and children. Residents hardly rescue their babies not even their private belongings. Dozers and security forces operated in the area harshly and persistently, and the demolition in Ayazma seemed to be as a proof for exceeding the spatial and time-wise limits of political violence. Extreme police intervention on residents carried out owning the justification of considering gecekondu residents as abstract enemies and dangerous social class blamed with creating terror, drug use and prostitution (Bakçay, 2011).

This gentrification process was a second obligatory migration for the old residents of Ayazma who were banished from eastern and south-eastern parts of Anatolia by the evacuation of their villages. After demolishments in the region, some of the residents who have enough financial sources became renters and also some of them took shelter in their relatives or return back to their hometown. In the end, there have remained 18 families having 50 children and 27 students, 77 people in total. These people have started a struggle that has ever seen as the most extensive one in İstanbul. The pressure which was made on Küçükçekmece Municipality by rebellions as a social opposition together with the support from other neighborhoods, experienced urban transformation, came up with a positive result for 18 old resident families from Ayazma. In the end, these families from Ayazma moved to Bezirganbahçe TOKİ housing blocks whose rents had already been paid by municipality without expecting any return from old residents just right before

municipal elections. Consequently, the necessary process of making them right holder was started to apply.

Most of the families moved to TOKİ housing blocks in Bezirganbahçe (Figure 8) in 2005 by signing their contract. At first glance, these houses might give the impression that how beautiful these houses, what could have been done more than this. However, these TOKİ houses have quite problematic physical infrastructure conditions in terms of its ceilings, roofs and so on although they were new. In addition, these TOKİ houses commercialized as owning a house as if paying for rent; however, it was realized that these apartment blocks are not actually financially reasonable to buy. Most of these new TOKİ residents from Bezirganbahçe region, whose debts have been increasing incrementally day by day, have been obliged to sell their TOKİ properties together with their debts and to move again another gecekondus in somewhere else in İstanbul. At that time, they have not owned these gecekondus, but moved just as renters; therefore, they have become more and more impoverished (Bakçay, 2011).

Figure 8. A View of TOKİ Bezirganbahçe Houses



Source: (Perouse, 2013)

When the 18 families were located into Bezirgabahçe TOKİ houses, the struggle have not finished yet in Ayazma. TOKİ houses were constructed without considering the life condition and needs of its new residents. When rental help of municipality was over, it was even impossible to afford to pay maintenance fee of apartment block for the residents coming from Ayazma although they were working in noncontinuous informal sectors in city. Besides, many People from Ayazma had lost their jobs during the process of struggling for their gecekondus and staying in tents without having any proper place to shelter. As a result, in Bezirganbahçe, the relations of people coming from Ayazma with the city, nature and daily life were destroyed, and the womans in these TOKİ houses have nothing to do inside these 15 floor building blocks as if they were isolated from the society. Besides, these blocks were also known as they were not durable against earthquake, and apartments were distributed among old gecekondus residents without considering their number of children. Almost 75% of old residents from Ayazma who are approved as right holder within this project were excluded from

their new TOKİ social houses after a short while. Later on, TOKİ, which made this situation advantageous for its profitability, changed the sale condition of social houses enabling the sale of these houses to other people during the debt period of old gecekondu dwellers. Consequently, families, who could not take shelter in Bezirganbahçe TOKİ houses, they had to transfer their social housing rights to middle and upper-middle class socio-economic level people. However, the 18 families continued their struggle for housing right, and risked everything they had for the sake of the triumph against municipality which was thought to set an example for poor families living in İstanbul. They did not even give in once they had been refused to be helped in terms of food and rental aids (Bakçay, 2013).

After the demolition, the 18 families, who were proposed not to have any housing right in old gecekondu area, continued their life by constructing tents and sheds in transformation area (Figure 9). On the 30th of November in 2007, all these tents and sheds were demolished by municipal staff at 4 am even without allowing the residents to get any ware out of their living places.

Figure 9: A view of Shed and Tent in Gecekondu Area



Source: (www.ayazmamagdurlari.wordpress.com)

As seen in Figure 10, these families reconstructed their sheds on the same location; however, these sheds were re-demolished by municipal powers on 13th November in 2009. Later on, Mayor of Küçükçekmece Municipality came up with an explanation and promise on TV programs and news about these 18 families on 19th and 20th of November in 2009 explaining that these people could have the right to move to social houses in Bezirganbahçe; additionally, they could be helped in terms of rental costs until they move to Bezirganbahçe. This promise was also repeated in Küçükçekmece Urban Council Meeting, election period and in front of United Nations HABITAT comitee, and also rephrased by one of the government representative (Bakçay, 2013).

Figure 10. A view of rebuilding of shed



Source: (www.ayazmamagdurlri.wordpress.com)

Although municipal policy makers promised that rental aid was given until they resettled to their Bezirganbahçe apartments, Küçükçekmece Municipality announced that rental aid could not be continued as of December 2009. Later on, these 18 families were designated as rightholders in TOKİ houses in Kayabaşı region in İstanbul; however, the terms of right holding in this situation were not explained to them until April 2010. Afterwards, it was understood that municipality was trying to make these people rightholder as a continuation of Ayazma-Tepeüstü Urban Transformation Project and at the same time make them debtors since 18 families were demanded to pay down payment about 10000-15000 Turkish Lira (around 3000-5000 €). The reason why they were demanded that amount is that they were aided for one year in terms of their rents until moving to TOKİ houses. In Bezirganbahçe TOKİ houses were assigned necessitating a payment almost close to its construction cost without profit and giving the opportunity to its new dwellers to pay it constant installments. On the other hand, in Kayabaşı TOKİ houses, smaller residential units were tried to sell from higher prices, and installment payment was indexed into civil servant salary increases (Bakçay, 2013).

Consequently, Ayazma old gecekondü dwellers have been reacted as victims in this process since Mayor of Küçükçekmece Municipality promised gecekondü residents for making them apartment owners. These 18 families, who are victims of urban transformation in Ayazma, have also made protests in front of Küçükçekmece Municipality mentioning that they were following the promises that were given to them. They were coming together and sitting each week on Saturdays and Sundays in Atatürk Park in front of the municipality. After the demolishment in Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions under the name of 'Urban Transformation Project', each gecekondü families got letters from the municipality mentioning that anybody would not become victims and every family would have a solution compatible with its financial condition in this transformation process. However, as experienced in urban transformations in Sulukule and Derbent Neighborhood, the promises were not kept, and old residents in these areas were blamed to be 'urban transformation opportunists' by the municipality. According to the explanations revealed by victim families, 18 families were forced to live in sheds within an environment

constituted by debris. During election period, they were said to become rightholders, but they could not even get aid for their rental costs properly. Victim people from Ayazma mentioned to continue their protests until the words would be kept by municipality that had been given to them at the beginning of urban transformation process.

Victims of urban transformation thought that authorities were wasting their time and elaborated their opinions as: "All of us are workers of a certain company and it is not easy for us to take permission to visit public institutions to pursuit our rights. If we succeed to take permission, authorities in Küçükçekmece Municipality act arbitrarily and they decide randomly whether they accept our meeting demand or not. We cannot put up with this condition. Recently, we applied to interested institutions through our petitions, we will be sitting in front of municipality on each weekend untill we get the answer." In addition, these victims stated that they keep sending postcards and e-mails to disturb Küçükçekmece Municipality and TOKİ till authorities keep their words. The contradictive location of Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions is also quite central in İstanbul, very near to the hearth of media focus, next to Olympic Stadium. On the other hand, there were also families trying to survive under sheds and tents in the same area after urban transformation process which were also known to be demolished one day (Figure 11). These 18 families put too much effort for explaing their demands to the municipal authorities for months. They desired the basic human rights mentioned in United Nations Aggreements on Human Rights and Turkish Constitution such as right to live, right to keep the confidentiality of private life and sheltering right. Therefore, because of not keeping the words given to old gecekonu residents, authorities also ignored international agreements that Turkey had become a party to it and titles of Constitution of Turkey. As a result, there were a survival story in the heart of İstanbul by 18 old resident families who condemned by municipal authorities for the sake of having a certain sheltering right. They could not move to other rental houses in other parts of İstanbul since there was no rental alternative compatible with the one that they had owned in Ayazma. There were almost no families, relatives and villages to take shelter in for the victims of gentrification in these areas (Baysal, 2008).

Figure 11. A View of People who Suffer from Living in Tent or Shed

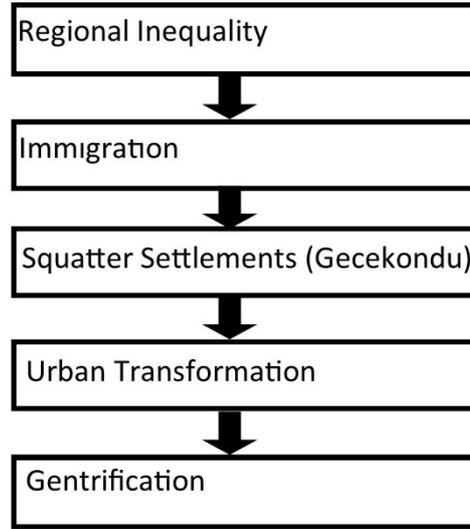


Source: (ayazmamagdurları.wordexpress.com)

4. Conclusion and Suggestions

Regional inequalities in eastern and southeastern parts of Turkey cause migration to İstanbul as mentioned in Figure 12. In this case study, the thing that resulted in regional inequality has been terrorist incidents. At the beginnings of 1990s, people living in eastern parts of Turkey were forced to migrate to anywhere else due to terrorism, and their villages were evacuated. Therefore, these people left everything they had had their behind including their land and animals. They were in more disadvantageous condition compared to immigrants in 1950s and 1960s due to industrialization, because they had no commodities or lands in their new living environments. These families having financial insufficiencies tried to create their own living environments in big cities by constructing unqualified houses on public land or their private lands that they had bought with cheap prices. After living in these low standard houses which were in a quite miserable condition for 10 or 15 years, urban transformation emerged as carried out in case study area of Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions. However, these urban transformation processes were carried out for the sake of wealth of the region as a whole, not the well-being of residents living in there. In other words, these kinds of underquality houses offended the eyes of people and policy makers and believed to deteriorate the image of the city in İstanbul which has been trying to become one of the most prior branding cities in the world. Besides, the factors such as revitalizing the economy and construction sector were also the main causes that made urban transformation inevitable. Gecekondu owners in Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions were designated to TOKİ houses in another part of İstanbul by making agreements with right holders. However, renters have been the absolute losers in this process, because these renters had to pay down payment in order to own a TOKİ house. The renters, who were not able to pay the down payment amount of money, started their rebellion as 18 families with almost 100 people population. They constructed their own living shelters with the materials remained from demolition of their old gecekondu. These sheds or tents as their temporary shelters experienced demolition three times by municipality forces, which made the psychology of children and women mentally depressed i.e. children started to not to go to school and to even have problems with toilet and bathroom use habits. They were absolutely victims with their miserable shelters since they lacked one of the basic needs of human beings, having a shelter.

Figure 12. The Process Starting with Regional Inequalities and Ending with Gentrification



Source: (Personal Drawing)

TOKİ Bezirganbahçe houses were indicated to these old renters of gecekondu houses together with also demanding down payment from them, which unabled them to move to TOKİ houses. They rebelled for three years, and had become right holders on TOKİ houses in the end for the reasons that local elections were approaching, and institutional chambers, housing right defenders as NGOs, international human right organizations and other organizations from urban social opposing movements were proponent side of 18 families. As a result of the opposition of 18 families, almost 250 families have become right holders from TOKİ social houses (Uğurlu, 2014).

After their move to new apartments, the life of old gecekondu residents did not flourish. The people, having monthly salaries not more than minimum wage, could only pay for rent, electricity, water and heating costs which means no money to spend for other social or physical needs. As a result, approximately 60% of old gecekondu residents left their TOKİ apartments in Bezirganbahçe to move to a new cheap land at the periphery appropriate to construct new gecekondu. In addition, children were also affected from the continuous migration of their family i.e. the ones who were able to work in terms of their age left their school and oriented towards informal sectors. The ones who continued their schools were mostly unsuccessful because of their new life style and trauma that they had experienced in their differentiated living environments.

Apart from the economic reasons, social amenities of residents designated to apartments in Bezirganbahçe were also limited. They were living in single storey gecekondu houses within their own gardens, and had social communications with their neighborhoods in their own private domain. They could commonly cook their breads, cultivate their own fruits and vegetables, and grow up their chickens. When they were transferred to apartment blocks, these kinds of their daily activities removed, they became completely introverted and they were excluded

from their social life. Particularly, women and children deeply affected from apartment life due to creating a more stressful environment compared to their previous gecekondu life. Thus, most of them could not put up with economic and social insufficiencies and left their TOKİ houses.

In Turkey, in this urban regeneration and its consequence of gentrification processes, human factor has mostly been ignored; in other words, policy makers' ambition for power and their desire to get more and more urban rent have mostly affected human beings living in these areas. From the viewpoint of local government in İstanbul, it has to trigger economical cycle somehow as a private company to accompany with the capitalist order of economy and society; moreover, gecekondu residents have also been guilty since they located themselves on public land or they constructed their gecekondu as an unauthorized building. However, they were obliged to migrate and they had to do something for their family to maintain their life and livelihood. In the end, all these political struggles and economic competition between cities, spaces and policy makers affect deeply to people without having financial sufficiency to survive in cities. Ideally, the first thing that all people should keep in mind is that before the pursuit of urban rent from an urban space all policy makers need to concern about how old residents can maintain their education, where they can socialize themselves or where they can maintain their livelihood. Old residents in urban regeneration context mostly have uncertainty about their future in Turkey; therefore, what can be the role of policy makers to consider them more?

Administration side of conflict fulfilled their promises and provided them TOKİ houses without down payment in Ayazma-Tepeüstü case. However, the fundamental issue which could help to these old gecekondu residents would be providing job opportunities to maintain their livelihood for them in order to meet the expenses and to create a more livable environment for their families. Therefore, children would not have obliged to work and would have continued their education. In addition, some little job or activity opportunities for women, whose education level is quite low, would also be created to make them included in labor force, spent their times while learning and fulfilling their personal development, and produce something to contribute the budget of their families. For children, a sort of fund can be created to support their whole educational life in order not them to give up their educational life. All these projections were probably thought by policy makers; however, there have not been sufficient social and physical infrastructure and integrity to make them implemented. Consequently, immigrants who were moved from their villages in eastern Anatolia by force could not be adapted to metropolitan city life became in a tight situation under challengeable conditions of their living environment and social exclusion that they faced. Urban transformation implementations brought only groundling solutions to problems aiming only shifting people from one place to another. In other words, urban transformation, resulted mostly in gentrification, has not been able to contribute physical and socio-cultural progress of existing residents; it can only be the implementation of demolition and reconstruction of housing units. In the end, for Ayazma-Tepeüstü Regions, the future of a generation in this area has already condemned to fall off the face of the earth.

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