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Deprivation Analysis in Declining Inner City Residential Areas: A Case Study From Izmir, Turkey

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DEPRIVATION ANALYSIS IN DECLINING INNER CITY RESIDENTIAL AREAS: A CASE STUDY FROM IZMIR-TURKEY

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Abstract: The aim of this paper is to examine the inner city decline in Turkey, by drawing on a field research, which was conducted in Izmir, Tuzcu District, in 2005 for Ince Kompil's Msc thesis. The paper places the inner city decline within the context of uneven development. Although inner city decline backgrounded by uneven and dual structure is very common for all capitalist cities in first world countries, this phenomenon incarnated as segregated and neglected areas, which become both socially and spatially declining parts of the city, is relatively new for Turkey. In order to explore this phenomenon in Turkey and to compare it to those in other countries, we had to consider the level and nature of segregation and deprivation indicators that have already been developed by the existing works elaborating on inner city decline. One of the mostly used tools for examining the declining inner-city residential areas is "deprivation index" formed by Townsend in 1990s. The general deprivation index comprises two fundamental sections: social deprivation and material deprivation. Social deprivation includes the indicators such as employment, family activity, integration, and participation to social institutions, recreation, and education. Material deprivation consists of the indicators such as dietary, clothing, housing, home facilities, environment, location, and working conditions. The analysis of the data coming from 2005 field survey in the Tuzcu district of Izmir showed that some indicators such as poverty, unemployment, decline of physical environment, disinvestments and economic decline arise as having similar features with first world cities, and that segregation is visible when our research area, Tuzcu district, is compared to other parts of Izmir. However, regarding segregation within the district itself, it is not so acceptable feature. Moreover, findings of the survey indicated that segregation in Tuzcu District, as being different from the first world cities, is fundamentally defined by class or income structure, rather than ethnic or regional origins.

KEYWORDS: uneven development, residential areas, urban decline, urban deprivation, segregation, İzmir.

INTRODUCTION

Within the capitalist development process urban areas today are the places of increasing social inequality and polarization of poor and wealthy both socially and spatially. This dual structure is valid for all capitalist cities in the world as a result of capitalism-based development process, which leads underdevelopment of a place and reverse development of others. Furthermore, this unevenness in urban areas are produced and reproduced continuously, and this situation is inevitable in all capitalist cities. In other words, the phenomenon of urban decline, which is defined as the geographical concentration of social, economic and spatial problems in any part of a city, is the most concrete example of this unevenness in urban space and common problem of all capitalized cities.

The inner city is defined generally as containing the central business district and a surrounding residential area of older homes (Broadway and Jesty; 1998). Mills and Lubuele (1997: 727) note that inner cities are typically defined as the areas near the geographical centers of metropolitan areas. Therefore the concept of inner city decline comprises decline in both central business areas and residential (generally it called transition areas) areas. Since the main focus of this paper is inner city residential decline, in the following pages, the concept of inner city decline will be examined regarding residential areas. Residential decline is widely examined by the works of Punch (2004), Broadway and Jesty (1988), Langlois and Kitchen (2001), Bailey et al (2004), Kearns, Gibb and Mackay (2000), Wasylenki (2001), Carter (2003) and most of them explore the physical, social, economic and environmental conditions of declining neighborhoods. Carter (2003: 9) states that many older, frequently inner-ring suburbs have faced problems similar to inner city residential areas such as population decline, an ageing infrastructure, deteriorating schools and commercial corridors, and inadequate housing and so on.

Declining inner cities provide specific examples of unevenness of capitalist relations. Therefore, the casual mechanism of unevenness in social and spatial structure has to be explored in uneven development dynamics of capitalist system. The city or built environment itself is commodified by the capital since the capital moves through the built environment itself in search of returns across an uneven and changing

ground-rent surface. In the capitalist system, the main purpose of the capitalists is to gain profits by investing in property in the city, where it provides the maximum returns. There are two ways of maximizing returns. The first one is to open up unused land at low cost, and the other way is to redevelop valuable land. Consequently, “newly developed and redeveloped areas attract residents with economic and social resources. On the other hand, the poor are left behind the old and neglected areas with little new investment” (Fong and Shibuya, 2000, p: 451).

Unevenness between the areas closely related to the economic division of labour. In a wider capitalist economy, similarly, the development of an area relates to the underdevelopment of other area. As Massey states, if these division of labour which are stretched out over space (spatial structure) consist of mutually defining elements, then the functional and social characteristics of some areas define the functional and social characteristics of other areas. “If one region has all the control functions, and only control functions, then other regions must have all the functions which are controlled, the subordinated functions” (Massey, 1988: 252). In short, social and spatial differentiation in recent urban spaces can be understood within the framework of uneven development in the historical process of capitalism. Therefore, in order to analyze or explore the decline of an area in a city, it may necessary to conceptualize the problem within the dynamics of uneven development.

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

In Turkey, the process of urbanization of capital has begun particularly after 1980s leading to more striking patterns of uneven development in urban areas on account of the increasing hegemony of capital. Following the urbanization of capital and uneven development process, especially the major cities of the country such as İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir, have experienced the urban decline phenomenon, which has gradually been the reason of social and spatial deprivation of urban areas. Excessive accumulation of capital by investments, on the one hand, has lead to development of new attractive areas within the city, and has left the certain areas as unattractive and physically disinvested areas, on the other. In this respect, this paper intends to explore the dimensions of social and spatial deprivation in the context of uneven development, in the case of İzmir-Tuzcu district.

COMMON FEATURES OF INNER CITY RESIDENTIAL DECLINE IN THE FIRST WORLD COUNTRIES AND TURKEY

The phenomenon of inner city residential decline has several common dimensions such as economic, physical, and social. More specifically, inner city decline can be characterized with *poverty, unemployment, segregation, declining public education and health, density rates of vacant and abandoned property, changing land uses, and disinvestments*.

Most of the studies reveal that *concentration of poverty*, economic and ethnic inequality has become an important indicator of declining inner city neighborhoods (Carter, 2003: 18). Both in developed and developing countries, poverty is common phenomenon that concentrates in any part of the city whether it is core or periphery. As mentioned earlier, one of the reasons of concentration of poverty in inner neighborhoods is the flight of middle-upper classes to newly developed areas in order to avoid ‘disamenities’ of the inner areas such as deteriorating housing and infrastructure, high density rates, and etc. Conditions of housing market encourage, and also control this movement via presenting attractive living conditions out of the inner city. Consequently, devaluated inner areas became the places of poorest groups that could not afford the living in the other part of the urban areas (Carter, 2003).

In addition and in relation to the poverty, inner city residential areas have high level of *unemployment*. According to the work of Myles et al (2000; cited in Carter, 2003: 19) – which analyses the changes in neighborhood income inequality and residential economic segregation in the eight largest Canadian cities during the 1980-95 period– while employment was increasingly concentrated in higher income communities, in lower income neighborhoods unemployment has very significant rates. Regarding to this situation, Wilson (1999; cited in Carter, 2003: 18) argues, “The consequences of high neighborhood joblessness are even more devastating than those of high neighborhood poverty”. For Wilson (1999) the problems increase in the neighborhoods related to unemployment, such as family dissolutions, lack of social participation, welfare, and etc. On the other hand, high unemployment rates may results from the plant closing in a part of the city.

Spatial segregation based on racial and ethnic differences is the other fundamental subject of discussions regarding to inner neighborhoods in developed countries. For instance, especially at the south side of the Chicago, racial segregation is the dominant character of geographic distribution of the residents. More

significantly, as Carter (2003: 4) states the borders of some neighborhoods in south Chicago were originally determined by white resistance to black migration. In Australian cities, as Lee (2000; cited in Carter, 2003) stated, distribution of poverty is very uneven across social groups and poverty rates are higher in certain groups such as urban Aboriginal people, recent immigrants, visible minorities and people with disabilities, lone-parent families, unattached individuals, children and elderly women, in comparison with national average of urban dwellers. In short, poverty, unemployment and segregation in the inner city residential areas appear as common indicators of unevenness.

Since the capital moves through the built environment in order to gain more profit, certain areas where the capital does not choose to invest, remain poor in terms of capital investments. In this context, *disinvestment* is one of the major characteristics of declining inner neighborhoods. Carter (2003: 22) notes that disinvestment process is triggered when a community offers lower returns to investor. On the other hand, disinvestments may occur in the existing housing stocks of the neighborhood. In consequence of falling income and leaving wealthier families, prices and rents decline in a community in comparison to other areas. Namely these areas lose their attractiveness for any type investment. Property owners in that community, gradually become less interested in maintenance, and do not spend for the repair for their property. Therefore Carter (2003: 22) emphasizes that disinvestments is initially manifested in delayed home improvements and discretionary repairs. Carter (2003: 22) notes that in many urban areas, the principle matter of the disinvestment process is the 'market gap'. He explains this problem in the context of cost-benefit. Disinvestment occurs when the cost of renovation and property acquisition exceeds the market value of the renovated home. In these circumstances, private capital avoids to invest these areas.

The most visible indicator of inner city decline is the occurrence of *vacant and abandoned property* in the neighborhood. This problem is generally accepted as an indicator of decline rather than a cause. On the other hand, Cohen (2001; cited in Carter, 2003: 20) shows that vacant and abandoned properties also contribute to neighborhood decline and frustrate revitalization efforts as becoming eyesores, fire hazards, and sites for drug-related activity, vagrancy, and rodent infestation. Moreover, Burchell and Listokin (1981; cited in Carter, 2003) state that abandonment is both a symptom and a disease signaling poverty, selected migration, unemployment and the tax base loss. It is clear that, *deteriorating* houses, apartments, commercial and industrial buildings, and lots undermine the vitality of city neighborhoods. According to Glennerster and others (1999; cited in Carter, 2003: 21) "the more unattractive the housing and the area's facilities, the more segregated the population, the lower the social and human capital of the area, the less capable are the individuals and the area of attracting jobs". Regarding abandoned properties in US inner cities, Accordino and Johnson (2000; cited in Carter, 2003: 21) note that inner areas of 95 cities have the problem of vacant and abandoned property. According to their study, nearly half of the cities reported that 20% or less of the community is affected, and almost one-third of the cities reported that 21% to 40% of the total community is affected by the problem. Also, Northern British cities such as Newcastle, Glasgow, Leeds, Liverpool, and Manchester have faced to inner city disinvestments and abandonment of physical urban areas. According to Carley (1999; cited in Tom Carter, 2003) about one in seven of British homes are in poor conditions and they need to major repairs. In other word, Carley specifies that, in England, 4.8 per cent of the total dwelling stock is unfit, 2.5 percent lacks one or more of the basic amenities, and 12.9 percent is in poor repair. In total, nearly 15 percent of the stock is in poor condition.

The central business district expands physically due to the agglomeration, surrounding residential areas are affected from this development. *Land use pattern* of the residential areas surrounding the central business districts may transform from housing to commercial units, store or manufacture uses gradually with the pressure of widening business district. On the other hand, in developed countries, inner city areas are generally the sites of under-utilised commercial space. These commercial spaces are inexpensive to lease and therefore become a magnet for business serving the underprivileged. These types of commercial units illustrated by Carter (2003: 22) as pay day loan, cheque-cashing outlets, pawnshops, temporary labour centers, low priced saloons, sex shops, massage parlours and others.

Decline of *public education* is another important indicator of residential decline. Firstly, as Carter (2003) notes, low educational attainment is considered to be an important indicator of areas in decline. Furthermore, the school failure is often attributed to neighborhood effects. In other words, "several negative collective processes such as abandonment of parental responsibilities on the part of modern parents and the high rates of juvenile delinquency, criminality and street violence, explain why so many young people in these areas lose interest in education" (Carter, 2003: 25). School performance is a second important problem. Carter (2003) notes that schools with high numbers of poor students are more likely to rate lower in achievement tests in comparison to the average of the whole city schools. While families with resources move away in order to utilize middle-class public or private schools, concentration of poor students in schools of declining neighborhoods increases. According to Glennerster et al., (1999; cited in Carter, 2003: 25), such children's school performance is worse and so their later earnings are lower. Another character of the schools in

declining neighborhoods may be low quality in terms of educational, physical, infrastructural equipments. For example, lack of heating system, labs with no equipment, fiscal shortages, and so on. As suggested by Carter (2003) school populations may reflect the population of the neighborhood in which the schools are located. Therefore, educational equipments of a community, such as physical conditions of schools, quality of the personnel, and the success of the school, may give an important signs of this community situation whether decline or not.

Another important issue in declining inner city neighborhoods is that it may not utilize enough public *health services*. It is clear that there is a strong relationship between socioeconomic status and health. The reason of this problem can change according to the local characteristics. For example, some neighborhoods may have not a primary health units or services. On the other hand some neighborhoods have health clinic but not equipped by the required material or personnel. As Wasylenki (2001) states, poverty has been shown to be a cause of poor health and also limits access to both preventive and remedial health care. It is suggested by Kennedy et al., (1998; cited in Wasylenki, 2001) that in the United States there is a strong correlations between lower income and higher mortality, as being independent of ethnic origin. The health conditions of residents in inner neighborhoods have been discussed in terms of concentration certain disease such as violence, teenage pregnancy, drug abuse and HIV infection. Furthermore, some people live with chronic illnesses such as tuberculosis, asthma and diabetes. The distribution of health opportunities as well as the distribution of income is unequal in large cities.

As the common features of inner city residential decline; poverty, unemployment, declining public education and health, density rates of vacant and abandoned property, changing land uses, and disinvestments can be accepted as similar problems for Turkish cities. As a developing country, Turkey has experienced similar transformations in urban areas especially in metropolitan cities such as İstanbul, Ankara and İzmir. Şengül (2001) divides three period of the urbanization process in Turkey regarding the political and economic shifts after the republic. The first period is characterized as urbanization of government as a nation state between 1923-1950, the second period is characterized as urbanization of labour between 1950-1980, and finally the third period is characterized as urbanization of capital after 1980s. As the third period, the process of urbanization of capital in Turkey had begun particularly at 1980s. This continuing period has more striking patterns of uneven development in urban areas, because of the increasing hegemony of capital on urbanization process. It is certain that the capital had inevitably been one of the main diagnostic elements of initial urbanization process in Turkey. However, urban spaces have experienced radical changes with the increasing dominance of capital after 1980s. As Ataay (2001) states, Turkey had articulated world industry by exporting goods based on the intensive labour, and raw material; and increased the economic relations with capitalist countries by means of foreign investments especially at the beginning of the 1990s. At the same time, most of the investment was directed to urban areas and encouraged by the government especially in infrastructure, transportation, and housing sectors. Since most of these investments were awarded to private sector, urban investments had become the means of transferring source to the capital. Consequently, urban areas had become important places for large-scale capital, and increased the investments also in built environment in order to profit from urban rant. Especially at the beginning of 1990s, both domestic and foreign large-scale capital begun to occupy urban areas by the investments in hypermarkets and supermarkets, hotels, and holdings (Şengül, 2001). While these developments particularly in metropolitan cities, have directed urban development from the centers to the suburbs, central areas have begun to lose their attractiveness in contrast to the newly developed areas. In short, urban development patterns begun to transform from mono-centered to multi-centered form via developing new sub-centers, based on the uneven distribution of capital and investments through the built environment in Turkey.

The phenomenon of inner city decline is relatively new for Turkey as a developing country. However, it is more observable in the largest cities of Turkey, where capital accumulated mostly. One of the most important reasons of this development is the attractiveness of these cities for rural population originated from the east regions. Regional unevenness in terms of capital investment and public services had forced the populations in the east regions to move the largest cities where the capital and wider employment opportunities exist. As a result of this movement, population of largest cities have become more segregated especially based on the income structures.

In conclusion, there is not enough reference explaining the general features of it. Existing literature consisting the works by Işık (1999), Giritlioğlu et al. (1993), Ergun (1995), Sönmez, 2001, Güler (1990) may give several crucial points about this phenomenon in major cities of Turkey. Işık (1999) states that, instead of racial or ethnic determinants, income inequality is main determinant of the residential segregation in Turkish cities. Similarly, other studies mentioned above, argue that concentration of poverty is the main characteristic of declining areas instead of ethnic or racial segregation. On the other hand, these studies emphasize that unemployment and bad physical conditions are most striking general features of declining inner city residential areas in Turkish cities.

METHOD OF THE STUDY

In this study, the general measurement technique of decline is explained by the examples from the wide literature on urban deprivation measurement studies; then, the adaptation of the methodology to the case study is presented by determining the variables.

The phenomenon of inner city residential decline is examined in this study using the concept of deprivation as both a heuristic and analytic tool. The general principles of the “deprivation measurement” are adapted as the technique of the analysis.

Most of the studies (Wilson 1996; Broadway 1989; Broadway and Jesty, 1998; Langlois and Kitchen 2001; Carter, 2003; Bailey, et al. 2004) have used various forms of the urban deprivation measurement in order to examine inner city declining areas. However, the basic principle of these measurements is the usage of deprivation index that is constituted with respect to the local characteristics of the study area, or country. The general deprivation index comprise of two fundamental sections: *social deprivation and material deprivation*. *Social deprivation* includes the indicators such as employment, family activity, integration, participation in social institution, recreation, and education. On the other hand, *material deprivation* includes the indicators such as dietary, clothing, housing, home facilities, environment, location, and working conditions (Townsend, 1987; cited in Carter, 2003:32).

In Turkey, the data at district level is not gathered systematically and regularly except the number of inhabitants. For instance, the information about the income levels of the district, or age, gender, of the population living in the district is not documented. While the deprivation studies in the literature use these types information to rank the district from least deprived to most deprived; the application of this method is impossible for our country because of the data obtaining problems as mentioned above.

The field survey of this study that was hold in the period of May – June 2005, comprises field interviews and site exploration and observation. Face-to-face deep interviews and questionnaire forms provide the primary data regarding the problem. Sampling size was 5 %, thus, the field survey of the thesis includes 65 interviews. The field analysis bases on the site exploration and observation. This enabled us to draw and update the land use map and the quality of the building map. Furthermore, the information about the general physical and environmental conditions is obtained by photographing as well as the focus group conversations with some residents in the Tuzcu Districts. General information regarding to the Tuzcu District is obtained from the mukhtar of the district and Konak Municipality.

Measurement of Decline in Residential Areas: The Concept of Deprivation

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

With respect to this definition, Bailey (et. al 2004) highlights the two issues of deprivation concept. Firstly, deprivation is a relative concept and it is based on socially accepted norms or standards which will differ from one society to the next, and which will change over time. The threshold point for deprived people of groups rises or decreases according to the time and the standards of their community as a whole. Therefore, it may be claimed that deprivation relate to the uneven distribution of physical, economic and social conditions in an area.

The concept of deprivation is a multidimensional one, and people may be deprived in different ways. For example, some people may not have adequate diet; others may suffer from poor environment and social conditions in which they live. Therefore, the way of measurement of urban deprivation can vary according to the local area characteristics. This local area can be squatter settlement as well as inner city neighborhoods. Also deprivation measurement indicators can be used for the rural areas. It is important to note that deprivation measurement is commonly used in order to explore the problems of the declining inner cities or disadvantaged areas (Wilson 1996, Broadway 1989, Broadway and Jesty 1998, Ley and Smith 2000; cited in Langlois and Kitchen 2001).

As mentioned before, most of the deprivation measurement studies have generally developed by having been based on Townsend’s (1993, cited in Bailey et al, 2004) model of deprivation. Townsend’s framework of deprivation is shown in table 1. Townsend emphasises that deprivation and poverty is not same thing, despite the relations between them are too strong.

Table 1: Townsend's Framework – Poverty and Deprivation

Poverty as lack of financial resources (relative to needs) measured by low income	LEADING TO	Deprivation as lack of necessities, both material and social/relational
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(Source: Bailey et al, 2003:8)

According to the model, Townsend firstly distinguishes deprivation indicators as material and social deprivation as it is shown in the table below (1987 cited in Carter; 2003). Although he categorizes the deprivation form as material and social, he states that some people or groups can experience multiple deprivations as well. Namely, it is possible that some people or groups may have both material and social deprivation at the same time (Langlois, Kitchen 2001).

Table 2: Townsend's Indicators of Material and Social Deprivation

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

Source: Townsend, 1987; cited in Carter 2003:32)

Determination of the Variables

As the method of this study based on the Townsend's index of deprivation, the aim is to describe the deprivation structure of the Tuzcu district instead of ranking of all districts of the city. Therefore in order to obtain this type of information, the field survey, which provides the firsthand data, is inevitable. Before the field survey, it was important to determine the variables, which was necessary for the investigation of the problem, namely deprivation level of the district. Therefore, at the following pages, the variables, which provide the indicators for the problem, are explained, and then the techniques of the data collection are clarified.

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

Material deprivation includes the material apparatus, goods, services, resources, amenities, physical environment and locational characteristics of living place. Within the framework of Townsend's (1987) deprivation index, the domains of material deprivation are constituted for the research. In line with Townsend's index – including the material deprivation domains as dietary, clothing housing, home facilities, environmental and locational facilities, and work – the material deprivation variables are determined as shown in table 3. As being different from the Townsend's deprivation index, work domain is examined together with employment domain in order to understand this issue more comprehensively.

Table 3: The Measurement Variables of Material Deprivation

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

In general, social deprivation includes the roles, relationships, and socio-economic status of the individual. Therefore the variables should be determined to reflect these characteristics of the research population. Townsend's (1987) social deprivation includes the domains such as employment, health and social insurance, integration, participation in social institutions, recreational facilities, and education. So, the variables of this study are determined as in Table 4. Work domain indicating the problems of working environment in general is examined together with employment domain.

Table 4: The Measurement Variables of Social Deprivation

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

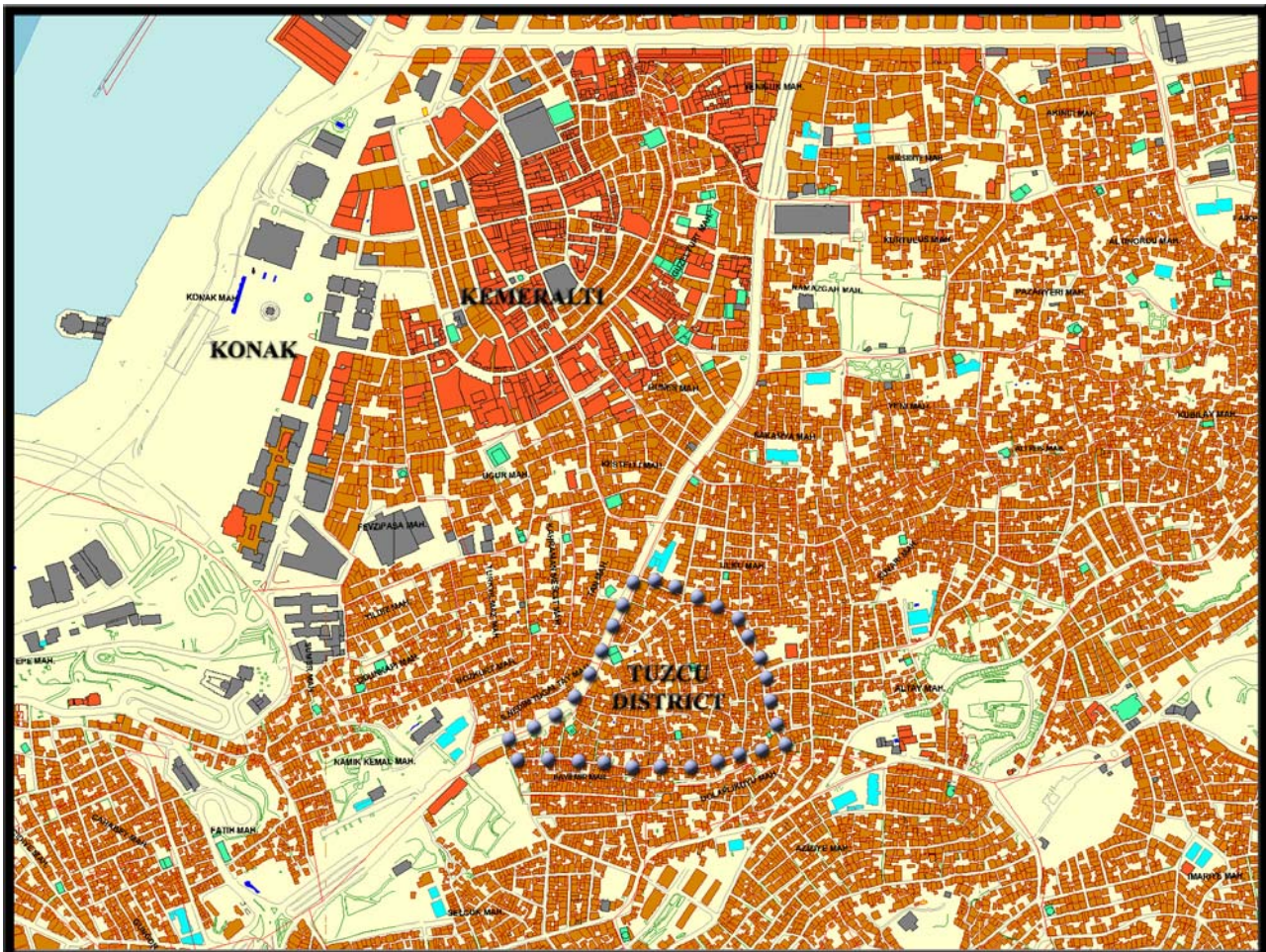
THE CASE: INNER CITY RESIDENTIAL DECLINE IN TUZCU DISTRICT, İZMİR

Izmir, as the third largest city of Turkey, has experienced rapid urbanization especially since the 1950s when the migration started from the rural areas. In parallel to general development pattern of Turkey, urban areas in İzmir has intensely and rapidly transformed as being subject to all manner of economic restructuring process and the uneven flows of capital through the built environment because of the increasing hegemony of capital on urbanization process particularly over the past two decade. Recent shifts include the emergence of new industrial and financial spaces, the large-scale construction of private apartments and gated communities for middle-upper income households, and large scale supermarkets and so on. With the effects of this newly development areas, İzmir has been experiencing urban decline especially at the old, residential, and central parts.

The Tuzcu District as being one of the oldest residential areas of İzmir, located at the east of the Kemeraltı Historical Center, has also experienced the urban decline phenomenon (See Map 1). Kemeraltı historical center and the surroundings called transition area are the central areas of İzmir. Especially in the 18th and 19th centuries, these areas were important in terms of the trade and production activities, and also of the residential functions for the wealthier groups. (Kıray, 1972; Sönmez, 2001).

Before the 1970s, the majority of the population living in this neighborhood consisted of wealthy and prestigious groups, who were employed in especially the prestigious jobs such as doctor, lawyer, and engineer. Therefore the quality of life and the average level of income was very high until the 1970 in comparison to the conditions of today. The main reason of the choosing this neighborhood is that it is one of the latest neighborhoods where the declining process has begun. According to the studies of Aydar and Kıray (1987, 1972 cited in Sönmez 2001), while the high and middle level income groups had lived until 1972, Tuzcu District had transformed as a place that concentrated poor groups employing marginal jobs in 1987. In other words, Tuzcu district had begun to transform especially at the beginning of 1970s.

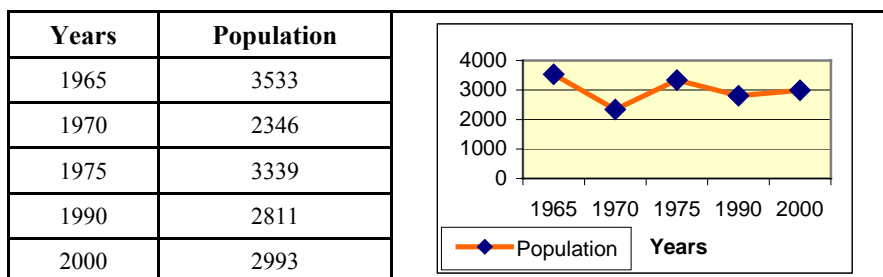
Map 1: Location of the Tuzcu District in İzmir



(Source: Prepared from the City Guide, Greater Municipality of İzmir, 2004)

The population of Tuzcu district shows a relatively stable structure, excluding 1970s as shown in table 5. This is the time when the wealthy groups had left the neighborhood. By the beginning of 1970s, the population began to increase again due to the new comers who cannot afford the living in other developing planned areas of the city. During the period of between the end of 1970s and 2000 the population is relatively stable. According to the information gained from mukhtar, there is 1330 household and the total population is nearly 4500 in 2005.

Table 5: The Population Development of Tuzcu District



Source: The Population Census, 2000, SIS

Tuzcu district became a declining place because of old dwellings and deteriorated other physical structure. Since the sloping land, building blocs present an organic pattern and the roads are very narrow (see map 2). As shown in table 6, 69.8 % of the buildings in Tuzcu District has been used for dwellings. Following the dwellings, 22.9 percent of the buildings have been used as annexes. Some of annexes serve as toilet, bathroom or kitchen, some serves as coalbin. There are also commercial buildings by 3.4 percentage. Some of the buildings located at the Ikiçeşmelik roadside have been used for commercial functions, which sell second hand or inexpensive furniture and durable consumption goods. In total, including the grocery stores in inner part of the district, there are 31 commercial building within the district. As shown in the land use map, there is not any open-large area as a park or children's playground.

Table 6: Land Use Distribution in Tuzcu District

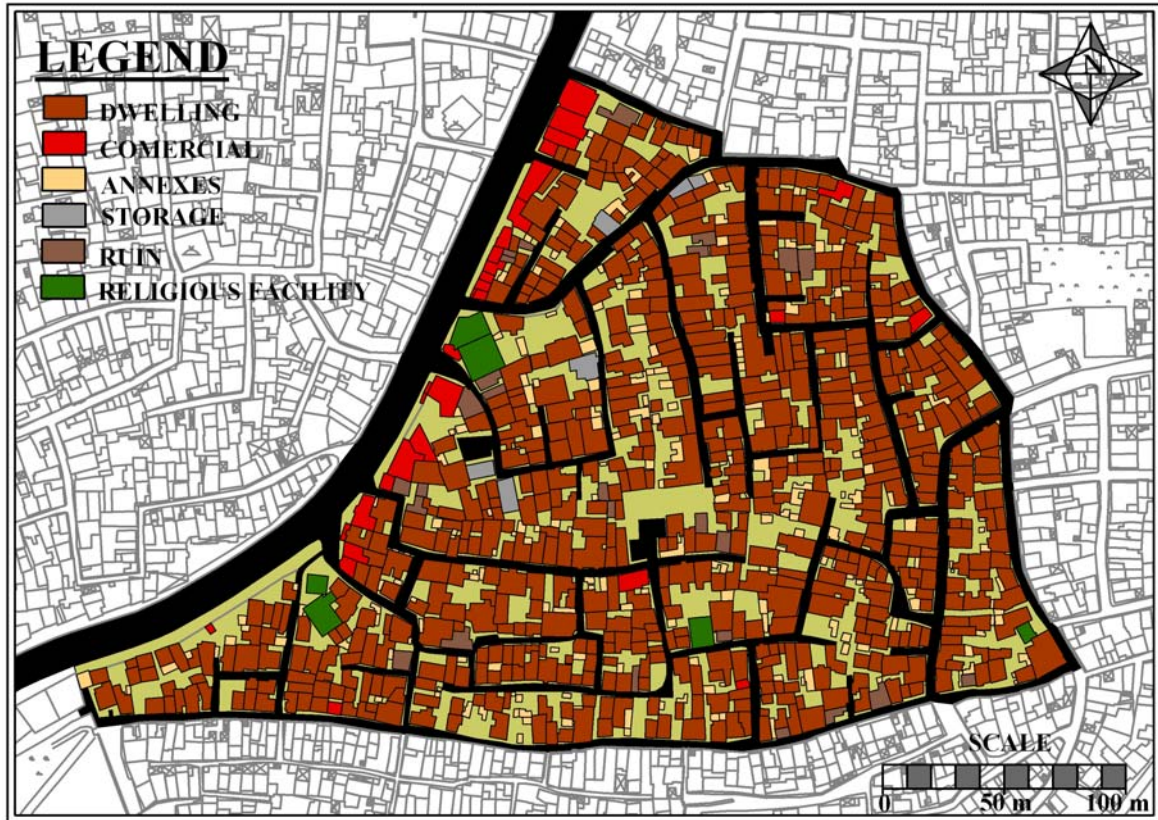
Type of Land Use	Frequency	Rates (%)
Dwelling	645	69,8
Commercial	31	3,4
Storage	6	0,6
Annex	212	22,9
Religious facility	4	0,4
Ruin	26	2,9
Total	924	100

On the other hand, the majority of the buildings is old and has 2 or 3 storeys (see table 9 and map 8). Half of the building within the district has 2 storeys, and only 0.7 % of them have 5 storeys. It is important to note that, the 4 or 5 storeyed buildings are unlawful, because the existing application plan allows for maximum 3 storeys.

Table 6: Building Height Distribution of Tuzcu District

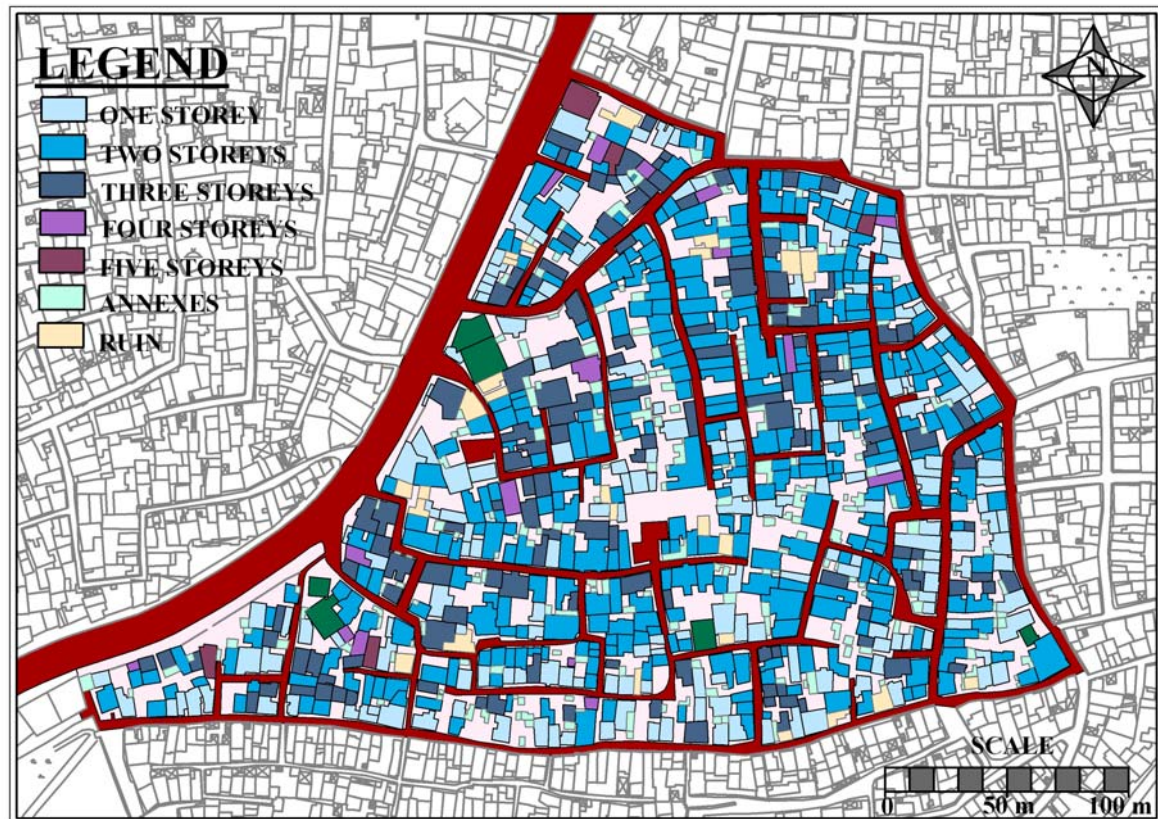
Building Height	Frequency	Rates (%)
1	184	27,0
2	343	50,3
3	134	19,6
4	16	2,3
5	5	0,7
Total	682	100

Map 2: The Land Use Distribution of Tuzcu District



Source: Field Study, June 2005

Map 3: The Building Height Distribution of Tuzcu District



Source: Field Study, June 2005

Photo 1: Some of the Illegal Buildings in the Area



There are also illegal buildings representing incongruous to the pattern of the district as shown in photo 1. These buildings generally have 4 or more storeys, and most of them were constituted by low quality building materials.

Some historical buildings in the neighborhood have been deserted, so most of them are on the verge of collapsing completely as shown in photo 2. Furthermore, these ruins have threat the health of the people and the children that have not a park or playing area.

Photo 2: Ruined Historical Buildings



On the other hand, there are historical buildings, which have been preserved and maintained in time as shown in photo 3. These buildings are valuable not only for the Tuzcu District, but also for whole İzmir due to their historical identity.

Photo 2: Historical Buildings



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

Photo 3: Views from the Narrow Roads of the Tuzcu District



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

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Since the main aim of the study is to identify the deprivation level of Tuzcu District, the results of the field survey are evaluated in the titles of major population characteristics and material-social deprivation measurement indicators. Some of the variables or indicators would not be directly related to the deprivation measurement of the area, however it would provide essential information about the inhabitants and their general social profile.

Demographic characteristics

The population characteristics of the area are examined for the whole research population that consist of 280 people of 65 households. Firstly, the place of birth is examined for the all-household members whereas hometown information is examined for the whole households. Therefore, the origins of families and origins of the individuals can be observed separately. Considering that the hometown distribution of the household, it is observed that 33.8 % of the families are from İzmir, 32.3 % are from Mardin, and the rest of them are from the other cities as shown in the table 7. As mentioned before, the district lost population until 1970s. During this period, house prices also decreased and the district became an accessible place for low-income families. After this population exchange, the population profile of the district changed. At the begging of the 1970s, the population of the district increased by the migration from cities out of İzmir (especially Mardin) widely. On the other hand, the native families of İzmir who can afford houses only in this region had moved to the area. Therefore, the population of the district consists of two main groups. The first group is migrating population from particularly Mardin, and the second group from İzmir. There is a common feature between these two groups, that is, the poverty.

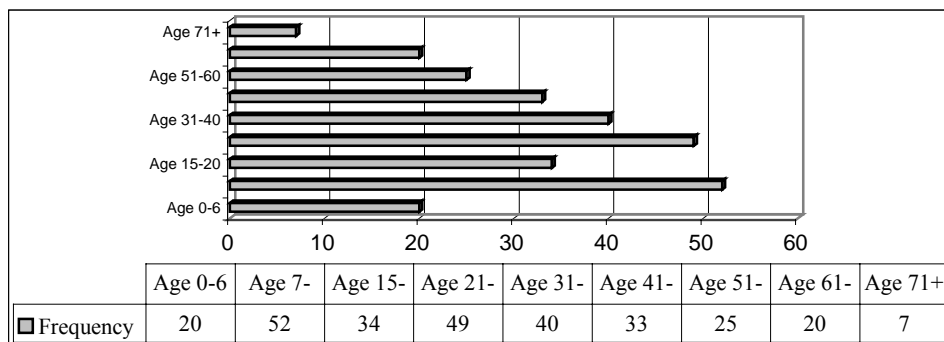
Table 7: The Distribution of The Research Population by Hometown and Place of Birth

Hometown	Frequency	Rate (%)	Place of	Frequency	Rate (%)
İzmir	22	33.8	İzmir	129	46.1
Mardin	21	32.3	Mardin	83	29.6
Bitlis	5	7.7	Bitlis	17	6.1
Erzurum	3	4.6	Erzurum	9	3.2
Aydın	2	3.1	Batman	6	2.1
Batman	2	3.1	İskenderun	5	1.8
Others	10	15.4	Urfa	5	1.8
			Adana	4	1.4
			Denizli	4	1.4
			Others	15	5.4
Total	65	100	Total	280	100

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

The age distribution of the research population is similar to the general age distribution of Turkey and İzmir. The 7.2% of the research population is within the range of age 0-6; 18.6% is within the range of age 7-14; 64.6% within the range of age 15-60; and finally 9, 6% within the range of age 60 and above. As shown in the following figure, most of the population belongs to the working and young age groups.

Figur 1: The Age Distribution of the Research Population



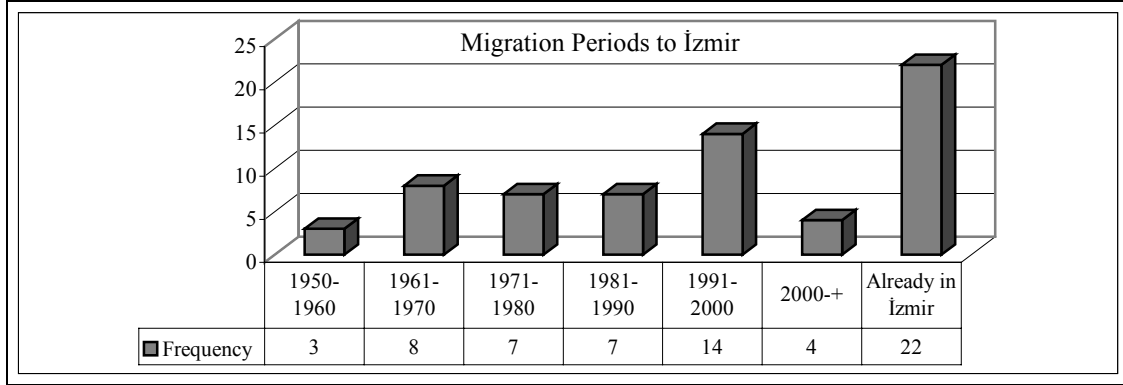
Average household size of the research area is 4.3, while 3.58 in İzmir (SIS, 2000). Measured household size in the research area indicates that there are widely nuclear families instead of extended families. As shown in table 8, 66.2 % of the households are nuclear families consisting of 1-4 members. Also, 32.3 % of the households are composed of 5-10 members. This means that these families may be partly nuclear families with many children or partly extended families. 1, 5% of the families are extended families including 11 and more members. Consequently, families in research population are young and nuclear families, commonly with one or two children.

Table 8: The Household Size and Structure

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

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

Figure 2: The Distribution of Migration Periods to İzmir



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

Table 9: The Reasons of Migrating to İzmir

Reasons of Migrating to İzmir	Frequency	Rates (%)
Unemployment and Economic Reasons	29	44,6
Relatives and Fellow Townsman Relations	7	10,8
Already in İzmir	22	33,8
Vendetta	1	1,5
Forced Migration	1	1,5
Other Reasons	5	7,7
Total	65	100

In this scope, in order to understand the general characteristics of the district, it is also important to analyze the years and the reasons of settling in Tuzcu. As mentioned earlier, the population of Tuzcu District had decreased until 1970s, after that, it began to increase until 1975 again. The survey results show parallel observations as this shown in table 10 above. At the same time, there is a gap between the general population change of the district and our research findings about after the year of 1975. This gives a very critical sign regarding to the declining process of the district. During the period of 1975-2000 whole population progress of the district shows a decreasing structure, while the findings of the research indicates that movement to the district has been increasing gradually at that time. In this period the declining process of the district have

accelerated and become in more serious level. Because of this, at those years there are more families leaving the district than the new comers.

Table 10: The Periods of Settling in Tuzcu District

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

On the other hand, after 1970s, while the built environment of the district got blighted and the declining process has accelerated, property values have been decreasing naturally. Already in this period, the previous and wealthier residents of the district had left their places. Therefore, the district became more attractive for lower income groups. As shown in the table 11, the most striking finding about the reason of settling in Tuzcu District is on economic basis. The 52.3 percent of the research population has settled in Tuzcu District due to the affordability reason.

Table 11: The Reasons of Settling in Tuzcu District

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

Material Deprivation

Since the material deprivation includes the lack of material apparatus, goods, services, resources, amenities, physical environment and locational characteristics of living place, the domains are constituted regarding to these in the light of Townsend's deprivation index. Therefore the variables classified according to the domains as *dietary, clothing, housing, home facilities and environmental and locational facilities*.

In the light of the findings of the research, grocery expenditure concentrates in the intervals between 0-60 YTL generally. Within this distribution as shown in the table 12, the highest proportions are 0-20 YTL and 41-60 YTL by 29.2 %. When this distribution is calculated as monthly expenditures (approximately between 0-240 YTL), it can be thought that the most of the households within the population assign the most parts of their income to dietary. Moreover, if this expenditure is considered, they just able to get insufficient nutrition instead of healthy ones. This situation can be taken as a kind of deprivation of *dietary*.

Table 12: The Distribution of Average Weekly Grocery Expenditures of Households

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

On the other hand, the level of the consumption of meat, fish and chicken, which are the basic nutrients are examined in details. The findings show that only the 15, 4 percent of the families can consume these basic foods. According to this finding, 84, 6 percent of families are deprived in terms of these basic nutrients that include protein. While grocery expenditure is an important indicator, debt on the expenditure is very helpful to understand the level of deprivation in this term. In other words, debt on grocery expenditure shows the difficulty to access the basic foods. The usage of any debt on grocery expenditures is common in high proportions, whereas 55.4 % of the families cannot afford the required expenditures easily. This result supports the *dietary* deprivation findings as shown in table 14.

Table 13-14: The Distribution of Adequate Consumption of Meat-Fish-Chicken and The Debt Usage on Grocery Expenditure

Adequate Consumption of Meat-Fish-Chicken	Frequency	Rates (%)	Debt Usage on Grocery Expenditure	Frequency	Rates (%)
Yes	10	15,4	Yes	32	49,2
No	27	41,5	No	29	44,6
Rarely	28	43,1	With Credit Card	4	6,2
Total	65	100	Total	65	100

As another indicator of material deprivation, *clothing* is examined by the any assistance for clothing of children especially in the school age, because school uniform is an obligation and an indispensable need as clothing type. Therefore, acquiring type of school clothing of children is determined as the indicator within the clothing domain. While the majority of the research families do not get any support for clothing their children by the rate of 55.4 %, 15.4 percent of them express that they got aid for clothing from their neighbors. Yet, during the interviews with families who prefer to buy first hand clothing for their children, it is seen that they buy these clothes where they can find them in cheapest prices such as bazaar or Kemeraltı. Besides, they prefer to buy first hand clothing for their children because at least they do not wish to cause their children to feel in deprivation.

Table 15: The Distribution of Any Support for Clothing Children

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

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

However the indicator of homeownership is a sign of wealth generally, for this area, this indicator contains different meanings. Property values are very low in the district and this provides an opportunity of settling for the low-income families. This point can be evaluated as an indicator for decline of the area generally. On the other hand, according to families interviewed, shelter as a basic need of humanity is the most essential factor for guaranteeing to survive. Therefore, 72.3 % of the households in the research population have their own homes. In another point of view, the district is attractive for the low-income families who would like to have at least their own homes whatever the physical condition of it is. Expectedly, 85.1 percent of the households within the research population have not second home. As mentioned before, for these families, as the shelter is the basic need they get difficultly their homes in which they live. So they have almost no chance to have a second home for the property value of it.

Table 16-17: The Number of Homeownerships-Tenants and The Number of Second Homeownerships

Homeownership	Frequency	Rates (%)	Second Homeownership	Frequency	Rates (%)
Landlord	47	72,3	At the Tuzcu District	3	6,4
Tenant	18	27,7	At the same building	2	4,3
			At the other part of İzmir	2	4,3
			Has no second homeownership	40	85,1
Total	65	100	Total	47	100

According to the findings of the research, housing rent prices are concentrated in the intervals between 50-150 YTL in general. In this distribution, interval of 76-100 YTL has a high proportion with 27.8%. Being parallel to property values, rent prices is quite low in the district. These prices are attractive to low-income families, too. While rent prices and property values have a supportive role in reproducing the deprivation, in another point of view these prices are not really low in terms of incomes of the residents.

The age of the building is an important variable while explaining the decline of an area. Therefore, during the study it is tried to derive information about the ages of the buildings in the content of the research. As mentioned before, the buildings located at the district are commonly old. According to the findings of the research, the ages of the buildings are concentrated within the interval of 20-60 years. The highest proportion here belongs to the “unknown” category. There are two reasons to explain this situation. Firstly, the buildings are so much old that the residents do not know their ages. The other reason is that building changed too many hands through the time. In the following rank, there is an interval of 41-60 ages (13.9 %). Considering that the average economic life of a building is about 30 years, it can be said that the majority of the buildings have just completed their economic lives. This also indicates another important dimension of the declining process of the district.

Table 18-19: The Distribution of Housing Rent Prices and The Distribution of Building Ages

Housing Rent Price (YTL)	Frequency	Rates (%)	Age of the Building	Frequency	Rates (%)
50-75	4	22,2	0-20	3	4,6
76-100	5	27,8	21-40	8	12,3
101-125	3	16,7	41-60	9	13,9
126-150	4	22,2	61+	5	7,7
151-200	1	5,6	Unknown	40	61,5
201-250	1	5,6			
Total	18	100	Total	65	100

The buildings in the research area of the district have a standard profile regarding to the number of rooms they contain. 47.7 % of examined buildings have three rooms. On the other hand, regarding the floor spaces of the buildings of the whole district, there are not enough spaces to live comfortably in these buildings in spite of the number of room they contain. Average floor space of the total 645 dwellings is 50 m² (table 20). 70 % of the dwellings are in the interval of 25-75 square meters. Moreover, the dwellings, which are generally one-storey buildings, have the size larger than 75m². Smallness of the houses is also one of the most expressed problems in the study area.

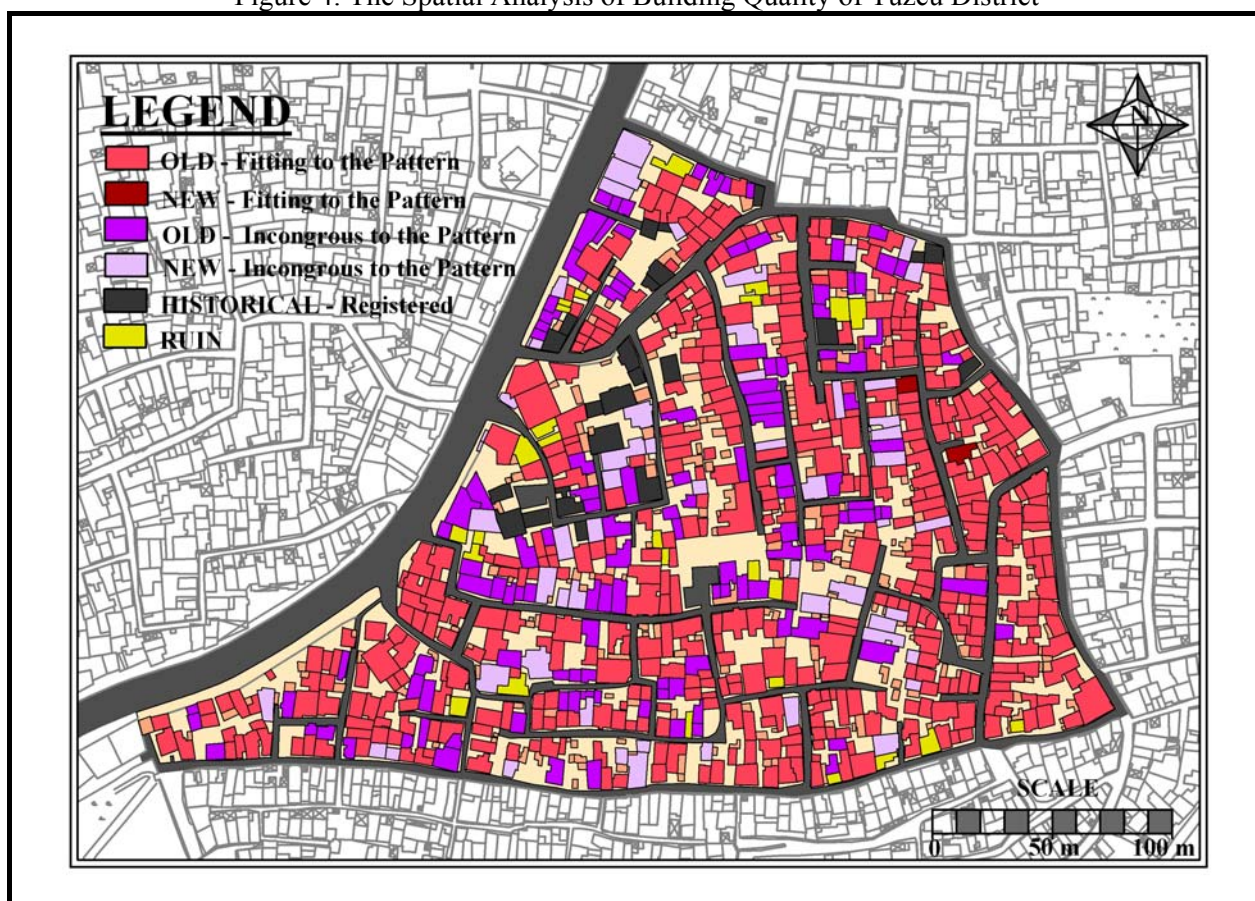
Table 20: The Distribution of Floor Space Sizes of Buildings

Floor Space Sizes of Buildings	Frequency	Rates (%)
Smaller than 25 m ²	75	11.6
Between 25-50 m ²	302	46.8
Between 50-75 m ²	178	27.6
Between 75 -100 m ²	53	8.3
Between 100-125 m ²	22	3.4
Larger than 125 m ²	15	2.3
Total	645	100

One of the most important characteristics of the district that differentiated from other parts of the İzmir is the deteriorated physical environment. Due to the historical background, the district contains historically registered buildings and has too many old buildings. Regarding to this characteristic of the district, it is beneficial to examine the data, which is obtained from both Konak Municipality and the field survey including whole buildings of the district as presented map 4. According to the map 4, there are 483 buildings, which are old and fitting to the pattern, 125 buildings which are old but incongruous to the pattern, 57 buildings which are new and incongruous to the pattern, 25 buildings which are historical and registered building, and finally 2 buildings which are new and fitting to the pattern. Considering the general physical conditions of the buildings, it can be said that the residents of the district are deprived in terms of healthy buildings. Since the old age of the buildings, most of the household within the research population complained the physical conditions of their home. According to the findings of the research, 55.4 percent of the households responded that their buildings have bad physical conditions generally.

In more details, the physical problems of the dwellings are examined within the research area by interviewing the residents. Their responds concentrates mostly on the problem of humidity of the buildings. This is very important since the unhealthy conditions of the buildings may affect the health of the residents negatively. Nearly all buildings located at the district are in need of repairs, although the 70.8 percent of the residents said they had already repaired their home. Since the entirely repairs efforts require high prices, they could do just small-scale works such as roof restoration, painting, and plastering. They repair the parts of the buildings requiring urgent ameliorations, so that they could reduce the disadvantages of deterioration.

Figure 4: The Spatial Analysis of Building Quality of Tuzcu District



Source: Field Study, June 2005; Konak Municipality of İzmir, 2005

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

Table 21: The Existence of Bathroom-Kitchen-Toilet in the Houses

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

Regarding the most serious problem of their building, 43 percent of the habitants stated that the building is too old, 15.4 percent stated that the building is too small, and 20 percent of them complained about the oldness and the smallness of the buildings. Totally, 79.5 of the households do not satisfy from the size and physical conditions of their buildings.

Table 22: The Main Problem of the Houses

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

As another important indicators of the deprivation regarding the home facilities, ownership of white goods and the general quality of the furniture are examined within the research household in details.

According to the findings, almost all households have basic consumption goods such as television and refrigerator. But this finding should not be understood as the indicator of wealth or welfare. In spite of their poverty, they do not relinquish from using these goods. It indicates that, while the ownership of TV and refrigerator is an indicator for deprivation or poverty in the past, today this cannot be use for measurement of deprivation or poverty. Instead of these two goods, the ownership of dishwasher and computer are conspicuous as shown in the table 23 below.

Table 23: The Distribution of Durable Consumption Good Ownerships by Types

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

On the other hand, 40 percent of the households acquired these good as second hand since their embarrassment. This finding also explains the wide ownership of the durable consumption goods within the population. When the quality of the furniture is examined, similar finding arises again. 76.9 percent of the families depicted the condition of their furniture as average and bad. This finding gives clues regarding to the living conditions of the houses.

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

According to the responds of the research population, the most serious problems of the district emerge as shown in the table 24 below. By the highest percentage, 20 % of the household complains the deterioration and their neglected situations as the serious problem in the district. It is observed during the interviews that they feel themselves as disregarded by the authorities of the city. Commonly, they complain the lack of concern about their problems regarding infrastructure, deterioration and etc. Besides deterioration, environmental problems such as noise and garbage are examined. According to the findings, 30.8 percent of the population complains about the insufficient garbage collection. This results from the difficulty to enter into the dustcart through the narrow roads, and the stairs in some parts. In addition, these physical barriers hinder the entrance of vehicle when an emergency such as fire or health problems occurs.

Table 24: The Main Problem of the District

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

On the other hand, 64.6 percent of the research population complains the noise within the district. The problem of noise, which they bothered especially, results from the children playing in the street due to the lack of playing areas. As mentioned before, physical environment is both deteriorated and dense. Therefore, there is not any open space for resting and recreation. In parallel to this, 93.8 percent of the research population complains about the lack of parks, or green spaces within the district.

In addition, there is not any playground for the children living in the district. As mentioned above, the children have to play at the street. 87.7 percent of the research population complains the lack of playground. When another urban service, the quality of lighting the street in the district is examined, 78.5 percent of the population is satisfied with this service.

On the other hand, 55.4 percent of the research population emphasizes the lack of car park. In fact, this is not because of the wide car ownership, 93.8 percent of them has not a car, but the problem occurs due to the narrow roads, again. It should be noted that, 46 percent of the research population do not desire to move

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

Table 25: The Opinions of the Tuzcu Residents on Adequacy of Local Facilities

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

On the other hand, a higher percentage, 53.8 percent of the households desire to move from the district in order to live in better conditions. However, all of them are hopeless in this regard, at least in a short term, because of the economic conditions again. They have no chance to choose their living conditions or places while the wealthy have. Therefore, segregation of poor and wealthy increases due to the difference in their movement ability, and the deprivation is reproduced at the district.

Social Deprivation

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

As Townsend (1987:130; cited in Bailey et al. 2003:8) suggests, “*poverty as lack of financial resources relative to needs measured by low income leads to deprivation as lack of necessities both material and social*”. So, employment and work domain that seeks to measure the deprivation resulting from the both occupational status, income levels and the general satisfaction on employment is very critical for the whole deprivation measurement. Therefore, it is important to begin with the occupational status of the research population to grasp their social deprivation levels.

The occupational status of the research population is examined in three main sections both for men and women, economically inactive, economically active, and unemployed population. Economically inactive population includes the 0-14 age groups who are at the period of preschool and primary school, students above 15 age, and finally the age groups above the 61 who have no retired. It is striking that 35.7 percent of the whole research population is at the economically inactive status. On the other hand, 83 percent of the economically inactive groups consist of preschool, primary school or students above 15 age. It means majority of the population within this group economically inactive due to the fact that they are either student or in preschool age.

Economically active section includes the working, both men and women groups, and the retired ones who have regular incomes. This group constitutes 25.7 percent of the whole research population. The dependency ratio is 3.88, in other words, each working individual have to support 3.88 individual. Another striking point is the ratio of working women. According to the findings, women count only 7.9 percent of the economically active population. The reason of this low ratio can be explained by the fact that most of the

families have traditional character. And women are either married housewives or unmarried, but they do think to not work.

Within the unemployed population group, besides the unemployed men, women group is divided as housewife, not working and unemployed. Unemployed group forms 38.6 percent of whole sampling. As mentioned above, participation of women to working life is very low. 71.3 percent of unemployed population is women including housewife, not working, and unemployed. When the ratio of 22.0 percent, which constitutes unemployed male group within the whole males of the research population, is considered, every one of 4.6 men has been looking for job.

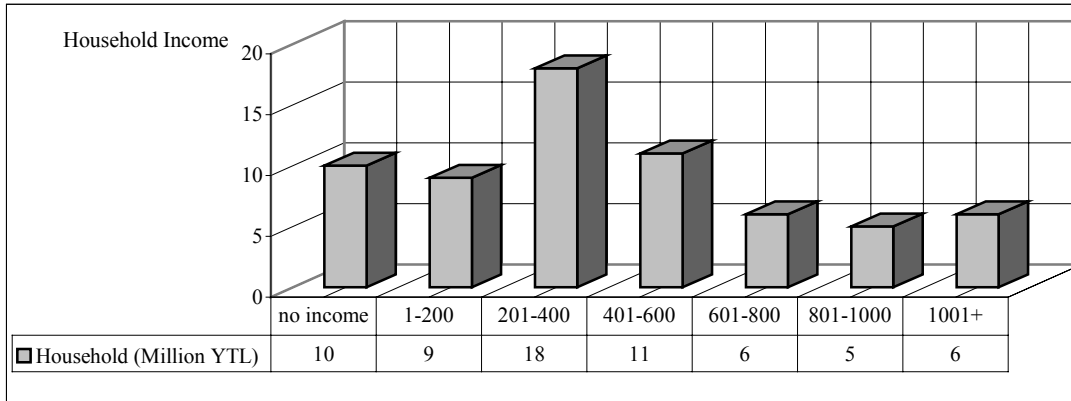
Employment statuses of men and women present different structures. The women, who are in minority in labour market, work especially as skilled worker, and several of them prefer to work in family ownership such as operation of a grocery. On the other hand, the majority of the working men work as skilled and unskilled workers. And the percentage of officers (3.3%) is very low within the working men groups.

Table 26: Occupational Status of the Research Population

Occupational Status	Number of Person	Rates (%)	Rates of Gender (%)
Economically Inactive Population			
Male			
0-14 Age Group	36	73,5	
15+ Age Group – Student	9	18,4	
61+ Age Group (has no retirement)	4	8,2	
Total	49	100	34,8
Female			
0-14 Age Group	36	70,6	
15+ Age Group – Student	2	3,9	
61+ Age Group (has no retirement)	13	25,5	
Total	51	100	36,7
Grand Total	100	35,7	
Economically Active Population			
Male			
Skilled Worker	28	45,9	
Unskilled Worker	10	16,4	
Officer	2	3,3	
Tradesman	5	8,2	
Small Manufacturer	2	3,3	
Peddler	2	3,3	
Retired	12	19,7	
Total	61	100	43,2
Female			
Skilled Worker	6	54,5	
Worker in Family Ownership	2	18,2	
Dressmaker	1	9,1	
Retired	2	18,2	
Total	11	100	7,9
Grand Total	72	25,7	
Unemployed Population			
Male			
Unemployed	31	100	
Total	31	100	22,0
Female			
House Wife	49	63,6	
Not Working	26	33,8	
Unemployed	2	2,6	
Total	77	100	55,4
Grand Total	108	38,6	100/100
Overall Total	280	100	

Regarding total household income the most striking finding is the percentage of the household with no income (15.4 %). During the interviews with the households within this group, it is stated that they could survive with the support of their neighbors, and sometimes of relatives. As shown in figure 3, the frequency is concentrated in the 201-400 interval (27.7 %). On the other hand, in some families, monthly household income is measured as 1000 YTL and above because of more than one working individual within the family.

Figure 3: The Distribution of Household Income



When the work place of economically active population is considered, the majority of them have been working in Kemeraltı and surrounding quarters. In other words, 63.4 percent of working individuals works in Kemeraltı, Tuzcu District, Çankaya, Basmane, and nearby surroundings. This finding indicates that they prefer to live close to working place, of course, where they could afford.

The main reason of the wish to live in the areas being close to their working places can be explained with the fact that they do not want to pay extra prices to transportation. The 71.7 percent of the working group arrives their working place by foot. Satisfaction on job is another indicator for employment deprivation domain. According to the findings of research, 65 percent of the working group within the population is not satisfied with their job. It is important that, the reasons of dissatisfaction are the low wages, and lack of social insurance.

Table 27: The Distribution of Place of Works in Tuzcu District

Place of Work	Frequency	Rates (%)
Kemeraltı	16	26,7
Tuzcu	6	10
Çankaya	6	10
Bornova	6	10
Nearby Surrounding	6	10
Basmane	4	6,7
Alsancak	3	5
Out of İzmir	3	5
Others	5	6,7
Changeable	6	10
Total	60	100

Integration domain seeks to examine the extent to which people experience deprivation regarding to the relations with their social environment. The relevant aspects of this issue might be relations with neighbors, relatives, and grouping. According to the findings of the research, neighborhood relations are quite good by 93,8 percentage. Although it is seen as irrelevant to deprivation, the high ratio of good relationships may be an indirect indicator. In other words, since they have similar problems, that are deprivation or poverty, solidarity being developed among neighbors may facilitate to overcome their deprivation to a certain extent.

On the other hand, 61.5 percent of the population states that there is no relative within the district. It means, they endeavor to survive without any support of their relatives. Besides, within the population, the rate of nuclear family is 66.2 % as mentioned before. Therefore, it can be said that the relationship with the relatives is not so strong within this district.

Another point regarding the integration, general social problems of the district are examined among the population. According to the findings, 63.1 percent of the population states that there is not any social

problem within the district. On the other hand the rest of the population complains about the problems between neighbors that result from their children. The findings and deep interviews indicate that there is not any serious grouping or tension based on ethnic or politic factors excepting the complaint of the old natives of the district regarding to the new migrant residents in the district.

The participation to social institutions is another important indicator for social deprivation. This domain seeks to examine institutional participation of the residents using the variables as ‘membership of any institution or political party’, and ‘to vote in the last election’. While the membership of any institution or political party is represented by a very low level, participation to the general election is very high. Interestingly, that the rate of the participation to the last election is 86.2 percent. It indicates that individuals have felt themselves within the system instead of being disintegrated. The effort of participating to the election shows that they already have expectations from the government and from their futures.

Table 28: The Distribution of Residents According to the Membership of Any Institution or Political Party – Voting in the Last Election

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

Recreational domain seeks to determine the activity level of the residents within the city, using the variable as ‘activity at weekend or evenings’ and ‘places to visit within the city’. Findings show that 84.6 percent of the research population spend their time at home at the weekends and evenings. Besides 9.2 percent of them visits their neighbors, and 6.3 percent of them visits their relatives. On the other hand, 52.3 percent of the research population does not go to any places within the city; 36.9 percent of them could visit nearby surroundings as Kemeraltı and Konak; finally 10.8 percent of them rarely visit their relatives in different parts of the city. As expectedly, most of the population is not mobile within the city because of their economic limitations. This is an important indicator for deprivation of the population in terms of recreational mobility.

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

While the 49.2 percent of the research population have not any health problem, the rest of them suffer at least one of the diseases as listed the table 29 below. 13.9 percent of the households suffer from the general disease such as stomach, internal disease, and unidentified illnesses. On the other hand, 12.3 percent of the persons suffer from the heart and tension problems. Most of the people within this group stated that they could not get the required medicine permanently they use because of the lack of social insurance, or at least green card.

Table 29: The Distribution of Health Problems in Households

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

Considering the distribution of the ownership of social or health insurance, it is conspicuous that the 50.8 percent of the research population have not any type of insurance. This is a very clear indicator for the health deprivation of the population. Regarding that the interviews have been done with the parents

commonly, this situation becomes more serious when the whole household is taken into account; as shown in table 30 below, the ratio increases from 50.8 percent to 61.4 percent.

It is clear that, the district has not a health clinic as well as the other types of facilities. Although the mukhtar have attempted to health clinic to be established within the district, he could not make the authorities to accept this request. Whereas the health clinic, which is responsible from the health services of the district's population, is located at the Namazgah District. Therefore, most of the population complains about the distance of the health clinic to their houses. So 75.4 % of the population states that they could not make use of the health clinic.

Table 30: The Distribution of Social Insurance of Household Heads and Members

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

Besides health clinic, the level of utilization of the general health services of the research population is examined. As similar to the findings about the need for health clinic, 76.9 % of the population feel themselves deprived of the health services.

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

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

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

The second group, which includes 15-20 ages, presents different structure compared to the first group. In this group, illiterate female ratio (35,7) is striking while this ratio is 10% within the male group. This difference indicates that there was a negative tendency regarding the female children's attendance to school in the past. As to the education level of third group, the rate of illiterate females, who are within the interval of 21-71+ age female group, is very striking; it is 39.3 %. In addition, the ratio of female children graduated from primary school is 38.2 %. Totally, the ratio of females who are illiterate and graduated from primary school within whole females arises to 77.5 percent. Finally, according to the general evaluation of the population, literacy rate is measured as 70 percent; the rate of high school as 7 percent; and that of university 2 percent. As it is seen, while the level of education increases, the rate of attendance to education of the population decreases. One of the fundamental reasons of this situation can be explained by the economic inabilities. The individuals especially above 15 age male group is seen as economically active person, so they may prefer to work instead of attending to high school or university.

Table 30: The Education Status of Research Population by Age Groups

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

Finally, during the field research, the satisfaction of the parents from school conditions is investigated. Since there is not a school within the district, the children are dispersed five different schools at the nearby surrounding. According to the findings, 46 percent of the families, which have children attending school, are satisfied with the school, while 12.3 percent are not. Similarly, 46.2 percent of the households state that there is not any problem at the school such as fighting or troubles generally.

CONCLUSIONS

The phenomenon of urban decline is relatively new for Turkey and other developing countries as compared to the developed ones. This is the main reason of the limited studies examining this issue in Turkey. On the other hand, developed countries have been discussing the phenomenon of urban decline since the first outcomes of industrialization appeared. Industrial capitalism had transformed both social and spatial structures of cities seriously. One of the most striking examples of this transformation is the spatial, social and economic polarization of wealthy and poor. Capitalism, by its nature, is the reason of a development of some spatial units, while, at the same time, it would be the reason of underdevelopment of others. Regarding the process of urbanization in Turkish metropolitan cities, the patterns of uneven development have become more evident as well. In particular, İzmir shows the signs of unevenness in urban areas as growing parts along the main road axes on the one hand, and declining parts located at the center, on the other.

Tuzcu District, as one of the residential districts that located at the central parts, was analyzed in this study in view of demonstrating this dual structure in İzmir, at least on the part of declining areas. In order to analyze the declining structure of the district, "deprivation measurement" is used. The general deprivation index comprises of two fundamental sections: *social deprivation and material deprivation*. *Social deprivation* includes the indicators such as employment, family activity, integration, participation in social institution, recreation, and education. On the other hand, *material deprivation* includes the indicators such as dietary, clothing, housing, home facilities, environment, location, and working conditions. Therefore, the variables, which were defined according to these material and social indicators, were searched within the district; and, in turn, the results were classified within this framework. Finally, the results of the analysis are evaluated by several key points, which are defined as the common features of inner city declining areas in developed countries. So, it can be understood that which features of declining areas in Turkey are similar to the developed countries, and which are different in the case of Tuzcu District. The common features of declining areas in developed countries are defined as follows: *Poverty- unemployment- segregation, Decline of physical environment, Disinvestments and economic decline, Changing land uses, Decline of public education, Decline of public health*. Depending on the analysis of the deprivation level of the district,

most of these features are found at the Tuzcu District. Before explaining these points, the general characteristics of the district and its residents could be summarized as follows: The district lost population until 1970s. This change is resulted from the movement of native population from the district to the other developing parts of İzmir. Then, its population had begun to increase again. The population profile of the district began to change at the beginning of 1970s. Today, majority of the population (66,2 %) consists of immigrants, which are especially from the east regions of the Turkey. 84,6 % of these immigrants had settled in Tuzcu after the 1970. On the other hand, there are already residents (33,8 %) from İzmir who have the same economic conditions with the immigrant residents of the district. Considering the common features of declining areas in developed countries, and taking them as evaluation criteria for Tuzcu District, they arise as follows:

Poverty and unemployment arise as having similar features: 15,4 % of the households have no income and the majority have income within the interval of 201-400 YTL. On the other hand, unemployment is so striking in the district that every 1 male of 4,6 males are looking for a job. Dependency rate is 3,88; it means that each working individual have to support 3,88 individuals.

However *segregation* is not so acceptable feature within the district, it can be said that the district is segregated from the other developed parts of the İzmir. Segregation in Tuzcu District, as being different from the developed countries, is fundamentally defined by class or income structure, rather than ethnic or regional origins.

Decline of physical environment has become a common and apparent feature in Tuzcu District, and it can be seen clearly. Due to its historical background, the district contains historically registered buildings and has too many old buildings. Almost all buildings located at the district are in need of repairment. Since the residents are economically deprived, they repair urgently required parts of the buildings in order to reduce the disadvantages of deterioration.

Disinvestments and economic decline are other common features. Tuzcu District is one of the historical areas of İzmir. Besides the old physical structure, the district is deprived of both infrastructure and superstructure since the lack of care. The district is a neglected place by the local municipalities. There is no private or public investment. Also, most of the old residents left the district because of the old physical conditions. Therefore the land values and property values are very low as compared to the developed parts of İzmir. According to the findings of the field research, 52,3 % of the population had settled the district because they could afford the prices of the properties for buying or renting.

In contrast to the common features of declining areas in developed countries, the feature of *changing land use* is not valid for Tuzcu District. The land use pattern is already dominated by housing use. Tuzcu District is different from the other parts of the transition area of İzmir. The land use patterns of surrounding districts changed through the time; and today, they are dominantly used for commercial or storage purposes, instead of housing. Furthermore, there are buildings that are derelict or vacant. As compared to these areas, decline can be most clearly observed in Tuzcu District, because of its housing-dominated structure.

Decline of public education, which is another common feature of declining areas in developed countries, is also considered in Tuzcu District. It is found that the individuals within the 7-14 age group are attending to primary school completely. The literacy rate is 70 %; that of high school is 7 %; that of university 2 %. Therefore, it can be said that, educational level is very low in the district especially among above 15 age group. One of the fundamental reasons of this situation can be explained by the economic situations of the households. As the individuals being especially above 15 age among the men are taken as economically active, they may prefer to work instead of attending to high school or university.

Poor health is an important measure of deprivation, because illness reduces the people's quality of life. Therefore *decline of public health* is analyzed within the population. The findings show that 50,8 % of the population have not any type of health or social insurance. This is a very clear indicator for the health deprivation in the district. In addition to this, 76,9 % of the population feel themselves deprived of sufficient health services.

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

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