

**UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT
AND
DECLINING INNER CITY RESIDENTIAL AREAS:
THE CASE OF İZMİR – TUZCU DISTRICT**

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ABSTRACT

Izmir, being the third largest city of Turkey has experienced rapid urbanization after 1950s and especially after 1980s. Similar to the other metropolitan cities of Turkey, İzmir presents a dual structure including the growing and declining parts of the city. Within the conceptual framework of uneven development, the thesis examines the decline process of inner residential areas of İzmir in the case of Tuzcu District (a central district) by presenting current structure of the district and comparing with the past.

The theory of uneven development is one of the foremost approaches to explain the recent changes and the transformations occurring in cities within the Marxist paradigm. Capital accumulation processes and class relations have an essential role in the process of uneven development of cities. The city or built environment itself is commodified by the capital since the capital moves through the built environment itself in search of returns across an uneven and changing ground-rent surface. In the capitalist system, the main purpose of the capitalists is to gain profit by investing property in the city, where it provides the maximum returns. So with the effects of movement of capital within the built environment, some parts of the city develop while the other parts decline.

This unevenness is very common for all capitalist cities in the developed countries. As a part of the dual structure of cities, the phenomenon of urban decline is discussed widely in developed countries. On the other hand, the phenomenon of urban decline is relatively new for Turkey as well as in other developing countries compared to the developed countries. In Turkey, the process of urbanization of capital had begun particularly at 1980s and this continuing period has more striking patterns of uneven development in urban areas on account of the increasing hegemony of capital on urbanization process. It is certain that the capital had inevitably been one of the main diagnostic elements of initial urbanization process in Turkey.

In this framework, the phenomenon of inner city residential decline is examined using the concept of deprivation as a methodological tool. The deprivation level of Tuzcu District is measured in terms of both material and social aspects. Finally, general features of Tuzcu District as a declining area have presented comparing with the developed countries in terms of poverty, unemployment, segregation, decline of physical environment, disinvestments and economic decline, decline of public education, and health.

ÖZ

Türkiye'nin en büyük üçüncü kenti olan İzmir, 1950'li yıllardan sonra, özellikle de 1980'lerden sonra hızlı bir kentleşme yaşamıştır. Türkiye'deki diğer metropolitan kentlerde olduğu gibi, İzmir de gelişme ve çöküntü alanlarıyla ikili bir yapı sergilemektedir. Bu tez, eşitsiz gelişme kavramsal çerçevesinde, kent merkezlerindeki çöküntü konut alanlarını İzmir-Tuzcu Mahallesi örneğinde açıklamaya çalışmaktadır.

Eşitsiz gelişme teorisi, Marksist paradigma çerçevesinde, yakın zamanda kentlerde oluşan değişim ve dönüşümleri en iyi açıklayan yaklaşımlardan biridir. Kentlerin eşitsiz gelişimlerinde kapital birikim süreçleri ve sınıf ilişkileri önemli rol oynamaktadır. Kent ya da yapılaşmış çevrenin kendisi, sermaye tarafından metalaştırılmıştır. Çünkü kapital, yapılaşmış çevrede eşitsiz ve değişken rant ortamında kazanç sağlamak için dolaşmaktadır. Kapitalist sistemde sermayedarın temel amacı kentte maksimum getirisi olan mülkiyete yatırım yaparak kar elde etmektir. Böylece, kapitalin yapılaşmış çevredeki dolaşımı nedeniyle kentin bazı alanları gelişirken, diğer alanları çöküntü bölgesi olarak ortaya çıkar.

Bu eşitsizlik, tüm gelişmiş ülkelerin kapitalist kentleri için geçerlidir. Kentlerin ikili yapısının bir parçası olan kentsel çöküntü olgusu, gelişmiş ülkelerde yaygın bir şekilde tartışılmaktadır. Diğer taraftan, tüm gelişmekte olan ülkelerdeki gibi Türkiye 'de de kentsel çöküntü olgusu, gelişmiş ülkelerle karşılaştırıldığında, görece yeni bir olgu olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır. Türkiye'de kapitalin kentleşmesi özellikle 1980'lerde başlamış, devam eden süreç içerisinde, sermayenin kentleşme sürecindeki artan hegemonyasından dolayı kentsel alanlarda eşitsiz gelişmelere neden olmaktadır. Sermayenin kaçınılmaz olarak Türkiye'deki kentleşmenin belirleyici unsuru olduğu açıktır.

Bu çerçevede, kent merkezi konut çöküntü alanları olgusu, metodolojik araç olarak yoksunluk kavramı kullanılarak araştırılmıştır. Tuzcu Mahallesi'ndeki yoksunluk düzeyi maddi ve sosyal yoksunluk açılarından incelenmiştir. Sonuç olarak, bir çöküntü alanı olarak Tuzcu Mahallesinin genel özellikleri, yoksulluk, işsizlik, toplumsal ayrışma, fiziksel çevre yetersizlikleri, yatırımsızlık, ekonomik yetersizlikler, eğitim ve sağlık alanlarında yaşanan yetersizlikler, başlıkları altında incelenmiş ve gelişmiş ülkelerle karşılaştırılmıştır.

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INTRODUCTION

This thesis elaborates on the inner city decline in İzmir within the context of uneven development, particularly by examining the Tuzcu district as an inner city neighborhood located at the transition area of the historical center.

The main issue of the thesis is the phenomenon of inner city residential decline. It is discussed within the conceptual framework of uneven development. While discussing the phenomenon in Turkey context the main difficulty that is faced is the limitation of the sources and studies regarding it. The main reason of this limitation can be explained by the fact that this phenomenon is relatively new for the Turkish urbanization patterns compared to the early-industrialized capitalist countries such as Britain, US, and others. Since the sources and the discussions regarding urban decline is wider in their urban planning literature the phenomenon of inner city residential decline is explained by referring to the experiences of capitalist cities, and the scope of the discussions in their literature. However, Turkish context is considered by referring to the limited sources.

The theory of uneven development is one of the foremost approaches, which presents one of the way of explaining the recent changes and the transformations occurring in cities, in line with the Marxist paradigm. According to the theory of uneven development, capitalism produces and reproduces not only economic and social unevenness, but also spatial unevenness within the urban areas. In other words, capitalism, by its nature, would be the reason of a development of some spatial units, where, at the same time, it would be the reason of underdevelopment of others. This unevenness can appear at the national and regional, as well as urban levels.

With respect to the subject of this thesis, uneven development at the urban level appears due to the movement of capital throughout the built environment. In other words, capital accumulation processes and class relations have an essential role in the process of uneven development of cities. The city or built environment itself is commodified by the capital since the capital moves through the built environment in search of returns across an uneven and changing ground-rent surface.

During the process of the urbanization in capitalism, different classes in the society differentiate spatially as well as socially. According to Harvey, residential

differentiation has been connected to the capitalist production process and the class relations in capitalist system. In other words, residential differentiation is the product of social relations and social differentiations in the capitalist society. Therefore it can be stated that, uneven development is the fundamental reason of socio-spatial differentiation.

Within the capitalist development process urban areas today are the places of increasing social inequality and polarization of poor and wealthy both socially and spatially. This dual structure is valid for all capitalist cities in the world as a result of capitalism-based development process, which leads underdevelopment of a place and reverse development of others. Furthermore, this unevenness in urban areas are produced and reproduced continuously, and this situation is inevitable in all capitalist cities.

In other words, the phenomenon of urban decline, which is defined as the geographical concentration of social, economic and spatial problems in any part of a city, is the most concrete example of this unevenness in urban space and common problem of all capitalized cities.

Although the problem of urban decline has been occurred in the process of industrialization in developed countries, this phenomenon is relatively new in Turkey as a developing country. In developed countries, the concept of urban decline is widely studied and discussed in terms of its reasons and consequences. On the other hand, there are limited research and literature regarding the appearance of declining areas, and more specifically the physical and socio-economic problems of inner city residential areas in Turkey.

In Turkey, the process of urbanization of capital had begun particularly at 1980s and this continuing period has more striking patterns of uneven development in urban areas, because of the increasing hegemony of capital on urbanization process. It is certain that the capital had inevitably been one of the main diagnostic elements of initial urbanization process in Turkey.

Therefore, following the urbanization of capital in Turkish cities, urban decline have appeared, and gradually became the areas of social and spatial deprivation. This problem has arisen especially at the largest cities such as İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir because of the excessive accumulation of capital. Accumulation of capital by investments, on the one hand, has lead to developments of new attractive areas within

the city, and has left the certain areas as unattractive and physically disinvested areas, on the other.

As similar to the examples of developed countries, declining areas appeared generally at the inner part and even old centers of the cities in Turkey. At this point, there arise the questions of the thesis: (1) what are the reasons behind the occurrence of declining process? (2) What are the main physical and social characteristics of these areas?; (3) Which social groups live in these areas and what are their main problems?

The aim of the thesis is to examine the reason of the decline appearing mostly in the inner city residential areas in the context of the uneven development dynamics. Within the conceptual framework of uneven development, the thesis examines the decline process of inner residential areas of İzmir at the case of Tuzcu district by presenting the current structure of district and comparing it to the past.

The thesis consists of seven chapters. The first chapter explains the methodology of the thesis after presenting the definition of the problem, and aim of the thesis. The methodology chapter consists of two sections. At first, the method that is used for the analysis of the case is explained according to the literature. Secondly, the adaptation of this method to the case, and selected variables are explained.

At the second chapter, the concept uneven development is examined as the conceptual framework of the urban decline. Furthermore, urban decline is explained generally and illustrated from the experiences of developed countries and Turkey in the context of uneven development.

At the third chapter, inner city residential decline and its characteristics are examined in detail. This chapter presents the examples of declining inner city residential areas from developed countries. And finally, this problem is evaluated regarding the largest cities of Turkey.

The fourth chapter includes the uneven development of urban areas in İzmir generally, and describes the current socio-spatial structure. Newly developed areas and the transformation of inner areas are illustrated. Finally, as an inner city residential area, Tuzcu district is described in this chapter.

The fifth chapter presents the results of the analysis, and then in the light of these results decline process of Tuzcu District is explained.

The final chapter includes the general evaluation of the thesis, and the overall findings.

CHAPTER 1

METHOD

The method of the thesis consist of three phases, the first focuses on the conceptualization of the phenomenon of decline within the framework of uneven development; the second is the illustration of the phenomenon by the patterns of capitalist cities; and the third is the analysis of the phenomenon via a case study in İzmir, Turkey.

The phenomenon of inner city residential decline is examined in this thesis using the concept of deprivation as both a heuristic and analytic tool. The general principles of the deprivation measurement, which are explained at the following pages, are adapted as the technique of the analysis.

Most of the studies from developed countries have used various forms of the urban deprivation measurement in order to examine inner city declining areas. However, the basic principle of these measurements is the usage of deprivation index that is constituted with respect to the local characteristics of the study area, or country. The general deprivation index comprise of two fundamental sections: *social deprivation and material deprivation*. *Social deprivation* includes the indicators such as employment, family activity, integration, participation in social institution, recreation, and education. On the other hand, *material deprivation* includes the indicators such as dietary, clothing, housing, home facilities, environment, location, and working conditions (Townsend, 1987; cited in Carter, 2003:32).

Consequently, this chapter consists of two main titles: at first, the general measurement technique of decline is explained by the examples from the wide literature on urban deprivation measurement studies; secondly, the adaptation of the methodology to the thesis is presented by determining the variables.

1.1. Measurement of Decline in Residential Areas: The Concept of Deprivation

The origins of the concept of deprivation comes from the Britain where it emerged -in the late 1960s- as a means of providing a framework in order to examine social and economic issues such as poverty, poor housing conditions, and access to services. Therefore deprivation measurement have affected from the Britain experiences at first and then developed through the time by widely interacting with each other.

Most of the research on deprivation starts from the definition given by Townsend (1993, cited in Bailey, et al. 2004) who is one of the major contributors of the urban deprivation concept. Townsend (1993) emphasizes multidimensional nature of urban deprivation by separating deprivation domains as material and social. According to Townsend (1993) people are deprived if they lack the resources to participate in the normal social life of their community. So the urban deprivation is “*a state of observable and demonstrable disadvantage relative to the local community or the wider society or nation to which an individual, family or group belongs*” (Townsend 1987; cited in Broadway and Jesty, 1998: 1424).

With respect to this definition, Bailey (et. al 2004) highlights the two issues of deprivation concept. Firstly, deprivation is a relative concept and it is based on socially accepted norms or standards which will differ from one society to the next, and which will change over time. The threshold point for deprived people of groups rises or decreases according to the time and the standards of their community as a whole. Therefore, it may be claimed that deprivation relate to the uneven distribution of physical, economic and social conditions in an area. Secondly, the concept of deprivation is multidimensional, namely people may be deprived in different ways. For example, some people may not have adequate diet, others may suffer from poor environment and social conditions in which they live.

Therefore, the way of measurement of urban deprivation can vary according to the local area characteristics. This local area can be squatter settlement as well as inner city neighborhoods. Also deprivation measurement indicators can be used for the rural areas. It is important to note that deprivation measurement is commonly used in order to explore the problems of the declining inner city or disadvantaged areas (Wilson1996, Broadway 1989, Broadway and Jesty 1998, Ley and Smith 2000; cited in Langlois and

Kitchen 2001). One of the major reasons for concentrating on inner areas can be explained as providing an important base for revitalizing projects. That is to say, main needs can be determined via deprivation measurement such as education and health facilities, urban services, and so on. Except the revitalization efforts, inner city areas attract the attention of researchers in order to acquire a better understanding of the process of urban social and physical change by using deprivation measurement.

As mentioned before, most of the deprivation measurement studies have generally developed based on Townsend's (1993, cited in Bailey et al, 2004) model of deprivation. Before detailing the model, it is important to mention Townsend's framework of deprivation as it is shown in table 1. Townsend claims that deprivation and poverty are not same things, although the relations between them are too strong.

Table 1: Townsend's Framework – Poverty and Deprivation
(Source: Bailey et al, 2003:8)

Poverty as lack of financial resources (relative to needs) measured by low income	LEADING TO	Deprivation as lack of necessities, both material and social/relational
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According to the model, Townsend firstly distinguishes deprivation indicators as material and social deprivation as it is shown in the table below (1987 cited in Carter; 2003). Although he categorizes the deprivation form as material and social, he states that some people or groups can experience multiple deprivation. Namely, it is possible that some people or groups may have both material and social deprivation at the same time (Langlois, Kitchen 2001).

Table 2: Material and Social Deprivation - A Case From Britain
(Source: Townsend, 1987; cited in Carter; 2003:32)

Types of Deprivation	Examples of Indicators
Material Deprivation	
Dietary	At least one day in previous two weeks with insufficient to eat
Clothing	Inadequate protection against the severe cold
Housing	No electricity
Home facilities	No telephone
Environment	Industrial air pollution
Location	No open space within easy walking distance
Work	Poor working environment (polluted air, dust, noise
Social Deprivation	
Employment	Unemployed for 2 or more weeks in previous 12 months
Family activity	Problem of health or someone in family
Integration	Racial harassment
Participation in social institution	Did not vote
Recreational	No holiday away from home during last 12 months
Education	Fewer than 10 years education

Table 2 shows the 13 domains of material and social deprivation, and gives the example of indicator for each domain. According to Townsend model (1987; cited in Pampalon and Raymond, 2000) material deprivation involves deprivation of goods and conveniences that are part of modern life for example a television, a car, or a neighborhood with green space. On the other hand, social deprivation refers to relationships among individuals in the family, the workplace and the community such as family activity, social support and integration, recreation and education.

Following Townsend, various researches have employed the measures of deprivation for geographical areas, and thus, the variety of deprivation measurement has increased. In 1991, Robson developed a deprivation index by using census and other official sources of information called "Robson Measures of Deprivation". In 2002, Noble reviewed and updated the Robson Measures of Deprivation and produced a new index called "Noble index of Deprivation" (Noble et al, 2002). It may be beneficial to review both Robson and Noble index of deprivation and their indicators within each domain and also to compare their main differences. Table 3 shows the Robson indicators.

Table 3: The Robson Index of Deprivation
(Source: Carter, 2003:34)

Geographic Area	Examples of Indicators
Enumeration district level	Pensioners lacking central heating
	Residents lacking bath, shower or WC
	Households lacking a link to public services
	Households living at 1.0+ per room
	Household with no car
	Children in households with no economically-active adult
	Children in flats or non permanent accommodation
	Persons aged 18-24 with no qualifications
	Unemployed economically active persons
Ward level	17 year olds not in full time education
	Part time male employees
	Ratio of long term to total unemployed males
	Standardized long-term limiting illness ratios for persons
	Domestic properties with rateable value of less than £40
District council level	Income support claimants
	Standardized mortality ratio
	Primary entitled to free school meals
	Births to parents not jointly registered

The Robson index employs a mixture of 18 indicators covering the areas of health, shelter, physical environment, education, family, income and jobs. These indicators were mostly drawn from the 1991 census of Northern Ireland.

Noble developed new deprivation index as shown in table 4, which includes 45 indicators derived from administrative sources. In Robson index, deprivation scores were calculated based on the difference between local area rates and the overall Northern Ireland rate for each of the indicators. Then they are listed from most to least deprived. On the other hand, Noble uses administrative sources for indicator selection because these are updated regularly. So, it can be seen how the degree of deprivation of areas changes in time¹.

¹ For further information see Noble 1999-2002; Bailey et al, 2003-2004.

Table 4: Noble Index of Deprivation
(Source: Noble et al; 2002:36)

Types of deprivation	Examples of Indicators
Income Deprivation	Adults or Children in Income Support households
	Adults or Children in Income Based Job Seekers Allowance households
	Adults or Children in Family Credit households
	Adults or Children in Disability Working Allowance households
Employment Deprivation	Unemployment claimants under 60
	Incapacity Benefit recipients under 60
	Severe Disablement Allowance recipients under 60
	New Deal participants not included in the unemployment claimant count
Health Deprivation & Disability	Standardized Mortality Ratios for men and women under 75
	People receiving Attendance Allowance or Disability Living Allowance or Incapacity
	People registered as having cancer (excluding non-melanoma skin cancers)
	Proportion of 12 to 17 year olds with extractions and registered with a GDS dentist, Drugs prescribed for depression or anxiety
Education, Skills & Training Deprivation	Working age adults with no qualifications
	Proportions of those leaving school aged 16 and not entering Further Education
	Proportions of 17-20 year olds who have not successfully applied for Higher GCSE/GNVQ performance data points score and no qualifications
	Absenteeism at secondary level (all absences)
	Proportions of Years 11 and 12 pupils not in a grammar school
Geographical Access to Services	Access to a post office - GP surgery
	Access to an Accident and Emergency hospital
	Access to a dentist - optician - pharmacist
	Access to a library - museum
	Access to a Social Security Office or a Training and Employment Agency
Social Environment	Recorded offences relating to burglary in a dwelling
	Recorded offences relating to violence against the person (excluding assaults)
	Recorded common or serious assaults
	Recorded offences relating to theft of a vehicle
	Recorded offences relating to criminal damage
	Recorded offences relating to burglary in a building other than a dwelling
	Recorded drug offences
Local Area Problem Score (generated from data on graffiti, scruffy buildings or gardens, litter and vandalism in the area)	
Housing Stress	Housing in disrepair
	Houses without central heating
	Houses lacking insulation

In short, beginning with the Townsend, number of indicator increases and varies gradually. Most of research have been inspired from these (Townsend, 1987; Robson, 1991; and Noble, 2003) major studies, and developed their own deprivation indexes². While developed countries such as England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Canada produce the data regularly at district levels, it is the most restrictive factor to reach the desired data at district level in Turkey. The problems regarding to this limitation and the selection of indicators will be discussed in the following section.

² For further information see Bailey et al, 2004; Langlois and Kitchen, 2001; Broadway and Jesty, 1998; Kearns, Gibb and Mackay, 2000;

1.2. Determination of the Variables

In Turkey, the data at district level is not gathered systematically and regularly except the number of inhabitants. For instance, the information about the income levels of the district, or age, gender, of the population living in the district is not documented. While the deprivation studies in the literature use these types information to rank the district from least deprived to most deprived; the application of this method is impossible for our country because of the data obtaining problems as mentioned above. As the method of this study based on the Townsend's index of deprivation, the aim is to describe the deprivation structure of the case district instead of ranking of whole districts of the city. Therefore in order to obtain this type of information, the field survey, which provides the firsthand data, is inevitable. Before the field survey, it was important to determine the variables, which was necessary for the investigation of the problem, namely deprivation level of the district. Therefore, at the following pages, the variables, which provide the indicators for the problem, are explained, and then the techniques of the data collection are clarified.

As mentioned before, the approach of Townsend provides the tool for understanding the material and social deprivation levels of the neighborhood by separating it into two scopes. This thesis examines the deprivation level of the Tuzcu district using this material and social deprivation pattern as a guide and including the variables, which may indicates the decline in the local conditions. In addition to the material and social deprivation indicators, general characteristics of the population should be investigated in order to grasp the features of the population of the neighborhood. Therefore, field survey includes the variables concerning the population characteristics such as place of birth and hometown, age and gender, household size and structure, reasons of the settling in İzmir and Tuzcu District.

1.2.1. Variables of Material Deprivation

Material deprivation includes the material apparatus, goods, services, resources, amenities, physical environment and locational characteristics of living place. Within the framework of Townsend's (1987) deprivation index, the domains of material deprivation are constituted for the research. As mentioned before, Townsend's index

includes the material deprivation domains as dietary, clothing housing, home facilities, environmental and locational facilities, and work. In the light of them, the material deprivation variables are determined as shown in table 5. Being different from the Townsend's deprivation index, work domain is examined together with employment domain in order to understand this issue more comprehensively.

Table 5: The Measurement Variables of Material Deprivation

Domains	Variables
Dietary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Average grocery expenditure in a week • Any credit on grocery expenditure • Consumption in supermarkets • Enough consumption of meat, fish and chicken
Clothing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Any assistance for clothing of children
Housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Home ownership • Second home ownership • Home rent amount • Age of the building • Floor space of the buildings • Number of room • General physical condition of the housing • Type of the building • Problems of infrastructure • Any attempt to maintain the building
Home Facilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bathroom, kitchen, toilet within the building or not • The most serious problem of the home • Ownership and the condition of the white goods • Quality of the furniture
Environmental and Locational Facilities	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The most serious problem of the district • Environmental problems (noise and garbage) • Access to physical and urban services <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ○ Enough parks or green space ○ Enough children parks ○ Enough lighting ○ Car park problem- (car ownership) • Any desire to move other place

1.2.2. Variables of Social Deprivation

In general, social deprivation includes the roles, relationships, and socio-economic status of the individual. Therefore the variables should be determined to reflect these characteristics of the research population.

Townsend's (1987) social deprivation includes the domains such as employment, health and social insurance, integration, participation in social institution, recreational, and education. So, the variables of the study are determined as below

(Table 6). Work domain indicating the problems of working environment in general is examined together with employment domain.

Table 6: The Measurement Variables of Social Deprivation

Domains	Variables
Employment and Work	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Unemployment • Employment status • Income • Satisfaction on employment • Access to place of employment • Place of employment
Integration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Neighborhood relations • Any relatives in the neighborhood • Grouping in the neighborhood
Participation to social institution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Membership of any institution or political party • Vote in the last election
Recreational	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Places to visit within the city • Activity at weekend or evenings
Health and social insurance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Any health problem (serious or persistent) • Social-Health insurance • Access to health clinic • Enough utilization from health services
Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Education level of the population • Satisfaction from school conditions • Any problem in school • Any children not attending primary school

1.3. Field Survey

There are various methods that are used to investigate the existing conditions on the site. These methods are called generally as field methods that are used to gather data from primary sources of information in a particular place, issue, or problem. Field methods include direct observations, scrutiny of the materials only available on the site, and interviews with individuals located at the site. The commonly excepted field survey methods are: site reconnaissance, participant observation, field interviews, physical accretion measures, and use of secondary sources that is obtained from institutions (Dandekar, 2003).

The field survey of this thesis comprises field interviews and site reconnaissance, which provide the primary data regarding the problem. Field survey had been done by face-to-face interviewing and by using questionnaire (see appendix). Sampling size was 5 %, thus, the field survey of the thesis includes 65 interviews. Face

to face interview is an effective and useful technique for gathering information regarding the deprivation level of the residents and the general problems they suffer.

In addition to the interview, the field analysis includes the site reconnaissance method, which provides qualitative information about the study area. For instance, land use map and the quality of the building map are prepared by this way. Furthermore, the information about the general physical and environmental conditions is obtained with noting and photographing as well as the group conversations of some residents of the Tuzcu Districts. General information regarding to the Tuzcu District is obtained from the mukhtar of the district and Konak Municipality.

CHAPTER 2

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND: UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT AND URBAN DECLINE

2.1. The Concept of Uneven Development

The concept of uneven development provides useful insights into many patterns of recent changes in society and space at different scales such as, national, regional and local. The theory of uneven development suggests that *“as complex and contradictory systems, architectural and urban forms as well as the whole range of social phenomena are unevenly constituted, they unevenly change and unevenly interact within themselves and with respect to other systems”* (Teymur, 1997:1). In other words, society and space as a whole themselves come into existence and change unevenly throughout the time.

The casual mechanism of unevenness in social and spatial structure has to be explored in uneven development dynamics of capitalist system. Capitalism, by its nature, would be the reason of a development of some spatial units, where, at the same time, it would be the reason of underdevelopment of others. This situation is also valid for regional and local scales.

In explaining of uneven development in capitalist system, there arises several key issues, the most fundamentals of which are class differentiation, relations of productions, and capital accumulation processes in urban areas. Therefore, the concept of uneven development is discussed with respect to these issues.

What makes the society uneven is class differentiation in capitalist system. As Harvey (1985) states, class differentiation and accumulation are the fundamental twin theme in order to explain urban process within the framework of capitalism. Therefore, it should be appropriate to start with the class differentiation while explaining the uneven development in capitalist framework.

By taking a departure from Marx' argument that the basic social relationship within capitalism is a power relation between capital and labor, Harvey (1985) suggests that this relation is the primary force of class structuration in capitalist society. Capital has power on labor via ownership and control over the means of production, since the laborer has to work in order to live. Employer holds the control over the working conditions of labor, and thus, the major contradiction of capitalism appears as simultaneous emergence of concentrations of wealth and capital (for capitalists), on the one hand; poverty and oppression (for workers), on the other.

Massey (1988: 250), too, conceptualizes uneven development with the classes in the society and their relations within the economy. In the capitalist society, classes are not structured as blocks, which exist as discrete entities in society; instead, they are precisely constituted in relation to each other. Massey conceptualizes uneven development as follows;

Different classes in society are defined in relation to each other and, in economic terms, to the overall division of labour. It is the overall structure of those sets of relationships, which defines the structure of the economic aspect of society. One important element which any concept of uneven development must relate to, therefore, is the spatial structuring of those relationships –the relations of production- which are unequal relationships and which imply positions of dominance and subordination (1988: 250).

While the position of dominance refers to capital, subordination refers to the workers. The relations between those unequal classes are organized spatially. This spatial organization must be an important element in any exploration of the nature of uneven development. In this sense, the spatial organization refers to spatial structuring of organization of the relations of production. In other words, the issue that explained here is stretching out over space of the relations of economic ownership and of possession. For instance; some spatial structures of relations of production involve geographical separation, within one firm, of headquarters and branch plant or geographical separation of research and development from direct production (Massey, 1988).

These relations of production stretched out between areas at any scale from the local to the international. The location of headquarters in one region/country/local area and of branch plants in another will be reflected in the social composition of those places.

One area has all the high-status, white collar jobs and another all the less well-paid, manual work, while important, is only to capture one element of the full meaning of uneven development. For that distribution of distinct occupational (and social) groups is itself one reflection of a perhaps more fundamental structuring of inequality between those areas that carried by the organization between them of the relations of production (Massey, 1988: 252).

Unevenness between the areas closely related to the economic division of labour. In a wider capitalist economy, the development of an area relates to the underdevelopment of other area. As Massey states, if these division of labour which are stretched out over space (spatial structure) consist of mutually defining elements, then the functional and social characteristics of some areas define the functional and social characteristics of other areas. *“If one region has all the control functions, and only control functions, then other regions must have all the functions which are controlled, the subordinated functions” (Massey, 1988: 252).*

Therefore any local area, (region/country) can be understood when analyzed in relation to the functions in the wider division of labour, which are performed within it, and in the context of its place within the wider system of relations of production. These characteristics of a local area, in other words, must be conceptualized in terms of changes in the wider structures of capitalist economy (Massey, 1988: 252). So, it can be possible to understand why some places more or less developed in comparison to others. At this point, it is necessary to explain the basic motivating force of unevenness in urban areas within the capitalist framework; that is ‘capital accumulation’.

Within the framework of capitalism, Harvey (1985: 1) analyses urban process, by going through the twin themes of accumulation and class struggle. For Harvey, *“accumulation is the means whereby the capitalist class reproduces both itself and its domination over labor” (1985: 1).* In other words, accumulation cannot be isolated from

class struggle and the process of urbanization in capitalist society. Capitalist captures surplus value, within the work process, and reflects itself in urban spaces unevenly.

As to the spatial unevenness, Şengül (2001) notes that the first evaluation related to the results of capitalism in urban space comes from Engels. With the example of Manchester City (see in chapter 3), Engels explains the transformation of cities via the interferences of capitalism. He suggests that exploitation, poverty and duality have occurred in the urban space in addition to the labour process. For Lefebvree (1976; cited in Şengül, 2001), the relation between capitalism and city has vital importance for capitalism. As Lefebvree notes, if capitalism continues to exist, it is due to the discovering urban space. For capitalism, urban space or properties have occupied a central position as a commodity that is bought and sold. In other words, for capital, urban space is more than the space that organize production, circulation, and consumption relations (Şengül, 2001: 9-10).

The city or built environment itself is commodified by the capital since the capital moves through the built environment itself in search of returns across an uneven and changing ground-rent surface. In the capitalist system, the main purpose of the capitalists is to gain profits by investing in property in the city, where it provides the maximum returns. There are two ways of maximizing returns. The first one is to open up unused land at low cost, and the other way is to redevelop valuable land. Consequently, newly developed and redeveloped areas attract residents with economic and social resources. On the other hand, the poor are left behind the old and neglected areas with little new investment (Fong and Shibuya, 2000).

In short, social and spatial differentiation in recent urban spaces can be understood within the framework of uneven development in the historical process of capitalism. Therefore, in order to analyze or explore the decline of an area in a city, it may necessary to conceptualize the problem within the dynamics of uneven development as mentioned above. In the following pages, the issue of urban decline will be explored in this framework.

2.2. Urban Decline in the Context of Uneven Development

As discussed previous pages, urban decline is the matter of uneven development process, since the occurrence of decline depends on the growth of other areas. In this context, the definition of urban decline is elaborated on as below.

2.2.1. Definitions of Urban Decline

Works on urban decline indicates that it has been one of the most important phenomena in both developed and developing countries. There are several definitions of urban decline that the literature contains.

In general, the concept of urban decline has been discussed in two different respects. Some works emphasize that urban decline influence the city as a whole. Friedrichs (1993) notes that decline occurs predominantly in old industrialized regions and this is the consequence of deindustrialization process. In other words, city losses the relative economic position in a wider market, and the result is the economic decline. A number of jobs decrease and the city population migrates to other areas. In this respect, urban decline is defined as rising unemployment, rising number of persons on public assistance, and plant-closing (Friedrichs, 1993).

In the other respect, urban decline also occurs in a certain part of the city, while the other parts growth. In this extent, urban decline is defined as a result of an interconnected mix of environmental, social and economic circumstances, sometimes exacerbated by public policies. More general, urban decline is characterized by the geographical concentration of social, economic and spatial problems in any part of a city (Carter, 2003: 17). Although the concept of urban decline is commonly used for inner city problems, in its broader sense, it may embrace all parts of a city which suffer from the problems such as disinvestment, deteriorating buildings, high rates of unemployment, losing population, poverty, and so on. At this point, one needs to examine urban decline according to the typology regarding to the functional characteristics of the urban space.

2.2.2. Typology of Urban Decline

It is noted (Carter, 2003) that while the common pattern of urban development for the majority of cities in the second half of the 20th century have resulted in inner-city decay, many contemporary suburbs, often inner-ring suburbs, have faced severe problems of population decline, an ageing infrastructure, deteriorating schools and commercial corridors, and inadequate housing. That is to say, urban decline might be seen in older suburbs (inner-ring suburbs) as well as in inner city areas. Although urban decline concentrated usually in the inner city and has strong multiple deprivation, it may appear in a structure that showing neither multiple deprivation nor concentrated in the certain location as inner area.

In addition to its locality in a city, urban decline can be categorized according to functional characteristics of the areas, such as industrial, residential and central business district (Güler, 1990: 32). This categorization is operative in analyzing the areas of appropriate variables.

Old industrial areas generally decline because of certain reasons such as use of low level of technology or traditional way of production, the effects of environmental pollution of the industries on the urban environment. For instance, an industrial plant may be removed from the location in the inner city because of the pollution effects on the urban environment. Another reason of the plant closure may be the lost of industry's growth rate because of changing technological and economic conditions of the world market. For instance; textile, iron, steel, and shipbuilding industries. Furthermore mislocation decisions may lead industries being unproductive and unprofitable (Güler, 1990: 32).

As a common problem for many metropolitan cities, decline may occur in central areas of a city. It is well known that central areas are the places of attraction for commercial, service and office activities. As Kıray (1992) states, these areas are 'the brain' of the city and its hinterland, because the administrative and control units of social and economic activity are generally located at these areas. Besides, production, retail, socio-cultural activities, transportation and communication services locate in the central areas of a city (Osman, 1998). Because the central business district is the most accessible place compared to the rest of the city, the land value and the pressure on it are at the highest levels in these areas. The pressures on the central areas arise from the several reasons as summarized below;

- Demands of the most specialized businesses being in the limited areas,
- Requirement of the managers being close each other, employed in control and decision agency.
- Increase of the variety and the number of service sector in recent years such as banking, insurance, advertising, consultative offices, and media agents.
- Increase in the population being employed at these developing sectors (Osmay, 1998: 139).

Naturally, these pressures have led to occurrence of certain social, economic, and physical-environmental problems in the central business district, such as traffic congestion of both vehicular and pedestrian origins, noise, air pollution, lack of car park, lack of open and green space and so on (Güler, 1990). Related to these undesirable conditions in the central areas, some types of industry and service relocate at the out of the central business districts. Osmay (1998:148) states that, in developed countries, developments on telecommunication and information technology have increased the locational alternatives of the urban industry and services. Most of the work force and the industry -except small scale production- relocate at the out of the inner city.

With the effect of developments in transportation, telecommunication and in other technological field, cities do not have the requirement of a single, central, dominant core. There has been an increasing decentralization of main activities from the city center such as major industrial, commercial and residential activities. This also implies a decrease in the historical CBD and inner city regions leading to a polycentric development within the each metropolitan districts as the sub-centers. While this phenomenon is more acute in developed countries, the dependency to center has not vanished completely in Turkish cities. At the present, central areas in metropolitan cities carry on their high-level control and management identity (Osmay 1998: 154). For the metropolitan cities of developed country, dependency on the inner city has been lost in time more seriously. For instance, during the 1980, employment in the CBD of most central cities in U.S. grew slowly at about 1 percent annually, compared to 3.4 percent for suburbs (OTA Report, 1995: 87).

As the third type, residential decline is widely examined by the works on (Punch, 2004; Broadway and Jesty, 1988; Langlois and Kitchen, 2001; Bailey et al,

2004; Kearns, Gibb and Mackay, 2000; Wasylenki, 2001; Carter, 2003) and most of them explore the physical, social, economic and environmental conditions of declining neighborhoods. Carter (2003: 9) states that many older, frequently inner-ring suburbs have face problems similar to inner city residential areas such as: population decline, an ageing infrastructure, deteriorating schools and commercial corridors, and inadequate housing and so on. Because the main focus will be inner city residential areas in this thesis, this subject will be examined elaborately in the next chapter.

2.2.3. Urban Decline Experiences of Developed-Developing Countries and Turkey in the Context of Uneven Development

It is important to reveal the unevenness briefly, by comparing the developed and underdeveloped countries in broad capitalist world economy before the elaborating on their urban decline experiences. It is very important because in the capitalist system, development of a country is related to underdevelopment of the others. In this context, Burns (1977: 234) distinguishes the countries as the industrialized, high-income countries of the North and the less developed, low-income countries of the south that forming a center/periphery exchange system.

A dominant or core economy of developed countries enterprises and a subordinate or peripheral economy of indigenous less developed countries has developed and been reproduced. The former tend to cover durable manufacturing, advanced technology and knowledge, and the professional service industries, whereas the latter are found in agricultural peasant production, non-durable manufacturing and sub-professional services (Burns, 1977: 234).

Consequently, the differences between developed and developing countries base on the degree of industrialization, and the degree of capital accumulation gaining from industrial developments. According to Frank (1966; cited in Şengül, 2001: 120), what is essentially responsible for underdevelopment of periphery countries are the center countries and capitalism. After the periphery countries were articulated to world trade and entered into trade relations with center countries, they became the part of the capitalist system, and their development pattern became the dependent to

center countries. This dependency had led the periphery countries became underdeveloped (Şengül, 2001: 120).

According to the works of 'dependency school', this dependency is valid between urban areas as well as the relations between developed and underdeveloped countries. In other words, dependency relation assigns a particular society as dominant and dependent in urban areas.

Dependency school represents the development perspective, which has the eclectic structure consist of a series of approaches developed against the modernization theory, instead of a model which has strong consistency within itself, and that is well determined theoretically, and conceptually. The fundamental and common theme of this view is that underdevelopment depends on the exterior economic and politic impressions, in other words, determinative reasons of underdevelopment lies the relations of underdeveloped nations with central capitalist countries (Şengül, 2001: 118)

In parallel to this argument, historical development of rapid growth and sprawl of urban areas in Latin America is explained by the relations with center (developed) countries because urban areas are the places of linking national economy to the world economy. Consequently, the cities of underdeveloped countries expose to concentration of capital and colonialist interventions, and thus, the society polarized both socially and spatially. For Kuitenbrouwer and Quijano (1973-74 cited in Şengül, 2001: 121) this structure is not temporary and even it will continue to exist as long as this dependency relation continues (Şengül, 2001).

Therefore, the concept of urban decline is a result of this capitalist and dependent relation in urban scale. Although urban decline is the common phenomena for both developed and developing countries, it is widely known that, urbanization processes of developed and developing countries have different dynamics. First of all, developed countries experienced urbanization especially between the ends of 18 century, and beginning of 20 century. The period of nearly 150 year was the enough for west countries and societies in order to adapt this process and transformations easily. They have gained required institutional arrangements and social transformation slowly through this long period (Işık, 1999).

On the other hand, developing or less developed countries have experienced this process in a short period with the effects of external dynamics generally. The transformations that developed countries experienced in 150 years period, occurred in developing countries just in several decades after the Word War II. Therefore the

adaptation of these societies to these transformations was more painful, and more problematic. At this point, it is important to note that, the main distinction between developed and developing countries appears regarding the social welfare politics of the states. Namely, developed countries could provide capital both development and welfare expenditure due to the excessive accumulation from early industrialization. On the other hand, developing peripheral countries had given priority to the development rapidly and therefore had directed the limited capital to the development. In this process, social welfare expenditure had been reduced below the required levels. This deficiency had led to informal solutions of society such as squatter settlements for housing problems (Ersoy, 2001).

Işık (1999: 165) states that, there are serious problems that involved in the typical characteristics of less-developed urbanization such as migration from rural to urban, appearance of squatter settlements, and increasing rate of unemployment. Keleş (2000) states that the literature on urbanization of underdeveloped countries contains very often the terms such as ‘rapid’, ‘excessive’, ‘uneven’ and ‘one directional’.

In developing countries, the areas near urban frontiers, even out of the frontiers have significant potential in terms of rapid development because of their appropriateness for the settlements of new comers. Asian, African, and Latin American cities have experienced this type of development as in Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir. Since the cities of less developed countries experience urbanization more rapidly they display as patched³ structure in terms of urban form. In the western/developed countries, the poverty areas of workers and low-income groups are located in centers while these groups are located on the periphery in underdeveloped countries (Keleş, 2000: 35-88)

On the other hand, uneven urban development patterns in developed countries are quite evident. According to OTA (Office of Technology Assessment) report (1995), which examines US metropolitan areas, most of the developed metropolitan economies have not successfully made the transformation to the dispersed city, and so they displays uneven development. It is suggested in the report that technological change is likely to exacerbate uneven development patterns further. The report illustrates the occurrence of uneven development pattern as follows: Because some firms relocate either to other metros or the other parts of the metropolitan areas, this

³ Keleş states that because the cities of less developed countries experience urbanization more rapidly, their urban spaces displays patched formation. For further information see Keleş 2000.

part of the metropolitan area may suffer dislocation and decline. These firms take their capital, expertise and even their machinery with them. Also some workers may move with the firms. However, neither firms can move their buildings nor workers can move their homes. As a result, when the whole or some parts of a metropolitan area undergoes economic dislocation leading to out-migration, many houses, factories, offices and land remain vacant or underused. Even public infrastructure remains underused. Consequently, urban decline goes side by side in many places with expanded ghettos and increased poverty (OTA, 1995: 36).

As to the unevenness in US metropolitan areas, it is stated in the OTA report that approximately 55 percent of Americans live in the suburbs, and also in the largest 25 metros, 75 percent of population lives in the suburbs. The typical pattern of American urban development is one of a vast, low-density, and fragmented urban region with sprawling suburbs surrounding an aging, sometimes decaying inner core (OTA, 1995: 198). In fact, the first sign of this transformation in US cities started with the movement of population from city to suburbs in 1950s. This movement accelerated in the 1970s, and peaked in the 1980s. It was the movement of middle-class both black and white. Then, retail trade followed this movement and shifted to suburban areas. The city that is mean older residential neighborhoods and original central business district was virtually the only place open to the poor within the metropolitan landscape. During the 1980s the differences between suburban and city residents in American cities have increased in terms of their distribution of income, living conditions, and attaining social facilities.

Urban problems such as urban decline and urban abandonment have become key features of urban development in European cities during the post-war period. Economic and social restructuring leading to the transition from the industrial society to the post industrial one was indeed a “crisis of the cities” firstly in Western Europe, and afterward in the rest of the Europe. Therefore, mainly old industrial cities were most severely influenced by the developments like industrial decline, job changes, high unemployment, social polarization, city exodus and abandonment of properties and dwellings (Haase et al, 2003: 6).

The patterns of urban unevenness and decentralization can be seen in almost all Western European cities. According to the survey of European city officials (cited in Tom Carter, 2003), one of the essential features of the settlements is continuing suburbanization of population and jobs. The rate of population growth is

faster in suburban area than in the central population's in Paris, Zurich, Amsterdam, and London. On the other hand, the East Europe is not different from the west part in terms of central city problems. Carter (2003:12) states that the concept of 'ghetto' that *"was developed to describe the residents of urban inner city areas with high concentrations of poverty, unemployment, crime, teen-age pregnancy and lone motherhood"* can be used for the large European cities. In other words, the characteristics of neighborhoods infrastructure and residents in British inner cities have considerable similarities with American inner cities.

Australian cities have experienced transformation similar to Britain. In the western Sidney, it was found that the oldest suburbs (pre-World War II) show sign of decline. Carter (2003: 14) states that the criterion of the decline in Australian literature is the high proportions of the most disadvantaged in the region and it is measured by household income and occupational characteristics, a high proportion of flats and semi-detached housing and a strong private rental market. In Australian five largest cities (Sydney, Melbourne, Adelaide, Brisbane, and Perth) urban development trends occurring after 1990 show a substantial shift from earlier patterns. As Carter states, these are a revival of population growth and residential development in the inner city, and the boom in the development and demand for medium-density housing. This development results from the success of revitalization efforts that are implemented in all largest cities during the 1990s.

For Carter (2003), there is a strong similarity between US and Canadian cities in terms of their geography of decline. On the other hand, Broadway (1998) suggested that, the formation of inner-city deprivation in Canada is different from US cities. According to Broadway, while the structural economic change is the major determinant of deprivation in America, local factors have a dominant role during this process in Canada.

As a developing country, Turkey has experienced similar transformations in urban areas especially in metropolitan cities such as İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir. Şengül (2001) divides three period of the urbanization process in Turkey regarding the political and economic shifts after the republic. The first period is characterized as urbanization of government as a nation state between 1923-1950, the second period is characterized as urbanization of labour between 1950-1980, and finally the third period is characterized as urbanization of capital after 1980s.

During the first period, main strategy is to constitute a homogeneous society, therefore, especially public investments had been struggled to distribute homogeneously among the Anatolian cities. The main determinant of the urbanization during the second period – urbanization of labour – is the migration of rural population to the urban areas due to the modernization of agriculture and occurrence of labor force more than the necessity in agricultural sector. This period allowed a transition from the urban development period that depends on the State and middle class, to the (local) community based urban development period. In other word, the new comers of the urban areas had solved the housing problems by means of squatter settlement, and they had deal with the unemployment problems by creating informal sector. Regarding the period of ‘urbanization of labour’, it is worth noting that, spatial and social unevenness had begun to appear more acute in urban areas. Settlements of different income groups separated sharply, such as squatter settlements and middle or high-income groups (Şengül, 2001).

As the third period, the process of urbanization of capital in Turkey had begun particularly at 1980s. This continuing period has more striking patterns of uneven development in urban areas, because of the increasing hegemony of capital on urbanization process. It is certain that the capital had inevitably been one of the main diagnostic elements of initial urbanization process in Turkey. However, urban spaces have experienced radical changes with the increasing dominance of capital after 1980s. as Ataay (2001) states, Turkey had articulated world industry by exporting goods based on the intensive labour, and raw material; and increased the economic relations with capitalist countries by means of foreign investments especially at the beginning of the 1990s. At the same time, most of the investment was directed to urban areas and encouraged by the government especially in infrastructure, transportation, and housing sectors. Since most of these investments were awarded to private sector, urban investments had become the means of transferring source to the capital. Consequently, urban areas had become important places for large-scale capital, and increased the investments also in built environment in order to profit from urban rant. Especially at the beginning of 1990s, both domestic and foreign large-scale capital begun to occupy urban areas by the investments in hypermarkets and supermarkets, hotels, and holdings (Şengül, 2001). While these developments particularly in metropolitan cities, have directed urban development from the centers to the suburbs, central areas have begun to lose their attractiveness in contrast to the newly developed areas. In short, urban

development patterns begun to transform from mono-centered to multi-centered form via developing new sub-centers, based on the uneven distribution of capital and investments through the built environment in Turkey,

As a result of this chapter generally, the phenomenon of urban decline, wherever it occurs such as in inner areas, older suburbs, central business districts, industrial areas or residential areas, has a common feature: The reasons of urban decline should be inquired into the uneven development dynamics in capitalist system. In this context, decline can be understood by means of the economic, social conditions and relations of capital and labour in urban areas and capital accumulation process in broad capitalist system. Accordingly, in the next chapter, the concept urban decline will be examined more elaborately in terms of inner city residential areas in the context of unevenness originated from capitalist system.

CHAPTER 3

INNER CITY RESIDENTIAL DECLINE IN THE CONTEXT OF UNEVEN DEVELOPMENT

As a result of uneven development dynamics of capitalism, inner areas of metropolitan cities have transformed into the places of poverty and deprivation. The phenomenon of urban decline is discussed commonly in terms of the social, spatial and economic problems of the inner city residential areas and the problems of their inhabitants. Therefore, in this chapter, the phenomenon of urban decline will be examined particularly regarding inner city residential areas.

3.1. Residential Differentiation and Decline

As it mentioned above, residential differentiation is produced by the forces emanating from capitalist production process. Namely, this situation does not arise from the preferences of residents. On the contrary, the concept of social differentiation as the fundamental theme of the discussions regarding the capitalist production process has been connected with residential differentiation (Harvey, 1985). Therefore, residential differentiation will be explained in the context of the relations between social order and residential differentiation. Afterwards, the concept of residential decline will be articulated to this framework.

Regarding to the relations between social order and residential differentiation, Harvey (1985) presents four hypotheses related to residential differentiation as follow;

- 1. Residential differentiation is to be interpreted in terms of the reproduction of the social relations within the capitalist society.*
- 2. Residential areas (neighborhoods, communities) provide distinctive milieus for social interaction from which individuals to a*

considerable degree derive their values, expectations, consumption habits, market capacities, and states of consciousness.

3. The fragmentations of large concentrations of population into distinctive communities serves to fragment class-consciousness in the Marxian sense and thereby frustrates the transformation from capitalism to socialism through class struggle, but

4. Pattern so residential differentiation reflect and incorporate many of the contradictions in capitalist society; the processes creating and sustaining them are consequently the locus of instability and contradiction (Harvey, 1985: 117-118)

It is necessary to examine first two hypotheses in more details to understand residential differentiation better. In the capitalist city, residential differentiation means that, while some groups utilize urban resources (such as education and health), others have not access to them. This unevenness in utilization is reproduced within the family, neighborhood, group, and social classes by transferring intergenerational. As Harvey (1985: 118) states, a white-collar labor force is reproduced in a white-collar neighborhood; a blue-collar labor force is reproduced in a blue-collar neighborhood.

While residential groupings reproduce the labor power in such a way, it may form distinctions in terms of consumption habits. That is to say, in a neighborhood, or community, resident displays similar consumption habits, and Harvey (1985) evaluate this situation as a homogenous character of residential units. This homogeneity can be seen in their values, expectations and states of consciousness. Even the residents express their residential choices as their preference; in fact this is related to their position in the capitalist society. In other words, external forces form their preferences, values and choices. In his explanation 'external forces' refers to the community, which is the primary sources of socialization experiences as the place of social interaction. Harvey (1985: 119) illustrates this formation as below:

Working class neighborhoods typically produce individuals with values conducive to being in the working class; and these values, deeply embedded as they are in the cognitive, linguistic, and moral codes of the community, become an integral part of the conceptual equipment that individuals use to deal with the world.

Consequently, residential differentiation is the product of social relations and social differentiations in the capitalist society. Furthermore, uneven development is the fundamental reason of socio-spatial differentiation. In this context, declining residential areas are differentiated more sharply from the other areas of a city in terms of their social and spatial structures.

The concept of uneven development serves appropriate explanation, regarding to the concentration of poor or deprived group especially inner neighborhoods in metropolitan cities, and spatial differentiation of them from the other areas of the city. As Hamnett (1994) states, spatial differentiation has emerged within the metropolitan housing market area, whereby the 'victims' of the economic restructuring have become locked in the cities while the 'winners' have become concentrated outside.

At this point, Harvey (1985: 122) suggests that suburbanization is a creation of the capitalist mode of production. Suburbanization is actively produced because it sustains an effective demand for products and thereby facilitates the accumulation of capital. Furthermore, for financial and governmental institution that is ordered in consistent with capitalist order, briefly for housing market, emerging white-collar workers within the division of labor appears 'appropriate' for the settling suburban areas in capitalist development. This appropriateness for housing market results from the literacy, work conditions, and economic power of white-collar class. In fact, for Harvey (1985) this is the motive of capitalist mode of production instead of the real preference of this class. However, middle and upper income class groups have the chance of choosing living areas, while the poorest groups have no choice, since they can take only what is left over after more affluent groups have chosen.

Consequently, leaving from the inner areas to the periphery or suburbs is the desired tendency for capitalist development in urban areas. At the same time, this tendency facilitates the residential differentiation of wealthy and poor, and uneven development in urban areas.

3.2. Definition and Common Features of Inner City Residential Decline

The inner city is defined generally as containing the central business district and a surrounding residential area of older homes (Broadway and Jesty; 1998). Mills and Lubuele (1997: 727) note that inner cities typically near the geographical centers of metropolitan areas. Therefore the concept of inner city decline comprises decline in both central business areas and residential (generally it called transition areas) areas. Since the main topic of the thesis is inner city residential decline, in the following pages, the concept of inner city decline will be examined regarding residential areas.

Declining inner cities provide a specific example of the general point about the uneven outcomes of capitalist relations.

“While certain social groups and geographic areas have profited like never before from integration into a worldwide system of economic activity, others have not been so fortunate, in some cases to extent that they have been delinked or excluded entirely from the international economic order” (Drudy and Punch, 2000: 219).

In addition to social division, capitalized city has an important spatial dimension. In more detail, losing groups generally found themselves segregated into the devalued spaces of the city. Devalued spaces are generally in the traditional inner city areas that had decayed under the twin forces of disinvestments and depopulation, often isolated without the necessary services or local economy to sustain an urban community (Drudy and Punch, 2000: 221).

Consequently, the phenomenon of inner city residential decline has several common dimensions such as economic, physical, and social. More specifically, inner city decline can be characterized with poverty, unemployment, segregation and declining public education and health as the socio-economic dimension, density rates of vacant and abandoned property and changing land uses as the physical dimension; disinvestment as the political/administrative and economic dimension. In the following pages these common features of decline will be explained more detailed.

3.2.1. Poverty, Unemployment and Segregation

Most of the studies reveal that concentration of poverty, economic and ethnic inequality has become an important indicator of declining inner city neighborhoods (Carter, 2003: 18).

Both in developed and developing countries, poverty is common phenomenon that concentrate in any part of the city whether core or periphery. As mentioned earlier, one of the reasons of concentration of poverty in inner neighborhoods is the flight of middle-upper classes to newly developed areas in order to avoid ‘disamenities’ of the inner areas such as deteriorating housing and infrastructure, high density rates, and etc. Conditions of housing market encourage, and also control this movement via presenting attractive living conditions out of the inner city. Consequently, devaluated inner areas became the places of poorest groups that could not afford the living in the other part of the urban areas.

As one of the first industrialized city in Britain, Manchester gives a significant example for spatial segregation in urban areas. Engels (1968; cited in Şengül, 2001: 189) describes the segregation in Manchester in 1845 as below:

The town itself is peculiarly built, so that a person may live in it for years, and go in and out daily without coming into contact with a working-people's quarter or even with workers, that is, so long as he confides himself to his business or to pleasure walks. This arises chiefly from the fact, that by unconscious tacit agreement, as well as with out-spoken conscious determination, the working-people's quarters are sharply separated from the sections of the city reserved for the middle-class; or, if this does not succeed, they are concealed with the cloak of charity.... the members of this money aristocracy can take the shortest road through the middle of all the labouring districts to their places of business without ever seeing that they are in the midst of the grimy misery that lurks to the right and the left.

As Engels describes above, residential segregation had existed acutely before the 150 years in a capitalist city as Manchester. Poverty concentrated at the inner part, while the wealthier groups live at the out of the city center. Residents of the Manchester city separated both socially and spatially without any contact.

Recent structure of the capitalist cities shows similar structure in terms of residential segregation, concentration of poverty and high unemployment rates in inner neighborhoods.

For instance, in Milwaukee (in US), poverty rates peaked between 1970 and 1990 and the people who were not poor, especially non-Hispanic whites, moved out of inner neighborhoods because of the high poverty rate. Therefore these neighborhoods turned into concentrated poverty areas (Carter, 2003). In Canada, distribution of income became more polarized especially between 1980s and 1990. While the total population grew by 6.9 per cent, the poor population grew 33.8 per cent in the metropolitan areas of Canada between 1990 and 1995. Hatfield (1997; cited in Carter, 2003) contended that there was a significant evidence of increasing spatial polarization and concentrations of poor households during the period of 1980-1990. Furthermore, poverty rates in Canadian metropolitan areas, both in the central city and older inner suburban rings, are growing much faster than those in proximate outer suburbs.

In addition to the poverty, inner city residential areas have high level of unemployment. According to the work⁴ of Myles et al (2000; cited in Carter, 2003: 19) while employment was increasingly concentrated in higher income communities, in lower income neighborhoods unemployment was very significant rates. Regarding to this situation, Wilson (1999; cited in Carter, 2003: 18) claims, "*The consequences of high neighborhood joblessness are even more devastating than those of high neighborhood poverty*". According to Wilson (1999) the problems increase in the neighborhoods related to unemployment, such as family dissolutions, lack of social participation, welfare, and etc.

On the other hand, high unemployment rates may results from the plant closing in a part of the city. For example in Baltimore, main reason of unemployment is the consequences of the decline in the manufacturing base. Factory closing led to loss of

⁴ This study analyses the changes in neighborhood income inequality and residential economic segregation in the eight largest Canadian cities during the 1980-95 period.

manufacturing jobs, loss of population and occurrence of vacant land and abandoned housing in central neighborhoods (Carter, 2003).

Spatial segregation based on racial and ethnic differences is the other fundamental subject of discussions regarding to inner neighborhoods in developed countries. For instance, especially at the south side of the Chicago, racial segregation is the dominant character of geographic distribution of the residents. More significantly, as Carter (2003: 4) states the borders of some neighborhoods in south Chicago were originally determined by white resistance to black migration.

In Australian cities, as Lee (2000; cited in Carter, 2003) stated, distribution of poverty is very uneven across social groups and poverty rates is higher in certain groups such as urban Aboriginal people, recent immigrants, visible minorities and people with disabilities, lone-parent families, unattached individuals, children and elderly women, in comparison with national average for urban dwellers.

In short, poverty, unemployment and segregation in the inner city residential areas appear as common indicators of unevenness. Moreover, segregation generally based on racial and ethnic minorities.

3.2.2. Decline of Physical Environment - Vacant and Abandoned Property

The most visible indicator of inner city decline is vacant and abandoned property in the neighborhood. This problem is generally accepted as an indicator of decline rather than a cause. On the other hand, Cohen (2001; cited in Carter, 2003: 20) shows that vacant and abandoned properties also contribute to neighborhood decline and frustrate revitalization efforts by becoming eyesores, fire hazards, and sites for drug-related activity, vagrancy, and rodent infestation. Moreover, Burchell and Listokin (1981; cited in Carter, 2003) state that abandonment is both a symptom and a disease signing poverty, selected migration, unemployment and the tax base loss.

It is clear that, deteriorating houses, apartments, commercial and industrial buildings, and lots undermine the vitality of city neighborhoods. According to Glennerster and others (1999; cited in Carter, 2003: 21) *“the more unattractive the housing and the area’s facilities, the more segregated the population, the lower the social and human capital of the area, the less capable are the individuals and the area of attracting jobs”*.

In the US literature noted by Carter (2003), the factors that contribute to problem of vacant and abandoned property in central cities are identified as below:

- *“Federal policies subsidized outmigration of the middle class, favoured new construction over existing developments, and sanctioned the redlining of vast areas of the inner cities.*
- *The new interstate highway programs opened up inexpensive and minimally taxed land on the urban fringe for industrial and residential developments.*
- *With falling revenues in the worst inner city neighborhoods, nonessential repairs were delayed or stopped; mortgage obligations went into default; and property tax payments were stopped, starting the timetable for loss of ownership and abandonment.*
- *Functioning of housing markets resulted in the process of filtering.*
- *State and local policies such as laws regarding wills, probate, titles, property descriptions and surveys, the way that localities assess real estate and foreclose on tax delinquent properties, have also played a role” (Carter, 2003: 20).*

Regarding abandoned properties in US inner cities, Accordino and Johnson (2000; cited in Carter, 2003: 21) note that inner areas of 95 cities have the problem of vacant and abandoned property. According to this study, nearly half of the cities reported that 20% or less of the community is affected, and almost one-third of the cities reported that 21% to 40% of the total community is affected by the problem.

Also, Northern British cities such as Newcastle, Glasgow, Leeds, Liverpool, and Manchester have faced to inner city disinvestments and abandonment of physical urban areas. According to Carley (1999; cited in Tom Carter, 2003) about one in seven of British homes are in poor conditions and they need to major repairs. In other word, Carley specifies that in England, 4.8 per cent of the total dwelling stock is unfit, 2.5 percent lacks one or more of the basic amenities, and 12.9 percent is in poor repair. In total, nearly 15 percent of the stock is in poor condition.

3.2.3. Disinvestments and Economic Decline

Since the capital moves through the built environment in order to gain more profit, certain areas where the capital does not choose to invest, remain poor in terms of capital investments. In this context, disinvestment is one of the major characteristics of declining inner neighborhoods. Carter (2003: 22) notes that disinvestment process is triggered when a community offers lower returns to investor.

On the other hand, disinvestments may occur in the existing housing stocks of the neighborhood. In consequence of falling income and leaving wealthier families, prices and rents decline in a community in comparison to other areas. Namely these areas lose their attractiveness for any type investment. Property owners in that community, gradually become less interested in maintenance, and do not spend for the repair for their property. Therefore Carter (2003: 22) emphasizes that disinvestments is initially manifested in delayed home improvements and discretionary repairs.

Carter (2003: 22) notes that in many urban areas, the principle matter of the disinvestment process is the 'market gap'. He explains this problem in the context of cost-benefit. Disinvestment occurs when the cost of renovation and property acquisition exceeds the market value of the renovated home. In these circumstances, private capital avoids to invest these areas.

3.2.4. Changing Land Uses

While the central business district expands physically due to the agglomeration, surrounding residential areas are affected from this development. Land use pattern of the residential areas surrounding the central business districts may transform from housing to commercial units, store or manufacture uses gradually with the pressure of widening business district.

On the other hand, in developed countries, inner city areas are generally the sites of under-utilised commercial space. These commercial spaces are inexpensive to lease and therefore become a magnet for business serving the underprivileged. These types of commercial units illustrated by Carter (2003: 22) as pay day loan, cheque-cashing outlets, pawnshops, temporary labour centers, low priced saloons, sex shops, massage parlours and others.

3.2.5. Decline of Public Education

Decline of public education is another important indicator of residential decline especially in terms of several points. Firstly, as Carter (2003) notes, low educational attainment is considered to be an important indicator of areas in decline. Furthermore, it is suggested by Carter that failure at school is often attributed to neighborhood effects. In other words, *“several negative collective processes such as abandonment of parental responsibilities on the part of modern parents and the high rates of juvenile delinquency, criminality and street violence, explain why so many young people in these areas lose interest in education”* (Carter, 2003: 25).

As a second important point, school performance problem can be considered. Carter (2003) notes that schools with high numbers of poor students are more likely to rate lower in achievement tests. It means that they may have lower success in comparison to the average of the whole city schools. While families with resources move away in order to utilize middle-class public or private schools, concentration of poor students in schools of declining neighborhoods increases. According to Glennerster et al., (1999; cited in Carter, 2003: 25), such children’s school performance is worse and so their later earnings are lower.

Another character of the schools in declining neighborhoods may be low quality in terms of educational, physical, infrastructural equipments. For example, lack of heating system, labs with no equipment, fiscal shortages, and so on. Moreover, according to the Anyon’s study (1997; cited in Carter, 2003: 26), which explores changes in education system in Newark, it is suggested that teachers and administrators were frequently unqualified for their jobs as school administration and teaching jobs. He notes that, teaching and administration jobs were given out on the basis of political relationships instead of person’s qualification.

As suggested by Carter (2003) school populations may reflect the population of the neighborhood in which the schools are located. Therefore, educational equipments of a community, such as physical conditions of schools, quality of the personnel, and the success of the school, may give an important signs of this community situation whether decline or not.

3.2.6. Decline of Public Health

Another important issue in declining inner city neighborhoods is that it may not utilize enough public health services. The reason of this problem can change according to the local characteristics. For example, some neighborhoods may have not a public health clinic. On the other hand some neighborhoods have health clinic but not equipped by the required material or personnel.

It is clear that there is a strong relationship between socioeconomic status and health. As Wasylenki (2001) states, this relationship has been well documented in the United States and the United Kingdom. Poverty has been shown to be a cause of poor health and also limits access to both preventive and remedial health care. It is suggested by Kennedy et al., (1998; cited in Wasylenki, 2001) that in the United States there is a strong correlations between lower income and higher mortality, as being independent of ethnic origin.

The health conditions of residents in inner neighborhoods have been discussed in terms of concentration certain disease in developed countries. Wasylenki (2001) identified the health problems by drawing on the work of American College of Physicians, and states that the most commonly health problems associated with US inner cities as violence, teenage pregnancy, drug abuse and HIV infection. He also emphasizes the situation that some people live with chronic illnesses such as tuberculosis, asthma and diabetes.

Therefore, the distribution of health opportunities as well as the distribution of income is unequal in large cities. The problems of health in inner neighborhoods reflect this inequality.

3.3. Evaluation of Inner City Residential Decline in Turkey

Although the number of research on this subject is very limited, most of the existing researches (Giritlioğlu et al., 1993; Sönmez, 2001; Güler, 1990; and Ergun,1995) related to the three largest cities of Turkey: Istanbul, Ankara and İzmir. Therefore, the concept of inner city residential decline will be explained in the light of these researches.

First of all, general geographical structure of cities in Turkey should be illustrated in order to understand the process of decline. For Kıray (1992), Turkish

cities consist of certain districts from center to out of the city. City center is the brain of the city and its hinterland, and controls the social and economic activities. In the surroundings of this area, there is a transition area that involves mix of housing areas and business areas. Surroundings of the mixed type area, there is a low-priced housing districts, then a middle class districts. Finally, heavy industry and wealthy housing areas surround the city. Kıray (1992) suggests that, this type of arrangement is the same with every contemporary city in Turkey.

The development of the city can be easily understood from the changes of mixed type area. As a city develops, increasing units of employment cannot fit into the central business district and overflow to the area that contains both housing and business areas. Then, with the effect of this overflowing, the old residents move out from the district. If the development of trade and industry slow down, the development speed of the city also decreases, or the development direction can change within the city. Properties in these areas stand either empty or rented as pension. The property owners of these areas have an expectation of increase in property values, they hold their properties instead of selling them. By the time, dwellings deteriorate, and new comers to the city settle these areas because of the low rent values. So, the process of decline begins. These kind of formation is visible especially in İstanbul; Tarlabası district in Beyoğlu, back streets of Galata, Sirkeci-Eminönü district, Tahtakale and Süleymaniye (Kıray, 1992: 144).

Kıray (1992) defines the general characteristics of these areas as dusty, noisy, unclean, crowded and disordered. Furthermore, single-male, migrants, waiters, artists, workers, prostitutes, bohemians, and vagrant populations are dominant in such areas. The rate of death and illness is higher from the rest of the city. Also, unlawful employers, hidden gambling houses, heroin-cocaine selling concentrated in such areas.

One of the most striking structure of recent large cities is the duality of social groups as poor and wealthy and gradually polarization of them in city geography. This dual structure of large cities appeared widely in Turkey with the migration of population from rural areas to the large cities especially after 1950s. Until 1990s, the formation of squatter settlement is the unique formation in city that is characterized as urban poverty areas, and this formation generally located at the surroundings of the city. At the beginning of 1990s, in addition to the squatter settlement areas, new formation of urban poverty has emerged that located in inner areas of some large cities (Işık, 1999).

Therefore, inner areas of large/metropolitan cities became the new places of the urban poor with a gradually increasing concentration of poverty. Istanbul that is the most affected by immigration waves, presents a significant example with respect to inner city residential decline, and concentration of poverty.

As a metropolitan city, Istanbul has most complicated structure both spatially and socially. Old centers of İstanbul such as Eminönü and Beyoğlu have faced a problem of declining neighborhoods. The study (Giritlioğlu et al., 1993), which contains the nine inner city neighborhoods located at the Eminönü and Beyoğlu examines particularly physical structure, and socio-economic structure of these neighborhoods. According to this study, poverty has concentrated these areas and most of their residents work in marginal sector in the central business district. At the same time, declining physical environment is another characteristics of these inner areas. Since İstanbul has wide historical built environment, the problem of deteriorating and neglected building in old centers is very natural. For instance, 43 per cent of the buildings including the study area are at least fifty- year- old. Related to the building age, 22 per cent of the building in ruins, and 5 per cent are empty.

Another study (Ergun, 1995) examines the four distinct neighborhoods in İstanbul regarding to the residential preferences. According to this study, residents of Süleymaniye as an inner residential district in İstanbul, have faced a problem of unemployment, and employees in temporary and not qualified.

Ankara and İzmir show similar structure in terms of poverty, employment, and deteriorating physical environment in inner city residential areas (Sönmez, 2001; Güler, 1990). As Sönmez (2001) stated, in transition area of İzmir, 85 per cent of buildings have physical problems. Most of the residents employ in marginal sector or temporary jobs, located especially within the center (67 per cent of the case population).

As another metropolitan city, Ankara has similar problems. As Güler (1990) states, most of the buildings have bad conditions physically in Ulus. Old residential areas of Ulus had gradually transformed and the functions had changed in certain part to production, and store activities or remain empty.

It is important to note that, as Işık (1999) states instead of racial or ethnic determinants, income inequality is main determinant of the residential segregation in Turkish cities. These studies mentioned above, shows that concentration of poverty is the main characteristic of declining areas instead of ethnic or racial segregation.

In conclusion, inner city residential decline is more observable in largest cities of Turkey, where the capital accumulated mostly. One of the most important reasons of this development is the attractiveness of these cities for rural population of the east regions. Regional unevenness in terms of capital investment and public services had forced the populations in the east regions to move the largest cities where the capital and wider employment opportunities exist. As a result of this movement, population of largest cities have become more segregated especially based on the income structures. So the losers of the uneven development in Turkey, concentrated both at the old neglected inner part or squatter settlements. In this way, unevenness has been carried on to the urban areas.

CHAPTER 4

CASE STUDY: INNER CITY RESIDENTIAL DECLINE IN İZMİR – TUZCU DISTRICT

4.1. Urbanization of Izmir in the Context of Uneven Development

Izmir, as the third largest city of Turkey, has experienced rapid urbanization especially since the 1950s when the migration started from rural areas. Although unevenness has begun to appear more clearly in both spatial and social structure of Izmir especially after the 1950s, it is important to mention briefly its previous development.

Before the 1950s, there were two important break points in İzmir history; the first was the articulation to the World trade capitalism at 17th century, and the second was integration to the World industry capital in 19th century. As a port city being geographically close to the Europe, Izmir had become as an export center for its agricultural hinterland. Related to the developments in trade relations and industrialization; the transformation had begun to appear in social, economic and spatial structure of Izmir gradually between 17-19th centuries (Sönmez, 2001).

In the 18th century, namely pre-industrial period, the population of İzmir was approximately 100.000 and consisted of different ethnic groups such as Roum, Armenian, and Jewish. One of the most striking features of spatial structure in the 18th century was the residential segregation of different ethnic groups because of their different socio-cultural characteristics. As shown in the map 1, while elite groups and non-muslim wealthy groups had located at the surroundings of the central business district, middle and low-income groups that consisted majority of Muslims had located beyond the central areas toward to Kadifekale. Since the trading activities had performed mostly by Non Muslim groups, their socio-economic structure was stronger than the Muslims (Sönmez, 2001; Kıray, 1972).

İzmir had 200.000 inhabitants at the end of the 19th century, and the majority of population still consisted of minorities, and as before, population had contained different ethnic groups such as Armenians, Jewish, Greek and groups from European nations. In

1857, while the total population of Izmir was 200.000, the number of Muslim was 89.000. At the end of the 19th century, Turkish population was only % 35 of whole population. While ethnic segregation was the dominant factor in spatial order in the 18th century, income dependent class segregation gradually had become more observable at the end of 19th century (Kıray, 1972).

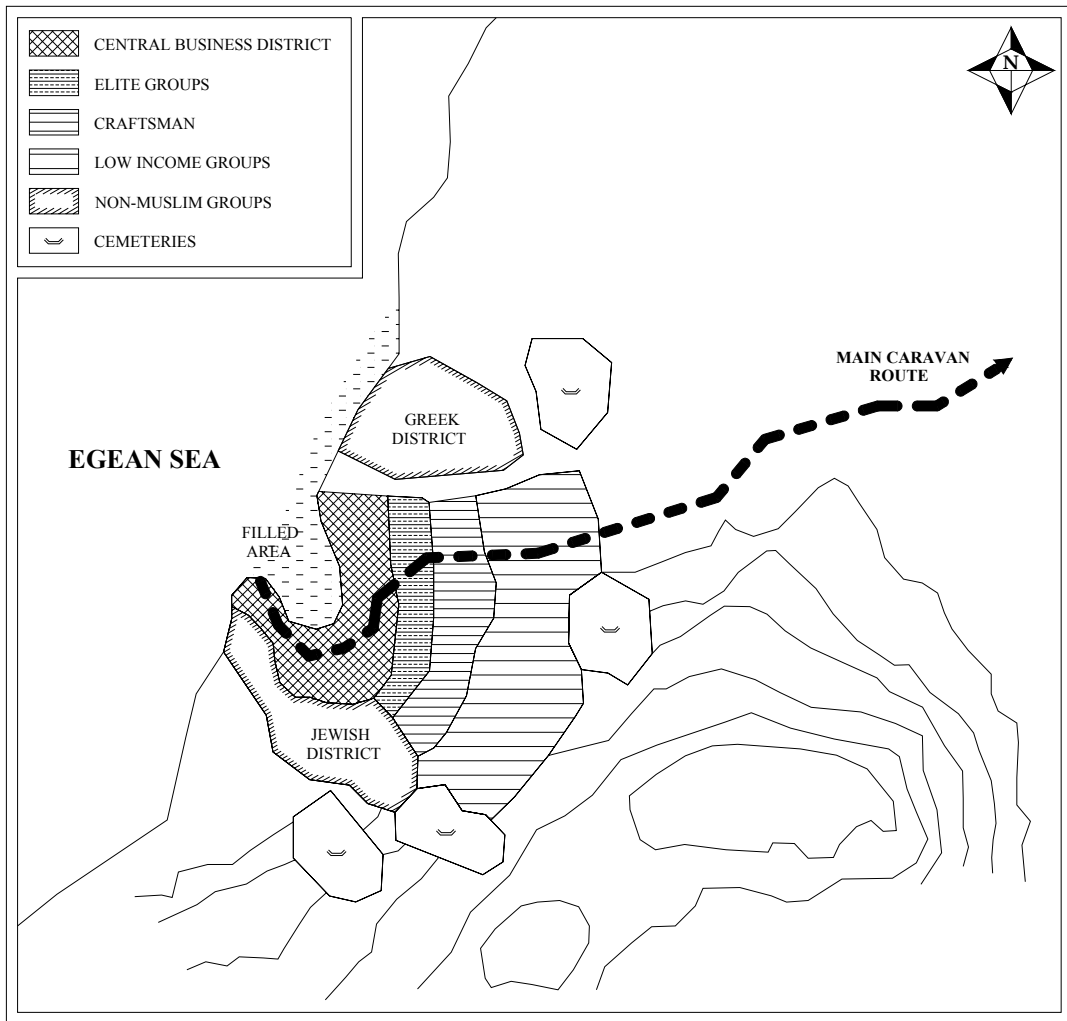


Figure 1: Spatial Distribution of Social Groups at the end of 18th Century
(Source: Kıray, 1972:36)

Changing economic structure because of the increasing trade relations, especially after the ‘Trade Treaty’ dated 1838, led to unequal distribution of income within the society. While this treaty had enabled Europe to export the capital towards İzmir, and granted the foreign merchants the right to trade directly within Ottoman territories, Izmir began to transform as a capitalist city. Therefore it may be claimed that the first signs of economic unevenness in socio-economic structure of the city had began to appear at this period. For

instance, foreign merchants and the minorities in İzmir as the representatives of foreign merchants get stronger compared to the domestic merchants. The main reasons of the occurrence of ‘winners’ and ‘losers’ were:

- Exportation food and raw material mostly by means of merchants from the minorities.
- Inability in resistance of domestic production to the imported consumer goods, and the process which resulted in the regression in domestic market (Sönmez, 2001).

So, the formation of differentiation in income had reflected to the spatial organization of the city more clearly at the end of 19th century as shown map 2. While high and middle-income Roum neighborhoods spread out to the east coast of the Alsancak and along to Punta, middle and low-level income Roum neighborhoods spread out to the backside of the Basmane and Tabakhane. By building the port and filling the sea in 1869, the costs of the city began to transform rapidly. Levants and the merchants had moved their offices from Kemeraltı to Kordon. At the same time, the high-level income groups had began to settle in Kordon, at the surroundings of the Cumhuriyet square and Kültürpark. Kordon and its surrounds had been gradually formed according to demands of new bourgeois. Newly founded modern public places such as theatre, cinema, and clubs supported the prestigious image of these areas.

Furthermore, Muslim or non-Muslim wealthy groups had settled along Karantina, Göztepe and Kokaryalı costs. With the development on railway and sea transportation, suburbanization movement had been started by the highest income groups. In this way, settlements such as Buca, Bornova, Gaziemir and Karşıyaka gradually began to flourish fulfilling the demand of the wealthy class people for summer housing and providing shelter for potential epidemics during this period. Gradually, these areas turned out the suburbs.

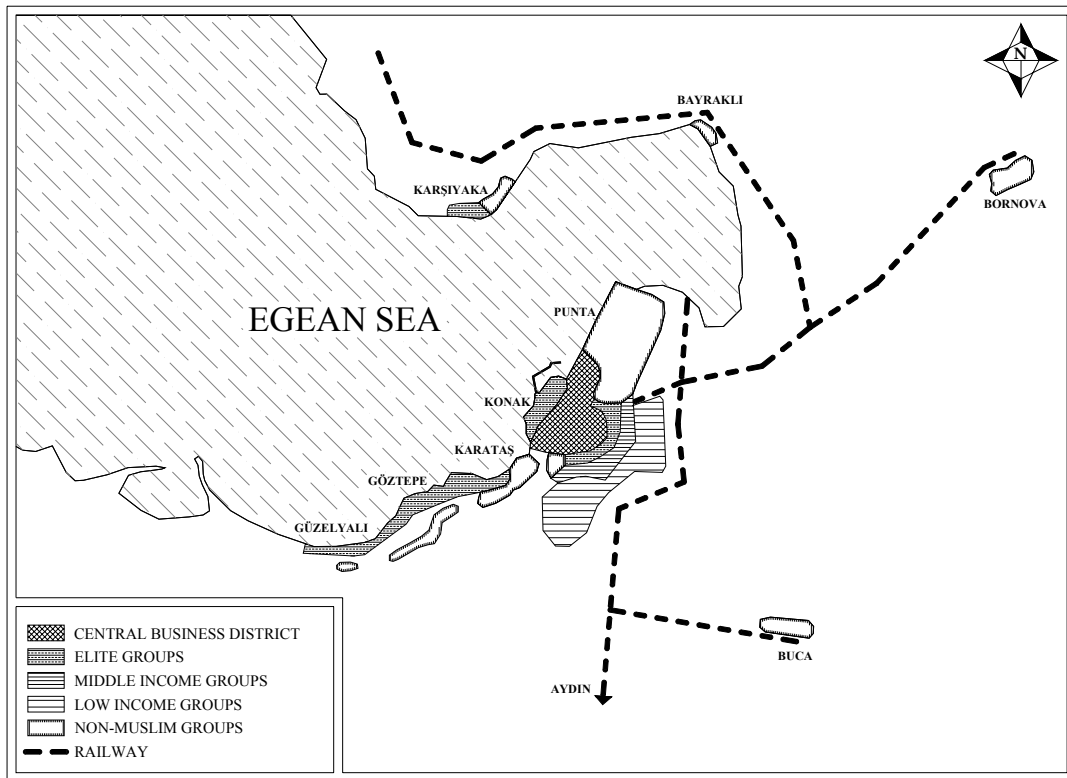


Figure 2: Class Segregation at the end of 19th Century in Izmir
(Source: Kıray, 1972:47)

At the first half of the 20th century, and in the first years of the republic, the development policies were based on the industrialization in Turkey. Thus, the industrial investments were supported in Izmir as well. In 1927, Izmir was the second city after Istanbul in terms of the number of industrial units.

At the same time, due to the 1922 İzmir fire, physical, cultural and social topography of the city had ruined. The fire had mostly affected the Basmane and its surroundings, while Armenian neighborhoods completely burned, the Roum and Levant neighborhoods devastated seriously. On the other hand, the population had decreased because of the immigration of foreigners and minorities that constitute the elite groups of the city. The high and middle income of Muslims had settled to dwellings and districts that were left.

While there was a decrease on trade activities because of leaving of minorities and foreigners from Izmir, industrial development had accelerated as parallel to other large cities of Turkey. Most of the industrial and manufacture units had located at the center and a few units had located at the Bornova and Menemen axes in the 1920s. The center had a dominant structure in terms of capital accumulation.

The first plan of İzmir designated by the French Rene Danger in 1925. This plan contains the urban development decisions parallel to the framework of the modernist approach of the new Turkey republic. By the Danger plan, which especially contains the burned up area, the organic settlement pattern has been changed in such a way that the existing spatial organization of the past has been replaced by the radial wide boulevards, spacious green areas, and wide public spaces. Gazi Boulevard and Cumhuriyet Square had established during this period. In this way, French Danger had carried the planning approach of the west by that plan. At the same time, this plan had created the prestigious areas; it meant to be the spatial elimination of some social groups in İzmir (Çilingir, 2001).

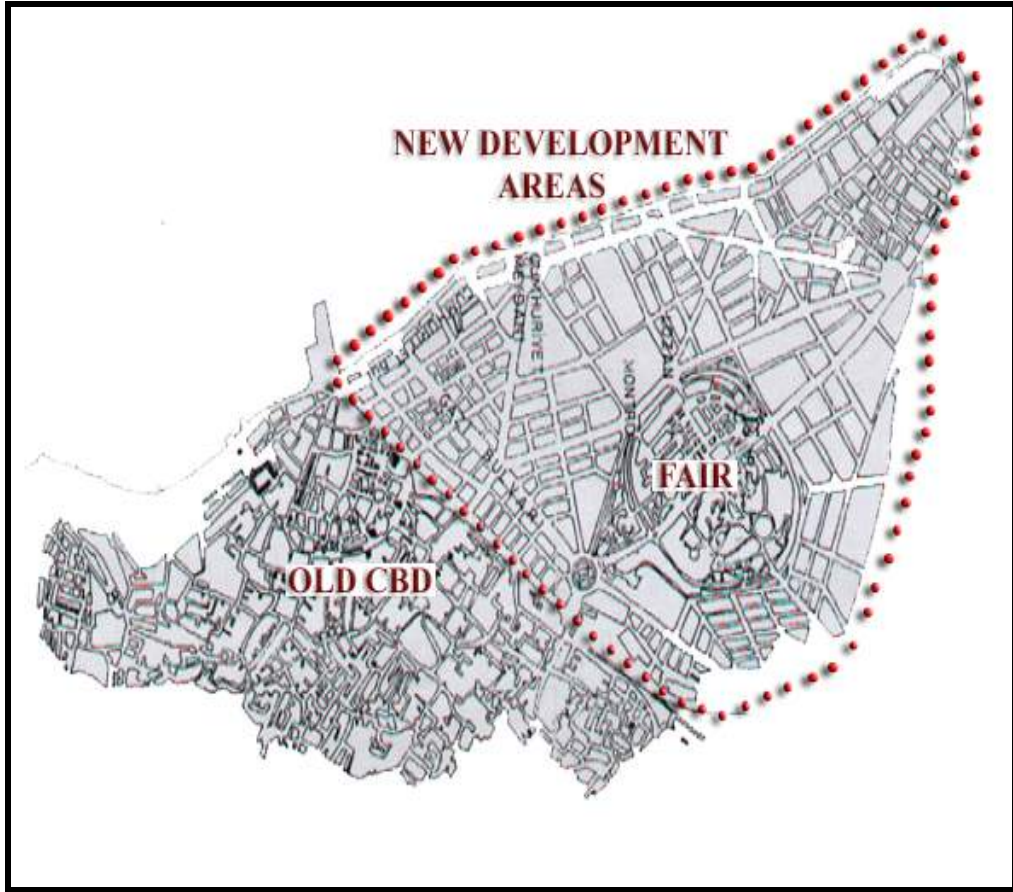


Figure 3: The Plan of Rene Danger
(Source: Altınçekiç, 1987; cited in Ünverdi, 2002:163)

The Behçet Uz, mayor of the 1930-46 period, had given a special importance to the creation of a modern city in both social and spatial terms. For this purpose, the first social institutions had established such as retirement home, nursery school, and child hospital. At the same time, infrastructure and transportation projects such as central

terminal and mass transport system had been constructed. The mayor, Uz, had attempted to redound to several prestigious parts of the İzmir such as Karşıyaka, Alsancak, and Güzelyalı districts. Especially by drying activities of the marsh areas, building the port, and the other spatial interventions had increased the attractiveness of Karşıyaka for wealthy groups in İzmir (Seymen, 1990). Therefore, the plan of Dange and the further investments of the municipality had created a new public way of life as well as spatial order throughout the city.

On the other hand, during this period, new settlement areas had emerged due to the population exchange (*mübadele*) occurring between the 1928-1935. 1. Kadriye, Yeni İstiklal, Zeytinlik, Yeşildere, and Ege districts appeared as squatter settlement by these new comers. Therefore, physical differentiation of poor and wealthy had become more visible. While the investments and wealthy groups had chosen the newly planned developing areas, the settlement of poor groups had begun to concentrate in the east part of the historical center, namely the slopes of the Kadifekale. As Güzelyalı, Alsancak and Karşıyaka had become the prestigious housing areas, the east of the center had gradually become declining areas of the city. Capital investments and the urban services such as infrastructure and social institution have begun to determine the urban development more evidently.

While the population of İzmir was 170.959 in 1935, it had increased to 290.000 in 1950. Within the period of 1944-1950, new 10 districts had appeared as squatter settlements such as Samantepe, Ferahlı, Gürçeşme, İstiklal, Kadifekale, Boğaziçi, Gültepe, Ballıkuyu, Çiçek and Aziziye (Sönmez, 2001).

As mentioned before, the period of 1950-1980 called as ‘urbanization of Labour’ in Turkey, and the main determinant of the urbanization during this period is the migration of rural population to the urban areas due to the modernization of agriculture and occurrence of labor force more than the necessity in agriculture sector. During the period of industrialization, the central cities of industrial development had become attractive centers for the rural unemployed population.

Parallel to the Turkey conditions, the main determinant was the migration in urbanization of İzmir within this period. Occurrence of squatter settlement due to the migration was one of the most significant developments of İzmir urban areas in 1960s. At the same time, existing squatter settlements had gradually widened and concentrated. In this way, İzmir had begun to transform as a metropolitan city.

During this period, the preferences of offices, banks, and commercial companies concentrated at the Gümrük, Basmane, and Cumhuriyet Square. On the other hand, residential areas presented as a differentiated structure based on income levels. High-level income groups locate at the Alsancak, Göztepe, Güzelyalı, and Karşıyaka, middle-income groups locate at the Hatay and old parts of Karşıyaka, and low-level income groups locate at the inner part of the city.

The plan of Kemal Aru had directed the urban development of İzmir after the 1950s. This plan had proposed the serious alterations for sectors of transportation, housing and industry. In accordance with this plan, the western axis of the city was to be developed as housing areas. Establishment of Mustafa Kemal Boulevard had provided a connection between new housing development areas and Konak. In addition to the western axis, Karşıyaka was extended towards Bostanlı where the prestigious housing areas of the district were situated. On the other hand, Bayraklı and Tepecik was planned as the settlement of industrial sector workers (Çilingir, 2001). This plan contains significant decisions in terms of the widening spatially towards west and north axis of the city. In addition to the housing areas proposed at the west, industrial zones have been moved towards the east, namely Bornova plain.

At the second half of the 1960s, industrial units concentrated especially at the Şehitler Street, Halkapınar, Bayraklı and Karşıyaka. At the same time, industrial development appeared along the road such as Karabağlar, Kemalpaşa, Büyük Çiğli and Bornova-Manisa axis. It is important to note that the first leap of the large-scale industry to the periphery of the city occurred in Pınarbaşı with the Çimentoş and Metaş plants. Then the industrial units developed towards Kemalpaşa (Seymen, 1988: 259).

On the other hand, Seymen (1988: 260) states that manufacturing concentrated in certain areas in İzmir within the certain periods as stated below;

- Within the 1920-1960 period – Bornova and Menemen
- Within the 1961-1970 period – Pınarbaşı, Gaziemir, Balçova, Çamdibi Gültepe, Karabağlar, and the center.
- Within the 1971-1980 period – Buca, Kemalpaşa, Cumaovası Büyükçiğli, Narlıdere, Güzelbahçe, Yeşilyurt, Altındağ, and Yeşildere.

Retailing activities that located in Konak and Kemeraltı at the beginning of the 1960s leaped to the Fevzipaşa Boulevard at the end of the 1960s. Within this period, east and the southwest part of the historical center had a declining character. On the

other hand, Alsancak had not become the subcenter for retailing activities yet (Seymen; 1988: 265)

In 1968, the Metropolitan Planning Bureau of Izmir was established, and the planning activities were performed according to both spatial and sectorial-functional developments. The distinction between historical and new center was firstly clarified by this plan, and the development axes explained as below;

- Eşrefpaşa Street is an axis, which has the retailing units addressing to daily needs of middle and low quality housing areas.
- The second axis includes the area of Basmane-Tepecik-Kemer that address to the needs of a large squatter settlement area.
- The third axis serves to the high-level of income residents including luxury shops and services along the seacoast and Cumhuriyet Square.
- The fourth axis is the area placed along the Mithatpaşa Street (Seymen, 1988:265)

Excepting these four axes, Karşıyaka had been continuing to develop as a sub-center. Development tendencies and the physical thresholds directed the plan of The Metropolitan Planning Bureau, and thus, the north-south axis was planned as the development axis of the city, with concentrated industrial and settlement functions.

At the 1970s, industrial development of İzmir accelerated in terms of both diversity of production and the scale of foundations. Furthermore, certain plants were established by the support of foreign capital such as BMV, Tuborg, and Viking. The number of industrial plants belonging to foreign capital was 11 in 1978 (Seymen, 1988: 260). According to the work of Ünverdi (2004) the number of foreign investment increased to 76 in 2000.

1973 plan proposed the industrial development as linear pattern extending the north-south axes. The areas at the northern part, Şemikler-Çiğli-Ulucak-Menemen-Aliğa and the areas at the southern part, Karabağlar-Gaziemir-Cumaovası were determined as the industrial development areas. Furthermore, this plan proposed to move certain activities from center to the outer parts of the city. For instance, the production activities, which are noisy and pollutant, moved to the outwards.

Wood-works and metal-works were sent to the south, and leather dealers to the north. This time, the decentralization project put some small industries on the agenda of the metropolitan center. In a district like Kemeraltı, where traditional production

and sales units were located, some functions began to be eliminated. For instance, starting with the 1970s till the beginning of 1980s, the gradually increased shoe-manufacturing units that were previously dwelling units, moved to their new locations outwards the eastern part of the city center in 1990s (Çilingir, 2001: 265).

1978 plan was prepared in order to solve the problems occurring from the 1973 plan, and it took the problems into consideration by an incremental approach. Therefore, instead of the comprehensive planning approach, urban development was directed by the incremental way and generally according to the demands of the periphery municipalities. As a result of this approach, the development pattern of the city has become uncontrolled, and independent across the municipalities.

As mentioned before, the period of after the 1980s in Turkey is called as 'urbanization of capital', and capital accumulation in urban areas reached to the peak point within this continuing period by manifesting the patterns of uneven development more strikingly. In parallel to general development pattern of Turkey, urban areas in İzmir has intensely and rapidly transformed as being subject to all manner of economic restructuring process and the uneven flows of capital through the built environment because of the increasing hegemony of capital on urbanization process particularly over the past two decade.

Recent shifts include the emergence of new industrial and financial spaces, the large-scale construction of private apartments and gated communities for middle-upper income households, and large scale supermarkets and so on.

After 1980, since İzmir did not take the governmental encouragement in industrial development, also the large scale capital preferred especially Istanbul and the cities surrounding it, Izmir remained having limited industrial investments in comparison with the pre-1980 period on the other hand, this shrinking condition of industry affected especially middle-scale enterprises in İzmir. Large-scale capital and the small-scale production units that located at the center providing the input to the sector of large-scale industry based on manual labour in the mode of flexible production, did not affected this condition seriously (Ünverdi, 2002:186)

As a way of dealing with the accumulation crisis, capital was directed to the property, and its reflections appeared as a huge building sector in İzmir as well as in the whole country. Countrywide settlement policies are determined in accordance with the locational demands of the national and international capital. And the housing sector has gradually become the essential factor in terms of accumulation of capital within the city. At

the same time, governmental policies have been developed as concentrating on the housing investments by giving credit via banks and encouraging the mass housing projects.

Urban growth of İzmir represents a linear pattern, including some of the decentralization of several activities such as industry, retailing, mass housing and education as shown in figure 4. On the other hand, the number of story and so the housing-population concentration increased in planned areas such as Hatay, Üçkuyular, Balçova, Karşıyaka, Bornova, and Buca. Unplanned areas, namely squatter housing areas had been legalized by the improvement plans.

While in 1985, the greater municipality of İzmir was comprised of 3 districts as Konak, Bornova, and Karşıyaka, in 1990, the number of districts increased by including Buca districts. In 1993, the number of district increased to eight with Narlıdere, Gaziemir, Çiğli and Balçova.

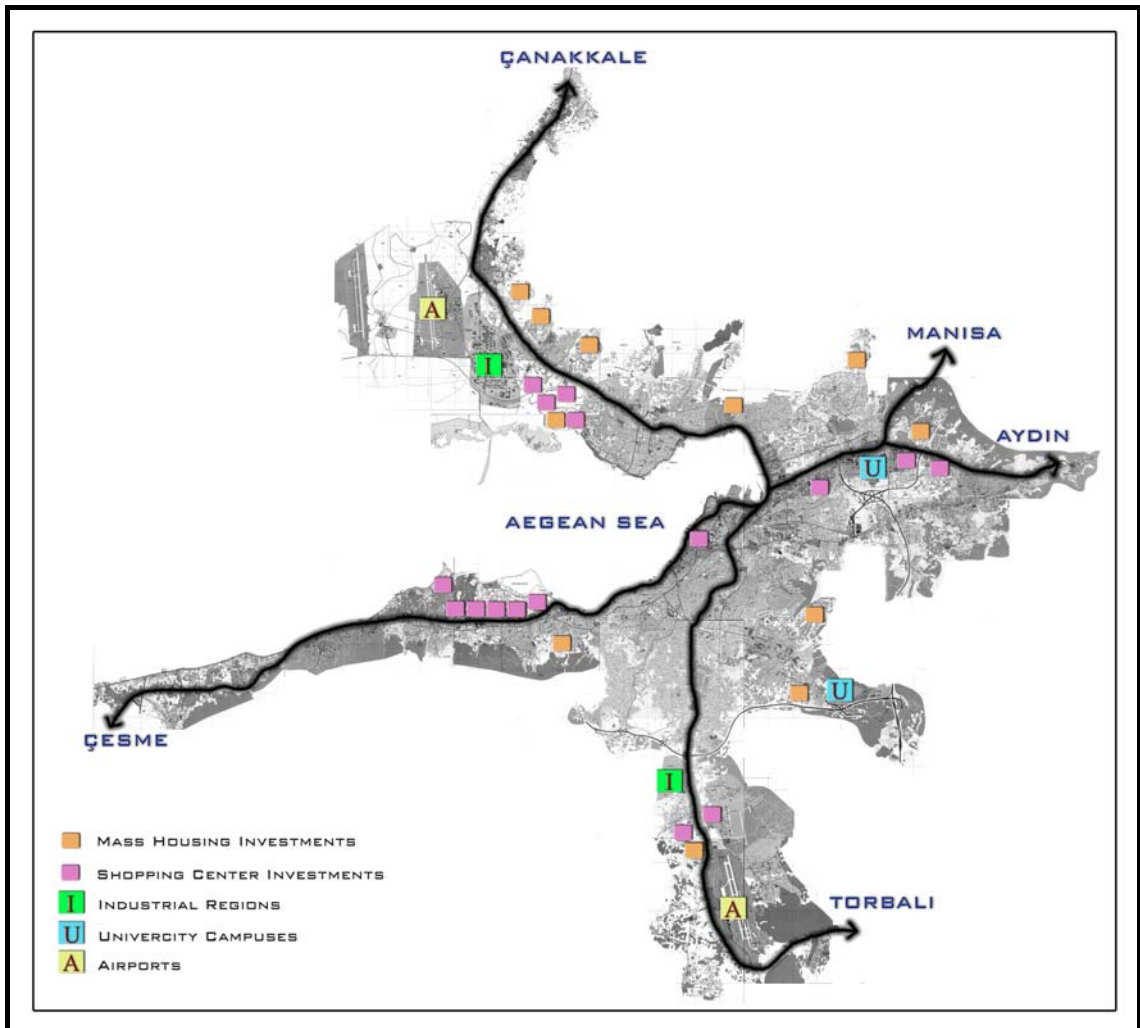


Figure 4: Main Investment Areas in the Outer Parts of the City

Today, İzmir Metropolitan area is divided into nine district municipalities, which are under the authority of the greater municipality: Balçova, Bornova, Buca, Çiğli, Gaziemir, Güzelbahçe, Karşıyaka, Konak, and Narlıdere. These nine metropolitan districts have 329 neighborhoods in total. Konak as a central district has 170 neighborhood, including the 34 per cent of total population as shown in table 7. Moreover, annual growth rate of Konak district is the lowest one while the population density is higher in comparison to the rest of the metropolitan city.

Table 7: The Population Distribution of İzmir by Districts
(Source: Census of Population 2000 SIS)

Districts	Population 1990			Population 2000			Annual Growth Rate (%)	Pop. Density
	Urban	Rural	Total	Urban	Rural	Total		
Balçova	59825	0	59825	66877	0	66877	1,11	3185
Bornova	274226	4074	278300	396770	5642	391128	3,55	1771
Buca	199130	4253	203383	315136	6475	308661	4,38	2352
Çiğli	73364	5098	78462	113543	6803	106740	3,74	1171
Gaziemir	39905	4184	44089	87692	17657	70035	5,62	1392
Güzelbahçe	11624	2645	14269	18190	3266	14924	2,49	155
Karşıyaka	345360	374	345734	438764	334	438430	2,38	6648
Konak	720502	1068	721570	782309	946	781363	0,81	11338
Narlıdere	34844	0	34844	54107	0	54107	4,4	859
Total	1758780	21696	1780476	2273388	41123	2232265	-	-

4.2. General Characteristics of Inner City Districts of İzmir

Kemeraltı historical center and the surroundings called *transition area* are the central areas of İzmir. Especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, these areas were important in terms of the trade and production activities, and also of the residential functions for the wealthier groups. There were three hierarchical groups in residential areas surrounding the Kemeraltı center. These were Levantines who controls the international trade activities, Roum and Armenian merchants who mediated the trade relations between İzmir and its agricultural hinterlands, and finally muslim and Jewish groups which performed domestic trade. The boundaries of their neighborhoods were constituted generally according to ethnic characteristics (Kıray, 1972; Sönmez, 2001).

In the middle of the 19th century, transportation investments affected the transformations of these central areas; for instance, the establishment of Aydın railway station in Alsancak, construction of the second port along the Gümrük, and the building the roads of 1. and 2. Kordon along the seacost. These investments facilitated the

development of the center through the northern part including Alsancak, Basmane, and Cumhuriyet Square. Therefore two centers were constituted with different development levels. While the Kemeraltı historical center continued to contain the traditional production and domestic trade, the northern part developed as a new center containing the offices of new sectors such as banking, insurance, and foreign firms.

At the same time, new hotels, and apartments had been built for the high level income at the north of the Kemeraltı. Therefore, Cumhuriyet Square, Basmane, and Alsancak became the places of wealthy groups in terms of housing and business. On the other hand, wealthy groups left the historical center, Kemeraltı, and its surroundings and these areas began to change in spatial and social terms.

As mentioned before, 1925 Dange plan contained the burned up area, and had the aim of creating modern city. While this plan accented the burned up area, the traditional center was neglected. This dual or uneven structure has been carried to today by the evidences as declining residential areas and developing new healthy areas out of the center.



Figure 5: Sit Boundaries in Central Konak
(Source: Konak Municipality, 2005)

Today, these central areas have the subject of the continuing preservation plan that consists of two stages. The first stage, which was approved in 2004, includes the Kemeraltı historical center below the İkiçeşmelik Road towards the sea. The second

stage, which has been incompleated yet, include the 23 districts above the İkiçeşmelik Road: Yenigün, Hurşidiye, Akıncı, Etiler, Kurtuluş, Faikpaşa, Mirali, Altınordu, Pazaryeri, Namazgah, Sakarya, Yeni, Ali Reis, Kubilay, Kadifekale, Altay, Suvari, Ülkü, Dayıemir, Tuzcu, Dolaplıkuyu, Aziziye, and Selçuk districts. Most parts of these districts have been within the boundaries of urban and 3. degree archeological sit area as shown in figure 5.

4.3. Description of the Study Area: Tuzcu District

As one of the residential district of Konak, Tuzcu district locates at the east of the Kemeraltı, as shown in map 6. The main reason of the choosing this neighborhood is that it is one of the latest neighborhoods where the declining process has begun. According to the studies of Aydar and Kıray (1987, 1972 cited in Sönmez 2001), while the high and middle level income groups had lived until 1972, Tuzcu District had transformed as a place that concentrated poor groups employing marginal jobs in 1987. In other words, Tuzcu district had begun to transform especially at the beginning of 1970s. This determination is verified by the mukhtar of the Tuzcu District who has been living there since the 1960.

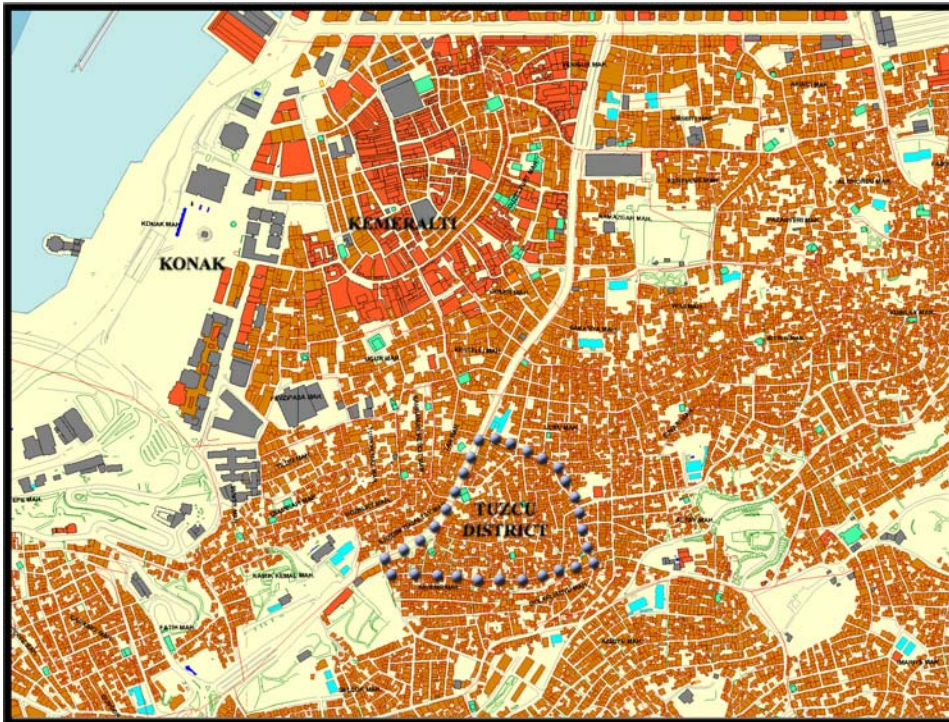
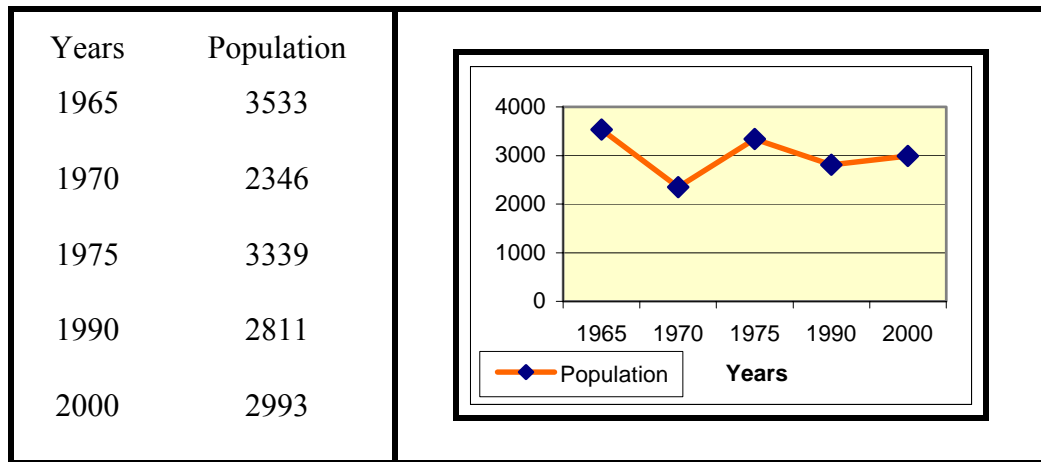


Figure 6: Location of the Tuzcu District in İzmir
(Source: Prepared from the City Guide, Greater Municipality of İzmir, 2004)

The Tuzcu District is one of the oldest residential areas of İzmir as well as the Namazgah District. Before the 1970s, the majority of the population living in this neighborhood consisted of wealthy and prestigious groups, who were employed in especially the prestigious jobs. The inhabitants were doctors, lawyers, and engineers. Therefore the quality of life and the average income level were very high until the 1970 in comparison to the conditions of today.⁵

Population of the Tuzcu district shows a relatively stable structure, excluding 1970s as shown in table 8. This is the time when the wealthy groups had left the neighborhood. By the beginning of 1970s, the population began to increase again due to the new comers who can not afford the living in other developing planned areas of the city. During the period of between the end of 1970s and 2000 the population is relatively stable. According to the information gained from mukhtar, there is 1330 household and the total population is nearly 4500⁶ in 2005.

Table 8: The Population Development of Tuzcu District
(Source: Census of Population 2000 SIS)



Tuzcu district became a declining place because of old dwellings and deteriorated other physical structure. Since the sloping land, building blocs present an organic pattern and the roads are very narrow as shown in the land use map.

As shown in table 3, 69,8 % of the buildings in Tuzcu District has been used for dwellings. Following the dwellings, 22,9 percent of the building have been used as annexes. Some of annexes serve as toilet, bathroom or kitchen, some serves as coalbin.

⁵ This information had been received from the interviews taking by Mukhtar and the old residents of the neighborhood.

⁶ The number of household and the total population of 2004 had been received from the Mukhtar.

There also commercial building by 3,4 percentage. Some of the buildings located at the İkiçeşmelik roadside have been used for commercial functions, which sell second hand or inexpensive furniture and durable consumption goods. In total, including the grocery stores in inner part of the district, there are 31 commercial building within the district. As shown in the land use map (figure 7), there is not any large open area as park or children's playground.

Table 9: Land Use Distribution and Building Height Distribution of Tuzcu District

Type of Land Use	Number	Percentage
Dwelling	645	69,8
Commercial	31	3,4
Storage	6	0,6
Annex	212	22,9
Religious facility	4	0,4
Ruin	26	2,9
Total	924	100,0

Building Height	Number	Percentage
1	184	27,0
2	343	50,3
3	134	19,6
4	16	2,3
5	5	0,7
Total	682	100,0

On the other hand, the majority of the buildings is old and has 2 or 3 storeys (table 9 and figure 8). Half of the building within the district has 2 storeys, and only 0,7 % of them have 5 storeys. It is important to note that, the 4 or 5 storeyed buildings are unlawful, because the existing application plan allows for maximum 3 storeys.

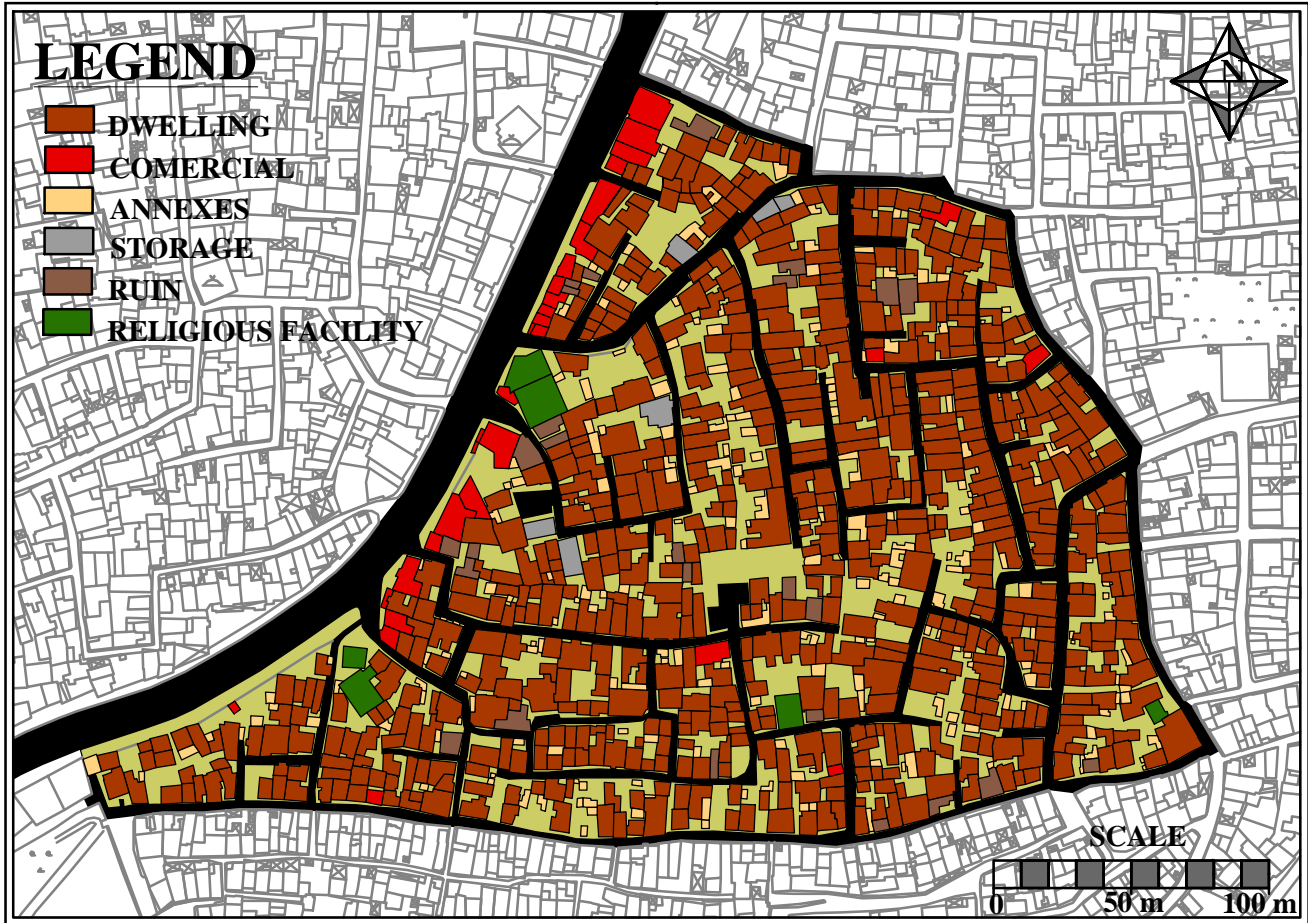


Figure 7: The Land Use Distribution of Tuzcu District
Source: Field Study, June 2005

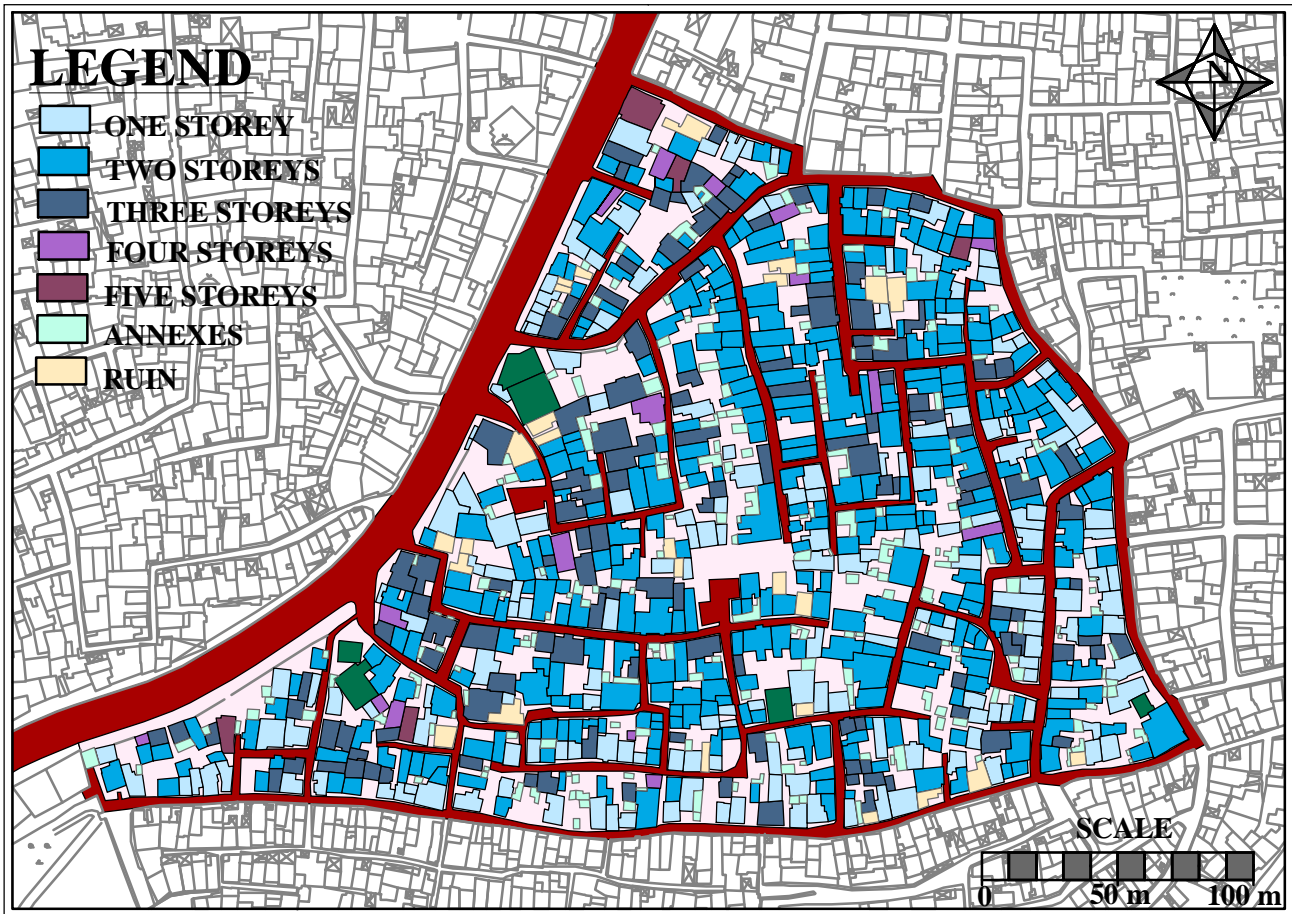


Figure 8: The Building Height Distribution of Tuzcu District

Source: Field Study, June 2005



There are also illegal buildings representing incongruous to the pattern of the district as shown in figure 9. These buildings generally have 4 or more storeys, and most of them were constituted by low quality building materials.

Figure 9: Some of the Illegal Buildings in the Area.

Some historical buildings in the neighborhood have been deserted, so most of them are on the verge of collapsing completely as shown in figure 10. Furthermore, these ruins have threat the health of the people and the children that have not a park or playing area.



Figure 10: Ruined Historical Buildings

On the other hand, there are historical buildings, which have been preserved and maintained in time as shown in figure 11. These buildings are valuable not only for the Tuzcu District, but also for whole İzmir due to their historical identity.



Figure 11: Historical Buildings

Narrow roads, as the characteristics of the old settlements, facilitate the relations of neighboring on the one hand, and it can hinder the entering vehicle into some areas of the neighborhood, on the other.



Figure 12: Views from the Narrow Roads of the Tuzcu District

Some parts of the neighborhoods can be arrived by the long and sloping stairs. This structure causes accessibility problem when a risk occurs such as fire.



Figure 13: A View of the Stairs Located at the Tuzcu District.

The buildings located at the İkiçeşmelik Roadside are kept in better conditions, compared to the other parts of the district.



Figure 14: Buildings Located at the İkiçeşmelik Roadside

In conclusion, Tuzcu District is one of the declining residential districts located at the transition area. The only difference that differentiates Tuzcu from other districts within this area is the starting date of the decline process. In other words, Tuzcu is the last residential district within the transition area that has begun to show the signs of decline process. As mentioned before, the decline has begun at the beginning of the 1970, and the old wealthy residents had begun to leave the area especially at these years. Today, the population of the districts consists of the groups migrated from the east regions of the country, and their economic power is very low as compared to the average of the İzmir.

CHAPTER 5

FINDINGS

The phenomenon of ‘decline’ is examined by the deprivation measurement in the Tuzcu District, which is located at the surrounding of Kemeraltı, historical center of İzmir. As a residential district, Tuzcu is analyzed in terms of both its background conditions to explore the declining process and its current structure to explore the results of this process.

The results of the analysis are presented in three main parts: explanation of population characteristics, results of the material deprivation analysis, and finally results of the social deprivation analysis of the Tuzcu District.

5.1. Population Characteristics

While the main aim of the thesis is the measurement of the deprivation level of the Tuzcu District, there are also some indicators, which are independent from deprivation but related to the general characteristics of the population living there. However, these indicators do not seem as closely related to deprivation, they can provide essential information about the population of the research in terms of general social profile. These are also very important inputs to understand the District.

5.1.1. Place of Birth and Hometown

Demographic characteristics are examined by whole research population that consist of 280 people belong 65 households. While Place of birth is examined in the context of the whole population of the research, hometown information is classified only in the scope of the parents. Therefore, the origins of families and origins of the individuals can be observed separately.

Considering the hometown distribution of the household, it is observed that 33, 8 % of them are from İzmir, 32, 3 % are from Mardin, and the rest of them from the other cities as shown in the table 10.

Table 10: The Distribution of Research Population by Hometown and Place of Birth

Hometown	Frequency	Rate (%)	Place of Birth	Frequency	Rate (%)
İzmir	22	33,8	İzmir	129	46,1
Mardin	21	32,3	Mardin	83	29,6
Bitlis	5	7,7	Bitlis	17	6,1
Erzurum	3	4,6	Erzurum	9	3,2
Aydın	2	3,1	Batman	6	2,1
Batman	2	3,1	İskenderun	5	1,8
Çanakkale	1	1,5	Urfa	5	1,8
Denizli	1	1,5	Adana	4	1,4
Gaziantep	1	1,5	Denizli	4	1,4
Mersin	1	1,5	İstanbul	3	1,1
Kütahya	1	1,5	Kütahya	3	1,1
Manisa	1	1,5	Uşak	3	1,1
Muğla	1	1,5	Aydın	2	0,7
Samsun	1	1,5	Manisa	2	0,7
Urfa	1	1,5	Muğla	2	0,7
Uşak	1	1,5	Çanakkale	1	0,4
			Gaziantep	1	0,4
			Samsun	1	0,4
Total	65	100,0	Total	280	100,0

As mentioned before, the district lost population until 1970s. During this period, house prices also decreased and the district became an accessible place for low-income families. After this population exchange, the population profile of the district changed. At the beginning of the 1970s, the population of the district increased by the migration from cities out of İzmir (especially Mardin) widely. It is known that this migration is the result of uneven development of the regions, and so economic difficulties and poverty. On the other hand, the native families of İzmir who can afford houses only in this region had moved to there.

Therefore, the population of the district consists of two main groups. The first group is migrating population from particularly Mardin, and the second group from İzmir. There is a common feature between these two groups, that is, the poverty.

On the other hand, the distribution of the birthplace shows different ratios. While the ratio of the population born in Mardin is 29, 6%, the ratio of the population born in İzmir is 46, 1%. The main reason of this situation can be explained by stabilization of the population. In other words, families who have settled this area at 1970s have stated there instead of move out in a short term. So, their children were born here and this ratio difference occurs due to this factor.

5.1.2. Age and Gender

According to the results of the demographic analysis, the distribution of the age of the population is presented below. It is similar to the general distribution of Turkey and İzmir.

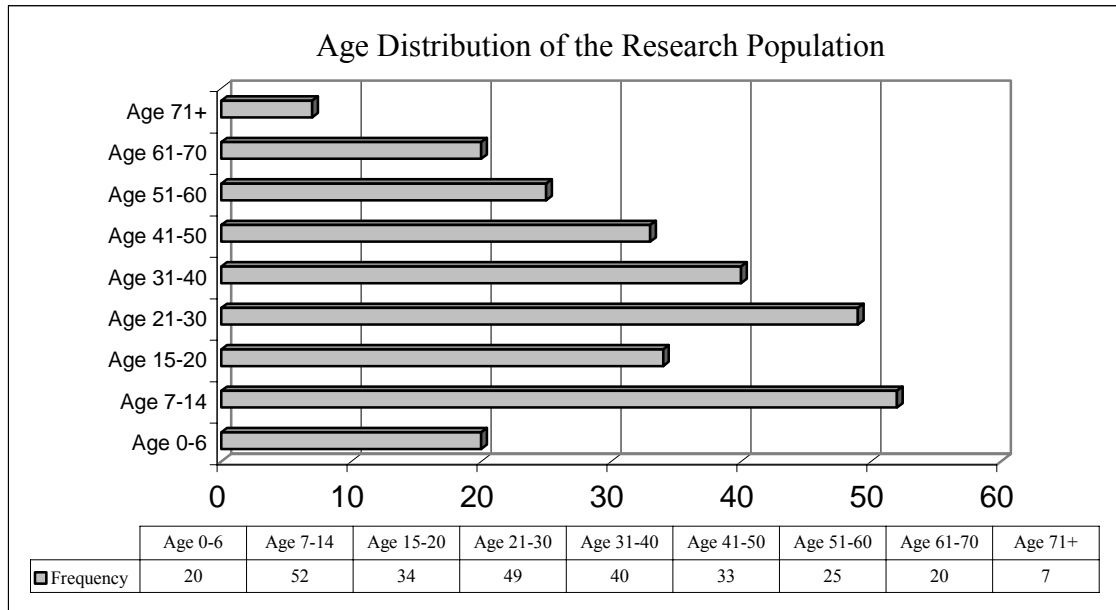


Figure 15: Age Distribution of the Research Population.

7, 2% of the research population is within the rank of age 0-6; 18, 6% within the rank of age 7-14; 64, 6% within the rank of age 15-60; and finally 9, 6% within the rank of age 60 and above. As shown in the figure 15, most of the population belongs to the working age. If it is considered that there is a very low level of schooling above the 15-age group, the age group of 15-60 can be evaluated as a real labour force. Ratios of participation to the labour force are explained at the following pages. In addition to this, when the detailed distribution is considered, the biggest age group is 7-14 with 18,6%, and following is 21-30 age group with 17,5%. It can be said; therefore, Tuzcu District has a very young population.

Besides the age distribution, gender distribution of the population presents a balanced structure with 141 males, with 139 females.

5.1.3. Household Size and Structure

In Tuzcu, average household size is 4, 3, while the average of the household size of whole İzmir is 3, 58¹. This size is just a little above the average of İzmir. Measured household size in the research area indicates that there are widely nuclear families instead of extended families.

Table 11: The Household Size and Structure

Household Size			Household Structure		
Frequency	Rates (%)		Frequency	Rates (%)	
1-4 Members	43	66,2	Nuclear family	49	75,4
5-10 Members	21	32,3	Extended family	5	7,7
11+ Members	1	1,5	Fragmented family	10	15,4
			Single	1	1,5
Total	65	100,0	Total	65	100,0

As shown in table 11, 66, 2 % of the households are nuclear families consisting of 1-4 members. Also, 32, 3 % of the households are composed of 5-10 members. This means these families may be partly nuclear families with many children or partly extended families. 1, 5% of the families are extended families including 11 and more members. Consequently, families in research population are young, commonly with one or two children, nuclear families.

5.1.4. The Reasons of the Settling in İzmir and Tuzcu District

Although migration process is not on the main axis of this study, it can not be ignored completely, because there is a close relation between migration, poverty and deprivation. When the origin is considered, just only 33, 8 percent of the research population is İzmir originated, while the rest of them had migrated from other regions (66, 2 % in different periods).

¹ According to the Population Census, SIS, 2000.

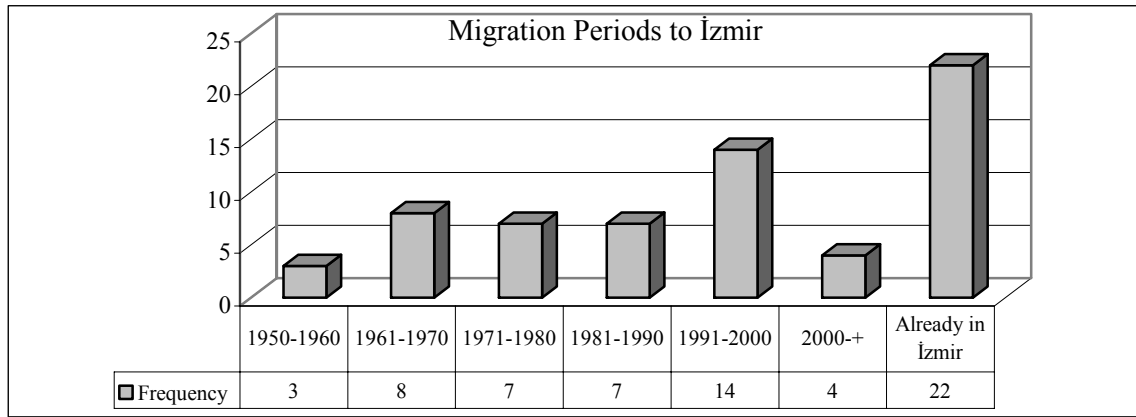


Figure 16: The Distribution of Migration Periods to İzmir

As it is known widely, migration processes in our country bases on the poverty and deprivation context. In this scope, it is very meaningful that almost two in three of the population in Tuzcu District is migrant. When the reasons of migrating in İzmir are investigated, the proportion of unemployment and economic reasons are very conspicuous parallel to general migration processes in our country.

Table 12: The Reasons of Migrating to İzmir

Unemployment and Economic Reasons	29	44.6
Relatives and Fellow Townsman Relations	7	10.8
Already in İzmir	22	33.8
Vendetta	1	1.5
Forced Migration	1	1.5
Other Reasons	5	7.7
Total	65	100.0

In this scope, in order to understand the general characteristics of the district, it is also important to analyze the year and reasons of the settling in Tuzcu District.

Table 13: The Periods of Settling in Tuzcu District

Periods of Settling in Tuzcu District	Frequency	Rates (%)
1950-1960	4	6,2
1961-1970	4	6,2
1971-1980	10	15,4
1981-1990	11	16,9
1991-2000	24	36,9
2000-+	10	15,4
Already in Tuzcu	2	3,1
Total	65	100,0

As mentioned in the section on the description of the study area, while population of Tuzcu District had decreased until 1970s, after that, it began to increase until 1975 again. This increase is parallel to study results, which is shown in table 13 above.

At the same time, there is a gap between the general population change of the district and our research findings about after the year of 1975. This gives a very critical sign regarding to the declining process of the district. During the period of 1975-2000 whole population progress of the district shows a decreasing structure, while the findings of the research indicates that movement to the district has been increasing gradually at that time. This interesting gap can be explained by the difference between the number of comers and leavers of the district. In this period the declining process of the district have accelerated and become in more serious level. Because of this, at those years there are more families leaving the district than the new comers.

On the other hand, after 1970s, while the built environment of the district got blighted and the declining process has accelerated, property values have been decreasing naturally. Already in this period, the previous and wealthier residents of the district had left their places. Therefore, the district became more attractive for lower income groups. As shown in the table 14, the most striking finding about the reason of settling in Tuzcu District is on economic basis. 52, 3 percent of the research population have settled in Tuzcu District due to the affordability.

Table 14: The Reasons of Settling in Tuzcu District

Reasons of Settling in Tuzcu District	Frequency	Rates (%)
Affordability for Buying or Renting a House	34	52,3
Relatives and Fellow Townsman Relations	17	26,2
Closeness to Place of Employment	3	4,6
Born in Tuzcu District	2	3,1
Other Reasons	9	13,8
Total	65	100,0

5.2. Material Deprivation

Since the material deprivation includes the lack of material apparatus, goods, services, resources, amenities, physical environment and locational characteristics of living place, the domains are constituted regarding to these in the light of Townsend's

deprivation index. Therefore the variables classified according to the domains as dietary, clothing, housing, home facilities and environmental and locational facilities.

5.2.1. Dietary

In the light of the findings of the research, grocery expenditure concentrates in the intervals between 0-60 YTL generally. Within this distribution as shown in the table 15, the highest proportions are 0-20 YTL and 41-60 YTL by 29, 2 %. When this distribution is calculated as monthly expenditures (approximately between 0-240 YTL), it can be thought that the most of the household within the population assign the most parts of their income to dietary. Moreover, if this expenditure is considered, they just able to get insufficient nutrition instead of healthy ones. This situation can be taken as a kind of deprivation of dietary.

Table 15: The Distribution of Average Weekly Grocery Expenditures of Households

Average Grocery Expenditure (YTL)	Frequency	Rates (%)
0-20	19	29,2
21-40	16	24,6
41-60	19	29,2
61-100	8	12,4
101-200	3	4,6
Total	65	100,0

On the other hand, the level of the consumption of meat, fish and chicken, which are the basic nutriments are examined in details. The findings show that only the 15, 4 percent of the families can consume these basic foods. According to this finding, 84, 6 percent of families are deprived in terms of these basic nutriments that include protein.

Table 16: The Distribution of Adequate Consumption of Meat-Fish-Chicken

Adequate Consumption of Meat-Fish-Chicken	Frequency	Rates (%)
Yes	10	15,4
No	27	41,5
Rarely	28	43,1
Total	65	100,0

While grocery expenditure is an important indicator, debt on the expenditure is very helpful to understand the level of deprivation in this term. In other words, debt on grocery expenditure shows the difficulty to access the basic foods. Usage any debt on grocery expenditure has 55, 4% proportion in all families who are in research population. This result supports the dietary deprivation findings.

Table 17: The Distribution of Debt Usage on Grocery Expenditure

Any debt on grocery expenditure	Frequency	Rates (%)
Yes	32	49,2
No	29	44,6
With Credit Card	4	6,2
Total	65	100,0

On the other hand, when the credit card usage rates (table 17) are considered, it is an expected result that the rate of consumption in supermarkets, which enables one to use credit cart, is low. Of course the only stipulation is not the credit card usage for consumption in supermarkets, but the other factor for consumption in supermarkets is lack of flexibility in payment such as shopping on credit, which is possible only in groceries. In this condition, 73,9 percent of families who are already in difficulty in terms of grocery expenditure, cannot consume any products from supermarkets.

Table 18: The Distribution of Consumption in Supermarkets

Consumption in Supermarkets	Frequency	Rates (%)
Yes	16	24,6
No	48	73,9
Rarely	1	1,5
Total	65	100,0

5.2.2. Clothing

As another indicator of material deprivation, clothing is examined by the any assistance for clothing of children especially in the school age, because school uniform is an obligation and an indispensable need as clothing type. Therefore, acquiring type of school clothing of children is determined as the indicator within the clothing domain.

Table 19: The Distribution of Any Support for Clothing Children

Any Support for Clothing Children	Frequency	Rates (%)
From Relatives	1	1,5
From Neighbors	10	15,4
From Institution	1	1,5
No	36	55,4
Meaningless	17	26,2
Total	65	100,0

While the majority of the research families do not get any support for clothing their children by the rate of 55, 4 %, 15, 4 percent of them express that they got aid for clothing from their neighbors. Yet, during the interviews with families who prefer to buy first hand clothing for their children, it is seen that they buy these clothes where they can find them in cheapest prices such as bazaar or Kemeraltı. Besides, they prefer to buy first hand clothing for their children because at least they do not wish to cause their children to feel in deprivation.

5.2.3. Housing

Housing characteristics are the indicators, which provide information about both deprivation and declining process at the same time. Regarding housing domain, home ownership, second home ownership, housing rent price, age of the building, number of rooms, general physical conditions of the houses, type of the building, problems of infrastructure, and any attempt to maintain the building are investigated.

However the indicator of homeownership is a sign of wealth generally, for this area, this indicator contains different meanings. Property values are very low in the district and this provides an opportunity of settling for the low-income families. This point can be evaluated as an indicator for decline of the area generally. On the other hand, according to families interviewed, shelter as a basic need of humanity is the most essential factor for guaranteeing to survive. Therefore, 72, 3 % of the households in the research population have their own homes. In another point of view, the district is attractive for the low-income families who would like to have at least their own homes whatever the physical condition of it is.

Table 20: The Number of Homeownerships and Tenants

Home ownership	Frequency	Rates (%)
Landlord	47	72,3
Tenant	18	27,7
Total	65	100,0

Expectedly, 85,1 percent of the households within the research population have not second home. As mentioned before, for these families, as the shelter is the basic need they get difficultly their homes in which they live. So they have almost no chance to have a second home for the property value of it.

Table 21: The Number of Second Homeownerships

Second Home ownership	Frequency	Rates (%)
Yes at the Tuzcu District	3	6,4
Yes at the same building	2	4,3
Yes at the other Part of the İzmir	2	4,3
No	40	85,1
Total	47	100,0

According to the findings of the research, housing rent prices are concentrated in the intervals between 50-150 YTL generally. In this distribution, interval of 76-100 YTL has a high proportion with 27,8%. Being parallel to property values, rent prices is quite low in the district. These prices are attractive to low-income families, too. While rent prices and property values have a supportive role in reproducing the deprivation, in another point of view these prices are not really low in terms of incomes of the residents.

Table 22: The Distribution of Housing Rent Prices

Housing Rent Price (YTL)	Frequency	Rates (%)
50-75	4	22,2
76-100	5	27,8
101-125	3	16,7
126-150	4	22,2
151-200	1	5,6
201-250	1	5,6
Total	18	100,0

The age of the building is an important variable while explaining the decline of an area. Therefore, during the study it is tried to derive information about the ages of the buildings in the content of the research.

Table 23: The Distribution of Building Ages

Age of the Building	Frequency	Rates (%)
0-20	3	4,6
21-40	8	12,3
41-60	9	13,9
61+	5	7,7
Unknown	40	61,5
Total	65	100,0

As mentioned before, the buildings located at the district are commonly old. According to the findings of the research, the ages of the buildings are concentrated within the interval of 20-60 years. The highest proportion here belongs to the “unknown” category. There are two reasons to explain this situation. Firstly, the buildings are so much old that the residents do not know their ages. The other reason is that building changed too many hands through the time.

In the following rank, there is an interval of 41-60 ages (13,9 %). Considering that the average economic life of a building is about 30 years, it can be said that the majority of the buildings have just completed their economic lives. This also indicates another important dimension of the declining process of the district.

The buildings in the research area of the district have a standard profile regarding to the number of rooms they contain. 47,7 % of examined buildings have three rooms.

Table 24: The Distribution of Number of Rooms

Room Numbers	Frequency	Rates (%)
1	4	6,2
2	13	20,0
3	31	47,7
4	14	21,5
5	1	1,5
6	2	3,1
Total	65	100,0

On the other hand, regarding the floor spaces of the buildings of the whole district, there are not enough spaces to live comfortably in these buildings in spite of the number of room they contain. Average floor space of the total 645 dwellings is 50 m². (Figure 17). 70 % of the dwellings are in the interval of 25-75 square meters. Moreover, the dwellings which are generally one-storey buildings have the size larger than 75m². Smallness of the houses is also one of the most expressed problems in the study area.

One of the most important characteristics of the district that differentiated from other parts of the İzmir is the deteriorated physical environment. Due to the historical background, the district contains historically registered buildings and has too many old buildings. Regarding to this characteristic of the district, it is beneficial to examine the data, which is obtained from both Konak Municipality and the field survey including whole buildings of the district as presented figure 18.

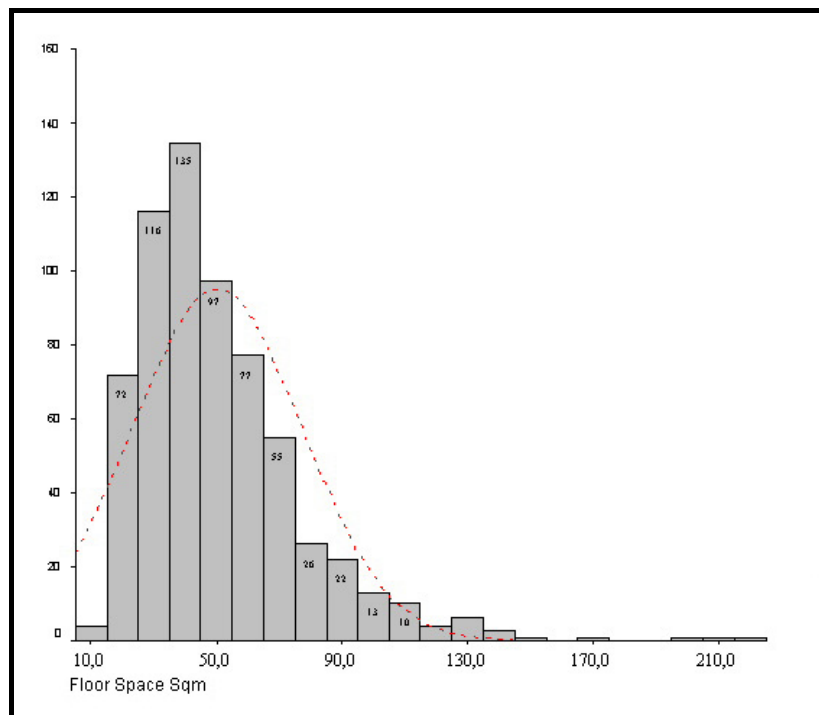


Figure 17: The Distribution of Floor Space Sizes of Buildings

According to the figure 18, there are 483 buildings, which are old and fitting to the pattern, 125 buildings which are old but incongruous to the pattern, 57 buildings which are new and incongruous to the pattern, 25 buildings which are historical and registered building, and finally 2 buildings which are new and fitting to the pattern.

Considering the general physical conditions of the buildings, it can be said that the residents of the district are deprived in terms of healthy buildings. Since the old age of the buildings, most of the household within the research population complained the physical conditions of their home. According to the findings of the research, 55,4 percent of the households responded that their buildings have bad physical conditions generally.

Table 25: The Physical Condition of the Buildings

Physical Conditions of the Buildings	Frequency	Percentage
Good	11	16,9
Average	18	27,7
Bad	36	55,4
Total	65	100,0

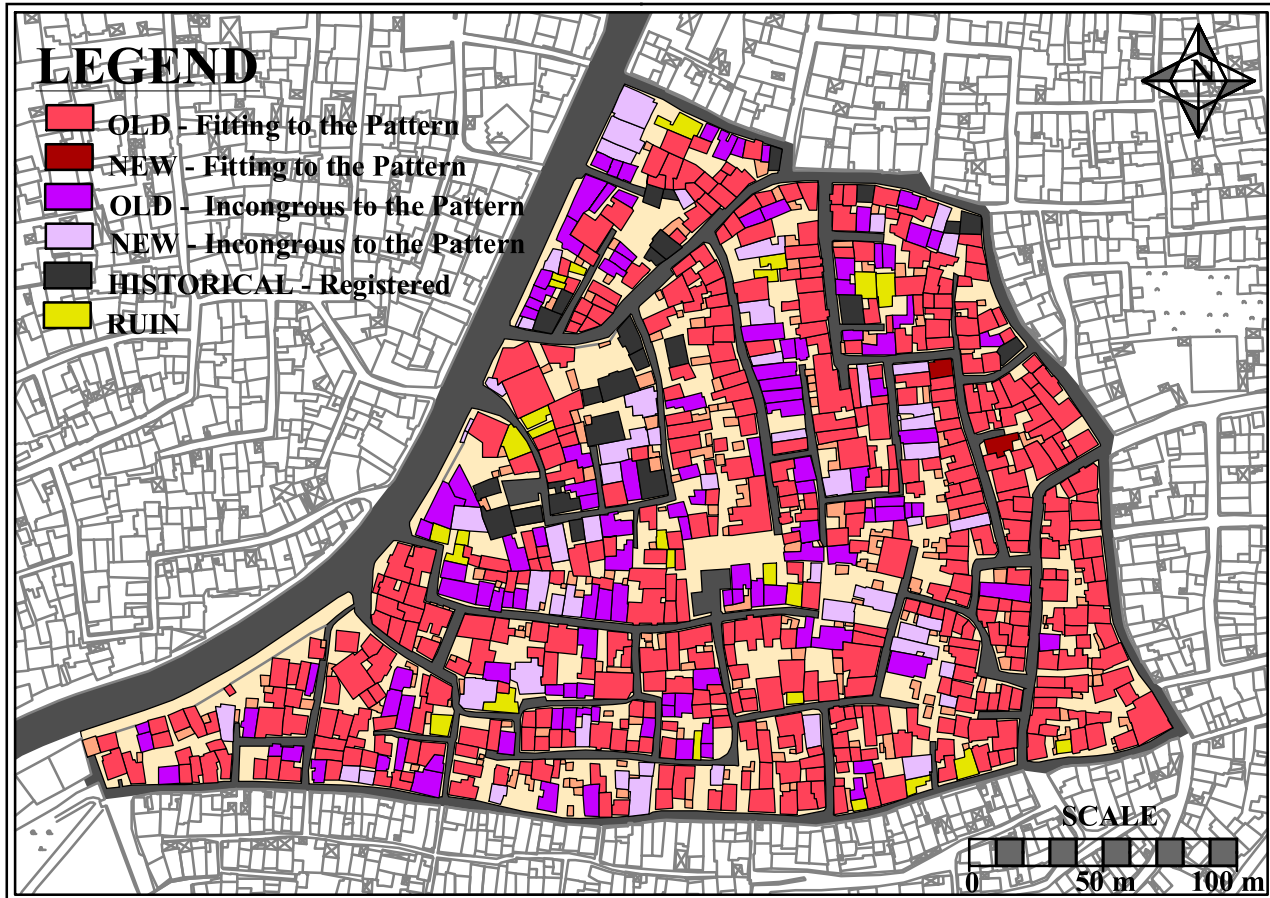


Figure 18: The Spatial Analysis of Building Quality of Tuzcu District
 Source: Field Study, June 2005; Konak Municipality of İzmir, 2005

In more details, the physical problems of the dwellings are examined within the research area by interviewing the residents. Their responds concentrates mostly on the problem of humidity of the buildings. This is very important since the unhealthy conditions of the buildings may affect the health of the residents negatively.

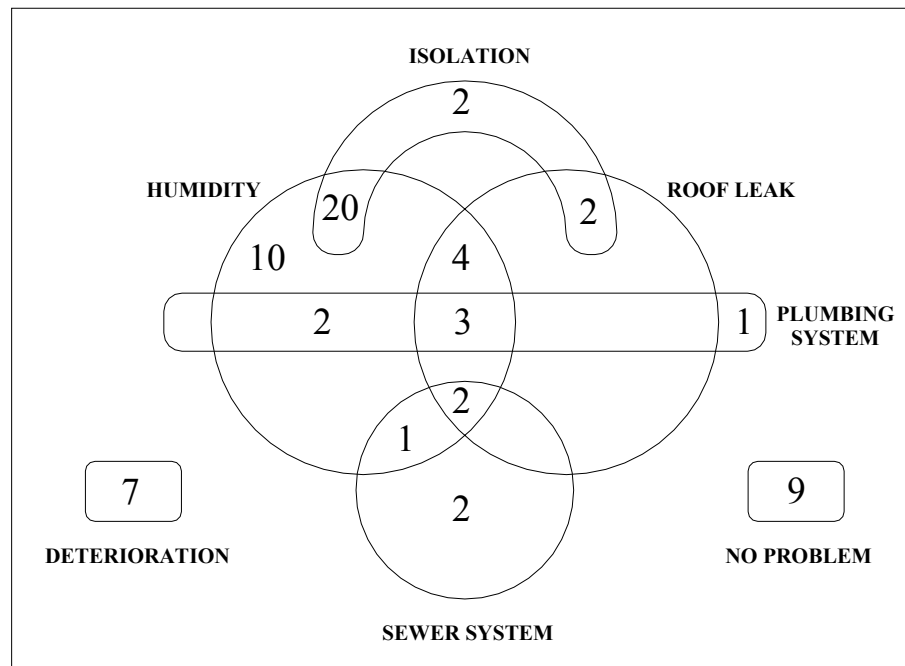


Figure 19: The Distribution of Physical Problems of the Houses

Nearly all buildings located at the district are in need of repairs, although the 70,8 percent of the residents said they had already repaired their home. Since the entirely repairs efforts require high prices, they could do just small-scale works such as roof restoration, painting, and plastering. They repair the parts of the buildings requiring urgent ameliorations, so that they could reduce the disadvantages of deterioration.

Table 26: The Maintaining Need of Houses

Maintaining Need of House	Frequency	Rates (%)
Yes, already maintained	46	70,8
Yes, but couldn't maintain	12	18,5
No need	7	10,8
Total	65	100,0

5.2.4. Home Facilities

Since the majority of the buildings are old, they present old architectural characteristics. While all or any of the units such as toilets, bathrooms, or kitchens were located out of the buildings in the past, most of the residents move them within the building by dividing a room or other units. Therefore, most of the households, 80%, respond that these units located their dwellings.

Table 27: The Existence of Bathroom-Kitchen-Toilet in the Houses

Existence of Bathroom-Kitchen-Toilet	Frequency	Rates (%)
No bathroom	5	7,7
All in the house	52	80,0
All out of the house	4	6,2
Toilet, kitchen or bathroom out of the house	4	6,2
Total	65	100,0

Regarding the most serious problem of their building, 43 percent of the habitants stated that the building is too old, 15,4 percent stated that the building is too small, and 20 percent of them complained about the oldness and the smallness of the buildings. Totally, 79,5 of the households does not satisfy from the size and physical conditions of their buildings.

Table 28: The Main Problem of the Houses

Main Problem of the Dwelling	Frequency	Rates (%)
Old	28	43,1
Small	10	15,4
Old and small	13	20,0
No problem	14	21,5
Total	65	100,0

As another important indicators of the deprivation regarding the home facilities, ownership of white goods and the general quality of the furniture are examined within the research household in details. According to the findings, almost all households have basic consumption goods such as television and refrigerator. But this finding should not be understood as the indicator of wealth or welfare. In spite of their poverty, they do not relinquish from using these goods. It indicates that, while the ownership of TV and refrigerator is an indicator for deprivation or poverty in the past, today this cannot be

use for measurement of deprivation or poverty. Instead of these two goods, the ownership of dishwasher and computer are conspicuous as shown in the table 29 below.

Table 29: The Distribution of Durable Consumption Good Ownerships by Types

Durable Consumption Good Ownership	Frequency	Rates (%)
TV	3	4,6
TV+Fridge	10	15,4
TV+Fridge+Washing machine	22	33,8
TV+Fridge+Washing machine+Water heater+Telephone	14	21,5
TV+Fridge+Washing machine+Water heater+Telephone+Oven+Dishwasher	16	24,6
Total	65	100,0

On the other hand, 40 percent of the households acquired these good as second hand since their embarrassment. This finding also explains the wide ownership of the durable consumption goods within the population.

Table 30: The Quality of Durable Consumption Goods

Quality of Durable Consumption Goods	Frequency	Rates (%)
First hand	20	30,8
Old	18	27,7
Second hand	26	40,0
Unknown	1	1,5
Total	65	100,0

When the quality of the furniture is examined, similar finding arises again. 76,9 percent of the families depicted the condition of their furniture as average and bad. This finding gives clues regarding to the living conditions of the houses.

Table 31: The Quality of Furniture

Quality of Furniture	Frequency	Rates (%)
Old	5	7,7
Good	10	15,4
Average	28	43,1
Old and bad	22	33,8
Total	65	100,0

5.2.5. Environmental and Locational Facilities

This domain seeks to measure the quality of physical environment of the district and accessibility of the residents to urban facilities. Therefore, certain issues such as the general and environmental problems of the district, access to physical and urban services, and the satisfaction from the district are investigated.

According to the responds of the research population, the most serious problems of the district emerge as shown in the table 32 below. By the highest percentage, 20% of the household complains the deterioration and their neglected situations as the serious problem in the district. It is observed during the interviews that they feel themselves as disregarded by the authorities of the city. Commonly, they complain the lack of concern about their problems regarding infrastructure, deterioration and etc.

Table 32: The Main Problem of the District

Main Problem of the District	Frequency	Rates (%)
Deterioration and neglecting	20	30,8
Safety	16	24,6
Infrastructure	9	13,8
No problem	7	10,8
Garbage	5	7,7
Car park and narrow roads	4	6,2
Quarrels	3	4,6
Unemployment	1	1,5
Total	65	100,0

Besides deterioration, environmental problems such as noise and garbage are examined. According to the findings, 30,8 percent of the population complains about the insufficient garbage collection. This results from the difficulty to enter into the dustcart through the narrow roads, and the stairs in some parts. In addition, these physical barriers hinder the entrance of vehicle when an emergency such as fire or health problems occurs.

On the other hand, 64,6 percent of the research population complains the noise within the district. The problem of noise which they bothered especially results from the children playing in the street due to the lack of playing areas.

As mentioned before, physical environment is both deteriorated and dense. Therefore, there is not any open space for resting and recreation. In parallel to this, 93,8

percent of the research population complains about the lack of parks, or green spaces within the district.

In addition, there is not any playground for the children living in the district. As mentioned above, the children have to play at the street. 87,7 percent of the research population complains the lack of playground.

When another urban service, the quality of lighting the street in the district is examined, 78,5 percent of the population are satisfied with this service.

Table 33: The Opinions of the Tuzcu Residents on Adequacy of Local Facilities

Adequate Facilities	Frequency	Rates (%)
Adequate park		
Yes	4	6,2
No	61	93,8
Total	65	100
Adequate child park		
No	57	87,7
Yes	4	6,2
No comment	4	6,2
Total	65	100
Adequate lighting		
Yes	51	78,5
No	12	18,5
No comment	2	3
Total	65	100
Adequate Car park		
No	36	55,4
Yes	6	9,2
No comment	23	35,4
Total	65	100

On the other hand, 55,4 percent of the research population emphasizes the lack of car park. In fact, this is not because of the wide car ownership, 93,8 percent of them has not a car, but the problem occurs due to the narrow roads, again (Table 34).

Table 34: The Distribution of Car Ownership

Car ownership	Frequency	Rates (%)
Yes	4	6,2
No	61	93,8
Total	65	100,0

It should be noted that, 46 percent of the research population do not desire to move another place in spite of the all negative conditions. One reason is that they could get their own home and this is the most vital achievement as they survive with the low level income. While some of them explain the reason as their embarrassment to move another place, a few resident, who are especially old residents of the district, could not move because of the spiritual allegiance to their dwellings.

On the other hand, a higher percentage, 53,8 percent of the households desire to move from the district in order to live in better conditions. However, all of them are hopeless in this regard, at least in a short term, because of the economic conditions again. They have no chance to choice their living conditions or places while the wealthy have. Therefore, segregation of poor and wealthy increases due to the difference in their movement ability, and the deprivation is reproduced at the district.

Table 35: The Distribution of Any Desire to Move Another Places

Desire to Move Another Place	Frequency	Rates (%)
Yes	35	53,8
No	30	46,2
Total	65	100,0

5.3. Social Deprivation

Deprivation is a multidimensional concept, concerned not only with material goods but also with the ability to participate social life. Social deprivation refers to the inability of an individual to participate in the normal social life of their community. For instance, social deprivation measures include participation to working life, integration to social relations, and participation to social institution, ability for recreational activities, utilization from health services, and finally utilization from education services.

5.3.1. Employment and Work

As Townsend (1987:130; cited in Bailey et al. 2003:8) suggests, “*poverty as lack of financial resources relative to needs measured by low income leads to deprivation as lack of necessities both material and social*”. So, employment and work domain that seeks to measure the deprivation resulting from the both occupational

status, income levels and the general satisfaction on employment is very critical for the whole deprivation measurement. Therefore, it is important to begin with the occupational status of the research population to grasp their social deprivation levels.

The occupational status of the research population is examined in three main sections both for men and women, economically inactive, economically active, and unemployed population.

Economically inactive population includes the 0-14 age groups who are at the period of preschool and primary school, students above 15 age, and finally the age groups above the 61 who have no retired. It is striking that 35,7 percent of the whole research population is at the economically inactive status. On the other hand, 83 percent of the economically inactive groups consist of preschool, primary school or students above 15 age. It means majority of the population within this group economically inactive due to the fact that they are either student or in preschool age.

Economically active section includes the working, both men and women groups, and the retired ones who have regular incomes. This group constitutes 25,7 percent of the whole research population. The dependency ratio is 3,88, in other words, each working individual have to support 3,88 individual. Another striking point is the ratio of working women. According to the findings, women count only 7,9 percent of the economically active population. The reason of this low ratio can be explained by the fact that most of the families have traditional character. And women are either married housewives or unmarried, but they do think to not work.

Within the unemployed population group, besides the unemployed men, women group is divided as housewife, not working and unemployed. Unemployed group forms 38,6 percent of whole sampling. As mentioned above, participation of women to working life is very low. 71,3 percent of unemployed population is women including housewife, not working, and unemployed. When the ratio of 22,0 percent, which constitutes unemployed male group within the whole males of the research population, is considered, every one of 4,6 men has been looking for job.

Employment statuses of men and women present different structures. The women, who are in minority in labour market, work especially as skilled worker, and several of them prefer to work in family ownership such as operation of a grocery. On the other hand, the majority of the working men work as skilled and unskilled workers. And the percentage of officers (3,3%) is very low within the working men groups.

Table 36: Occupational Status of the Whole Research Population

Occupational Status	Number of Person	Rates (%)	Rates of Gender (%)
Economically Inactive Population			
Male			
0-14 Age Group	36	73.5	
15+ Age Group – Student	9	18.4	
61+ Age Group (has no retirement)	4	8.2	
Total	49	100	34.8
Female			
0-14 Age Group	36	70.6	
15+ Age Group – Student	2	3.9	
61+ Age Group (has no retirement)	13	25.5	
Total	51	100	36.7
Grand Total	100	35.7	
Economically Active Population			
Male			
Skilled Worker	28	45.9	
Unskilled Worker	10	16.4	
Officer	2	3.3	
Tradesman	5	8.2	
Small Manufacturer	2	3.3	
Peddler	2	3.3	
Retired	12	19.7	
Total	61	100	43.2
Female			
Skilled Worker	6	54.5	
Worker in Family Ownership	2	18.2	
Dressmaker	1	9.1	
Retired	2	18.2	
Total	11	100	7.9
Grand Total	72	25.7	
Unemployed Population			
Male			
Unemployed	31	100	
Total	31	100	22.0
Female			
House Wife	49	63.6	
Not Working	26	33.8	
Unemployed	2	2.6	
Total	77	100	55.4
Grand Total	108	38.6	100/100
Overall Total	280	100	

Regarding total household income the most striking finding is the percentage of the household with no income (15,4 %). During the interviews with the households within this group, it is stated that they could survive with the support of their neighbors, and sometimes of relatives. As shown in figure 20, the frequency is concentrated in the 201-400 interval (27,7 %). On the other hand, in some families, monthly household income is measured as 1000 YTL and above because of more than one working individual within the family.

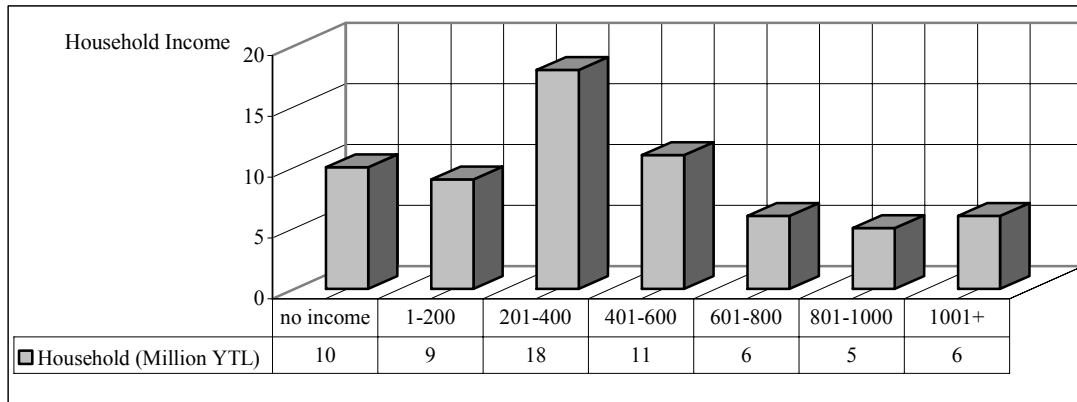


Figure 20: The Distribution of Household Income

When the work place of economically active population is considered, the majority of them have been working in Kemeraltı and surrounding quarters. In other words, 63,4 percent of working individuals works in Kemeraltı, Tuzcu District, Çankaya, Basmane, and nearby surroundings. This finding indicates that they prefer to live close to working place, of course, where they could afford

Table 37: The Distribution of Place of Works in Tuzcu

Place of Work	Frequency	Rates (%)
Kemeraltı	16	26.7
Tuzcu	6	10
Cankaya	6	10
Bornova	6	10
Nearby Surrounding	6	10
Basmane	4	6.7
Alsancak	3	5
Out of İzmir	3	5
Ciğli	2	3.3
Hatay	1	1.7
Narlıdere	1	1.7
Changeable	6	10
Total	60	100

The main reason of the wish to live in the areas being close to their working places can be explained with the fact that they do not want to pay extra prices to transportation. As shown in table 38, 71,7 percent of the working group arrives their working place by foot.

Table 38: The Modes of Transport to Work

Mode of Transport to Work	Frequency	Rates (%)
Bv Foot	43	71.7
Bv Bus	12	20
Bv Service Vehicle	3	5
Bv Metro	2	3.3
Total	60	100

Satisfaction on job is another indicator for employment deprivation domain. According to the findings of research, 65 percent of the working group within the population is not satisfied with their job. It is important that, the reasons of dissatisfaction are the low wages, and lack of social insurance.

Table 39: The Employees' Satisfaction on Jobs

Job Satisfaction	Frequency	Rates (%)
Satisfied	39	65
Unsatisfied	21	35
Total	60	100

5.3.2. Integration

Integration domain seeks to examine the extent to which people experience deprivation regarding to the relations with their social environment. The relevant aspects of this issue might be relations with neighbors, relatives, and grouping.

According to the findings of the research, neighborhood relations are quite good by 93,8 percentage. Although it is seen as irrelevant to deprivation, the high ratio of good relationships may be an indirect indicator. In other words, since they have similar problems, that are deprivation or poverty, solidarity being developed among neighbors may facilitate to overcome their deprivation to a certain extent.

Table 40: The Opinions of Residents on Neighborhood Relations

Neighborhood relations	Frequency	Rates (%)
Very good	22	33,8
Good	39	60,0
No any contact	4	6,2
Total	65	100,0

On the other hand, 61,5 percent of the population state that there is no relative within the district. It means, they endeavor to survive without any support of their relatives. Besides, within the population, the rate of nuclear family is 66,2 % as mentioned before. Therefore, it can be said that the relationship with the relatives is not so strong within this district.

Table 41: Any Relatives of Residents within the District

Any Relatives within the District	Frequency	Rates (%)
Exist	23	35,4
Absent	40	61,5
Has been moved	2	3,1
Total	65	100

Another point regarding the integration, general social problems of the district are examined among the population. According to the findings, 63,1 percent of the population states that there is not any social problem within the district. On the other hand the rest of the population complains about the problems between neighbors that result from their children. The findings and deep interviews indicate that there is not any serious grouping or tension based on ethnic or politic factors excepting the complaint of the old natives of the district regarding to the new migrant residents in the district.

Table 42: The Opinions of Residents on Grouping or any Problem within the District

Grouping and Problems within the District	Frequency	Rates (%)
Yes	24	36,9
No	41	63,1
Total	65	100,0

5.3.3. Participation to Social Institution

The low level of participation to social institutions is another important indicator for social deprivation. This domain seeks to examine institutional participation of the residents using the variables as ‘membership of any institution or political party’, and ‘to vote in the last election’.

While the membership of any institution or political party is represented by a very low level, participation to the general election is very high. Interestingly, that the rate of the participation to the last election is 86,2 percent. It indicates that individuals have felt themselves within the system instead of being disintegrated. The effort of participating to the election shows that they already have expectations from the government and from their futures.

Table 43: The Distribution of Residents According to the Membership of any Institution or Political Party – Voting in the Last Election

Membership of Any Institution or Political Party	Frequency	Rates (%)
Yes	5	7,7
No	60	92,3
Total	65	100,0
Voting in the Last Election	Frequency	Rates (%)
Yes	56	86,2
No	9	13,8
Total	65	100,0

5.3.4. Recreation

Recreational domain seeks to determine the activity level of the residents within the city, using the variable as ‘activity at weekend or evenings’ and ‘places to visit within the city’.

Findings show that 84,6 percent of the research population spend their time at home at the weekends and evenings. Besides 9,2 percent of them visits their neighbors, and 6,3 percent of them visits their relatives.

On the other hand, 52,3 percent of the research population does not go to any places within the city; 36,9 percent of them could visit nearby surroundings as

Kemeraltı and Konak; finally 10,8 percent of them rarely visit their relatives in different parts of the city.

As expectedly, most of the population is not mobile within the city because of their economic limitations. This is an important indicator for deprivation of the population in terms of recreational mobility.

5.3.5. Health and Social Insurance

Poor health is another important measure of deprivation; because illness reduces the people's quality of life. While there are diseases independent from the living conditions of the people, some diseases may be triggered due to the unhealthy living conditions. Therefore, the health problem of the research population is examined in addition to the utilization from health services and ownership of social – health insurance.

While the 49,2 percent of the research population have not any health problem, the rest of them suffer at least one of the diseases as listed the table 44 below. 13,9 percent of the households suffer from the general disease such as stomach, internal disease, and unidentified illnesses. On the other hand, 12,3 percent of the persons suffer from the heart and tension problems. Most of the people within this group stated that they could not get the required medicine permanently they use because of the lack of social insurance, or at least green card.

Table 44: The Distribution of Health Problems in Households

Health Problems	Frequency	Rates (%)
Absent	32	49,2
General Diseases	9	13,9
Nephritic Disease	6	9,2
Heart And Tension	8	12,3
Physical Disability	3	4,6
Mental Problems	2	3,1
Cancer	1	1,5
Neural Disease	4	6,2
Total	65	100,0

Considering the distribution of the ownership of social or health insurance, it is conspicuous that the 50,8 percent of the research population have not any type of

insurance. This is a very clear indicator for the health deprivation of the population. Regarding that the interviews have been done with the parents commonly, this situation becomes more serious when the whole household is taken into account; as shown in table 45 below, the ratio increases from 50,8 percent to 61,4 percent.

Table 45: The Distribution of Social Insurance of Household Heads and Members

Social Insurance (Among Household Heads)	Frequency	Rates (%)
Bağkur	4	6,2
Pension Fund	1	1,5
SSK (Social Insurance)	22	33,8
Senility Salary	1	1,5
Green Card	4	6,2
Absent	33	50,8
Total	65	100,0
Social Insurance (Among Household Members)	Frequency	Rates (%)
Bağkur	14	5,0
Pension Fund	3	1,1
SSK (Social Insurance)	71	25,4
Senility Salary	1	0,4
Green Card	19	6,8
Absent	172	61,4
Total	280	100,0

It is clear that, the district has not a health clinic as well as the other types of facilities. Although the mukhtar have attempted to health clinic to be established within the district, he could not make the authorities to accept this request. Whereas the health clinic, which is responsible from the health services of the district's population, is located at the Namazgah District. Therefore, most of the population complains about the distance of the health clinic to their houses. So 75,4 % of the population states that they could not make use of the health clinic.

Table 46: The Opinions of Residents on Need for Health Clinic and Enough Utilization from Health Services

Need For Health Clinic	Frequency	Rates (%)
Yes	49	75.4
No	16	24.6
Total	65	100
Enough Utilization From Health Services	Frequency	Rates (%)
Yes	15	23.1
No	50	76.9
Total	65	100

Besides health clinic, the level of utilization of the general health services of the research population is examined. As similar to the findings about the need for health clinic, 76,9 % of the population feel themselves deprived of the health services.

5.3.6. Education

As Noble et al (2003:20) state, the main purpose of the education domain is to measure “*the key educational characteristics of the local area that might contribute to the overall level of deprivation and disadvantage*”. Education is very critical point in occurrence or continuation of deprivation, because it is closely related to the occupational structure, and thus, to income level.

Therefore, it is important to begin with investigation of the general educational structure of the population using the table 47 below. This investigation consists of three main age groups: the first is 7-14 age group that include the children in the age of primary school; the second is 15-20 age group that include the young individuals; and, the third is 21-71+ age group including mostly adult individuals.

Table 47: The Education Status of Research Population by Age Groups

Level of Education	Number	Rates (%)	Level of Education	Number	Rates (%)
07-14 Age Group			21-71+ Age Group		
Male	27		Male	85	
Attending to Primary School	27	100	Illiterate	20	25,0
Female	25		Drop Out Primary School	1	1,3
Attending to Primary School	23	92,0	Primary School	45	56,3
Attending to High School	2	8,0	Sec. Primary School	9	11,3
15-20 Age Group			High School	8	10,0
			Attending to University	2	2,5
Male	20		Female	89	
Illiterate	2	10,0	Illiterate	35	39,3
Drop Out Primary School	4	20,0	Literate	6	6,7
Primary School	5	25,0	Drop Out Primary School	1	1,1
Attending to Primary School	3	15,0	Primary School	34	38,2
Attending to High School	5	25,0	Sec. Primary School	3	3,4
High School	1	5,0	High School	4	4,5
Female	14		Drop Out High School	4	4,5
Illiterate	5	35,7	University	2	2,2
Drop Out Primary School	1	7,1	**Literacy Rate (15⁺)	62-208	70%
Primary School	4	28,6	**Rate of High School (21⁺)	12-174	7%
High School	4	28,6	**Rate of University (21⁺)	4-174	2%

Regarding the educational situations of 7-14 age group, it is determined that all of the individuals within this group are attending to primary school. This indicates that the parents within the population give a spatial importance to the education of their children, especially when they are in the primary school ages. During the face-to-face interviews, most of the families who have children in the primary school ages expressed their desire that they would support their children's education as far as they could afford.

The second group, which includes 15-20 ages, presents different structure compared to the first group. In this group, illiterate female ratio (35,7) is striking while this ratio is 10% within the male group. This difference indicates that there was a negative tendency regarding the female children's attendance to school in the past.

As to the education level of third group, the rate of illiterate females, who are within the interval of 21-71+ age female group, is very striking; it is 39,3 %. In addition, the ratio of female children graduated from primary school is 38,2 %. Totally, the ratio of females who are illiterate and graduated from primary school within whole females arises to 77,5 percent.

Finally, according to the general evaluation of the population, literacy rate is measured as 70 percent; the rate of high school as 7 percent; and that of university 2 percent. As it is seen, while the level of education increases, the rate of attendance to education of the population decreases. One of the fundamental reasons of this situation can be explained by the economic inabilities. The individuals especially above 15 age male group is seen as economically active person, so they may prefer to work instead of attending to high school or university.

Table 48: The Opinions of the Households on School Conditions and Education

Satisfaction From School	Frequency	Rates (%)
Yes	30	46,2
No	8	12,3
No Comment	27	41,5
Total	65	100,0
Any Problem at the School	Frequency	Rates (%)
Often	7	10,8
Rarely	10	15,4
No	20	30,8
No Comment	28	43,1
Total	65	100,0

Finally, during the field research, the satisfaction of the parents from school conditions is investigated. Since there is not a school within the district, the children are dispersed five different schools at the nearby surrounding. According to the findings, 46 percent of the families, which have children attending school, are satisfied with the school, while 12,3 percent are not. Similarly, 46,2 percent of the households states that there is not any problem at the school such as fighting or troubles generally.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

The phenomenon of urban decline is relatively new for Turkey and in other developing countries as compared to the developed ones. This is the main reason of the limited studies examining this issue in Turkey. On the other hand, developed countries have been discussing the phenomenon of urban decline since the first outcomes of industrialization appeared. Industrial capitalism had transformed both social and spatial structures of cities seriously. One of the most striking examples of this transformation is the spatial, social and economic polarization of wealthy and poor. This uneven structure is common for all capitalist cities in the World. Capitalism, by its nature, is the reason of a development of some spatial units, while, at the same time, it would be the reason of underdevelopment of others.

In this thesis, while the phenomenon of urban decline was conceptualized within the framework of uneven development dynamics, namely, capital accumulation and class differentiation, the patterns of it were mostly illustrated by the experiences of capitalist cities of developed countries.

Regarding the process of urbanization in Turkish metropolitan cities, the patterns of uneven development have become more evident as well. In particular, İzmir shows the signs of unevenness in urban areas as growing parts along the main road axes on the one hand, and declining parts located at the center, on the other.

Tuzcu District, as one of the residential districts that located at the central parts, was analyzed in this thesis in view of demonstrating this dual structure in İzmir, at least on the part of declining areas. In order to analyze the declining structure of the district, “deprivation measurement” is used. Most of the studies from developed countries examine the phenomenon of urban decline by the deprivation measurements. The general deprivation index comprises of two fundamental sections: *social deprivation and material deprivation*. *Social deprivation* includes the indicators such as employment, family activity, integration, participation in social institution, recreation, and education. On the other hand, *material deprivation* includes the indicators such as

dietary, clothing, housing, home facilities, environment, location, and working conditions.

Therefore, the variables, which were defined according to these material and social indicators, were searched within the district; and, in turn, the results were classified within this framework. Finally, the results of the analysis are evaluated by several key points, which are defined as the common features of inner city declining areas in developed countries. So, it can be understood that which features of declining areas in Turkey are similar to the developed countries, and which are different in the case of Tuzcu District. The common features of declining areas in developed countries are defined as follows:

- Poverty, unemployment, segregation
- Decline of physical environment
- Disinvestments and economic decline
- Changing land uses
- Decline of public education
- Decline of public health

Depending on the analysis of the deprivation level of the district, most of these features are found at the Tuzcu District. Before explaining these points, the general characteristics of the district and its residents could be summarized as below:

- The district lost population until 1970s. This change is resulted from the movement of native population from the district to the other developing parts of İzmir. Then, its population had begun to increase again.
- The population profile of the district began to change at the beginning of 1970s.
- Today, majority of the population (66,2 %) consists of immigrants, which are especially from the east regions of the Turkey.
- 84,6 % of these immigrants had settled in Tuzcu after the 1970.
- On the other hand, there are already residents (33,8 %) from İzmir who have the same economic conditions with the immigrant residents of the district.

Considering the common features of declining areas in developed countries, and taking them as evaluation criteria for Tuzcu District, they arise as follows:

- **Poverty and unemployment** arise as having similar features: 15,4 % of the households have no income and the majority have income within the interval of 201-400 YTL. On the other hand, unemployment is so striking in the district that every 1 male of 4,6 males are looking for a job. Dependency rate is 3,88; it means that each working individual have to support 3,88 individuals.
- However **segregation** is not so acceptable feature within the district, it can be said that the district is segregated from the other developed parts of the Izmir. Segregation in Tuzcu District, as being different from the developed countries, is fundamentally defined by class or income structure, rather than ethnic or regional origins.
- **Decline of physical environment** has become a common and apparent feature in Tuzcu District, and it can be seen clearly. Due to its historical background, the district contains historically registered buildings and has too many old buildings. Almost all buildings located at the district are in need of repairment. Since the residents are economically deprived, they repair urgently required parts of the buildings in order to reduce the disadvantages of deterioration.
- **Disinvestments and economic decline** are other common features. Tuzcu District is one of the historical areas of İzmir. Besides the old physical structure, the district is deprived of both infrastructure and superstructure since the lack of care. The district is a neglected place by the local municipalities. There is no private or public investment in the district. Also, most of the old residents left the district because of the old physical conditions. Therefore the land values and property values are very low as compared to the developed parts of İzmir. According to the findings of the field research, 52,3 % of the

population had settled the district because they could afford the prices of the properties for buying or renting.

- In contrast to the common features of declining areas in developed countries, the feature of **changing land use** is not valid for Tuzcu District. The land use pattern is already dominated by housing use. Tuzcu District is different from the other parts of the transition area of İzmir. The land use patterns of surrounding districts changed through the time; and today, they are dominantly used for commercial or storage purposes, instead of housing. Furthermore, there are buildings that are derelict or vacant. As compared to these areas, decline can be most clearly observed in Tuzcu District, because of its housing-dominated structure².
- **Decline of public education**, which is another common feature of declining areas in developed countries, is also considered in Tuzcu District. It is found that the individuals within the 7-14 age group are attending to primary school completely. On the other hand, the literacy rate is 70 %; that of high school is 7 %; that of university 2 %. Therefore, it can be said that, educational level is very low in the district especially among above 15 age group. One of the fundamental reasons of this situation can be explained by the economic situations of the households. As the individuals being especially above 15 age among the men are taken as economically active, they may prefer to work instead of attending to high school or university.
- Poor health is an important measure of deprivation, because illness reduces the people's quality of life. Therefore **decline of public health** is analyzed within the population. The findings show that 50,8 % of the population have not any type of health or social insurance. This is a very clear indicator for the health deprivation in

² I owe these evaluations to Dr. İpek Sönmez.

the district. In addition to this, 76,9 % of the population feel themselves deprived of sufficient health services.

In conclusion, this thesis analyzed the declining conditions of Tuzcu District both physically and socially according to the social and material deprivation index. Most of the findings showed that the district and their residents are deprived in many aspects as summarized above. The phenomenon of decline and deprivation is not only belongs to Tuzcu district in İzmir. There are already residential areas surrounding the city center sharing same conditions with Tuzcu. The task in the future would be to analyze the whole of these settlements and to look for the most suitable formulas to solve socio-economic and physical problems of these areas.

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APPENDIX A

The Questionnaire Form

Bölge no:
Sokak – kapı no:

Görüşmeyi yapan:
Tarih:

1. Nerelisiniz
2. İzmir'e nereden.....ne zaman..... neden geldiniz? iş bulmak – ekonomik nedenler
 akraba ve hemşehri ilişkileri
 İzmir'i sevdiğim için
 Tayin nedeniyle
 Çocuklarımın eğitimi nedeniyle
 diğer.....
3. Bu mahalleye nereden.....ne zaman.....neden geldiniz? akraba veya hemşehri ilişkileri
 ekonomik durumumuza uygun
 merkezi ve her yere yakın oluşu
 işyerine yakın oluşu
 bu muhiti çok beğendim
 aile yaşantıma uygun
 diğer

4. Tüm hane üyeleri için doldurulacak

	Hanehalkı Üyeleri	Doğum Yeri	Yaş Cinsiyet	Eğitim Durumu	Çalışılan İş Aylık Gelir (İşsiz ise ne kadardır işsiz)	Sosyal Güvence	İşyeriniz Nerede	İşinizden Memnun musunuz	İşyerine ulaşım
1									
2									
3									
4									
5									
6									
7									
8									
9									
10									

5. Ev size mi ait? Evet Hayır
-yılında aldımYTL kira ödüyorum
-yılında yaptımyıldır oturuyorum
-yılında yapılmışyılında yapılmış
- Eski oturanlar nereye taşındı..... Ev sahibiniz nerede oturuyor

6. İkinci bir eviniz var mı? Evet Hayır

7. Yapının kat adedi....., genel fiziki durumu : iyi-orta-kötü, konutun oda sayısı.....,

8. Banyo, mutfak var mı? Banyo var ev içi var ev dışı yok
Mutfak var ev içi var ev dışı yok
Tuvalet var ev içi var ev dışı

9. Yapının türü? Eski-Tarihi
 Yeni-dokuya uygun
 Yeni-dokuya aykırı
 Apartman
10. Konutun fiziksel problemleri nelerdir? Ev bakım-onarım gerektiriyor mu?
 Rutubet sorunu evet-yaptırdım evet-yaptırmadım hayır
 Çatı akıntısı-izolasyon sorunu vs..
 elektrik-su-kanalizasyon
 diğer.....
11. Evinizin en büyük sorunu ne? Çok eski
 Küçük, yetmiyor
 Isınma
 Konforsuz (kısaca neden)
 Sorun yok
 Diğer
12. Evde bulunan beyaz eşyalar Birinci el ikinci el
 televizyon buzdolabı çamaşır mak. bulaşık mak. elektrikli fırın telefon şofben
 müzik seti bilgisayar diğer.....
13. Evde bulunan mobilya ve eşyaların nitelikleri iyi orta kötü-eski
14. Motorlu taşıtınız var mı?
15. Temel gıda maddelerini nerelerden alıyorsunuz?.....borçlanıyor musunuz?.....
16. Ortalama haftalık gıda harcamanız ne kadar?Süper marketlere gidiyor musunuz?.....
17. Yeterli miktarda et-balık-tavuk gibi ürünleri tüketebiliyor musunuz? Evet Hayır Nadiren
18. Evde gıda üretimi yapılıyor mu? Evet Hayır
19. Giyim eşyalarınızı nerelerden alıyorsunuz ?..... borçlanıyor musunuz?.....
20. Kışlık giyim eksikliğiniz var mı (bot, kaban, mont, kazak vs).....
21. Okul kıyafetleri Yeni alıyoruz
 Kardeşlerinden kalanları kullanıyorlar
 Komşular veriyor
 Eskiyenleri onarıyoruz
 diğer.....
22. Herhangi bir yerden yardım alıyor musunuz? Nereden..... nakdi yardımı
 ilaç yardımı
 öğrenim yardımı
 kömür-yakacak
 diğer.....

23. Sizde mahallenin en temel sorunu nedir?

.....

24. Çevresel sorunlar

- Çöpler düzenli toplanıyor mu? Evet Hayır
- Gürültü oluyor mu? Evet Hayır
- Şehir suyu problemi var mı? Evet Hayır akmiyor kirli
- Kanalizasyon problemi var mı ? Evet Hayır

25. Fiziksel ve kentsel hizmetlerden yetersiz bulunan koşullar?

- Park ve yeşil alanları yeterli buluyor musunuz? evet hayır
- Okul gerekiyor mu? evet hayır
- Çocuk parkına gereksinim var mı? evet hayır
- Sokak aydınlatması yeterli mi? evet hayır
- Otopark sorunu var mı? evet hayır
- Çocuk yuvası gerekiyor mu? evet hayır
- Sağlık ocağına gereksinim var mı evet hayır
- Sağlık hizmetlerinden yeterince faydalanabiliyor musunuz? Evet Hayır
- Spor tesislerine gereksinim duyuyor musunuz? Evet Hayır
- Sinemaya-tiyatroya gidiyor musunuz? Evet Hayır

26. Okuldaki koşullardan/eğitimden memnun musunuz? memnunuz memnun değiliz

27. Çocuklar okulda sorun yaşıyor mu?(kavga/disiplin suçu.....vs) hayır nadiren çok sık

28. İlköğretime gitmeyen çocuk var mı? yok var(nedeni)

29. Hanede kalıcı sağlık problemi olan var mı? yok var.....

30. Mahallede komşuluk ilişkileri nasıl? Çok iyi iyi görüşmüyoruz sorun var

31. Mahallede akrabalarınız varmı? İlişkileriniz nasıl? yok variyi/ kötü

32. Genel olarak mahallede kişi ve gruplar arasında sorun varmı? yok var.....(ne konuda?)

33. Herhangi bir dernek veya partiye üyemisiniz Evet Hayır

34. Seçimlerde oy kullandınız mı ? evet hayır

35. Şehirde en çok nerelere gidiyorsunuz ? ne sıklıkta..... ne amaçla ?.....

36. Hafta sonlarında neler yapıyorsunuz ?.....

37. Akşamları neler yapıyorsunuz?

38. Başka bir yere taşınmayı düşünüyor musunuz? Nereye? Niçin?

.....

39. Gelecekte beklentileriniz nelerdir?