CONSIDERING LOW- AND MIDDLE-INCOME GROUP PROJECTS OF
THE HOUSING DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION (TOKİ) FROM A
SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY PERSPECTIVE: THE CASE OF TEMELLİ
BLOCKS

A Master's Thesis

by
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Ankara
September 2012

To my mother Hatice

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Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences
of
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by

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In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of
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in

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ANKARA

September 2012

I certify that I have read this thesis and have found that it is fully adequate, in scope and in quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts in Interior Architecture and Environmental Design.

Assist. Prof. Dr. Meltem Ö. Gürel
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ABSTRACT

CONSIDERING LOW- AND MIDDLE-INCOME GROUP PROJECTS OF THE HOUSING DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION (TOKİ) FROM A SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY PERSPECTIVE: THE CASE OF TEMELLİ BLOCKS

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This study aims to observe and analyze the daily lives of TOKİ Temelli Blocks' residents by focusing on the quality of life, social equity, and sustainability of the community concepts of the social sustainability. Social sustainability constitutes one of the three dimensions of the debates on sustainability with the environmental and economic dimensions. Even though there is not an agreement what social sustainability consists of, it necessitates the well-being and liveability of living environments by its people-oriented considerations. TOKİ promotes housing projects for low- and middle-income group as green, healthy, and modern living

environment. TOKİ Temelli Blocks is a typical example of these kinds of housing projects. In this study, the daily lives of the residents are being discussed in order to comprehend whether their lives are socially sustainable or not.

ÖZET

DAR VE ORTA GELİR GRUBU İÇİN ÜRETİLEN TC BAŞBAKANLIK
KONUT İDARESİ (TOKİ) KONUTLARININ SOSYAL
SÜRDÜRÜLEBİLİRLİK BAĞLAMINDA ELE ALINMASI: TOKİ TEMELLİ
KONUTLARI ÖRNEĞİ

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İç Mimarlık ve Çevre Tasarımı
Tez Yöneticisi: Assist. Prof. Dr. Meltem Ö. Gürel

Eylül 2012

Bu çalışma sosyal sürdürülebilirliğin hayat kalitesinin artması, sosyal eşitlik

ve topluluğun sürdürülebilirliği kavramlarına odaklanarak TOKİ Temelli

Konutlarındaki gündelik yaşamın değerlendirilmesini amaçlamaktadır.

Sosyal sürdürülebilirlik kavramı, çevresel ve ekonomik sürdürülebilirlik

çalışmalarıyla birlikte sürdürülebilirlik konusunun önemli bir araştırma

alanını oluşturmaktadır. Bu kavramla ilgili çalışmalarda sosyal

sürdürülebilirliğin neyi içerdiğine dair farklı çerçeveler sunulsa da kavramın

bireyin toplum içindeki hayatına odaklanan ve hayat kalitesinin

geliştirilmesini öneren kuramsal çerçevesi sürdürebilirlik çevresinde dönen

tartışmaları zenginleştirmektedir. Bu bağlamda, çalışmanın odak noktasını Ankara-Eskişehir yolu üzerinde Temelli beldesindeki TOKİ konutlarında yürütülen alan çalışması oluşturur. Alan çalışmasının sonuçları sosyal sürdürülebilirlikle ilgili kavramların ışığında değerlendirilir. Bu çalışmada, TOKİ'nin dar ve orta gelir grubu için inşa ettiği Temelli'deki toplu konut sitesi, yeşil, sağlıklı ve modern bir yaşam alanı olarak sunulurken burada yaşayan bireylerin gündelik yaşamlarının ne denli sürdürülebilir olduğu sorgulanmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: *TOKİ, sosyal sürdürülebilirlik, TOKİ Temelli Konutları, gündelik yaşam.*

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Origin of the study and Research Questions

Housing constitutes one of the most important concerns of architecture for improving the quality of life through physical environment. This study is derived from a consideration of housing with a social concern for better living environments. In the beginning of the study in 2009, Turkey has been witnessing the extensive housing projects of Housing Development Administration (TOKİ) especially for low- and middle-income people with a focus on 'to build better lives' in their statements since 2003. Thus, it was the consequential address for the concern of this study.

TOKİ is a dominant governmental organization, which is established in 1984, for solving the housing problem of low- and middle-income people. Since 2003, it has been one of the most powerful actors in politics and production of housing in Turkey. This operation of the

Administration is the result of the changes at the administrative structure and the leading statements of TOKİ authorities. The laws and administrative changes have enabled TOKİ to manage housing policies and production without control of any other governmental organization.

In the mean time, with the statement of 'Building Turkey of the Future', the authorities of TOKİ promote 'modern' life-styles in 'modern' apartment buildings. 'To build lives for low- and middle-income group' and 'not just providing places to eat and sleep' are significant statements of the authorities. These statements reveal a promise of ideal lives in modern, healthy, and green housing environments. TOKİ emphasizes its statements through its booklets, magazines, and a website as well as conferences. I have attended a conference, which is called Housing Convention, organized by TOKİ in 2011 as a delegate. It is important to underline that a powerful promotion was made about how the residents of TOKİ housing developments are satisfied with the help of the booklets distributed to the audience, posters display at the conference venue, and videos showed during the conference. In addition, there was an emphasis on the fact that 500.000 housing units were already built, and TOKİ aimed at building another 500.000 housing units until 2023. This emphasis is important to recognize because it shows the Administration's intent to continue its projects and vision.

Contrary to TOKİ's claims and promotions, there is an important public criticism about TOKİ housing in terms of the qualities of the housing environments and its effect on the social lives of the people. In addition, many researchers (Bartu, 2008; Demirli, 2009; Schafers, 2010; Erman, 2011; Türkün, 2011) discuss the urban renewal projects led by TOKİ in terms of the impact of the physical environment on the resident's social life. They criticize that TOKİ 'dislocate' the *gecokondu* people from their living environments, and the new lives shaped by TOKİ are not socially manageable because they do not consider the daily life routines of the residents.

These promotions, criticisms, and studies point out the importance of discussing the real life situation in TOKİ housing environments and raise the following questions:

- Are TOKİ housing projects for low- and middle- groups socially sustainable?

- Are the real life experiences of the residents compatible with the ideal presentation of housing environments created by TOKİ?

1.2.   Aim of the Study

This study aims to discuss a housing environment that TOKİ shapes in terms of its impact on the lives of the residents from a social sustainability perspective. TOKİ Temelli Blocks, as a typical example of low- and middle-income group housing projects undertaken by TOKİ, is examined to find out if the ideal presentation of the life in TOKİ housing units is compatible with real experiences. As it is mentioned earlier, there are a number of studies about how urban renewal projects affect the lives of the people. However, there are limited studies in terms of the low- and middle-income group's spatial experiences. This study hopes to contribute to comprehension of the effects of TOKİ housing on the lives of the low- and middle-income people. It intends to reveal the residents' motivations to live in these environments.

Social sustainability, which is the key concept for observing and analyzing the real life situation in TOKİ housing environments, aims at creating sustainable living environments and undying communities. It is one of the many dimensions of sustainability idea, which emerged in the 1970s and 80s as a result of concerns about environmental problems. Since then, sustainability is discussed with consideration of environmental, economic, and social dimensions. Although social sustainability is crucial

in terms of focusing on social practices for reaching a sustainable society both environmentally and economically, it remains vague because of the dominance of environmental and economic debates. However, lately, there is a tendency to discuss social sustainability in different contexts, such as urban settings and housing environments for sustainable cities/ livelihoods/ neighborhoods. For instance, Chiu (2004) and Chan and Lee (2007) discuss the housing environments of Hong Kong in order to understand the Hong Kong Housing Administration Urban Renewal Projects, while Dempsey et al. (2005) and Bramley et al. (2006) focus on the urban context of London by considering social sustainability in terms of social equity. Similarly, Karupannan and Sivam (2011) analyze social sustainability in the neighborhood scale in New Delhi by focusing on the quality of life. This study also aims to contribute to such case studies that consider social sustainability in the housing context.

However, studying social sustainability requires a fusion of the different disciplines such as social sciences, urban studies, planning, architecture, and interior architecture. Therefore, an analysis requires a thorough assessment in terms of meeting the different criteria of these disciplines. In this respect, the major academic concern of this study is to shed light on the residents' daily lives and their relation to the physical

environment for grasping the dynamics of social sustainability of the living environment.

1.3. Methodology

This thesis is based on a case study conducted at TOKİ Blocks in Temelli, a small town near Ankara. There are two stages of Temelli Blocks. This study was carried out in the first stage, called Yağmur Blocks. Fifteen in-depth interviews with ten different households were made between February 2011 and March 2012.

TOKİ Temelli Blocks are 55 km away from the city center of Ankara. The transportation between Temelli and Ankara is by a bus running 9 times in a day. In order to observe the transportation experience of the residents, this bus journey, which takes 50-55 minutes, was preferred to go to the blocks.

The relation with the interviewees was arranged through a personal connection from Temelli Blocks. This contact person introduced me to the blocks' main administration, and she helped me by providing the assistance of the blocks' attendant. This connection enabled me to knock the doors of the residents to interview in their own homes. Sixty apartments are occupied while one-hundred and eighty are vacant. Half of

the apartment doors were knocked. Only ten households accepted to interview.

The interviewees could be categorized in three groups. The first group is the retired people from different government offices and private sector. The second group is the ones who still work in Ankara. They were living in Ankara before moving to TOKİ Temelli. The last group is the ones who are from the town of Temelli. They are working in Temelli. There are seven women and eight men among the interviewees. The age range of them is between thirty and sixty-five. The interviewees are all owner of the apartments. It was also interviewed with the administration of the blocks and the blocks' attendant.

The interviews lasted 2 or 3 hours. The communication with the residents was generally started with talking about TOKİ in general. The residents perceived me as someone to find solutions to their problems about TOKİ. This informal conversation part sometimes lasted 1 hour. They were longer than it was expected. However, these conversations helped to build a sincere communication. The prepared interview questions were asked after explaining the interviewees the aim of the study: understanding their spatial experiences considering their relation with the built environment. First questions were mainly related to the general information about the household. This was followed by asking

how they were informed about TOKİ, and why they preferred to have an apartment in Temelli. The following questions aimed to understand their spatial experiences (Appendix). Furthermore, material quality and use of spaces were recorded through photography and observations inside the residents' homes and at the outdoor areas.

For answering major questions of the study, the results of the interviews are discussed in accordance with *the quality of life, social equity* and *sustainability of the community* concepts of social sustainability. The international conferences initiated by United Nations (UN) and academic discussions point out to the importance of these concepts of social sustainability in grasping the liveability and sustainability of housing environments. In this framework, the study focuses on internal and external housing conditions, provision of facilities, accessibility to job and social opportunities, transportation, gender equity, security, and community relations under these concepts, and their effects on the residents' lives. In addition, it analyzes sources, such as drawings, TOKİ reports and magazines, in order to enrich debates and discussions about TOKİ. The real life experiences and ideal presentation is compared within analysis of this material.

1.4.   Structure of the Thesis

The first chapter explains the origin and aim of the study as well as the methodology and the structure of the thesis. In the second chapter, a theoretical framework is provided for the analysis of sustainability debates, and social sustainability is discussed within this context. In the third chapter, the politics and production of housing in Turkey is analyzed from a historical perspective. The role of authorities and their statements are highlighted. In this chapter, the mass-housing production and low- and middle-income group housing considerations are also discussed in order to understand the current housing production of TOKİ. The statements of TOKİ authorities are considered, while the importance of social sustainability for TOKİ is analyzed. In the fourth chapter, in-depth interviews, on-site observations, and photographs are analyzed by focusing on the concepts of social sustainability, *the quality of life, social equity*, and *sustainability of the community*. This chapter also focuses on the significance of Temelli in order to better understand the position of TOKİ Temelli Blocks. In the fifth chapter, the results of the case study are considered, and some proposals are gathered for socially sustainable housing projects by TOKİ.

CHAPTER II

FRAMING SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY

In order to comprehend social sustainability, this chapter first examines how sustainability concept emerged and evolved, while focusing on the overall sustainability debates. Second, it grasps the position of the social sustainability in these debates, and analyzes the relationship between social sustainability and the built environment.

2.1. Sustainability Concept

The first definition of sustainability was articulated as "the development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" in *Our Common Future* or 'the Brundtland Report' of The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) in 1987. Yet, the definition of sustainability is not a rigid one as it is a broad concept, which is academically discussed in different frameworks. The general considerations of these frameworks

constitute three dimensions of the sustainability concept: environmental, economic, and social.

Environmental sustainability is related to concerns about the protection of the earth's natural resources, whereas economic sustainability deals with financial sources for the maintenance of social development. Social sustainability covers the needs of human beings by focusing on equitable distribution of resources and opportunities. International conferences and major academic debates primarily point out that three dimensions of the sustainability concept must be in balance for sustainable development. Campbell (1996) stresses the three dimensions of sustainability by mentioning the importance of the environmental protection, economic development, and social equity for the sustainability concept. Partridge (2005) emphasizes that the main concerns of the sustainability concept evolve around environmental, economic and social dimensions even if the definition of sustainability is not a fixed one. In addition, the outcome document of the latest United Nations (UN) conference Rio+20 called *Future We Want* declares to ensure the promotion of economically, socially, and environmentally sustainable future for our planet and for present and for future generations. In order to show the relation among these three dimensions, Kavanagh (2009) developed

different models such as "Interlocking Circles" model and the "Concentric Circles" model (Figure1 and 2).
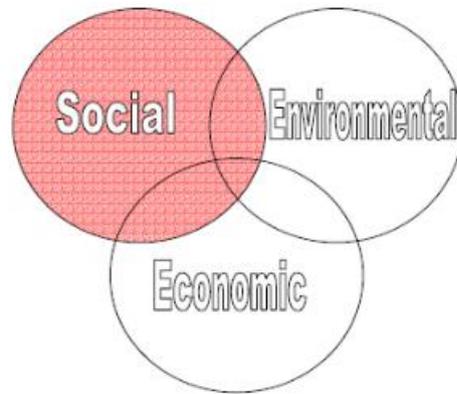
Figure 1: Interlocking circles (Kavanagh, 2009)
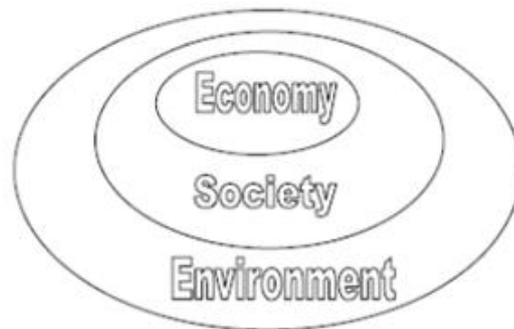
Figure 2: Concentric circles (Kavanagh, 2009)

From a historical perspective, the concept of sustainability emerged in the 1970s and 1980s as a result of concerns for environmental problems by the damage given to the environment by the 1960s development strategies (WCED, 1987). A rapid economic development caused many problems on the environment. These include air pollution,

acid rains, ozone hollow, rainforest destruction, and the loss of biodiversity in the subsequent years of the 1960s. These environmental problems caused by the industrial production and consumption culture led to consciousness about the environment at international level. This consciousness became the central motivation of the environmental movements, economic development, and international concerns about the environment.

There are some milestones of the environmental concerns of the 1960s and 1970s. For instance, a book titled *Silent Spring* (1962) by Rachel Carson signaled a concern and started the first discussions about environmental problems. *Limits to Growth* (1972) initiated by "The Club of Rome" attracted attention between the relation of the environment and economic development by stating "if population, pollution, food production and usage of resources continue with the same speed in our era, this planet will reach its growth limits in the following century" (Cited from Çahantimur, 2007: 191). Furthermore, United Nations Stockholm Human and Environment Conference was held in 1972 as the first international conference focusing on the environmental problems. These milestones created a new framework for discussing the environmental, economic, and social crisis that people are facing and will more dramatically face in the future with respect to sustainability.

During the 1970s, primary concerns about the environment were discussed within the frame of development and the term sustainable development was generated in the 1980s. As Sachs (1997: 71) stresses "sustainable development, as a field of discourse, emerged in the 1980s out of marriage between developmentalism and environmentalism." In the 1980, World Conservation Strategy of the International Union for the Conservation of Nature (IUCN), Worldwide Fund for Nature (WWF) and the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) discussed the sustainable development at an international level. In addition, the concept of sustainability was enriched with different conferences, earth summits, and declarations of UN. Rio de Janeiro Environment and Development Conference in 1992 had a significant effect at the development of the sustainability concept by setting a direction with Agenda 21[1]. İstanbul Habitat II Conference on Human Environment in 1996 constituted a remarkable position in terms of emphasizing the close relationship between sustainability and human settlements. Johannesburg Environment and Development Conference was held in 2002 in order to evaluate the effect of these conferences and especially the 1992 Rio Conference. In 2012, United Nations Conference on Sustainable

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[1] Agenda 21 was published after Rio Conference focusing on the importance of the human agency for sustainability idea and the role of the local governments for sustainable human settlements. In addition, this report expands the framework of sustainability for the considerations of many disciplines.

Development or Rio+20 held for discussing the results of Agenda 21 after twenty years.

Throughout the evolution of the sustainability concept, the environmental problems started to be perceived in relation with the social problems such as poverty, social inequalities, and low level of basic standard livings. Some important criticisms are developed in terms of the sustainability concept's enhancement by considering social problems. Littig and Griebler (2005: 70) points out that "sustainability research is not just about 'natural' processes but also about understanding social processes that concern society's interactions with nature." The emphasis given on needs in the sustainability definition of the Brundtland Report[2] is generally used for pointing out the social dimension of the concept. Redclift and Woodgate (1997: 57) draw attention to whose needs to be sustained as well as "what is to be sustained." Sachs (1997: 75) questions the social justice dimension and questions:

> Is sustainable development supposed to meet the needs for water, land and economic security or the needs for air travel and bank deposits? Is it concerned with survival needs or the luxury needs? Are the needs in question those of the global consumer class or those of the enormous numbers of have-nots?

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[2] "The development that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." (WCED, 1987: 40)

The sustainability concept should address the needs of every society in the world in order to fulfill the goals about environmental protection, economic, and social development. However, the sustainability definition of the Brundtland Report is criticized for being ambiguous and serving to economic benefits. McKenzie (2004: 2) notes that the sustainable development agenda is not clearly defined. Moreover, he states that sustainability become "a smokescreen behind which business can continue its operations essentially unhindered by environmental concerns, while paying lip service to the needs of future generations." Similarly, Hopwood (2005: 40) argues that "Brundtland's ambiguity allows business and governments to be in favour of sustainability without any fundamental challenge to their present course." Talbot and Magnoli (2000: 91), on the other hand, underline the importance of the sustainability definition of Brundtland Report by stating that "it was difficult to identify any official social, economic or indeed environmental policies that recognized sustainable development as a significant policy objective." As these criticisms point out, only economic considerations could blur the essence of sustainability debates. The environmental and economic dimension should attain a perspective in terms of solving social problems, reducing poverty, and increasing social equity and basic standard of living in order to reach sustainability.

The built environment, with its impact on the natural environment and human activities, constitutes a significant part of sustainability debates. The central focus of sustainability debates considering space are sustainable urban forms in cities, ecological design, and green architecture, while the concept of sustainable city embraces "a considerable political momentum worldwide" (Dempsey et al., 2009: 290). Castells (2000: 118) defines sustainable city as a very personal matter:

> A sustainable city is one in which the conditions under which I live make it possible that my children and the children of my children will live under the same conditions. It's a very personal matter. It's not an abstract utopian ideology.

In this context, Oktay (2001: 1) states that "the built environment lasts a long time, even for centuries, particularly at the level of street systems and buildings. It is the task of urban design to ensure that future options are not compromised by present day developments." While emphasizing the importance of the Brundtland Report's sustainable development definition from an urban design perspective, Oktay (2001: 1) adds, "this is where the concepts of sustainability mesh so well with those of urban design." Sustainable city concept or sustainable human settlements were also supported by all government delegations in the UN Habitat II Conference on Human Settlements (Satterthwaite, 1997). In line with this thread of

thought, Rudlin and Falk (1999: 195) cite John Ruskin in saying "when we build let us think that we build forever" and discuss the vitality of urbanization at neighborhood level.

From an architectural point of view, sustainability is discussed under different terms such as "'green architecture', 'environmental design', 'ecological architecture', 'environmentally friendly architecture', 'energy design', 'energy-saving architecture', 'energy-efficient architecture', 'energy-conscious architecture', 'low energy building design', 'bio-architecture', 'bio-climatic architecture', 'climatic design', and recently, 'smart design' and 'intelligent building design'" (Sezer, 2009: 15). These kinds of terms are related with the formation of point systems[3] for improving energy production of the buildings and assessing them, while architects, designers and constructers are committing to sustainable design criteria by considering these point systems.

The concerns of sustainable architecture focus on the environmental dimension of the sustainability concept, while some discussions expand the considerations of sustainable architecture. For instance, architect and author, Micheal McDonough proposes 'the cradle to cradle' philosophy concerning sustainability and summarizes this

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[3] Some important point systems are Leadership in Energy and Environmental Design (LEED) in the United States, Building Research Establishment Environmental Assessment Method (BREEAM) in England, and The Energy and Resources Institute Green Building Rating System (TGBRS) in India.

philosophy as "a delightfully diverse, safe, healthy, and just world with clean air, water, soil, and power, equitably, economically, ecologically and elegantly enjoyed" (McDonough and Braungart, 2002: 39). Williamson et al. (2003: 1) define sustainable architecture as reference to the sustainability definition of the Brundtland Report by stating that "the architecture that meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs." Guy and Farmer (2000: 73) argue that sustainability debates are 'discursive' including many viewpoints and open to interpretation while "a complex set of actor participates in a continuous process of defining and redefining the meaning of the environmental problem itself." In order to define these viewpoints, they propose six different logics called ecological, smart, aesthetic, symbolic, comfort and community (Guy and Farmer, 2000). These debates on sustainability enrich dimensions of the concept by combining environmental, economic, and social dimensions considering spatial practices.

As the academic and international discussions indicate that the sustainability concept is not only about the environmental protection and economic development. It covers human rights and well-being, social justice, and equity. As Hopwood et al. (2005: 38) point out:

> Sustainable development has the potential to address fundamental challenges for humanity, now and into the future. However, to do this, it needs more clarity of meaning, concentrating on sustainable livelihoods and well-being.

The considerations of social sustainability develop around these ideas, which will be examined in the next part.

2.2. Social Sustainability

The social dimension of the sustainability concept has recently invoked awareness in the kind of social values that "should be attained through sustainable development" (Littig and Griebler, 2005: 70). Social sustainability embraces these social values. It aims at increasing the quality of human life and focuses on the social justice and equity at all levels by giving a more profound meaning to the concept of sustainability. Koning (2001: 9) states that social sustainability aims "a society that is just, equal, without social exclusion and with a decent quality of life, or livelihood, for all." Torjman (2000: 6) expresses that the social goals of sustainable development is not new, "what is new are the methods implied by the concept of sustainable development." The method or approach of sustainability is to consider the social and cultural needs of

the human beings alongside with environmentally sustainable and healthy living environments by focusing on everyday experiences, social relations, and networks in the daily life. Also, environmental and economic sustainability is not possible without considering the social needs and everyday experiences of the people. As Kural (2009: 85) emphasizes: "it was seen that for the sustenance of economic and ecological sustainability, the social milieu/agent had to be included and his/her role in sustainability projects had to be understood."

Nevertheless, as many scholars mention, there is not a clear theoretical framework of social sustainability (Littig and Griebler, 2005; Partridge, 2005; Vallance et al., 2009; Bramley et al., 2006, Dempsey et al., 2009) and "there is a little agreement as to what social sustainability consists of" (Bramley and Power, 2009). The reason is that social sustainability has gained less attention than environmental and economic dimensions. Partridge (2005: 5) highlights this lack of attention and explains, "sustainability debate was originally conceived as two-dimensional – as an environmental challenge to the dominance of economic-centered thinking." Sustainability should give importance all of the three dimensions, which are environmental, economic, and social. Littig and Griebler (2005) draw attention to the importance of three-pillar

models[4], which equally underlines the social development in order to reach ecological, economic and social goals in contrast to one-pillar models, which give priority to the ecological dimension.

Even though there is not a clear theoretical framework of social sustainability, some concepts stand out as fundamental concerns. The international conferences initiated by UN and academic discussions have an influential role in terms of pointing out these concepts. Social sustainability necessitates *the quality of life, social equity* and *sustainability of the community* for the creation of just and equal societies in the present and future through sustainable living environments. It is "people-oriented" in terms of maintaining and improving well-being of the current and future generations. Chiu (2004: 156) declares "equitable distribution and consumption of resources and assets, harmonious social relations and acceptable quality of life" as the essential concepts for a sustainable society. Rio de Janeiro Environment and Development Conference by UN in 1992 emphasizes the social dimension of the sustainability with focusing on the social equity as crucial concern. As Partridge (2005: 10) highlights: social equity is "the most commonly mentioned requirement for social sustainability." Sustainability of community is crucial for social

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[4] In the mostly politically oriented discourses on sustainability, these different areas have come to be called 'dimensions' or 'pillars' (Littig and Griebler, 2005: 66).

sustainability as it give importance to empower the community through

social relations and networks. Vallance et al. (2009) states:

> Social sustainability speaks to the traditions, practices,
> preferences and places. These practices underpin people's
> quality of life, social networks, pleasant work and living
> spaces, leisure opportunities.

The significant concepts of social sustainability- the quality of life, social

equity, and sustainability of the community -are recently being discussed

by considering the built environment for sustainable livelihoods. These

concepts will be discussed in relation with the built environment in detail

in the next part.

2.3. Social Sustainability and the Built Environment

> *The challenge of social sustainability is to build*
> *neighborhoods which last not for twenty or even hundred*
> *year but which are immortal.*
>
> David Rudlin and Nicholas Falk
> *Building the 21st Century Home*

One of the core ideas of social sustainability is: building long lasting living

environments. Thus, social sustainability and built environment relation

refers to creating sustainable living environments considering people's

current and future needs to work, live, and maintain their life. As Rudlin and Falk (1999: 196) state:

> Towns and cities are first and foremost places where people live and work, not just as individuals but as communities. If urban areas do not provide civilized places for people to live and for communities to prosper then it will not matter how 'green' they are, they will not be sustainable (Rudlin and Falk, 1999: 195).

The housing environments are crucial for the social goals of sustainability in order to increase quality of life, create social equity, and enhance sustainability of the community. Oktay (2001: 1) stresses the importance of housing environments by stating that "the planning and design of housing environments requires a sensitive approach promoting sustainability." According to Chiu (2004: 69) "sustainable housing should not be merely about meeting basic needs, but should also improve the liveability of the living environment, both internal and external."

There are a number of studies, which concern the relation between the social sustainability and built environment at housing, neighborhood, and urban scale. These studies focus on different concepts of social sustainability (Rudlin and Falk, 2000; Oktay, 2001; Chiu, 2004; Dempsey et al., 2005; Bramley et al., 2006; Chan and Lee, 2007; Bramley and Power, 2009; Kural, 2009; Karupannan and Sivam, 2011). The studies indicate that cases from different parts of the world are valuable because different

frameworks enhance social sustainability debates. As Karupannan and Sivam (2011: 850) state "social sustainability varies from context to context because of varying social values and culture." For instance, they focus on social sustainability of three different housing projects in New Delhi at neighborhood and urban scale. Chiu (2002, 2004) discusses social sustainability focusing on the case studies from Hong Kong's housing environments by considering social equity and quality of life. Dempsey et al. (2005) differentiate the physical and non-physical factors in terms of affecting the urban social sustainability. They point the important physical factors as urbanity, attractive public realm, decent housing, local environmental quality, and amenities (Figure 3). Bramley et al. (2006) focus on the United Kingdom's physical context within housing environments by discussing social equity and sustainability of the community. The studies of Chan and Lee (2007) are about Hong Kong urban renewal projects from a social sustainability perspective within different indicators such as provision of social infrastructure, accessibility, and availability of job opportunities. They propose a diagram to set some concepts for socially sustainable projects after reviewing the literature on social sustainability (Figure 4).

Non-physical factors	Predominantly physical factors
• Education and training	• Urbanity
• Social justice: inter- and intra-generational	• Attractive public realm
• Participation and local democracy	• Decent housing
• Health, quality of life and well-being	• Local environmental quality and amenity
• Social inclusion (and eradication of social exclusion)	• Accessibility (e.g. to local services and facilities/employment/ green space)
• Social capital	• Sustainable urban design
• Community	• Neighbourhood
• Safety	• Walkable neighbourhood: pedestrian friendly
• Mixed tenure	
• Fair distribution of income	
• Social order	
• Social cohesion	
• Community cohesion (i.e. cohesion between and among different groups)	
• Social networks	
• Social interaction	
• Sense of community and belonging	
• Employment	
• Residential stability (vs turnover)	
• Active community organizations	
• Cultural traditions	

Figure 3: Urban social sustainability concerning non-physical and physical factors (Dempsey et al., 2007)
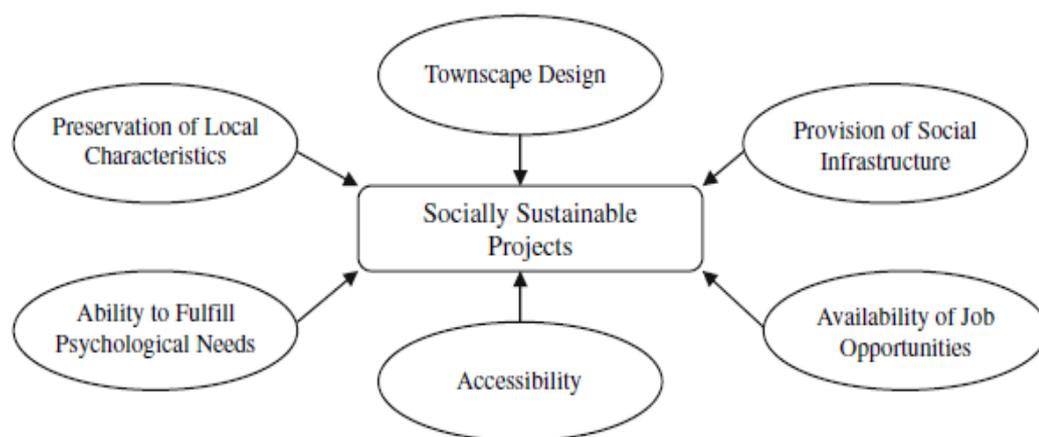
Figure 4: Significant factors for socially sustainable projects (Chan and Lee, 2006)

In this study, *quality of life, social equity* and *sustainability of the community* are considered as the major concepts of the social sustainability (Figure 5). The focus of the study is to explore these fundamental concepts of social sustainability within relation to daily experiences of the residents and the built environment at the housing context.
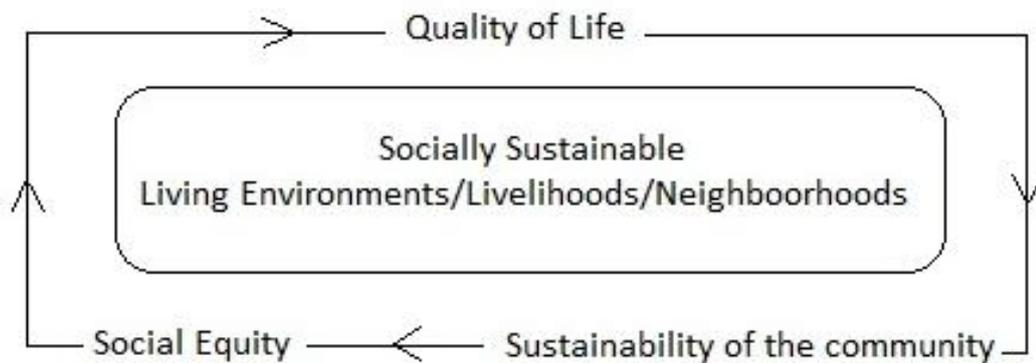
Figure 5: Schematic diagram of this study's approach

As the schematic diagram above presents, sustainable living environments/ livelihoods/ communities is the main concern of social sustainability. *Quality of life* refers to liveability, well-being, and well-design for sustainable settlements. In order to do that, two notions, which are internal and external housing conditions and provision of facilities will be taken into consideration. Internal and external housing conditions are related with the plan scheme, hardware, construction materials, lighting, and heating-cooling systems. In other words, internal and external

housing conditions directly consider the materiality of the home as experienced by the resident. As defined by Chiu (2004: 74) internal housing conditions include "adequacy of housing space (indicated by space standard or number of rooms per person), degree of sharing, degree of self-containment, privacy, exposure to safety hazards, structural quality, ventilation, and natural lighting."

Provision of facilities defines the social opportunities of the living environment stretching from basic needs to social needs. Properly provided services, jobs, and amenities such as schools, medical centers, and community centers are important for catering the basic needs and maintaining a desired quality of life (Chan and Lee, 2007).

Social equity refers to basic, social, cultural needs of different groups, and is interchangeably used with social justice in some studies. The indicators of social equity in the built environment are accessibility to job opportunities, services, and facilities. The transportation opportunities are essential for social equity. Bramley et al. (2006) points out the importance of 'the local scale' and 'the everyday experience' in the built environment for social equity. Enyedi (2002: 144) expresses that "urban transport policy might play a crucial role in lessening social exclusion and increasing the integration of urban society." In addition, gender equity is one of the main components of the social equity as women and men can

have different spatial experiences. As Hemmati (2000: 65) emphasized in the Earth Summit in 2002, "sustainable development requires the full and equal participation of women at all levels." He also pointed out, "none of the three aspects of the goal of sustainable development can be achieved without solving the prevailing problem of gender inequality and inequity."

Sustainability of the community -the third concept of social sustainability used in this study -refers to community relations and building undying communities. It is a vital concept because inhabitants of these housing environments could not create any social relations at their physical surroundings; they could choose not to live there anymore. This situation cause abandoned physical environments. Bramley and Power (2009) states that sustainability of the community reflects 'collective aspects of everyday life', and it is a meaningful concept at the neighborhood scale. Social interaction/social networks, participation in collective groups and networks, community stability, pride/sense of place, and safety and security constitute the main dimensions for community sustainability (Bramley and Power, 2009). Their relation to physical context could be discussed as follows:

- social interaction/social networks in the community related to using streets or neighborhood,

- participation in collective groups and networks in the community is effected from the level of accessibility of community facilities,

- community stability is related to residents' decisions to stay in, or move out from the neighborhood,

- pride/sense of place is related to the relation between the neighborhood,

- safety and security are affected from natural surveillance and public surveillance (Bramley and Power, 2009).

Social sustainability suggests a housing environment in which people actually want to live in. If not, those who can, will leave the environment and only the most disadvantaged will be left. Therefore, *quality of life, social equity*, and *sustainability of the community* concepts are crucial for creating liveable housing environments and sustainable communities. These concepts will be used to analyze a low- and middle-income group housing environment of TOKİ in Temelli.

CHAPTER III

TOKİ HOUSING CONSIDERING THE FRAMEWORK OF SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY

This chapter aims to review the historical evolution of housing in Turkey considering housing policies and production starting from the 1920s to the 2000s. Within this time frame, special focus is given to the emergence of mass-housing production for low-and middle-income groups as it is the main concern of this study. After this brief historical review, the rise and dominance of TOKİ on the housing politics and production will be discussed. Finally, the importance of social sustainability in TOKİ's housing environments will be examined.

3.1. A Brief Historical Review of Housing in Turkey

The housing production in Turkey can be divided into 3 periods with respect to the changes in the social, political, and economic situation of the country. The first period is between the 1920s and the 1950s, which is

characterized by the modernist ideals of the Republic of Turkey, established in 1923. This is the time when the first legislations were made, and new governmental organizations concerning housing were established. The second period is the years between the 1950s and the 1980s when rapid urbanization, instigated by changes in the political system starting in the mid 20th century, defined the character of housing. The third period is the years between the 1980s and the 2000s marked by the neoliberal politics of the State and the private sector's interest in the housing market, which is widely characterized by luxurious housing utopias. Mass-housing production as well as low- and middle-income group housing projects is reviewed within these periods.

The period between the 1920s and the 1950s is crucial in terms of the Westernization of the country. Within the modernist ideals, Republic's founders aimed to improve the social and economic conditions of the country after the War of Independence (1920-1922). One of the most significant components for the development of the new Republic was to attain an architectural language that reflected the Westernization efforts.

In the 1920s, housing was not an urgent issue yet because urbanization rates were low at the cities (Tekeli, 2011). However, the situation was different in Ankara, the new capital. The formation of the new bureaucracy and increase in the government officer population

caused an increase in the city's growth rate. This situation created the vital need for building of housing for government officers (Sey, 2011). In addition, the founders of the Republic viewed Ankara as the center of modernization. The city was planned to be an example for all of the cities in the country (Tekeli, 2007).

Municipalities and other governmental organizations were established to carry out the responsibilities for arranging public lands to built houses in this period. In 1924, the Municipal Law of Ankara was prepared (Sey, 2011). In 1926, Emlak and Eytam Bank was established in order to fulfil the government's construction program for housing. Emlak and Eytam Bank especially considered the housing needs of low-income civil servants in Ankara. One of the most remarkable projects of the Bank was Saraçoğlu district, which was completed in 1946. The notion of city planning was also introduced to the country in this period. Jansen Plan, designed by Hermann Jansen in 1928, for the urbanization of Ankara was one of the first city plans. As Sey (2011, 163) mentions between 1928 and 1930 certain codes concerning city planning were regulated through legislation to facilitate the construction of housing.

In the late 1930s and 1940s, the housing politics of the government became more supportive of individual entrepreneurs because of the effect of 1930s world economic crisis. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s, housing

production included single-family houses with gardens and also apartment blocks, which were generally available for citizens with high-income. It was difficult for low- and middle-income citizens to find dwellings. In order to provide housing for the low- and middle-income group, government politics encouraged cooperatives and public housing. One of the first cooperatives was Ankara's Bahçelievler Yapı Kooperatifi built in 1935.

In 1946, Emlak and Eytam Bank was transformed into Emlak Bank, which built numerous houses through the 1980s. One of the first developments of Emlak Bank was the Levent district in İstanbul, which began construction in 1947. These houses were single or two storey individual or row houses with gardens (Sey, 2011). The housing typology of Emlak Bank started to change to apartment blocks from houses with gardens in the 1950s.

During the 1940s, the migration rates in big cities, especially in Ankara, increased and the housing stocks could not meet the demand. As a result, squatter settlements (*gecekondu*) started to be formed in İncesu and Akköprü as a solution to housing shortage by the migrants, migrating to Ankara from the Eastern regions of the country (Türkün, 2011). Erman (2000: 985) points out that the emergence of the squatter settlements in the 1940s was a serious problem for "the modernization of the cities and the

promotion of the modern (Western) way of life in them." The squatter settlements continued to be built by rural migrants not only in Ankara but also in Istanbul in the following periods. They were seen as one of the most important problems for the urban scene of the cities.

Architectural design and urban planning of 1950 to 1960 reflect the ambitions of Democrat Party, which won the first multi-party system elections in 1950. The new political authority paved its way far from the ideals of the Kemalist Revolution, which aimed to break all ties from its Islamic Ottoman past. This change in the political discourse found its reflections in the architectural arena within the rule of Prime Minister Adnan Menderes, the leader of the Democrat Party. Menderes aimed to modernize the country by turning it to a "Little America".

The adoption of liberal economics expanded the construction process from public buildings and housing to transportation, infrastructural needs, and the industrialization of the country in the 1950s. The mechanization of agricultural lands caused a migration from rural areas to urban areas. The housing production for the rapidly growing population in the cities did not create a healthy urbanization process, especially in İstanbul.

The legislations concerning housing shaped by DP's politics caused massive construction of apartments in this period. In 1965, Flat

Ownership Legislation allowed citizens to own an apartment unit in an apartment building. The build-sell system was arranged in order to solve inefficiency for producing planned land, and created a mechanism, which allowed contractors and architects to build apartments. In the 1960s and the 1970s, the build-sell system gained rapid growth due to the initiatives of the small scale investors, and became popular among the different social classes. In addition, squatter settlements increased in this period as a result of the politics of the government. Within the framework of extended laws, it is aimed to gain votes from the residents of these areas. The celebration of democracy with respect to housing rights of different social classes failed because of populism-based, short-term solutions such as supporting build-sell system and squatter settlements construction.

In the 1960s and the 1970s, Emlak Kredi Bank was very important organization for housing production. It provided long-term loans. Additionally, the bank had a significant influence in terms of introducing mass-housing developments in Turkey. Some of the important projects of the organization, from 1946 to 1988, were Yenimahalle, Etlik and Telsizler in Ankara, Levent, Koşuyolu and Ataköy in İstanbul, Denizbostanlısı in İzmir, Mimar Sinan in Edirne, Yunuskent in Eskişehir and houses in Urfa, Çankırı and Diyarbakır (Türkün, 2011). Emlak Kredi Bank's multi-storey housing blocks by large reflected the modernist influence, and they

"signified modern living" (Gürel, 2009: 704). These housing projects were important examples of the period's apartment buildings. Gürel (2009: 704) mentions that "the 1950s and 1960s apartment buildings were largely characterized by multi-storey, rectangular masses with large windows and unadorned facades."

Between 1980 and the 2000, the build-sell system apartments, squatter settlements, and mass-housing developments continued to be dominant ways of housing production. In the 1980s, the country started to be more integrated with the world economy through neoliberal economy politics (Tekeli, 2011; Türkün, 2011). The construction sector became influential in terms of defining the housing production because of the increasing importance of space as a 'capitalist commodity'. This influence depended on the increase in the production of the construction materials and the growth of the private sector. The developer in the construction sector presented the luxury mass-housing developments and new lifestyles. Öncü (1997) mentions that middle- and upper-middle classes wanted a new lifestyle away from the city especially in İstanbul, and they desired 'an ideal home' away from social pollution. The construction sector expanded in order to create these ideal luxurious utopias. Small-scale entrepreneurs continued to develop housing projects in this period,

while squatter settlements were still an important and illegal form of housing production.

In the 1980s and 1990s, the state considered mass-housing projects as a solution for a healthy urbanization and living environments within the framework of new legislations. The 'right of housing' was articulated in the article 57 of 1982 Constitution of the Republic of Turkey as following:

> The State shall take measures to meet the needs of housing within the framework of a plan which takes into account the characteristics of cities and environmental conditions and shall support mass housing projects.

Through the 1990s, the mass-housing typology became one of the most significant ways of housing production as a result of The Mass-housing Law in 1984. The Mass Housing Fund and Housing Development Administration (TOKİ) were established as a result of this law. The aim of TOKİ was sustaining the housing needs of Turkish citizens, producing mass-housing units especially for low- and middle-income groups, developing programs, and investing capital for these purposes. TOKİ has become an important actor in terms of shaping housing politics and production since its establishment in 1984. In 1992, TOKİ built houses for Erzincan after the earthquake in that city. In 1996, the Administration

organized the Second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, HABITAT II in İstanbul. It also undertook the responsibilities of the Mass Housing Fund and Emlak Kredi Bank in 2001.

This brief review of housing policies and production suggests that there were some concerns for low-income housing projects such as the initiation of cooperatives and the projects of Emlak Kredi Bank. However, mass-housing developments of Emlak Kredi Bank answered the middle- and high-income groups' housing needs, even though it aimed to solve low-income group's housing needs. Also, there were some organizations, which established for building houses or giving credits for housing production, such as The Mass Housing Fund and TOKİ, which combined housing production for low- and middle-income and mass-housing production. TOKİ started to transform since 2003.

3.2. The rise of TOKİ as an Actor of Built Environment After 2003 "Building Turkey of the Future"

TOKİ's influence in shaping the built environment increased with the implementation of various laws resulting from the "Emergency Action Plan" of Justice and Development Party (AKP), the new political authority since 2003. As explained in the Emergency Action Plan, housing and

urbanization are the main concerns of the government. In order to provide

solutions for housing and urbanization problems, there are two important

articles of the Emergency Action Plan. These articles regarding housing

and urbanization under its Social Policies (SP) are as follows:

- SP 44 of the Action Plan states that; squatter housing construction will be prevented in cooperation with the local governments and existing squatter areas will be rehabilitated.
- SP 45 of the Action Plan urges that low-income groups will be provided adequate housing units with low repayments in a short period of time.

The operations of TOKİ are the result of the will of the political authority,

and can mostly be seen after 2003. It is vital to examine the reasons behind

the dominance of TOKİ in order to understand recent housing politics and

production. These reasons will be discussed in two folds. First, the

changes in the laws and administrative structure will be discussed.

Second, the changes in the statements of the authorities will be examined.

The administrative changes have enabled TOKİ to operate more

independently, without being controlled by any other governmental

organization. For instance, The Office of Public Land (*Arsa Ofisi*) and

Housing Secretariat (*Konut Müsteşarlığı*), which conducted researches for

housing needs of the country, was closed in 2004 (Turan and Bayram,

2004). Hence, TOKİ became a super structure that dominates the housing production. TOKİ declares that all of these laws are to "avoid many of the common pitfalls of institutionalized bureaucracy." Also, legislations have been passed to ensure that the administration is efficient in the use of resources and innovative in the methods to finance its operations. Even though becoming a superstructure is being criticized in the debates about TOKİ, administration continues their housing politics and production. They have built 500.000 housing units by 2011 and aim to build 500.000 new housing units by 2023 (Figure 6).

Figure 6: The emphasis of 500.000 housing units in the TOKİ magazine (2011)

Another reason for TOKİ's dominance in the housing environment is the significant emphasis on not just building houses but 'Building Turkey of the Future'. This emphasis can be followed through the statements of the authorities of TOKİ and the government (Figure 7). Since 2011, the statements have promoted modern lifestyles. These statements are being declared through different mediums such as magazines, brochures, and housing conferences generated by TOKİ. There is a powerful emphasis on "modern housing with neighborhood amenities" in the speeches of both TOKİ's former president Erdoğan Bayraktar and Recep Tayyip Erdoğan, the Prime Minister of Turkey. In other words, TOKİ explicitly promotes that "Turkey has transformed into a great construction site" in order to provide housing especially for low- and middle-income group of the society. In this respect, TOKİ organized two housing conferences in 2010 and 2011 to support its powerful image in terms of creating ideal housing environments, which promote easily attainable modern lifestyle for everyone in the society.

Figure 7: A cover of a booklet of TOKİ (2011)

Figure 8: Numbers of housing units from a booklet of TOKİ (2011)

TOKİ generates different operations in order to build this proposed future. These operations could be listed as follows:

- Housing production on its own lands for the low- and middle-income and disadvantaged groups
- Renovation of squatter areas and the rehabilitation of existing (traditional and historical) housing stock in cooperation with municipalities
- Housing production in the disaster areas

- Luxurious housing production for the purpose of creating sources for social housing projects
- Creation of producer village settlements to prevent rural-to-urban migration
- Land production with infrastructure in order to decrease land prices
- Immigrant Housing Applications
- Credit support to individuals, cooperatives and municipalities
- Applications of Emlak Real Estate Investment Company (partnership of TOKİ)

One of the most important operations of the Administration is the urban renewal projects. TOKİ demolishes squatter settlements and builds mass-housing projects in place of these settlements. These projects have brought out various discussions in the society as well as in the academic circles. Low- and middle-income group housing projects are other undertakings of the Administration. TOKİ also promises a new lifestyle for these income groups (Figure 9). In one of the booklets of TOKİ (2011), mass-housing environments are promoted as 'not just place to eat and sleep' but also housing environments that respond to all of the social needs of the community:

> Social housing means much more than simply providing a place to eat and sleep. A community only becomes empowered when it has the means to create opportunities. High quality schools, healthcare centers, gymnasiums, mosques, libraries and attractive landscaping, all play their part in offering communities a better life style.

Even though, the properties of a well-designed housing environment are defined with a social concern in the above statement, the common properties of the housing projects of TOKİ are generally far from committing to these ideals. First of all, there are some common properties of these housing projects. They are generally multi-storey housing blocks with same architectural language. Their design disregards the context or the place where they are built. They have green areas and some public facilities like schools, shopping centers or a health center. They are generally at the periphery of cities. These characteristics of the low-and middle-income group housing projects raise important criticisms with regards to their sustainability from a social perspective. In what follows, the housing 'mobilization' started by TOKİ will be examined with social sustainability in mind.

Building lives for low and middle income groups

Much more than simply **providing a place** to eat and sleep

Figure 9: The statements of TOKİ (2011)

3.3. Why Is the Framework of Social Sustainability Important for "Turkey of the Future" that TOKİ shapes?

In the times when TOKİ built 500.000 housing units and plans to further build another 500.000, it is crucial to discuss TOKİ's housing environments with social sustainability in mind. Social sustainability necessitates creating long lasting living environments that raises the quality of life of the inhabitants. As observed from the statements of TOKİ such as 'to build lives for low-and middle-income group' and 'not just providing places to eat and sleep', one of the major concerns of TOKİ is to create such long lasting housing environments for low-and middle-income group by considering needs to work, live and maintain their life.

In general, the housing environments created by TOKİ are apartment blocks with some facilities such as a school, a shopping center, and a mosque and green areas for low- and middle-income group. Yet, the effects of such planned environments on the lives of the residents need to be discussed with earlier criticism of modernist housing projects- as was discussed by Jacobs in 1961- in mind. Jacobs (1961) wrote that the patterns of behavior, daily practices, traditions, and values should be considered in the neighborhood for healthy living environments. She stated that the social and physical fabric of the neighborhood help to maintain people's

lives and raises the quality of life. In this respect, Scott (1999) emphasize that the standardization of modernist projects neglect the importance of strong neighborhood and social relations for improving quality of life.

In spite of TOKİ's emphasis on the social significance of housing in the statements, the housing projects of the Administration are academically criticized in the same extent with Jacobs and Scott in terms of not considering the quality of life, social opportunities for work, and social relations. In a housing Conference organized by TOKİ in 2011, many speakers raised the question whether current housing production of TOKİ is focused on community's social life or on putting together a lot of houses. Creating housing environments by focusing on numbers of housing units disregards the meaning of housing in terms of its effect on everyday life of the inhabitants. Cengizkan (2011) argues the importance of creating socially mixed and sustainable environments considering the well-being of the inhabitants; rather than focusing on qualitative targets such as reaching 500.000 housing units.

There are many fieldworks considering the effects of TOKİ's housing environments on people's life. For instance, Demirel (2009) and Schafers (2010) map the changes in the lives of people who used to live in the squatter settlements before moving to TOKİ. Similarly, Türkün (2011) stresses the negative effects of TOKİ's urban renewal projects on the life of

the inhabitants by pointing out how they leave mass-housing environments created by TOKİ and find illegal solutions for meeting housing needs. Erman's (2011) field work shows how inhabitants find their own ways of living at TOKİ housing environments designed by a modern image.

As these studies indicate, the effects of TOKİ housing on the lives of the residents reveal the real situation besides the ideal representations of these housing environments. It is vital to grasp how these living environments affect people's daily lives with social sustainability in mind. The three concepts -quality of life, social equity and sustainability of the community -which frame the social sustainability debates, are the key notions in deciphering the outline of TOKİ's proposed future for low- and middle-income group. Quality of life refers to liveability of these housing environments. Social equity suggests having accessibility to job opportunities, services, facilities, and transportation for the residents of the housing environments. Sustainability of the community refers to building undying communities, social interaction and relations in the housing environment.

Temelli sets a good example for observing social sustainability at TOKİ housing development for low- and middle-income groups.

Consideration of daily experiences of the residents is hoped to show and

contribute to the previous and future studies and discussions.

CHAPTER IV

THE CASE OF TOKİ TEMELLI BLOCKS

4.1. Significance of the Town of Temelli
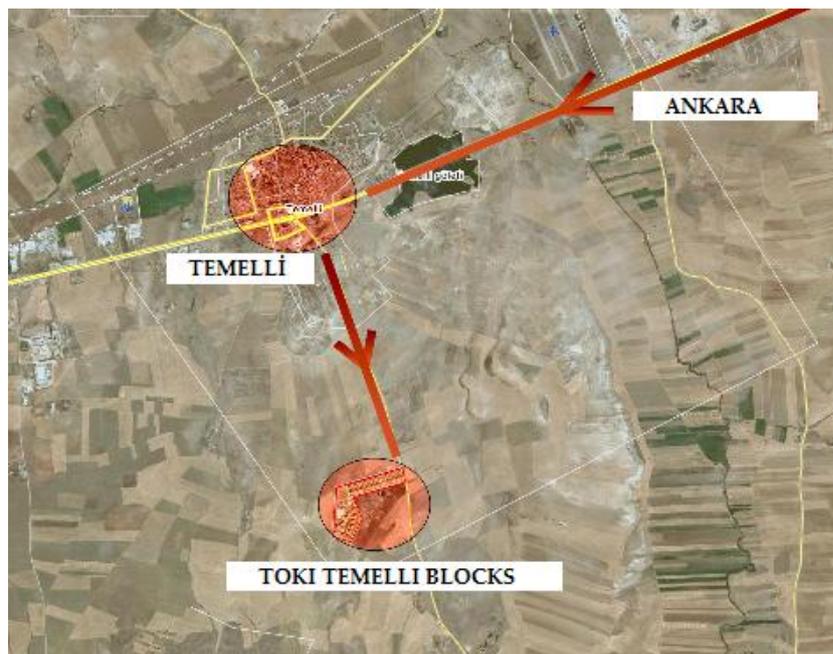
Figure 10: The aerial view of the region (www.googlemaps.com)

Temelli is located at the 50th km of Ankara-Eskişehir Highway and in the south-west of Ankara (Figure 10). The town has the population of 7,000 today. The economy of the town highly depends on agricultural activities,

while there are some industrialization efforts. Temelli Municipality is established in 1992 as one of the municipalities of Polatlı, and the growth of the town has increased after the establishment of the municipality. However, in 2004, Temelli became part of the Greater Ankara Municipality.

The historical foundation of this region goes back to prehistoric times, but the current town was established in the 1920s by Mustafa Kemal Atatürk for the settlement of Turkish migrants from Romania and Bulgaria (Kural, 2009). The rural image of Temelli is changing in terms of its residential character, and it is becoming a weekend leisure destination for the residents of the Greater Ankara city (Cengizkan and Kılıçkıran, 2010: 195). The Disneyland project in the General Development Plan of Ankara for 2023 indicates the considerations for leisure activities. However, the residential transformation of the town is the most significant change. Cengizkan and Kılıçkıran (2010), who research the historical transformation of the town, point out that the government interventions and development in the south-west corridor of Ankara caused the demolition of old stone houses and the rise of apartment blocks and housing cooperatives in the town.

In order to grasp the position of TOKİ Blocks in Temelli, it is essential to focus on the residential transformation in the town by

considering urbanization and housing production in the southwest axes of Ankara. Temelli is a town with a great growth rate as a result of the urbanization considerations of the General Development Plan of Ankara for 2023. As it is stated in the south-west district section of General Development Plan of Ankara, the 'south-west corridor' is the most speculated and important urbanization area of the city. Since the 1980s, the land around Ankara-Eskişehir Highway is a focal point for housing, and a mass of residential projects are built. The first suburbanization is started with Çayyolu and Konutkent developments. Temelli, at the end of south-west planning corridor, still carries its rural character. However, General Development Plan of Ankara anticipates an increase in the population of the region, and plans the growth of the city of Ankara through this region. This marks the significance of Temelli.

The urbanization in Temelli is criticized in terms of the physical and social conditions. Kural (2009) discusses the urbanization in Temelli in accordance with the General Development Plan of Ankara for 2023 as following:

- No vision and no innovation.
- No participation.
- Slow or no development of services and infrastructure.
- No justification for financial, legal and psychological burden on stakeholders.
- No transparency and equity in the implementation of laws and regulations.

- No guarantee of quality of product (housing and environs).

Cengizkan and Kılıçkıran (2010: 191) mention that "the future plans for the district are shaped purely by market forces and political edicts rather than local historical values and characteristics." Temelli indicates the unsustainable urban development in terms of undefined social development of the region, not clearly programmed infrastructure, and accessibility.

Since 2003, TOKİ focused on the housing production in the region as an extension of development and urbanization plans of Ankara. Besides high- and upper-class housing production in Çayyolu and Konutkent, TOKİ initiated low- and middle-income projects. These include TOKİ Turkuaz project at the 27th km of Ankara-Eskişehir road (Figure 11), Yapracık housing project with 9.000 units (Figure 12), and the first and the second phase of Temelli Blocks. In the near future, an additional 1096 houses will be constructed for lower income groups in Temelli.

Figure 11 and 12: TOKİ Turkuaz Blocks and Yapracık construction

There are many construction activities in this region by other housing initiatives like Türkkonut as well as TOKİ as part of the urbanization efforts. TOKİ strengthens these urbanization undertakings as an important actor of the housing production. It is important to discuss the increasing housing environments in this region in order to understand the results of such urbanization and its effect on the lives of the inhabitants.

4.2. General Information about TOKİ Temelli Blocks

TOKİ Temelli Blocks are 5 km away from the center of Temelli. There are two different phases and a total of 720 apartments. The first phase, Yağmur Blocks, consists of 240 apartments. Sixty of them are occupied, while others are vacant. The construction of TOKİ Temelli Blocks started in 2004 and finished in 2006. The first residents started to live in the development in 2006. These blocks are built for low- and middle-income group in a public land. As it is stated by the residents, Temelli Municipality initiated the construction of the blocks in order to develop Temelli.

Figure 13: The aerial view of the blocks (www.googlemaps.com)

The landscape of the housing development is vast agricultural area. The apartment buildings are in the middle of this landscape (Figure 13). The appearance of blocks is similar to other housing projects of TOKİ with plain facades, rectangular windows, and economical materials (Figure 14). The blocks are 5 storey-high with four housing units on each floor. All of the houses have 3 rooms and a living room (Figure 15). There is a school, which opened in 2007. The mosque, health center, and shopping center in the housing development are not operating yet. There is not any other facility within walking distance of the housing development.

Figure 14: A view of a block (Photograph by the author, 2012)
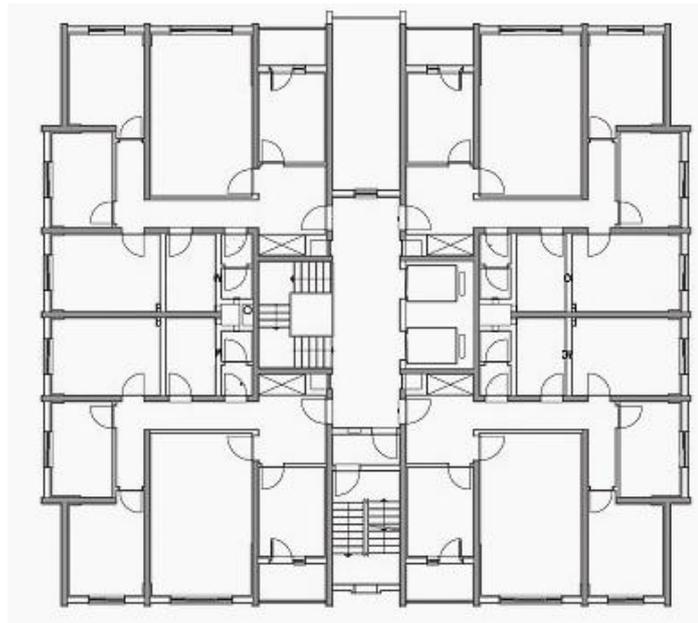
Figure 15: Typical floor plan

The transportation is generally with bus running 9 times in a day
to Ankara. It takes 50-55 minutes to reach from Ankara by bus, and 10
minutes to reach from Temelli town. The price from Temelli to Ankara is

3.5 TL for one way. Temelli to TOKİ Blocks is also 3.5 TL. It is the double price for the normal bus prices, which is 1.75 TL. It is not possible to walk from Temelli to Blocks because of the distance. The general way of accessibility to Blocks is to use the bus or having a car.

An administration, which consists of the residents, organizes the works in the housing development. There is one block manager from each apartment building, who is chosen through the votes of the residents. Total of twelve block managers choose the head of the administration. Administration is responsible for collecting maintenance fees of the environment, setting rules for the use of green areas, playgrounds, and social facilities. It also provides communication with TOKİ administration in case of any problems related to housing settlement and payments about the apartments of the residents.

4.3. Profile of the residents

TOKİ Temelli Blocks are built for low- and middle-income group. However, they are open for everybody to have an apartment. This causes different profiles among the owners of the apartments. There are some owners who bought these houses for investment as the urbanization process makes the region important for economic gain. As it is stated by

the administration of the blocks, these people generally have more than one apartment. They don't prefer to live here, and want to rent their homes. However, their homes are generally vacant. Other owners chose to live here because they considered the housing project as a desirable and modern environment as promoted by TOKİ. They find the payments for the apartments affordable when compared to the homes in the city. They generally work in Ankara. They usually lived in rented homes before having a home in TOKİ. Most of this group could not maintain their lives here, and had to turn back to the city. The payments became a problem because of the living cost in Temelli. The owners who have problem for paying the loans gave back their apartment to TOKİ. The administration of Yağmur Blocks has stated that 100 of apartments were given back to TOKİ, and there were 60 households living in the Yağmur Blocks for now.

The profile of the remaining residents could be characterized as middle-class people who are familiar with 'modern urban life'. They don't have any problem with rules of the administration and living in such an environment. There are retired people who finally had a chance to have a home. There are ones who are working in the Ankara city, and want a better and safe living environment for their children. Some of the residents are people who were living in Temelli town before having a home in TOKİ. Also, there is a group of people who migrated from Diyarbakır to

Temelli. They are living in the same apartment block, and they are renters. Their head of family worked in the construction of the Temelli blocks, and their family moved here after the finalization of the construction.

4.4. Daily Life of the Residents Considering the Framework of Social Sustainability

In this chapter, the residents' relation with the built environment and the effect of built environment on their daily life are examined. The interviews aimed to focus on the residents' spatial stories for grasping their daily life experiences. The results of the interviews are discussed in accordance with *the quality of life, social equity* and *sustainability of the community* concepts of social sustainability for analyzing whether TOKİ housing environments are socially sustainable or not.

4.4.1. Quality of life

Improving quality of life is an important concern for social sustainability. Home, besides being just a shelter, is a significant entity for the social dimension of human life. Thus, the quality of life is directly related with the quality of home in which we live in, spent our daily life, and define

ourselves. This section asks questions about *internal and external housing conditions* and *provision of facilities* in order to understand the physical quality of the housing environment and apartments. The plan scheme of the apartments, the site plan, the position of the blocks in the site, construction properties, use of natural light, heating-cooling systems, and the landscape of the housing environment are crucial in terms of the liveability of the housing environment and the apartments. In addition, the provision of facilities, such as a shopping center, health-care center, sport facilities, and school, are vital for maintaining the quality of life.

To start with the external housing conditions, it should be stated that the site plan of the Temelli Blocks is a typical plan for most of the housing projects for TOKİ with the space around the buildings, arrangement of the green spaces, walking roads, and parking lots (Figure 16 and 17). In the interviews, it was asked what the residents think about the external housing environment. Most of the residents mentioned that they found this physical environment 'modern', and wanted to live in such a 'modern' environment. This is very significant in terms of reflecting the residents' desire for living in the designed environment of TOKİ housing projects. It was observed that this was a motive for choosing to have a home here. For instance, the majority of the interviewees compared their living conditions in the city with their TOKİ apartments in Temelli.

They stated that they like the space around the blocks and regularity in the environment. Some of the interviewees specifically emphasized that the apartment blocks in the cities were very close to each other so it was not even possible for natural light to enter the home. However, they are satisfied with the natural light in their apartments as a result of the space around the blocks in TOKİ blocks. In addition, the residents stressed that the green environment in the settlement was something that they were not familiar in their previous homes.
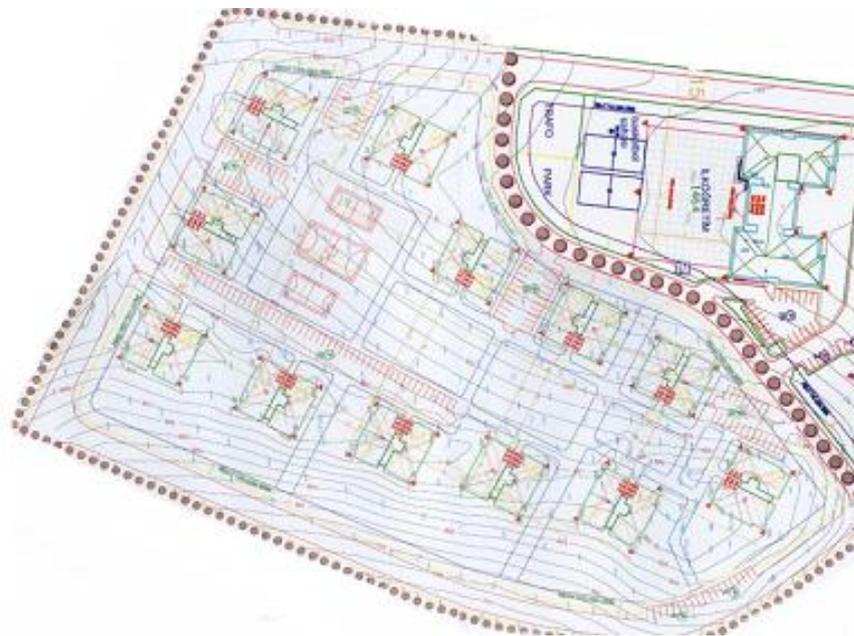
Figure 16: The site plan of the Temelli Blocks

Figure 17: The apartment blocks (Photograph by the author, 2012)

To continue with the physical properties of the apartment blocks, it was observed that the entrance of the blocks and corridors are spacious with proper lighting (Figure 18 and 19). There are two elevators in each building, and this is stated to be sufficient in the interviews. The stairs and doors of the buildings are wide enough to carry furniture while moving in or out. The residents mentioned that this was practical while moving in their homes.

Figure 18 and 19: Entrance of a block and a view from the corridor of a block (Photograph by the author, 2012)

Another prominent physical property of TOKİ Temelli Blocks is the layout of the apartments. The plan scheme also represents the common properties of TOKİ apartment plans for low- and middle-income group in terms of its standardization. There are three main rooms, which are 8.5 m², 11 m², and 12.5 m². The living room is 25 m², corridor and entrance hall is total of 15 m², and the kitchen is 9 m² (Figure 20). The total liveable area is around 90 m². There is a half bathroom with a water closet and sink in addition to a full bathroom. The entrance door leads into a small hall, and the kitchen, WC and living room entrance is reached from this hall. The bedrooms are reached by a long corridor. Windows are large enough for the penetration of the natural light.

Size of the apartments, number of rooms, and the overall layout are appreciated by the residents in the interviews. It is asked if they have enough rooms for all family members and guests, all of the interviewees mentioned that the number of bedrooms is sufficient. One of the rooms is generally arranged for the daily use with a television and sitting units. This room is also used as a guest room in the nightly visits. The residents, especially women, mentioned that they did not generally use the living room for the daily activities such as sitting or dining. The living room is big enough to accommodate the dining activity with the proper furniture (Figure 21). This room is generally closed and furnished with a sitting unit and dining unit.
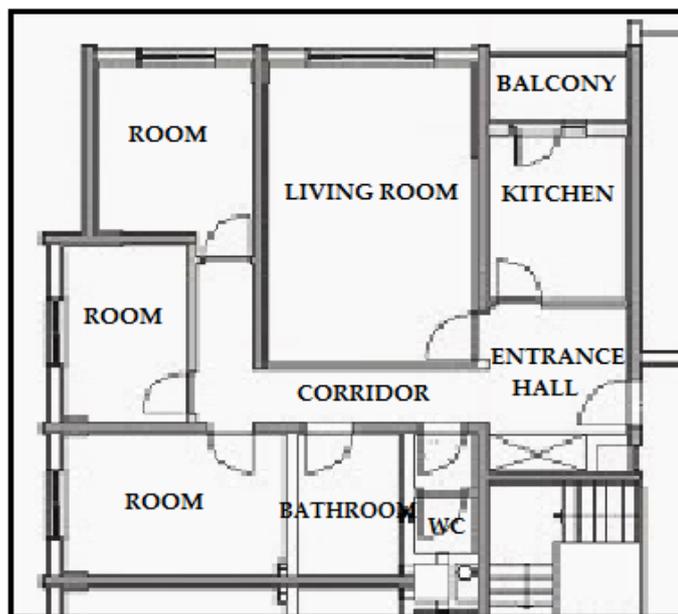
Figure 20: A single unit housing plan

The residents mentioned that the kitchen is adequate for both working and dining (Figure 22). Thus, the kitchen is preferred for dining with the family. Some residents mentioned that they also use the balcony for dining activity when the weather permits. However, some of them mentioned that there could be a second balcony for sitting or drying the laundry in one of the rooms as one balcony is used from the kitchen is used as storage.

Figure 21: A view from a living room (Photograph by the author, 2012)

Figure 22: A view from the kitchen (Photograph by the author, 2012)

All of the residents mentioned that the size of the bathroom is enough. However, they complained about not having a bathtub in the bathroom as they pointed out that the bathroom is big enough for a bathtub, and 90 m² home should have a bathtub. In addition, they mentioned that the entrance space and the corridor make the usage of spaces more efficient. The rooms had their privacy with the corridor. However, they mentioned that there was not any storage space, therefore most of the users added storage units in the entrance (Figure 23 and 24).

The appreciation of the houses in terms of organization, size, and use of the spaces is significant for improving the resident's quality of life. Also, the interviews showed that the plan scheme with the spaciousness of

the apartment is one of the primary reasons for preferring to live in TOKİ homes. All of the residents interviewed mentioned that they appreciate their homes, and they are satisfied to own such a home. Such an opinion can be read in the remarks of one of the interviewees:

> In Ankara, with the same amount of payment as a rent, we, the whole family, were living in a very small apartment. The rooms and kitchen were so small. Everything was stacked. Our other homes were also like that in Ankara. We cannot afford such a big apartment in the city.

Figure 23 and 24: The storage spaces made by the owner (Photograph by the author, 2012)

While all of the interviewees appreciated the spaciousness of the apartments, they all complained about the problems related to construction quality. For instance, the majority highlighted the low

construction quality and craftsmanship. They said that most of the final finishing started to break down after one year (Figure 25, 26, and 27). Therefore, the fittings and hardware of the houses had to be replaced with more durable ones by the owners. One of the common replacements is the floor materials, which were ceramics in the entrances, kitchen, and corridors, and carpet in the rooms. All of the interviewees mentioned that the ceramics started to crackle and break down, that they needed maintenance. The carpets were also low-quality, and some of the residents who have economic opportunity changed it to laminated parquet flooring. One of the interviewees stated:

> Even though, we were so happy to have our own, the problems didn't end. I remember when we first moved here, I cleaned the carpets but there were still a bad smell. At last, we had to move the carpets and we saw that the carpet was already started to mould. And, this was not the last problem. We have to paint all of the walls again and change fittings and hardware as they were broken one by one.

Figure 25: The damages in the finishing (Photograph by the author, 2012)

Figure 26 and 27: The cracks in the windows and doors (Photograph by the author, 2012)

As stated by all of the interviewees, the low construction quality and use of cheap material were not the only problem to deal with. Providing heating was one of the major challenges, especially for the residents who have started to live here in 2006. The construction company delivered the houses without a working gas system. Even though, the infrastructure for the heating system was in place, natural gas could not be connected. The residents were left to generate their own heating solutions for two years. Finally, they managed to arrange gas connection with their own efforts. This was a difficult process. They mentioned that they had a lot of difficulty both in terms of sustaining their lives and the payments of the extra necessities for heating.

Moreover, interviewees have stated that the green areas in the project were not landscaped as expected. They were developed with their efforts (Figure 28). The administration of the blocks collected some fee, and bought plants. The residents also have great transportation problems because the road that connects the housing development to the town is paved in 2010 (Figure 29). Most of the residents mentioned that they had to use this muddy road for transportation since 2010.

Figure 28: A view of the green areas (Photograph by the author, 2012)

Figure 29: The surrounding landscape of the blocks (Photograph by the author, 2012)

The provision of the facilities constitutes another dimension for the well-being and increased quality of life in the housing environments. This notion manifests the social opportunities of the living environment starting from basic needs to social needs. Chan and Lee (2007) mention that properly provided services, jobs, and amenities such as a school and a health center, and community centers are important for the quality of life. TOKİ housing environments promises such facilities in the projects as can be read in the below statements by TOKİ:

> A community only becomes empowered when it has the means to create opportunities. High quality schools, healthcare centers, gymnasiums, mosques, libraries and attractive landscaping, all play their part in offering communities a better life style.

However, the social facilities that TOKİ promotes not properly function in TOKİ Temelli Blocks. Even though the project includes facilities such as a health center and a shopping center, the construction is not finished, and the finished ones are not working properly.

All of the interviewees mentioned that they have managed the opening of the elementary school with great effort but they could not manage to get the shopping center and healthcare center working yet, although their construction is finished. The shopping center is closed because there is not enough population as it is envisaged by TOKİ. The nearest shopping center is 5 km far from TOKİ Temelli Blocks. While the shopping center (Figure 30) is not working, there is not even a market to buy even the very basic needs such as bread. In 2006, a resident of Temelli town built a small barrack as a market (Figure 31). But this market was closed because of the economic problems of the market's owner in 2007. Most of the residents buy their breads when they go to shopping to the town center. The ones who have a car buy bread for their neighbors. One of the residents state:

> Sometimes, we made our breads in home, which might not be bad for once or twice. However, it is difficult to manage your life when there is not any place to provide for any of your basic needs. And also, there are old people here; it is harder for them to deal with such problems.

Figure 30: The vacant shopping center (Photograph by the author, 2012)

Figure 31: The market which is closed in 2011 (Photograph by the author, 2012)

The absence of some facilities makes life difficult for the residents, and affects the quality of the environment in a negative way. On the whole, the physical environment of TOKİ Temelli Blocks looks like an

abandoned place. The unfinished construction in the built environment

causes such an appearance (Figure 32 and 33).

Figure 32: The unfinished construction work (Photograph by the author, 2012)

Figure 33: The mosque (Photograph by the author, 2012)

To sum up, the appreciation of the homes, in terms of organization and size of the spaces, affect resident's life quality in a positive way, while the low construction quality, technical problems, and the absence of the promised green environment and social facilities have negative effects. Despite the distance from an urbanized area, the appreciation of the homes and the desire to live in modern, planned, and green environment, as promoted by TOKİ, have effects on choosing to live here. One of the residents' words explicitly summarizes the spatial experiences: "We love our houses, but we do not have any opportunities for our basic needs. We do not have even a market."

4.4.2. Social equity

It is possible to claim that social equity, which refers to considering basic social and cultural needs of different groups, is one of the most important concepts of social sustainability. For socially sustainable living environments, it is crucial to lessen social exclusion, and increase the integration to community. The social equity concept is framed within the context of housing environments by considering accessibility to services, transportation, and job opportunities as well as gender differences.

Lack of accessibility to services, transportation, and job opportunities cause residents moving out from Temelli Blocks. Majority of the first comers in 2006 moved out. The empty houses in TOKİ Temelli Blocks are largely the result of the raise in the transportation cost, which was increased by Greater Ankara Municipality. The lack of basic services such as a market or a healthcare center as well as the lack of job opportunities in the region makes transportation vital for residents. They depend on regular bus service to go to work or to buy basic needs. They have to use the bus for almost their every need. One of the residents tells:

> My husband and I were working in the city, but we wanted to have our own house and live in this house. We thought we could manage the transportation prices, but they have raised so much.

Another resident states that:

> If I decide to go and buy bread from Temelli, I have to take a bus and pay 3.5 TL for one way. I will buy 2 breads with 1 TL, and I will take the bus and pay 3.5 TL again. In the end, the cost of the 1 TL bread will be 8 TL. How can I manage to sustain my basic needs?

Similarly, all of the interviewees mentioned that they feel isolated due to the increase in the transportation prices. Also, the residents consider the fair reasonable for Ankara, while they find charging the same fair for Temelli unjust. One of the residents stated:

In order to solve this issue, a lot of petitions were written to the municipality. They announced that the prices were determined in relation with the distance to the center. However, TOKİ Turkuaz Blocks are not so far from our blocks, and the transportation prices to their blocks are cheaper. If these houses were built for low and middle-income group, why don't they think about the transportation?

This statement exemplifies how the residents feel inequality in their daily lives because their needs are not considered in terms of accessibility to services and transportation by the authorities. This situation strengthens the feeling of isolation. The residents who cannot sustain their lives try to move out of TOKİ Temelli Blocks.

Figure 34: View from the bus station (Photograph by the author, 2012)

Figure 35: The road to Temelli (Photograph by the author, 2012)

In addition, the field research shows that the spatial experiences of women and men differentiate. This reveals the role of gender in the spatial experiences. As Davidson (1996) mentions gender is 'socially constructed' while it has strong 'spatially constructed' relations. Spatial design as means for constructing gender has been suggested by many scholars (Friedan, 1963; Hayden, 1984; Weisman, 1992; Greed, 1994; Massey, 1995; Gürel, 2009). Hayden (1984) discusses the restriction of women's spatial experience caused by home designs, while Weisman (1992: 86) argues that house reflects a "male/female dichotomy, both symbolically and spatially." Similarly, Massey (1995: 148) points out "how women's mobility, for instance, is restricted in a thousand different ways, from

physical violence to being ogled at or made to feel quite simply 'out of place' not by capital, but by men." In the majority of the interviews, women mentioned that they feel restricted as a result of the absence of any social opportunity. One of the interviewees said that if she needed anything she had to tell her husband because going to a town center is expensive; her husband could buy what they need. Another woman states:

> Men could be social in the administrative works of the blocks and their jobs. However, we are not working and there is only one opportunity to be social, which is visiting each other. However, it also has its limit.

The interviews reveal that women, especially the ones who are not working, have mobility restrictions in the housing environment. In addition, they do not have any social opportunity to get involved in the society. This gender inequality embodies the concept of social equity of social sustainability.

However, women find a way of coping with the restrictions in the housing environment. In 2008, they arranged sewing lessons in one of the classrooms of the school during the weekends. However, they mentioned that the lessons ended when the instructor moved out from Temelli. In addition, some women try to earn some money by means of socializing with other women. One of the women stated that:

I was so bored at home, and also I wanted to do something to earn some money. Then, I tried to buy things from the city such as socks, clothing or magazines to sell here. We were gathered with women in homes. The women were happy because there is nothing else to do.

To sum up, expensive transportation rates to TOKİ Temelli Blocks create restrictions in the accessibility of the residents to an urbanized area, while the lack of facilities makes transportation prices a vital problem. The interviews show that this problem embodies the resident's socially unequal position. Moreover, the daily lives of the women and men are affected in different ways because of different spatial experiences and restrictions in the housing environment.

4.4.3. Sustainability of the Community

Social sustainability embodies the idea of building undying communities. Sustainability of the community embraces the major concerns for the well-being of the community in terms of the social interaction in the community related to using the neighborhood and the community facilities, community stability considering residents' decisions to stay in, or move out from the housing environment, sense of place, safety, and security in the environment.

The observation showed that there was not interaction among the residents in the housing environment: TOKİ Temelli Blocks appeared abandoned. The distance from an urbanized area and the low levels of population cause such an impression. The low level of population is caused because of the moving outs from the blocks. The decrease in the quality of life of the residents, the increase in the transportation rates, and the lack of social facilities are the major reasons that triggered the move outs of the residents. Bramley and Power (2009) highlight how the decrease in the population of the neighborhood makes the residents uncomfortable in terms of trusting the living environment and weakening the community relations. In ten out of fifteen interviews, the residents mentioned that they did not have any strong relationships with their neighbors. Most of them stated the reason as the moving outs of the people who share same values and norms with them. For the residents, the desire to live in a modern environment includes having a healthy relationship with the neighbors. However, the residents feel disappointed for not being able to build such relationships.

Moreover, the interviewees state that a group of residents, who migrated from Diyarbakır, have solidarity among them. There is less communication with this group of residents. One of the residents expresses:

> They are used to live in different ways: the apartment culture is different. They clean their rugs in the balcony and they try to use stoves for heating. Kids are giving harm to the environment, they cut trees.

The blocks' administration informs that these kinds of complaints are common in the housing environment. The administration tries to establish harmony according to the rules. However, this situation damages the community relations. Consequently, the interviews suggest that most of the residents feel if they had an economic opportunity, they would prefer moving to Ankara as the ones who share same values, norms, and traditions moved out.

Social interaction through the usage of community facilities can help building strong relations and contribute to the development of the housing environment (Bramley and Power, 2009). However, the lack of social facilities in TOKİ Temelli Blocks prevents from developing social relations and interaction among neighbors. Thus, it negatively affects the sustainability of the community as well as the quality of life. The majority of the interviewees mention that they did not have any social opportunity to feel the sense of belonging to a community. Nevertheless, the outdoor furniture like the trellis (Figure 36) provides a space to get together and socialize in the housing environment. The interviewees mentioned that they could picnic in the trellis in the outdoor areas in summer. The trellis

is also used by women to get together and chat. However, there is not any other indoor or outdoor environment for the residents to gather and spend time.

The safety and security in Temelli blocks is another problem. Since the housing environment is in the middle of a vast area, and there are not any security precautions. Most of the residents interviewed mentioned that they were worried about the insecure environment.

These problems with regard to sustaining the daily life in TOKİ Temelli Blocks led to the increase of the moving outs from here. This affects the resident's relation with the community in terms of not being able to build a strong sense of place. The lack of social communication also results from the lack of social facilities to gather and interact. These situations damage the sustainability of the community.

Figure 36: The trellis

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

In this study, the daily lives of TOKİ Temelli Blocks' residents are examined within the framework of social sustainability. Temelli Blocks set a typical example for low- and middle-income group housing projects of TOKİ. They have some common properties with other TOKİ projects for the same income group. They are multi-storey housing blocks with green areas and some public facilities like a school, a shopping center, a mosque or a health center. As idealized by TOKİ, these housing environments propose social possibilities for the residents to live in a place which is 'not just for eating and sleeping.' However, it is important to discuss whether the real life situation is compatible with the ideal presentation of the housing projects or not.

Social sustainability, in terms of necessitating decent quality of life, social equity, and sustainability of the community for liveable housing environments, is considered to observe and analyze the daily lives of the

residents within the framework of the case study. In-depth interviews carried out in TOKİ Temelli Blocks along with on-site observations suggest that the major obstacle for the residents to sustain their lives is the distance of the blocks from an urbanized area. This distance affects the accessibility to the housing environment, and the inadequacies in the project of TOKİ like a shopping center become a major problem. TOKİ Temelli Blocks could not fulfill the promised properties of TOKİ projects in terms of public facilities such as a shopping center, a health-care center, and green areas. Residents try to make the housing environment liveable with their own efforts. The interviewees stressed that they wanted to live and have a home in modern, green, and planned housing environment with affordable payments, as promoted by TOKİ. Even though, the interviews suggest that the residents appreciate some properties of TOKİ Temelli Blocks, there are generally negative outcomes when the daily life is analyzed by considering the social sustainability concepts -quality of life, social equity and sustainability of the community.

In terms of the quality of life, the study shows that all of the interviewees appreciate the physical qualities of their apartments as well as the apartment blocks. However, the low construction quality, technical problems, and the lack of designed landscape negatively affect the quality of life of the residents. Moreover, the lack of facilities such as a shopping

center, a health-care center or even a market makes the residents life difficult to maintain.

In order to raise the quality of life, a quality construction material should be used to lessen the maintenance costs of the homes. Fixtures and hardware should also have a good quality. The operation of the infrastructure of the housing environment should be arranged before the homes are taken by the residents. For instance, the roads are vital for a housing settlement like TOKİ Temelli in terms of the distance from an urbanized area. For this specific case, the heating system was not operating when the first residents started to live here in 2006. It should also be considered in TOKİ housing projects. The most important consideration for raising and maintaining the quality of life is the fulfillment of the promised properties of housing projects by TOKİ. Public facilities, green areas, and a finished construction work in the living environment should be provided as it is promoted in every medium of the administration such as booklets, magazines, and videos.

In terms of social equity, transportation, accessibility, job opportunities, and different spatial experiences among men and women are identified as major problems. The expensive transportation rates to TOKİ Temelli Blocks create restrictions in the accessibility of the residents. The transportation is especially essential for the ones who work in Ankara.

They have economic problems in terms of paying the bus price in addition to their regular loans to TOKİ. Moreover, the life of the women and men is affected in different ways because of the restrictions in the housing environment. Men could get socialized in their jobs or in the town of Temelli, while women do not have any opportunity besides going to each other's homes. In order to reach social equity, the transportation and accessibility to the housing environment should be considered in TOKİ housing projects. The bus prices should be arranged in accordance with the economic level of the people. The social opportunities for men and women should be fostered with public facilities and social opportunities.

In terms of sustainability of the community, establishing social networks and relations, developing a sense of place, and the need for security surfaced as the main concerns. The increase of the moving outs as a result of the problems for sustaining the daily life in TOKİ Temelli Blocks affects the residents' relation with the community in terms of not being able to build relations. The lack of facilities to gather and communicate causes the lack of social communication. Moreover, the need for security in the housing environment makes the residents uneasy and affects developing a sense of place. In order to foster the sustainability of the community, creating a lively community should be aimed in the TOKİ housing projects. The public facilities have a key role in terms of fostering

the relations of the community. In addition, the population in the living area is crucial for vigorous community life, and it should be estimated in the project phase.

To conclude, it could be claimed that the interviewed residents of TOKİ Temelli Blocks aspire to *apartman* living in a designed environment as well as having a home with affordable payments. However, the problems in the housing environment make them feel disappointed as observed in the field research. Even though TOKİ idealizes the housing environments as a modern, green, and healthy with social opportunities, the real life situation does not match with this idealization. The apartments are appreciated to some extents by the owners of the homes according to the data obtained from the field research. However, the daily lives of the residents are difficult to sustain, while most of the residents have already moved out. This causes an abandoned look in the environment along with the unfinished construction works, absence of facilities, and the lack of a community life. Lastly, it could be beneficial to point out that TOKİ should focus on the patterns of behavior and daily practices of people in order to create socially sustainable projects rather than focusing on numbers such as building 500.000 housing units until 2023 as it is stated in the Housing Convention 2011 and the booklets of TOKİ.

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APPENDIX

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

1. How many people do you live in the house, how old are they and what is the closeness of the relationship in the house?

2. Could you describe the education level and economic conditions of the family?

3. How long have you been living here? Are you thinking about moving-out anywhere else? And, how long are you planning to live here?

4. Are you the owner of this apartment? And do you own any other apartment?

5. Were you the owner and/ or tenant of the house that you lived before?

6. How did you get informed about TOKİ Temelli Blocks? Did you search for other opportunities before purchasing your apartment?

7. What were the conditions while buying an apartment in TOKİ?

8. Why did you decide to move to TOKİ Temelli Blocks?

9. What do you expect from the housing environment? Were your expectations met in general?

10. Could you describe your living conditions before and after moving to TOKİ?

11. Could you define your perception related to the house conditions e.g. number of rooms, condition of kitchen and bathroom, the size of kitchen, living room and other rooms?

12. Is there any balcony in the apartment?

13. Could you explain the natural light in the apartment?

14. Could you explain the heating conditions?

15. Do children have separate bedrooms?

16. Is there any need of extra room for guests?

17. Could you describe your opinions about the construction quality and fittings of the house are e.g. carpets, windows, lathes, fixed fittings. Has any change been made about decoration after buying the house?

18. Could you state your opinion about the corridors of the apartment buildings?

19. Could you state your opinions about outdoor areas?

20. How do you meet shopping, health, education, and leisure needs?

21. Could you explain your relations with the town of Temelli?

22. Do you have any problem with the distance between the city center and the housing environment?

23. Could you describe your daily life, your daily activities?

24. How do you define the impact of moving here on your relationship with your children (if any) and your relatives?

25. Could you state your communication with your neighbors?

26. Do you have any problems with your safety and security?

27. Is there an administration in the housing environment?

28. What are the problems in the housing environment?

29. What kind of activities does take place in the housing environment?