

URBAN REGENERATION IN CONTEXT OF TWO DIFFERENT PLANNING APPROACHES: A CASE STUDY OF SULUKULE (ISTANBUL, TURKEY) AND HAIDHAUSEN (MUNICH, GERMANY)

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Keywords: Urban regeneration, urban planning, implementation of plans, Sulukule, Haidhausen

SUMMARY

Urban planning and its multidimensional approach combine different aspects and methods for changes and development. As in many cities worldwide, Istanbul and Munich are facing drastic population increases. Recently, the high density of population is leading to a high housing demand despite the insufficient structural conditions and limited capacity of the buildings. This situation is causing side effects such as insufficient infrastructure facilities and lack of a healthy and sustainable environment. Urban regeneration is an alternative implementation to satisfy these necessities and demands. The two cities, Istanbul and Munich are having varying approaches on urban regeneration due to the historical development and legal frameworks to tackle similar challenges regarding their regional and international importance.

Sulukule neighbourhood is located in Istanbul, Turkey and the area is also in the borders of the Historical Peninsula which has a place on the UNESCO World Heritage List. Sulukule was announced as the 'Renewal Area' considering the area's dilapidated building structures, deficient infrastructure facilities and unhealthy living conditions in 2006. The aim of the project was to provide the integration of the new renewal project in Sulukule with the existing pattern of the Historical Peninsula. Although the project was initially an urban renewal project, it is rather known as an urban regeneration implementation sample in the country. On the other hand, Haidhausen in Munich, Germany, has been having an urban regeneration process with a different approach since the 1970s. Haidhausen was struggling with the lack of infrastructural facilities and structurally weak building conditions that revealed the city's urban regeneration necessities.

This paper focuses on making comparisons of the legal, physical, economic and social dimensions of both of the urban regeneration projects and creating comparative maps to visualize before and after conditions of the case study areas. The comparative nature of the study also gives insight into cross-learning benefits under methodical, legal, technical and cultural aspects in each city. Moreover, the use of map comparisons in combination with cross-learning results are used to explore possible and beneficial solutions for other areas confronted with similar problems and challenges worldwide.

Urban Regeneration in Context of Two Different Planning Approaches: A Case Study of Sulukule (Istanbul, Turkey) and Haidhausen (Munich, Germany) (9440)
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1. INTRODUCTION

City planning has always been a challenging and multidimensional issue which often comes along with different urban problems. In order to tackle these problems, urban regeneration implementations are considered as one fundamental solution, especially in the recent years (Duzcu, 2006). Oxford Dictionaries (2018) describe urban regeneration as “*The process of improving derelict or dilapidated districts of a city, typically through redevelopment*”. According to Roberts & Sykes (2000), the urban regeneration process starts with economic, social and environmental analyses which contain various parameters and consider the implementation areas’ spatial characteristics.

However, the urban regeneration implementation methods can be varied from one to another planning systems and cultural approaches. In order to understand how the urban regeneration implementations are conducted in different systems, two different case study areas are examined in this paper. The case study areas of this research are determined as the Sulukule urban regeneration project (Istanbul, Turkey) and the Haidhausen urban regeneration project (Munich, Germany), which share many similar features such as aiming to enhance the physical conditions and improve the existing infrastructures in the neighbourhoods.

In this paper, performing a comparative study on urban regeneration projects using the two case study areas and getting cross-learning benefits are chosen to be main methodologies. In the research, the case study areas are analysed in terms of legal, physical, economic and social dimensions. Comparisons between the two case study areas are made considering the areas’ before and after urban regeneration projects. Finally, the lessons which the case study areas can learn from each other are explored regarding their urban regeneration implementation experiences. Literature reviews and expert interviews are used as the main data collection methods in the study.

2. THE CASE STUDY AREAS

In order to get a comprehensive view on the two selected areas, both of the study cases (Sulukule, Turkey and Haidhausen, Germany), will be introduced in the following chapter.

2.1 The Sulukule (Istanbul, Turkey) Case Study Area

Sulukule is located in the Fatih district, Istanbul, Turkey and the area consists of Neslisah and Hatice Sultan neighbourhoods (Fatih Municipality, n. d.). Sulukule is also placed within the borders of the Historical Peninsula which has a place on the UNESCO World Heritage List

(Bal, 2015).



Figure 1: Sulukule location in Fatih district, Istanbul.

The first settlements in Sulukule were established in the 10th century with the migration of Romanis into the Sulukule region. Later, migrant Romanis were quartered in Sulukule in order to vitalize the ‘fun life’, considering their outstanding talents in music during the Ottoman period (History of Sulukule, 2008). Since the 17th century, Romani people took an active role in the entertainment life with their music and dancing activities which were carried on until the demolition of the area (Ucan Cubukcu, 2011).

Before the urban regeneration project, the Sulukule neighbourhood was defined as a ‘dilapidated’ area by the Fatih municipality considering its structurally weak building conditions and insufficient infrastructural facilities. The Sulukule urban regeneration project was started in 2006 and the implementation area included 12 blocks, 378 plots, 3 main streets, 10 alleys and 645 registered households. Moreover, 42 civil architecture structures and 15 registered monuments were placed in the area before the urban regeneration project (Fatih Municipality, n. d.). The area was also known with its poor inhabitants, high unemployment rates and the low rent values compared to rest of the city (Sulukule Platform, 2007).

2.2 The Haidhausen (Munich, Germany) Case Study Area

Haidhausen is a district that is located on the east side of the River Isar in Munich, Germany. The area was described as a small village in 808 and until 1854, the area was known as a craftsmen’s and day labours’ residential place. Later, Haidhausen became a socially weak area and mostly preferred by students and low-income level families until the 1970s (Fishhaber, 2011).



Figure 2: Haidhausen location in Munich, Germany (URL - 1).

Before the urban regeneration project, unhealthy living conditions, poor ventilation and insufficient building conditions, lack of green areas and traffic problems were considered as the most common problems in the Haidhausen neighbourhood (Fishhaber, 2011). Regarding these problems and lack of open spaces, school parks, recreational areas and parking spaces, the Haidhausen urban regeneration project was decided to be conducted by the city municipality in the beginning of the 1970s. The total project consisted of 21 buildings blocks in the area (Münchner Gesellschaft für Stadterneuerung, 2010).

3. ANALYSES and COMPARISONS

The comparative analyses are carried out for the case study areas in terms of legal, physical, economic and social dimensions in order to show the changes before and after the urban regeneration projects.

3.1 Legal Framework Analyses

3.1.1 Legal Framework Analysis of the Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project

In the analysis of the Turkish legal framework in relation to urban regeneration, it is seen that the regulations are mostly based on solving the squatter (*gecekondu*) problems of Turkey. As a beginning, the *Gecekondu* Law Numbered 775 was prepared to regulate the rehabilitation of slums in 1966 (Uzun & Colak, 2007). This process was carried on by several regulations until the Law of Transformation of Areas under the Disaster Risks Numbered 6306 in 2012. The act, which is also known as the Urban Regeneration Law, defines the principles and procedures which are related to rehabilitation of *gecekondu*s / slums and it is also known as the most extensive urban regeneration regulation in Turkey (Candas, Flacke, & Yomralioglu, 2016). The regulations on the urban regeneration implementations in the country are shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Legal background of urban regeneration in Turkey (Candas, Flacke, & Yomralioglu, 2016).

Date	Number	Name of Law	Authority
1966	775	Gecekondu Law	Municipality, TOKI
1984	2985	Mass Housing Law	TOKI
2004	5104	North Ankara Entrance Urban Regeneration Project Law	Ankara Metropolitan Municipality
2005	5393	Municipality Law	Municipality, Metropolitan Municipality
2005	5366	The Law on the Protection of Deteriorated Historic and Cultural Heritage through Renewal and Re-use	Municipality, Ministry of Urbanization and Cultural Heritage Preservation Board
2012	6306	The Law of Transformation of Areas under the Disaster Risks	Ministry of Urbanization

In 2006, the Sulukule urban regeneration project was started according to the Law on the Protection of Deteriorated Historic and Cultural Heritage through Renewal and Re-use Numbered 5366 and the project has become one of the most extensive application of this regulation in Turkey (Sulukule Platform, 2007). The Law was based on the ‘protection’ of the historical areas regarding the public benefit. Nevertheless, the Sulukule urban regeneration project has been argued in the court several times with the claim of not providing ‘public benefit’ and ‘protection of the historical area’.

3.1.2 Legal Framework Analysis of the Haidhausen Urban Regeneration Project

The legal framework of the Haidhausen urban regeneration project is based on the section 136 Urban Regeneration Measures (SSM) and the regulation of Integrated Urban Development Concept (ISEK) which are part of the Building Code (BauGB). In the code, these regulations legislate how the urban regeneration implementations are conducted (Table 2).

Table 2: Legal basis of urban regeneration project in Germany.

Building Code [Baugesetzbuch (BauGB)]	Regulations
	Section 136 Urban Regeneration Measures [Städtebauliche Sanierungsmaßnahmen (SSM)]
	Integrated Urban Development Concept [Integriertes Städtebauliches Entwicklungskonzept (ISEK)]

According to these regulations, the legal phase of the Haidhausen urban regeneration project was started in 1964. However, due to the protests, the urban regeneration project was suspended, and based on the surveys that gauged the needs of inhabitants, the regulations were rearranged and the urban regeneration project could be completed in 2009 (EUKN, 2010).

3.1.3 Comparisons of the Legal Frameworks Analyses

As an outcome of the legal framework analyses, the regulative basis of the urban regeneration projects in Turkey is found often varying from one to another implementation which disrupts the integrity of the legal framework of the urban regeneration projects. Moreover, the main legal principles on the urban regeneration projects could be broken by the implementations, as it was seen in the Sulukule case.

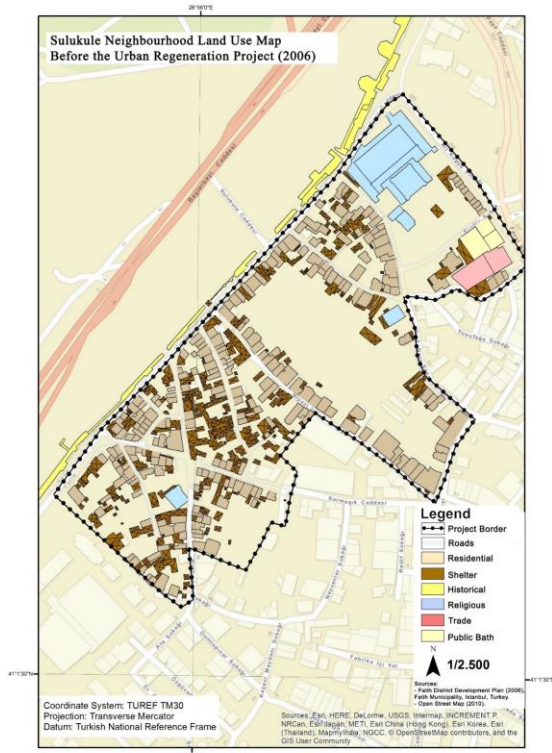
On the other hand, even though the legal background of the Haidhausen urban regeneration project was started in 1964, there were several regulation changes considering the conflicts and protests against the urban regeneration project, which showed the flexible structure of the regulations in the Haidhausen case.

Based on the legal analyses, the Turkish regulative system was found to be more complicated and less integrated with respect to urban regeneration implementations compared to the German regulative system. Moreover, the sanction power of the courts over the urban regeneration implementation was observed to be weaker in Turkey in comparison to Germany.

3.2 **Physical Analyses**

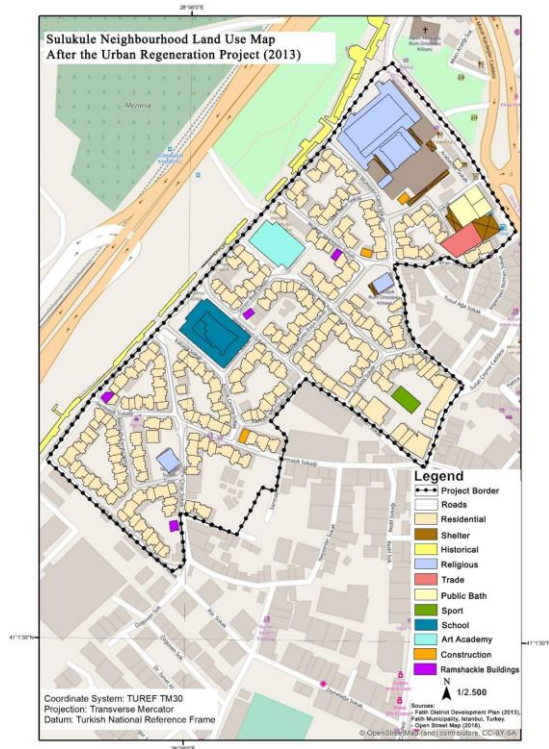
3.2.1 Physical Analysis of the Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project

In this research, land use changes of Sulukule neighbourhood are analysed by using the official development plans (dated 2006 and 2013) in order to show the changes on the land use, building forms, blocks and pattern due to the urban regeneration project. The maps are prepared with the help of GIS ArcMap and different land uses in the area are visualised. The 2006 land use map of the Sulukule neighbourhood is seen in Map 1.



Map 1: Sulukule land use map before the urban regeneration project

The same process is conducted for the 2013 development plan of the Sulukule neighbourhood in order to show the area's land use, form of the buildings, blocks and pattern changes after the urban regeneration implementation. The 2013 land use map of the Sulukule neighbourhood is shown in Map 2 below.

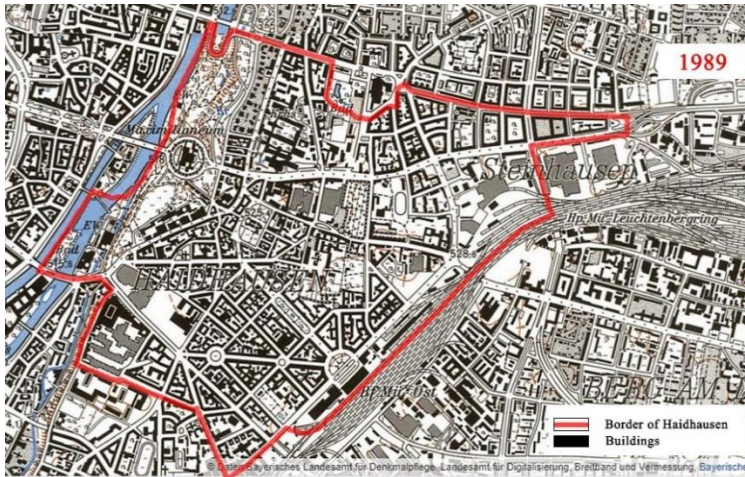


Map 2: Sulukule land use map after the urban regeneration project

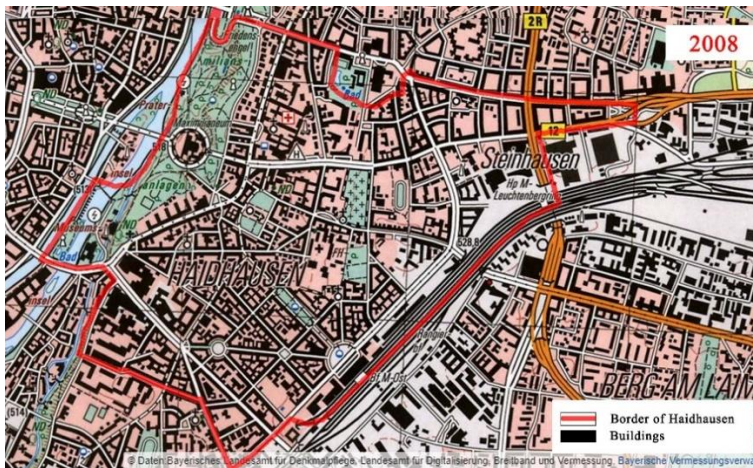
As it is seen in the maps, even though the neighbourhood had a historical organic pattern before the urban regeneration implementation, the area has been demolished and changed into a completely different area with the new building block system and buildings.

3.2.2 Physical Analysis of the Haidhausen Urban Regeneration Project

Physical condition analysis of the Haidhausen neighbourhood is performed in order to show the changes on the forms of building blocks and physical improvements after the urban regeneration project. The area's base maps dated 1989 and 2008 are shown in Map 3 and Map 4 to demonstrate the physical structure of the Haidhausen neighbourhood before and after the urban regeneration implementation.



Map 3: Haidhausen map in 1989 (URL - 2).



Map 4: Haidhausen map in 2008 (URL – 2).

As it can be seen in Map 3 and Map 4, the Haidhausen neighbourhood was slightly changed after the urban regeneration project and especially the road connections were mostly preserved. However, there were some changes in the form of the building blocks.

Within the scope of the urban regeneration project, many reconstruction, renovation, modernization and construction implementations were conducted for the apartments and trade buildings of Haidhausen in order to provide a better environment for the inhabitants mostly by enhancing the existing structures rather than constructing new ones. Besides, open spaces, community areas and green areas were created for the neighbourhood. The number of the

implementations considering apartments and trade areas are shown in Table 3 for the different implementation types (Münchner Gesellschaft für Stadterneuerung, 2010).

Table 3: Number of different implementations in the Haidhausen regeneration project (Münchner Gesellschaft für Stadterneuerung, 2010).

Land use	Reconstruction Renovation	/	Modernization	Construction
Apartments	701		464	-
Trade buildings	51		-	104

As it is shown in Table 3, the implementations in the Haidhausen urban regeneration project were conducted as more of a reconstruction, renovation and modernization of the area.

3.2.3 Comparisons of the Physical Analyses

The physical analysis of the Sulukule urban regeneration project shows that although the neighbourhood had an old historical pattern, most of the existing buildings were demolished according to the urban regeneration project and new buildings were constructed. After the urban regeneration project, the area was transformed into a completely different area with newly constructed buildings and block structures. Even though the urban regeneration project provided a better environment for the Sulukule neighbourhood, the unique historical pattern of the neighbourhood was irreversibly destroyed during the urban regeneration implementation.

On contrary to the Sulukule case, the urban regeneration project of Haidhausen was basically aimed at enhancing the building conditions by using reconstruction, renovation and modernization techniques instead of demolishing the existing buildings and creating a new physical environment for the neighbourhood. At the end of the project, a better living space was provided for the inhabitants by preserving the previous pattern of the Haidhausen neighbourhood.

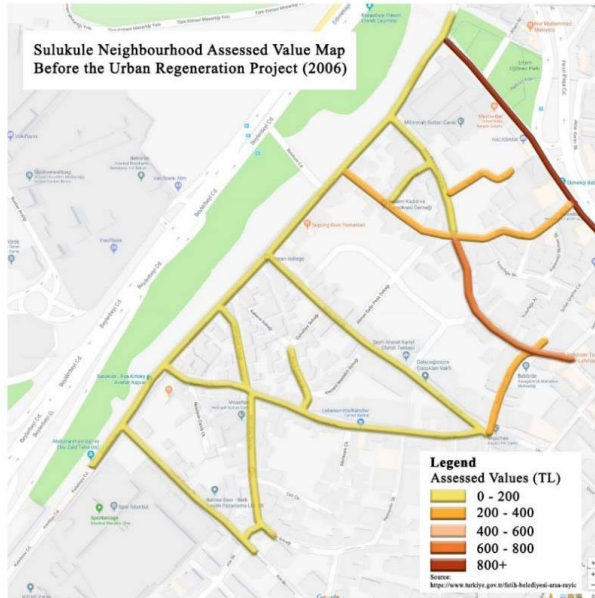
3.3 Economic Analyses

3.3.1 Economic Analysis of the Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project

Despite being in the central location of Istanbul, the most developed city in Turkey, the Sulukule neighbourhood was known as an economically weak area before the urban regeneration project (Albeniz, 2008). Since the 1990s, the Sulukule inhabitants have had limited job opportunities especially after their entertainment activities were restricted under the suspicion of being illegal (Sulukule Platform, 2007). However, the neighbourhood is currently considered as a mid- and high-class family residential area after the urban regeneration project

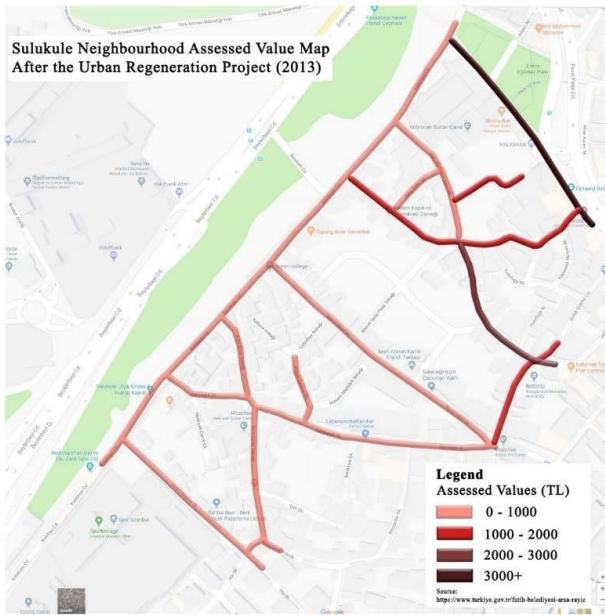
(Ozen, 2018).

In order to make more detailed evaluations on the economic conditions of the Sulukule neighbourhood, the changes of the assessed values which showed the market values for each street in Sulukule neighbourhood were examined. The 2006 and 2013 assessed values for each street of Sulukule are shown in Turkish Lira (TL) in Map 5 and Map 6 below (URL - 3).



Map 5: Sulukule neighbourhood assessed value map for 2006

For the purpose of showing assessed values in 2013 after the Sulukule urban regeneration project, following map is presented. As it is seen in Map 6, the assessed values increased in all the streets of the Sulukule neighbourhood considerably.



Map 6: Sulukule neighbourhood assessed value map for 2013

According to the maps presented above, it is seen that even though the assessed values increased, per-street assessed value distribution in 2013 remained parallel to the 2006 assessed values. In order to make a better comparison between the neighbourhood and the Fatih district, the 2006 average assessed values were calculated for the whole (56) neighbourhoods of the Fatih district. However, it was only possible to calculate the values for 32 neighbourhoods for the 2013 assessed average values because of the limited accessibility of the data during the research.

The assessed value changes in the Sulukule neighbourhood and the Fatih district are shown in Table 4.

Table 4: 2006 and 2013 Assessed Values in Sulukule and the Fatih District (URL - 3).

Year	2006	2013	Increase (%)
Sulukule Neighbourhood Average Assessed Values (TL / m²)	293.07	1442.45	392
Fatih District Average Assessed Values (TL / m²)	661	3040	359

In the analysis, it was found that the Sulukule neighbourhood's and the Fatih district's assessed value

increases were parallel even though an important urban regeneration project was implemented in Sulukule.

On the other hand, the investment activities of the Sulukule urban regeneration project was also analysed and it was seen that the regeneration project did not include an extensive economic investment strategy for the neighbourhood, even though there were serious economic problems such as high unemployment rates and weak income levels before the project.

3.3.2 Economic Analysis of the Haidhausen Urban Regeneration Project

Before the urban regeneration project, small shops, manufacturing areas and brewery companies were seen as the main trade areas in the Haidhausen neighbourhood. During the project, keeping these small trade areas and shops were aimed as an economic strategy by the municipality in order to preserve the local identity of the area (Münchner Gesellschaft für Stadterneuerung, 2010).

Economic changes in the Haidhausen neighbourhood after the urban regeneration project regarding the rental value, unemployment rate and income level can be seen in Table 5.

Table 5: Economic conditions in Haidhausen before and after the urban regeneration project

Criteria	Before the urban regeneration project		After the urban regeneration project	
	Year	Data	Year	Data
Rental value	in the 1970s	2,5 € / m ² (Korsche, 2017)	2017	Haidhausen: 22,36 € / m ² Munich: 20,87 € / m ² (URL - 4)
Unemployment rate	2005	Haidhausen: 5.7% Munich: 6.5% (Landeshauptstadt München Sozialreferat, 2016)	2016	Haidhausen: 2.8% Munich: 3.3% (Landeshauptstadt München Sozialreferat, 2016)
Income level	until 1970s	Low-income level people (Pekelsma, 2010)	2011	Haidhausen: 1700 € / month Munich: 1600 € / month (Costanzo, 2011)

As it can be seen in Table 5, the criteria show that the urban regeneration project improved the economic situation of the area considerably. Currently the Haidhausen neighbourhood is accepted as one of the wealthiest districts in Munich (Costanzo, 2011).

Moreover, the preservation of the small-scale businesses and non-disturbing manufacturing areas were the main economic strategy in the economic concept of the Haidhausen urban regeneration project, and the small shops, local markets, handcraft and brewery locations were mostly renewed and modernized (Münchner Gesellschaft für Stadterneuerung, 2010).

3.3.3 Comparisons of the Economic Analyses

The results of the economic analyses show that the Sulukule urban regeneration project did not include a comprehensive economic strategy in order to develop the economic situation of the neighbourhood and the urban regeneration project was basically considered as a ‘construction’ implementation by the authorities while the Haidhausen urban regeneration project had several economic strategies such as preserving the local economic activities and renewing non-disturbing manufacturing areas by modernization and renovation implementations. Moreover, the economic dimension of the Sulukule urban regeneration project was perceived to be very limited considering the Haidhausen urban regeneration project encouraged public and private investment strategies that actually boosted the economic improvement of the area during the urban regeneration project.

3.4 Social Analyses

3.4.1 Social Analysis of the Sulukule Urban Regeneration Project

Even though the Sulukule urban regeneration project was started with the claim of ‘creating the most social project in the world’, most of the inhabitants had to move out from Sulukule to Tasoluk and Kayabasi social housing areas because of not being able to pay the value differences between their previous and the newly constructed households.

The area’s Romani identity, the neighbourhood’s insecure and dilapidated character were seen as the important factors that took place in the determination of the Sulukule neighbourhood as the urban regeneration project area (Sulukule Platform, 2007). This situation is considered as the ‘social purification and clearance’ of the Sulukule neighbourhood which also brought gentrification accusations to the project (Tait, 2008). However, the current situation of the area is described as an ‘upper and mid-income level family neighbourhood’ rather than an upscaled place (Ozen, 2018). After the project, the historical pattern and the culture of the Sulukule neighbourhood has completely been changed as it is seen in Figure 3.



Figure 3: Street views from the Sulukule neighbourhood before (URL - 5) and after the urban regeneration project (Source: Author).

3.4.2 Social Analysis of the Haidhausen Urban Regeneration Project

During the Haidhausen urban regeneration project, the protests became a determinative factor on the social dimension of the project. After the conflicts, the MGS (Munich Society for City Renewal) was founded in order to have a more participatory and successful project with the cooperation of the inhabitants. Followingly, the MGS has joined the urban regeneration process as one of the main participants and the concept of the project was reformed into a ‘social planning’ project. (Münchner Gesellschaft für Stadterneuerung, 2010).



Figure 4: Protests of overpriced rents in 1981 (URL - 6) and the meetings with the locals for the Haidhausen urban regeneration project (Münchner Gesellschaft für Stadterneuerung, 2010).

Nevertheless, most of the low-income level inhabitants of the Haidhausen neighbourhood had to move out because of the significant increase in living costs after the urban regeneration project. Here, it is seen that even though the municipality tried to create a more participatory 'social planning' process, the neighbourhood was transformed into a privileged area at the end of the urban regeneration project which actually caused the gentrification of the neighbourhood.

3.4.3 Comparisons of the Social Analyses

According to social analyses it was seen that the Sulukule neighbourhood is currently considered as a middle and upper class residential area rather than a highly upscaled place, in contrary to crucial accusations such as the gentrification of the neighbourhood from the beginning of the project. Nevertheless, it is clear that the neighbourhood lost its historical heritage, social relationships, entertainment culture and Romani inhabitants during the urban regeneration project implementation.

On the other hand, the local people in Haidhausen also had to move out considering the highly increased living costs. The current inhabitants of the area are mostly upper-class people on the contrary to the area's previous unprivileged social structure. This situation is comprehended as the gentrification of the Haidhausen neighbourhood.

Moreover, the social analyses show that the participation processes of the urban regeneration projects in the case study areas were conducted by different approaches. While in the Sulukule case, the authorities continued with the implementation of the project without providing a comprehensive participation, in the Haidhausen case the protests were ended up with the foundation of the MGS (Munich Society for City Renewal) in order to conduct a more participatory and successful planning process. On the other hand, the social structure changes of the inhabitants were also seen in both case study areas. However, the Sulukule neighbourhood was transformed into a mid and upper-class family residential area while the Haidhausen neighbourhood became an attractive upscaled place. Briefly, it is seen that the gentrification in Haidhausen is more predominant compared to the Sulukule neighbourhood after the urban regeneration implementation.

4. CONCLUSION and SUGGESTIONS

In this paper, different approaches on the urban regeneration projects of the Sulukule and Haidhausen case study areas were investigated. The comparative study was held considering legal, physical, economic and social dimensions of the areas.

As a result of this research, firstly the duration of the implementation processes was found to be considerably different. While the major part of the Sulukule project was completed in 3 years, the implementation of the Haidhausen project continued for approximately 30 years. Therefore, the urban regeneration projects' scopes, implementation methods, quality differences and financial and technical possibilities were taken into consideration during the evaluations and comparisons of the case study areas.

According to the analyses and comparisons, the lessons that the Sulukule and Haidhausen case study areas can learn from each other were explored considering their urban regeneration experiences and processes.

In terms of legal aspects, the Turkish legislative system on the urban regeneration projects could learn from the German urban regeneration regulations to be more consistent, flexible and long term oriented.

Moreover, Turkish authorities could take the Haidhausen urban regeneration project as an important example in order to understand how an urban regeneration project could be conducted while preserving the existing structures and the pattern in the implementation areas.

In the research, it was also seen that creating investments is a key factor for the sustainable economic success of the urban regeneration implementations. Considering the lack of economic policies in the Sulukule urban regeneration project, the Haidhausen urban regeneration project could be used as a good example for the Sulukule case. Nevertheless, creating an upscaled neighbourhood was not found as a positive economic result of the Haidhausen urban regeneration project. Regarding this issue, both of the countries should follow a balanced economic strategy in addition to the investment policies in context of the urban regeneration projects. Furthermore, gentrification of the areas was seen as the common negative effect of the urban regeneration projects. Therefore, 'social planning' approaches are needed to be improved for both of the areas.

During the research, the current land values on the case study areas could not be reached due to the limited data. However, these values can be accessed or calculated in future studies and value maps of the areas could be created in order to demonstrate the economic effects of the urban regeneration projects.

Additionally, in order to show the areas' before and after urban regeneration physical conditions, each of the buildings and building blocks could be photographed and these photographs can be used for creating the previous (archive) photographs of the areas with their

land information and planning decisions for future studies. Afterwards, this data could also be used for creating a visual database with the help of GIS.

Lastly, the scope of the research can be extended with a detailed field work and a large number of interviews, photographs and questionnaires. Moreover, the concept of the study can be applied for the other projects in order to understand different approaches to the urban regeneration implementations better and mutually benefit from different experiences.

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