

SPATIAL IMPACTS OF NEW HOUSING TRENDS IN THE PERIPHERY OF THE ISTANBUL METROPOLITAN AREA

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Abstract

Since 1980 globalization has had a significant effect on socio-economic and spatial changes in Istanbul as the largest city of Turkey, following the trends in other cities of the world. In this transformation process in which the city center was dislocated and the land rapidly opened for new demands, the construction sector flowed to business spaces like office blocks, department stores, and five-star hotels; construction companies that prospered ventured to major housing projects in the urban periphery. Therefore, high-income groups left the city center due to the low quality of life in inner-city areas caused by the drawbacks of rapid urbanization such as congested residential areas, lack of open and green sites, traffic and parking problems, increasing crime rates. These high-income group housing areas, which have brought a new phenomenon of “gated communities”, mostly developed towards the north where the natural resources, e.g. forests and water basins, of the Istanbul Metropolitan Area are located and became a new issue while squatter settlements are still a concern. Unfortunately, they are planned as individual projects with their own security systems and modern comfortable components; they have developed without integration to the metropolitan master plan.

The aim of the paper is to examine locational preferences and planning processes of high-income group housing projects and ascertain the results on the transformation of the urban periphery. The role of the central and local governments on this process are examined. Furthermore, this paper attempts to make a contribution to the literature on gated communities by taking account of their spatial effects. The main findings of the paper put forward that existing high-income group housing projects became attraction points for new projects and affected land use and transportation patterns, while becoming new threats for the natural resources of metropolitan periphery.

Key words: *High-income group housing areas, gated communities, urban periphery, spatial impacts, Istanbul Metropolitan Area*

1. Introduction

The effects of globalization on urban areas, the increasing prominence of the finance sector, the drawbacks and growing difficulties of living in overpopulated and enlarging city centers triggered the process of high income groups to take leave of city centers and form isolated peripheries with planned areas of secure, homogeneous and high-income group housing. Affected by the rapid developments in transportation and communications, the process has brought about discussions in various cities of the world.

While upper and middle income groups leave cities in search of bigger houses situated on larger areas, more modern and green environment along with security and better services, real estate developers direct the rush of the mentioned classes, for they find it more profitable and easier to invest in suburbs vis-à-vis city centers.

The term “gated communities” in the world literature describes the rush from city centers due to increasing crime and violence into peripheries to seek more secure housing areas. At the turn of the century secure and gated communities in the US were built mainly to protect family estates and wealthy citizens. In the 1980s real estate speculation accelerated the building around golf courses of gated communities designed for prestige and leisure (Low, 2000). According to Altman and Low (1992), people choose a defensible space, a walled and guarded community that they can call “home”. Moreover, it is assumed that it is not just about security, it is also about citizens wanting to take control of their own residential environment (Webster, 2001). In the 1990s, Americans moved from metropolitan centers to rural areas more than migrated the other way. In 1990 only one-third of Americans living in metropolitan areas remained in city centers (Turner, 1997). With their natural beauty and high quality of life, gated communities have become a magnet for a growing number of Americans (McMahon, 2003).

Gated communities have been profusely analyzed by American literature. They have been analyzed through the perspective of developers’ motivations (Blakely and Snyder, 1997), interaction and problems between neighbors and their importance to the political future of the city (McKenzie, 1994) or their efficiency to provide basic services (Foldvary, 1994; Lang and Danielsen, 1997). Gated communities do not appear only in the cities of developed countries. The cities of southern China are full of security-guarded estates of modestly sized Mediterranean-style villas, while in some African cities it would appear that most new private residential developments are walled and guarded (Webster, 2001). In the case of South America (such as Brazil and Chile), enclaves are not located in remote suburban areas but rather in city centers (Salcedo and Torres, 2002). Gated communities are also in the struggle between haphazard development and planned growth (McMahon, 2003). Overall, gated communities have been criticized for being sources of segregation, social inequality and disintegration of society; as an enclave characterized by walling off and the attempt of self-sufficiency (Marcuse, 1997).

In Turkey, however, studies conducted on housing have focused on the housing needs of the low income groups, on determining the area and on problems that arise as well as the solutions put forward in this respect, which has led to the point that, in fact, there exists no lack of housing, and housing has turned into a means of rent. With its population increase based mostly on migration since the 1950s, the Istanbul Metropolitan Area (IMA), examining the residential reflections of globalization that started in the 1980s, has been the focal point of discussions within the frame of policies developed after 1980 (Keyder, 2000; Hacısalıhoğlu, 2000). Policies put forth after 1980 are reflected in urban areas not only with prestigious business centers, but also with the rapid advance of high-income group housing areas, underlined with the motto of “modern areas”. While the relation between the housing needs and the opportunities and standards offered by the areas in question form a vital space of questioning, developments not included within the whole plan, choosing appropriate areas, and high-income group housing areas creating a focus of attraction around them constitute a subject worthy of examination in terms of the discipline of

planning. At this point, bearing similarities with the term “gated communities” that is discussed in world literature, high-income group housing areas, in terms of their effects on the development of urban areas, form the subject of this paper.

While projects with giant investments are drawn with the development of the IMA being developed into a world-class city, problems originated and experienced in big cities do not suit their pattern of development, and they continue to remain a main field of research. The problems of “housing” and researches conducted in this regard in Turkey in general and specifically in Istanbul have focused mainly and primarily on terms such as squatter settlements (“*gecekondu*”), prevention of their mushrooming, rehabilitation plans, illegal construction and mass housing. Some previously prepared studies on a similar topic as this paper examined the housing activities in the periphery and around reservoirs (Bolen et al., 1999) along with the independence of municipalities in the periphery (Ozcevik, 1999). While unplanned and illegal housing activities exist in both the city center and the peripheries in a different manner (as from squatter settlements to construction of illegal housing), the demand by the high-income group has been stimulated by real estate developers. The consequences of the increase is put forth in this study.

In the scope of the paper, the development processes of urbanization and housing as residential reflections of globalization are examined in two sections in Istanbul. In the first section, the development of city peripheries of the IMA since 1980 is examined along with the development of high-income group housing in the same period; and in the second section, the study conducted on housing projects which directed the urban development due to the size of area, the size of the population and the level of attraction. The projects are scrutinized in terms of their general characteristics, locational preferences, local government structures and legal processes and thus their effects on urban development are sought to be understood. As a conclusion, sample areas and the findings of the research are discussed. Therefore, the study will contribute to the field in terms of evaluating new trends in the process of development of the IMA as well as determining both the negative and positive aspects of high-income group housing areas on the urban macro-form as a spatial dimension.

2. Research Methodology

The research has focused on development processes in the Istanbul Metropolitan Area after 1980. The selection of this period facilitates an examination of the effects of neo-liberalization policies in Turkey and especially in the dominant city - Istanbul - as well as the potential influences of globalization processes. During this period, three different local governments and three different planning processes have appeared in the IMA. Therefore, master plans and their effects on urban macro-form from 1980, 1994 and 1996 are examined.

In order to evaluate new developments on the periphery of the metropolitan area, 20 selected high-income group housing projects are examined with their planning processes, their locational preferences and their effects on the transformation of the urban periphery and land use. Their effects on the land values, land use, transportation, infrastructures and their relations to the local and central governments are also examined.

The selection of housing projects is defined by the criteria such as: Projects which include at least 50 housing units and locate in the periphery of Istanbul Metropolitan Area. Therefore the survey is conducted with 20 selected major project developers and marketing departments by in-depth interviews.

3. Expansion of the Built-areas Towards the Peripheries of Istanbul Metropolitan Area and Relocation of High-Income Group Housing Areas

Located in the north-west part of Turkey, on the northern part of the Marmara Region, Istanbul has been for centuries the most important center - during the time of the Ottoman Empire, and it still seems to keep its importance today. Although Ankara's becoming the new capital with the declaration of the Republic meant Istanbul grew less important and lost population to a certain degree, it regained, in a relatively short time, most of its former importance by becoming a center of commerce. In particular the investment movement in the 1950s triggered by foreign debts led to the revival of the economy and the gathering of industry in Istanbul. In this process, the rapid urbanization and migration from rural to urban areas, which was accelerated by industrialization, played an important role in the development of urban areas. Istanbul, with a population of 1,166,477 at the time, became a center of attraction primarily under the influence more of industrialization than of the service sector, and between 1960-65, 20% of intracountry migration directed itself to Istanbul. (Municipality of Istanbul Metropolitan Area, 1995).

During the second half of the 1980s with the neo-liberal policies going hand in hand with the developments in the world, Turkey entered to a new era. In this era, the establishment of free trade zones and production areas were coupled with the achievements in the banking sector, thus producing change in the urban fabric of the country. The process has stimulated the importance of Istanbul with its location's being open to international connections and as the center of regional commerce and communication, which economically, socially and spatially have affected the city. The liberal policies produced by local governments parallel to the central government transformed some areas in Istanbul into prestigious banking and finance areas. The 1980s is a period when the city underwent the most radical changes.

The transportation system, developed with investments encouraging the ownership of private vehicles before a sufficient public communication system was set up, combined with the influence of the Bosphorus Bridge, led to the development of the northern parts of the city and the obliteration of the natural resources, which later introduced the deforestation threat to the city. The peripheries of Istanbul, hosting a population of 5,842,958 in 1985, mushroomed with houses and squatter settlements, increasing the spatial growth (Figure 1). Coming from different political parties was a big handicap between local governments and the central government for drawing up strategies that could direct the development of the metropolitan area. With the help of the central government, the number of independent local governments increased in the Municipality of Istanbul Metropolitan Area (MIMA) (Figure 2). The local governments, which are called "*belde*" and forming on the peripheries of Istanbul Metropolitan Area, brought about the development of new housing projects and industrial areas due since they were able to make decisions independent of the metropolitan master plan.

Having reached a population of approximately 10 million in 1997 and stretching 60 km. from east to west, Istanbul underwent various changes in its housing areas, consisting of nearly 75% of its total urbanized areas under the influence of globalization. The 1990s were the years when the aforementioned developments occurred in the city peripheries and the high income groups, which prospered with new economic policies, left the city center due to low quality of life in inner-city areas that had been caused by the drawbacks of rapid urbanization (such as crowded residential areas, lack of open and green sites, traffic and parking problems, increasing crime rates). Metropolitan peripheries have become development areas for major housing projects as an alternative to inner-city housing sites since they have available and vast lands and a natural landscape.

While high-income group housing areas have affected the existing patterns of transportation and land use, at the same time they affected the development of the abovementioned factors and led to the construction of new highway connections. Development of high-income group housing in the peripheries, reservoirs or forest areas (such as Zekeriyaköy, Ömerli, Cekmeköy, Hadimköy, Durusu, Kemerburgaz and Göktürk) took a concrete shape with their increasing population and construction activities, thus, introducing new highway connections and developing new functions. The number of housing projects on the metropolitan peripheries increased rapidly after 1990, and they were presented to the members of the upper class living in Istanbul with various options, spaces and prices. Supported with communication and infrastructure, the projects were developed independently by district and local municipalities in the areas they were responsible for, also in forest areas located to the north of the city, and directed the development around them (Inal, 2002).

4. The Findings of Research: High-Income Group Housing Projects in the Periphery of Metropolitan Area

When the distribution of high-income group housing in the peripheries of Istanbul in the 1980s is examined, it is observed that housing activities were directed mostly towards the northern forest areas on both sides (east-west) of the city, in the reservoir of Ömerli Dam, in the vicinity of Terkos Lake and in B.Cekmece and K.Cekmece (Table 1). 12 of the examined projects were realized in the forest areas to the north of the city, the most intensified region being the Göktürk (*belde*) municipality, hosting 7 of the projects within its borders (Figure 3).

The housing areas of the high-income groups, which developed under the influence of neo-liberal policies, appeared as small scaled and gated housing sites, starting from the mid-1980s until the 1990s. Only 4 of the major housing projects were developed before 1990. In the 1990s the limited space of land and the increase in land values in the central city as well as the advance in transport and communication systems triggered the process of development of larger housing areas in the periphery. While the building of three housing projects commenced in 1990 and were completed in 1995, seven of the others were started in 1995, six in 2000 and the rest afterwards. The strong and steady geological structure of the northern parts of the city played an important role in the rapid advance realized in 2000 and afterwards because of the earthquake on August 17, 1999. In addition, the completed housing projects had an accelerating effect on the process (Figure 4).

Taking advantage of utilizing larger lands in the peripheries under the control of the new local governments (belde), nine projects were built on land larger than 500,000 square meters, with the addition of social and sports facilities. On some parts of the abovementioned larger housing areas, luxurious facilities requiring vast utilization of land such as golf courses and horseback riding areas were established.

4.1. Location Criteria of High-income Group Housing Areas

“The opportunity to find a larger and suitable land” ranks first as the most effective criterion for developers in choosing an appropriate site for the high-income group housing projects. Aside from this criterion, other criteria of being close to the business centers and other existing projects played an important role when choosing the land to be built on by 9 of the developers. Infrastructure played a crucial role in choosing a location for only one company, and 5 out of 6 investors regarded cheap land values as the most important criterion.

Having a beautiful landscape, vast land and accessibility to main transportation axes play important roles in the carrying out of the projects. By having the financial capability to develop the field areas with the requirements of urban life (education, sports, etc.) and an infrastructure, the developers stated that while choosing the housing areas they did not take into consideration whether the area had an infrastructure. In addition, it was stated that in choosing the proper area of 5 projects carried out since 2000, other projects, which were completed at the same area, and the geological form of the land¹ played an important role (Figure 5).

4.2 The Local and Central Government Issues and Planning Processes of High-Income Group Housing Areas

14 of the 20 high-income group housing projects were realized in relation to local municipalities (belde) independent from the MIMA, in the areas determined as conservation areas in the master plan that had been prepared after 1980. Although it was not stated as an effective factor in terms of investors' locational preferences, the type of local municipality seems to have played an important role in the development of high-income group housing projects in Göktürk, Yakuplu, Durusu, Bahçeşehir, Ömerli and Çekmeköy, since these districts in question have a higher rate of housing construction. The housing development of belde municipalities speeded up thanks to the immediate approval process on construction of these municipalities operating independent of the Metropolitan Municipalities Law.

Both the development of local municipalities (belde) and the privileged construction conditions prepared by the Forest and Tourism Ministries indicate that the IMA displayed no noteworthy existence in the periphery of Istanbul, except for the 1984-1989 local government period. Approval from the Istanbul Metropolitan Municipality was not demanded in 14 of the 20 projects examined during this study; thus, the city on the whole underwent an unplanned development with differing areas becoming independent from each other. Moreover, the rapid increase in the number of local municipalities in the periphery of the metropolitan area after 1990 indicates that the central government attained an effective role in the whole of the city.⁽²⁾

¹ After 1999 earthquake geological form of the land played an important role for housing areas

² The number of municipalities increased rapidly under the governance of SHP (Social Democratic Party), which took office in the Municipality of Istanbul Metropolitan Area and contradicted with the

4.3 The Development Trends Around High-Income Group Housing Areas and Their Effects on Land Use

The high-income group housing areas in districts and belde located in the metropolitan periphery have positive and negative effects on these areas whose population is increasing rapidly.

As it is projected that the housing areas addressing the high-income groups will help to develop the area with tax income and indirect benefits, they are welcomed by local municipalities operating independently from the IMA. After 1989 high-income group housing projects caused the population increase with the increasing number of local municipalities (belde). The existence of such projects encouraged other projects and individual housing demands to come to the area, thus, leading to an increase in the intensity and the consumption of natural resources of the metropolitan area.

In addition to population, building intensity and environmental effects; major housing projects are effective on land use, transportation and land values. While land use, transportation and land values determine the locational preferences of both investors and users, they are also affected by development of housing projects.

Being close to a main transportation artery played an important role for 9 projects and 13 projects gave rise to the construction of new arteries. In addition to the improvement of infrastructure and communications, the increasing demands of the high-income groups affected and increased the land values of the areas in question. When compared with land values of 2002, it is clear that the greatest increase occurred in Göktürk, and with the realization of the Kemer Country project and other projects, land values increased 150 times.⁽³²⁾

Coupled with the increasing population, the process of housing construction revived the production and service activities of the region. During the interviews, it was stated that the service function developed in the vicinity of all projects examined in the scope of this study. It was also observed that wood, marble and clay tile workshops needed to complete the villas sold as rough construction work and nurseries to meet garden requirements flourished in the abovementioned areas.

It was stated that in addition to newly developing factories, workshops and other service functions, most of the workers employed in facilities in the scope of the project were living in the area. While facilities such as golf courses, horseback riding facilities, restaurants, cinemas, cafeterias, etc, create job opportunities for local population, they, on the other hand, accelerate land speculation and housing activities.

5. Conclusion

The high-income residential areas in Turkey and specifically in Istanbul draw attention with various aspects. In this paper, the development processes, locational preferences and the effects of housing areas on the urban macro-form constitute the

center-right liberal party (Motherland Party – ANAP): 13 new local municipalities (*belde*) emerged between 1989 and 1994.

³ Land values of 2002 were obtained from real estate agencies operating in the area.

focal points. As a result of the study conducted on 20 high-income group housing projects, which developed in the periphery of the Istanbul metropolitan area, it can be concluded that:

- Housing projects for high-income groups were developed in the northern parts where no residential function had been projected in the master plans of the Istanbul metropolitan area. 15 projects, however, were carried out in independent districts and belde-local municipalities, in forest areas and in the vicinity of reservoirs, a process which speeded up after 1995.
- Most of the investors developed their projects by purchasing the land as open fields. In choosing a suitable location for the projects, environmental characteristics, accessibility, vast and cheap lands and the existence of other nearby projects constituted the main criteria.
- New business activities emerged, transportation infrastructure improved and land values increased in the neighborhoods of the completed projects; in other words, housing projects for high-income groups have made the areas in question more attractive.

In conclusion, due to the ever-increasing population and high density of living space, the rapid deterioration of the physical and social environment of the IMA, the high-income groups have continuously changed their living space. Preferring generally to have more isolated and comfortable areas as residences, the high-income groups directed themselves out towards the periphery, where vast lands were available for housing.

Paid insufficient attention although they were projected in the master plans of Istanbul metropolitan area both in 1994 and 1996, the housing projects led to an unplanned development on the northern parts of the metropolitan area. In order to get this development under control and be able to direct them or to limit their expansion, the following points must be taken into account:

- By conducting co-ordinated studies within the private sector that are pioneering the development of business centers as well as the housing sector, owners of capital or real estate developers must be directed to the types of areas mentioned in this paper.
- It is necessary to renew the valuable areas and historical places in the city and revitalize the city centers in order to establish more livable and healthy housing areas; thus, making these areas attractive again for the high-income groups. This policy will help the important areas in city centers to gain their previous values.
- With the help of the central government (Forest Ministry, Tourism Ministry), the formation of gated communities as privileged construction areas in the city center or in the peripheries must be prevented. Prevention is primarily possible with development control, monitoring and implementation strategies.
- Local municipalities (belde) have been a focus for discussion with their ability to act independently in the IMA in terms of administration and plan integrity. As a result of this study, the development process of high-income group housing projects again brings forth the same problem. It bears importance to solve the problem in question in terms of metropolitan planning and administrative

integrity. The integrity of the metropolitan plan can only be realized when it is effective and sustainable for the abovementioned areas.

It has been observed that with their planned, homogeneous patterns and security systems, high-income residential areas displaying a rapid growth in Turkey and specifically in Istanbul bear similarities with the concept of “gated communities”, heatedly discussed in the literature. Considering various aspects, the debate over this topic is also expected to pave the way for new research studies. In this study, the effects of high-income housing projects, which were produced in excess of demand, are examined within the legal framework including discussion of the danger they pose to the natural areas in the periphery. High-income group housing areas continue to be the focal point of many researches and discussions due to their isolated and homogeneous nature (bringing the same income and social groups together), thus, increasing the social and spatial clusters in the society. Determining the role of real estate developers in producing these housing projects and deciding how to relate their role within the planning process constitute another topic for research. In order to control urban sprawl, a strong connection between real estate and planning must be established.

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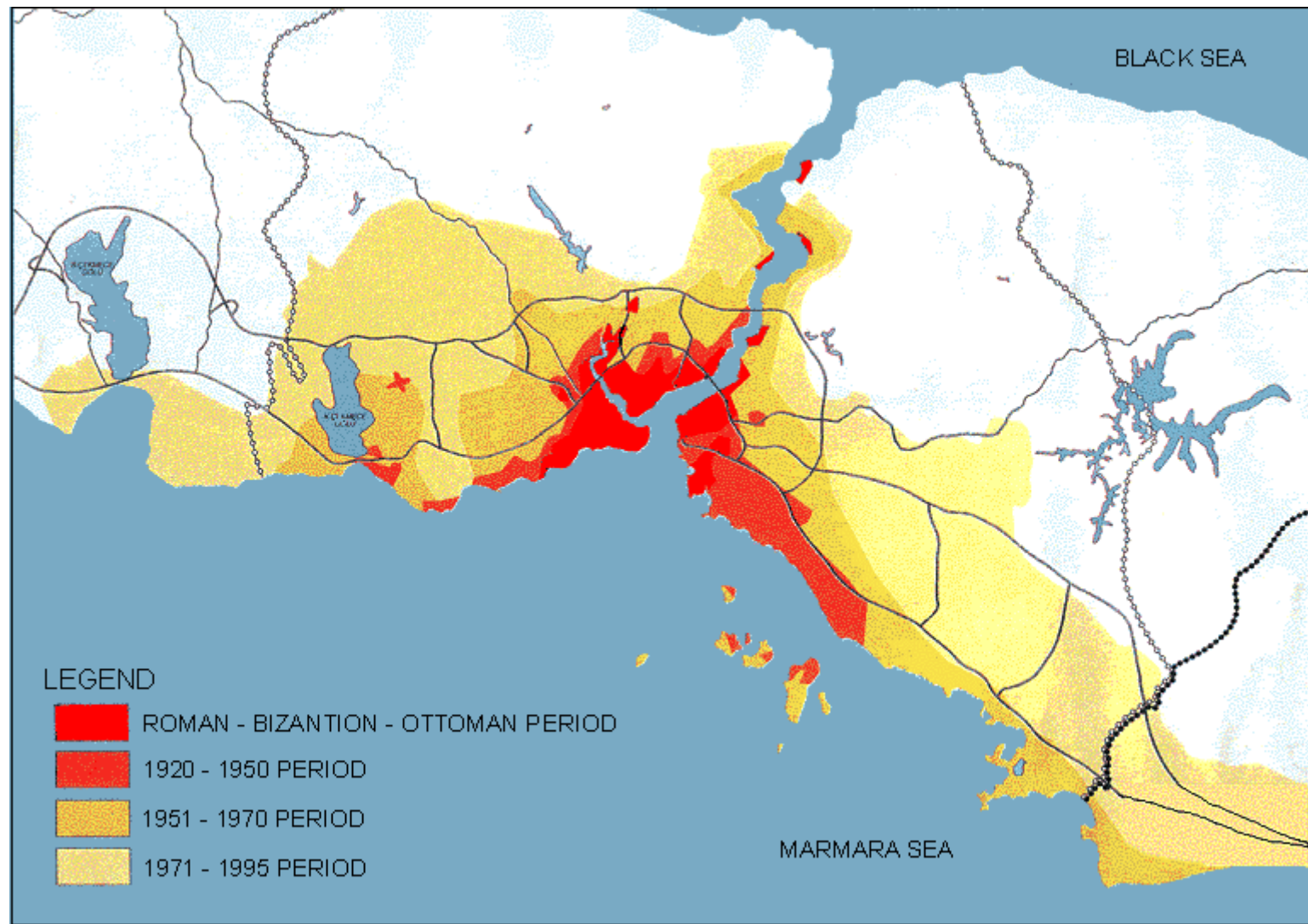


Figure 1: Spatial Development of the Istanbul Metroplitan Area (MİMA,1995)

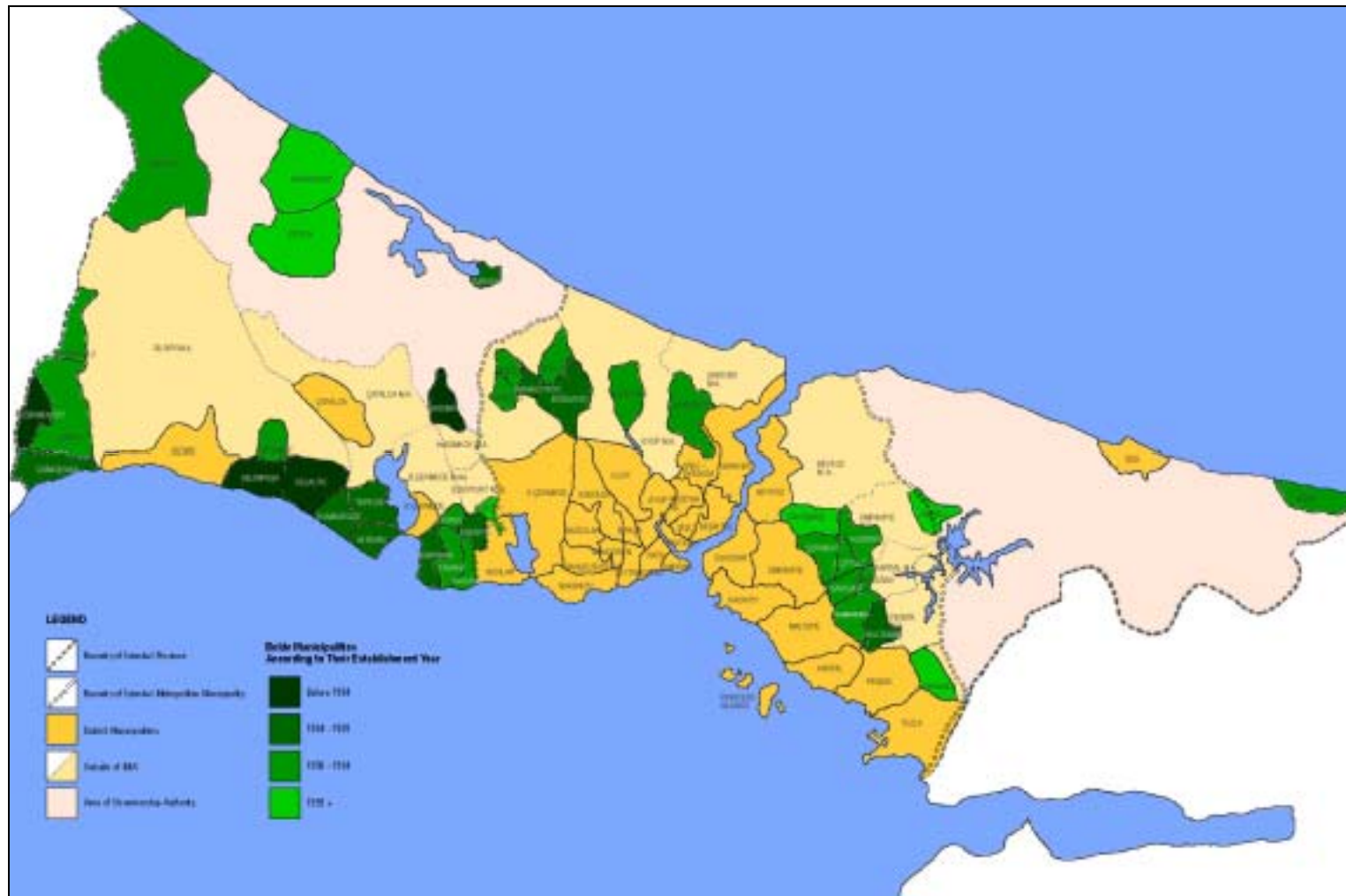


Figure 2: Year-to-year Change of The Number of “Belde” Municipalities in Istanbul

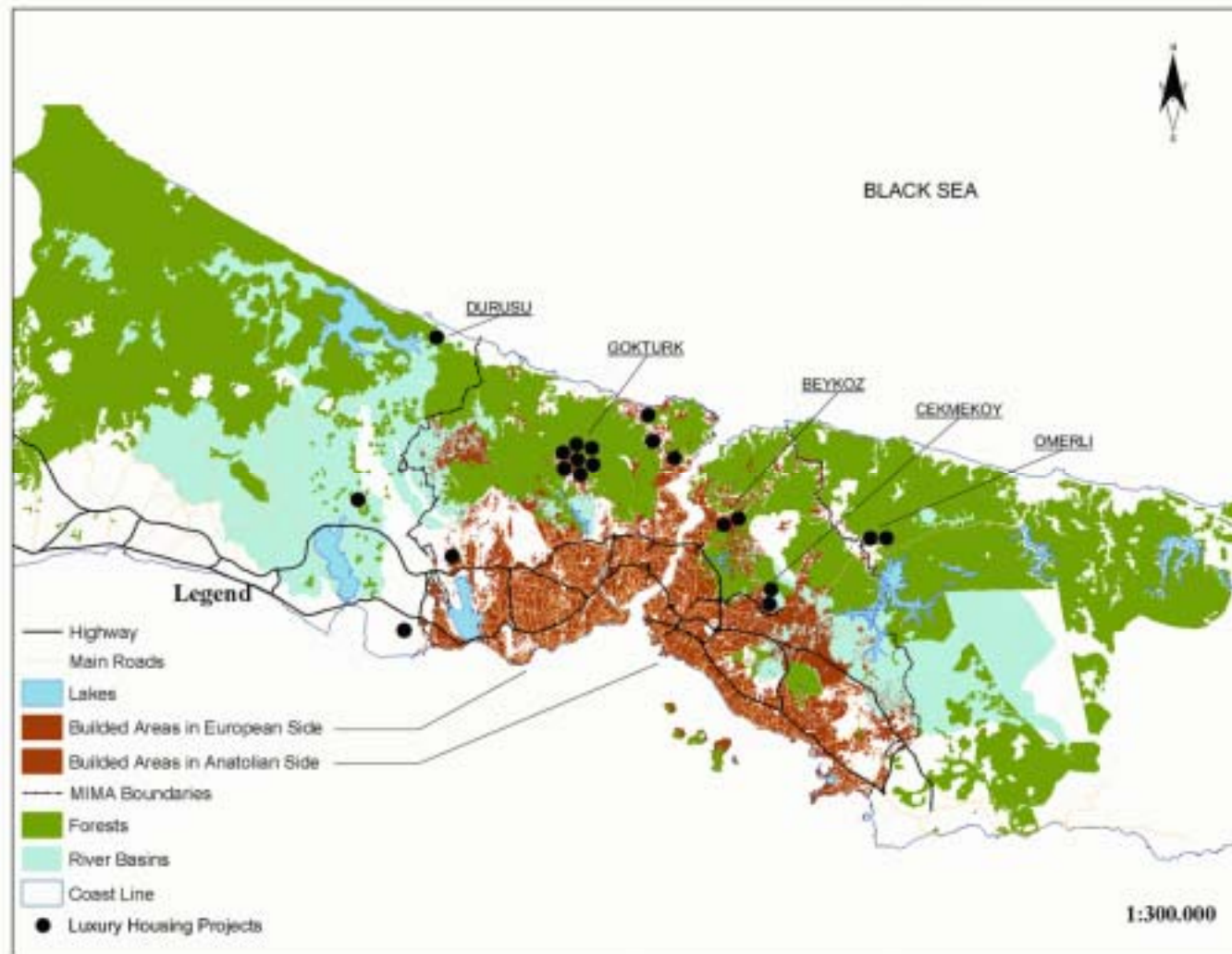


Figure 3: High-Income Group Housing Projects in the Istanbul Metropolitan Area

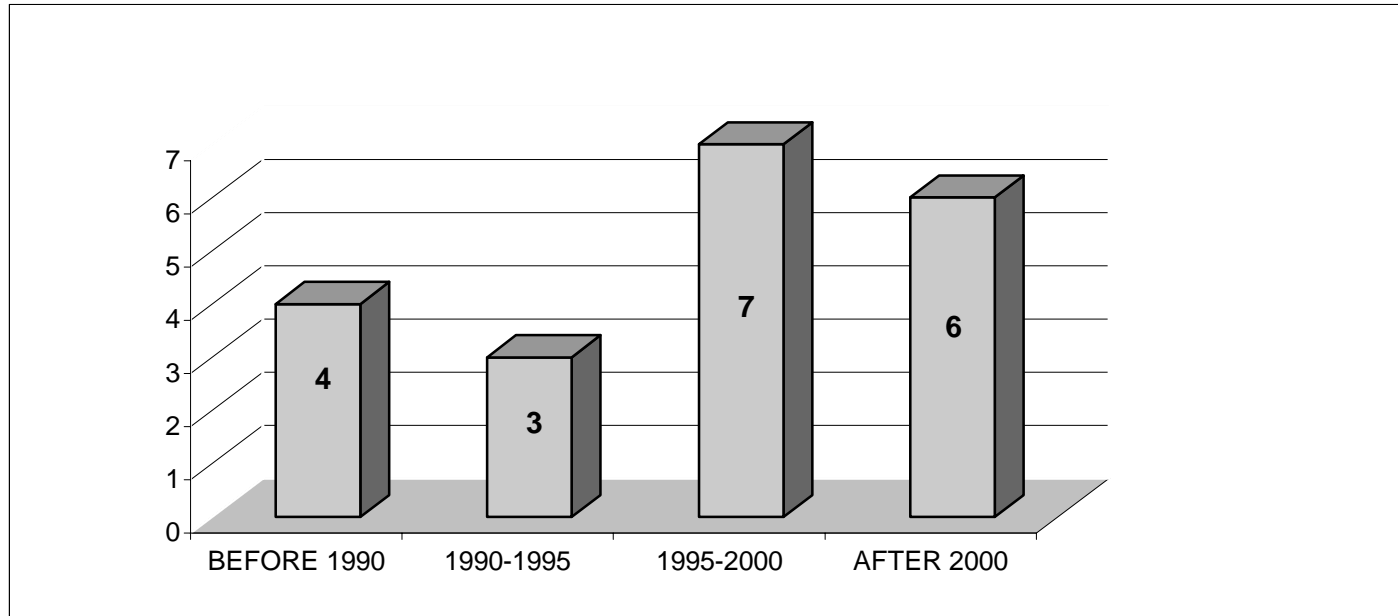


Figure 4: The distribution of high-income group residential areas according to their year of construction

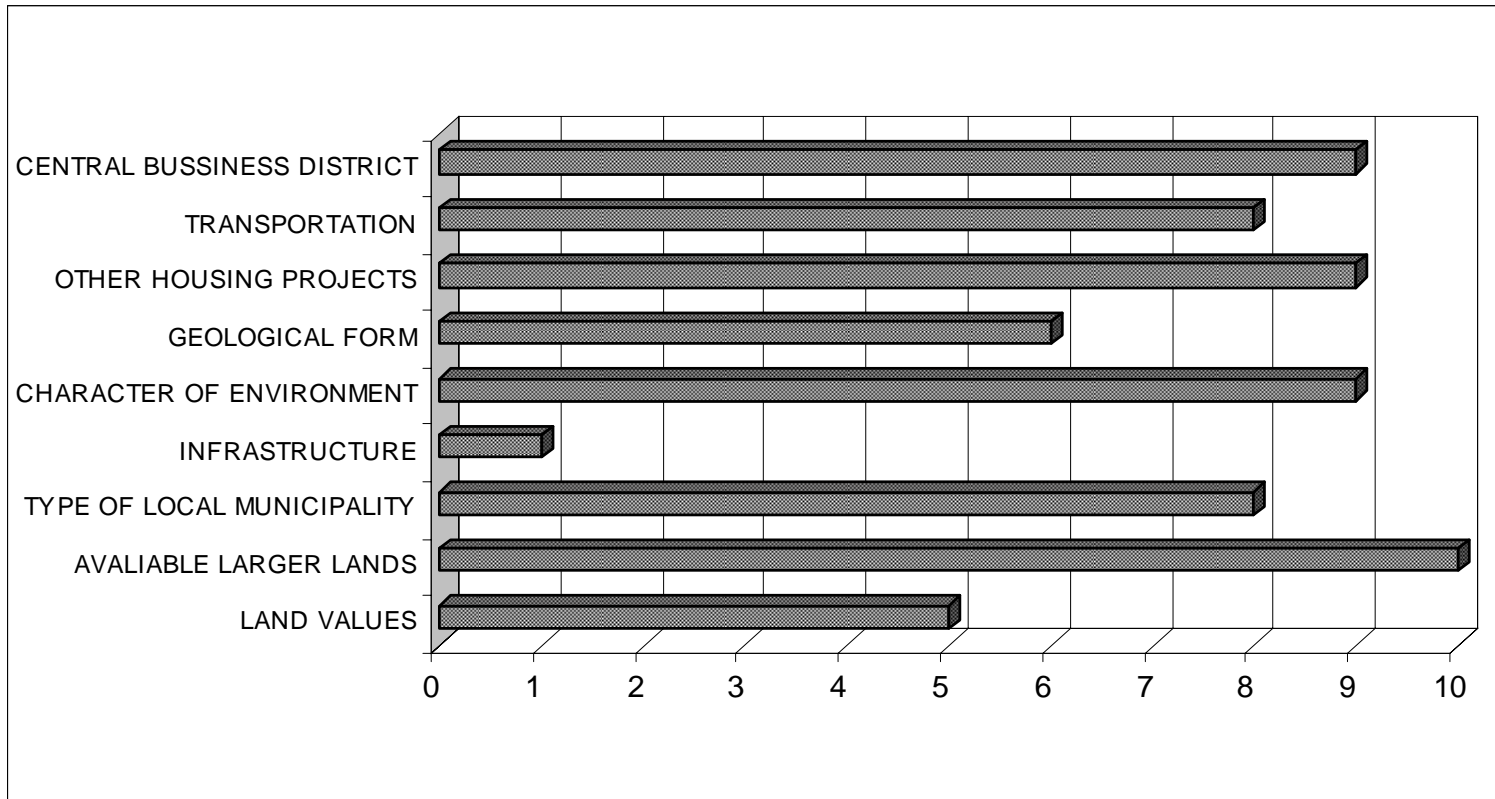


Figure 5: Criteria for choosing location of high-income group housing areas

Table 1: High-income group housing projects in the periphery of Istanbul Metropolitan Area

	PROJECT NAME	MUNICIPALITY	YEAR OF CONSTRUCTION	NUMBER OF UNITS	SIZE OF LAND (x 1000 Sq. METERS)
EUROPEAN SIDE					
1	ZEKERİYAKOY HOUSES (**)	SARIYER DISTRICT	1986	1000	1000
2	SEDADKENT (**)	SARIYER DISTRICT	1988	80	300
3	PERA MANSIONS (**)	SARIYER DISTRICT	1998	56	70
4	KEMER COUNTRY (**)	GOKTURK BELDE	1989	1250	1200
5	İSTANBUL İSTANBUL (**)	GOKTURK BELDE	1999	250	100
6	AY-TEK HOUSES (**)	GOKTURK BELDE	2000	144	35
7	GOKTURK HOUSES (**)	GOKTURK BELDE	2001	84	30
8	ALTINTAS KEMER HOUSES (**)	GOKTURK BELDE	1997	100	20
9	KEMERBURGAZ HOUSES (**)	GOKTURK BELDE	2000	130	30
10	ÇESMELER VADİSİ (**)	GOKTURK BELDE	2000	65	35
11	DURUSU PARK HOUSES (**)	DURUSU BELDE	1996	375	6000
12	ALKENT 2000 (**)	YAKUPLU BELDE	1991	900	7000
13	ARDIÇLI HOUSES (**)	BAHÇESEHİR BELDE	1997	1000	1000
14	MARINCITY (**)	B.ÇEKMECE DISTRICT	1998	1750	1500
15	KEMERLİFE	EYUP DISTRICT	2000	84	25
16	ALSİT VILLAS	SARIYER DISTRICT	1994	64	120
17	ATLANTİS HOUSES	SARIYER DISTRICT	1995	1000	(*)
18	DEMİRCİKOY HOUSES	SARIYER DISTRICT	2000	62	33
19	DORT MEVSİM ALARKO HOUSES	SARIYER DISTRICT	1997	85	(*)
20	FLORA HOUSES	SARIYER DISTRICT	1999	50	40
21	GARANTİ KOZA ZEKERİYAKOY HOUSES	SARIYER DISTRICT	1991	700	1 200
22	İNTES PARK	SARIYER DISTRICT	1994	56	(*)
23	MET-A.S. USKUMRUKOY HOUSES	SARIYER DISTRICT	2000	106	(*)
24	SİNPAS BOSPHORUS HOUSES	SARIYER DISTRICT	1996	372	(*)
25	YONCA HOUSES	SARIYER DISTRICT	1999	160	25
26	BAHÇEKENT COUNTRY	BAHÇESEHIR BELDE	2001	62	40
27	DURUSU PARK	DURUSU BELDE	1996	400	5 000
28	HİSAR HOUSES	HADIMKOY BELDE	2002	70	200
29	KINALIVADI HOUSES	SİLİVRİ DISTRICT	2000	274	150
30	SUNFLOWER HOUSES	SİLİVRİ DISTRICT	2002	347	923
31	MESA KEMERBURGAZ HOUSES	GOKTURK BELDE	2000	130	25
32	MESA MASLAK HOUSES	SARIYER DISTRICT	2002	336	40
33	KEMER ROSE RESIDENCE	GOKTURK BELDE	2002	73	35
34	EKINOBA HOUSES	BUYUKCEKMECE DISTRICT	1996	(*)	640
35	İSTANBUL ZEN	GOKTURK BELDE	2003	74	10

ANATOLIAN SIDE					
36	ACARKENT (**)	BEYKOZ DISTRICT	1991	1452	2300
37	BEYKOZ MANSIONS (**)	BEYKOZ DISTRICT	1992	400	1000
38	OPTIMUM (**)	OMERLİ BELDE	2000	180	250
39	OMERLİ CASABA (**)	OMERLİ BELDE	2000	648	1860
40	VILLA BELDE (**)	ÇEKMEKOY BELDE	1987	160	100
41	GOL MANSIONS (**)	ÇEKMEKOY BELDE	1998	104	60
42	AĞAOĞLU MY CITY	UMRANIYE DISTRICT	1996	525	48
43	AQUA CITY	UMRANIYE DISTRICT	1998	1164	217
44	AQUA MANORS	ÇEKMEKOY BELDE	2000	326	172
45	GOKSU HOUSES	BEYKOZ DISTRICT	1998	1328	1 500
46	RIVA HOUSES	BEYKOZ DISTRICT (RIVA)	2000	96	15
47	SAKLI KOY	SİLE DISTRICT	2001	120	200
48	AĞAOĞLU MY VILLAGE	SAMANDIRA BELDE	2001	284	(*)
49	DRAGOS DRIVE	KARTAL DISTRICT	1999	77	15
50	DOKUZ PALMIYE RESİDENCE	KARTAL DISTRICT	1996	252	25
51	BAMBU HOUSES	UMRANIYE DISTRICT	2003	173	(*)
52	BAMBU RESIDENCE	UMRANIYE DISTRICT	1999	123	(*)
53	PALMIYE HOUSES	UMRANIYE DISTRICT	2002	895	(*)
54	GUMUS VADI VILLAS	TUZLA DISTRICT	1994	50	(*)

(*) Unavailable data

(**) Selected Projects for interviews