

## ON PHYSICAL ASPECTS OF SOUATTERS IN TURKEY\*

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### Introduction

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\* Arguments and findings presented in this study are based on a survey made in Istanbul gecekondu areas in 1976 by the author. The gecekondu plans were collected by the third year students of the Department of City and Regional Planning, METU, during the academic year 1976-77.

This study rests on the hypothesis that economic relations have a definite impact on the formation of physical space. What are the factors which caused the transformation of tin roofed shacks into orderly and regular neighborhoods of big cities of Turkey during the past 40-45 years? The evolution of the gecekondu process should not be interpreted merely as the renewal of physical elements of such shelters. The distinguishing character of a gecekondu does not arise from the fact that it is built on somebody else's land. Although the familiar urban construction process is completed in single steps, gecekondu type of residences follow a building process which continues and evolves in time. Thus, urban residential structure consists of a 'rigid' component which reflects the contemporary level of capital, technology and organization and which is renewed in pre-defined stages; and a far more 'flexible' component called gecekondu. This study aims at analysing the characteristics of the 'flexible' component and at discussing the process of its transformation in time. The evolution of gecekondus in Turkish cities can be categorized into four stages.

### 1945 - 50: Marginal Functions of the Gecekondu Family :

The appearance of gecekondu process in Turkish cities reached noticeable dimensions around 1945. The cause and effect relationship between this process and transformation of technology in agriculture, polarization of small-scale farms in the hands of wealthy landowners, the dislocation of small farmers and farm hands from the farms has been much discussed and well-documented in the Third World countries. In those years the city was a completely alien and an unknown entity for the migrant agricultural workers. National transportation and communication networks had not sufficiently developed to reflect urban life, opportunities and conditions to rural areas. There were no organizations to take over employment and settlement problems of migrants; and earlier rural migrants were still few in numbers, dispersed over the city and immersed in economic problems therefore could not assist the newcomers.

The decision to migrate was given under compulsory conditions leading to an insecure and uninsured future. Yet there were no alternatives. So only the head of the family undertook the migration while rest of the family remained at subsistence conditions in the rural area. Thus the migrant, his bedding on his back and perhaps with the address of a coffeehouse which his countrymen attended, entered an environment where there was no demand for his labour. The economic attempt of 1940's aiming at widespread production in all sectors of the economy was severely hampered by shortages of raw material. Per capita income was low and the volume of foreign transactions was limited. Although Turkey had not joined the Second World War, military expenses were draining the budget. The tax on assets (Varlık Vergisi) levied in 1942 had driven the bourgeoisie to a critical stance. Industrial investments had not yet gained

<sup>1</sup> D. ERGİL, *Türkiye'de Toplumsal Gelişme ve Siyasal Bunalm*, Ankara: Türkiye İktisatçı-lar Birliği Yayınları, no. 21, 1978.

impetus. The ratio of employment in the services sector was only 6% of the total work force.<sup>1</sup> In short, although the economy of the urban areas was developed compared to pre-1940 period, it had not yet reached a level where it could employ the incoming flow of migrants. The services sector which could employ such uneducated, inexperienced, unskilled masses was not yet developed to that extent. Therefore the migrants either could find employment in the marginal jobs of the economy or were left unemployed. On the other hand, these marginal jobs were not numerous enough as their existence and increase was dependent on the intensity, extent, variety, level and type of modernization and organization of other sectors in the economy. In summary, during this period the rural area 'pushed' but the urban areas did not exert a specific 'pull'. Thus those who migrated to the cities between 1945-50 marketed their labour in coffeehouses, tram stops and terminals and could only find small-scale, temporary jobs working as porters and construction workers mostly.

Occupation of marginal status in the urban economy had certain repercussions in physical space. The newcomers at first found shelter in coffeehouses, parks, construction, sites workplaces, bachelor rooms. Those who were fortunate in finding jobs, tried to rent rooms in the old residential quarters of the cities but such rooms were limited in number. In urgency to find shelter, soil was dug and covered by matting, in İstanbul Byzantine tombs were used, fortress walls were dug into. Finally, the problem was solved by constructing shacks without infrastructure on uncontrolled public and private land around the cities at the leadership of those who were more acquainted with urban life. It was then possible to enclose large plots in these uncontrolled fields and areas.

In 1950's, when extensive neighborhoods like Zeytinburnu in İstanbul and Altındağ in Ankara were developed, in general there were three types of constructions in these settlements: The first type was sun-dried brick constructions as those bricks were the most popular construction material in both cities. No monetary investment, special skills or special materials were required for making of the bricks. Soil was mixed with water and hay dust was added to prevent cracking and the mixture was poured into moulds. According to information given by Kurucu, a mould consisted of a rectangle which had the measurements of 35X60 cm. and a depth of 10cm.<sup>2</sup> This mould was divided into four compartments: two 15X30 cm. and two, 20X30 cm. The mixture was dried under the sun in these moulds and large sized construction units were obtained. With these, construction proceeded rapidly; besides, these units were good heat insulators. For the sun-dried brick construction, a stone foundation was laid a day before and hidden by heaps of soil. At night, sun-dried bricks made or bought, were brought to the site by a horse driven cart and were arranged on foundations without mortar in between and finally were plastered with mud. Space was left for a small window and a narrow door and was reinforced by wooden planks. The window and the door, bought from the man who sold demolished material, were fixed in their places. The roof was covered by tarred tarpaulin or by tin sheets nailed to each other by long strips of wood. If the owner could not afford the tarpaulin, about 10 m<sup>2</sup>, of which was usually enough to cover the roof, he preferred tin sheets. Tin which is a very expensive material today, was discarded by factories as waste material in those days and thus was collected free from factories. No flooring was constructed. Such constructions enclosed one room, one small hall and an open shed under the extension of the roof, to pile wood.

The second type of construction was timber frame with mud brick in-fill. According to Kurucu, the construction started by a stone-mortar or stone-mud

<sup>2</sup> T. KURUCU, *Zeytinburnu Gecekondu-larının Kuruluşu ve Usta Teşkilatları*, Yayınlan-mış Mezuniyet Tezi, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sos-yal Antropoloji ve Etnoloji Bölümü, 1965.

FIGURE 1  
A SETTLEMENT SECTION FROM GÜLVİREN (ANKARA) ÇİÇEKÖNDÜ NEIGHBORHOOD

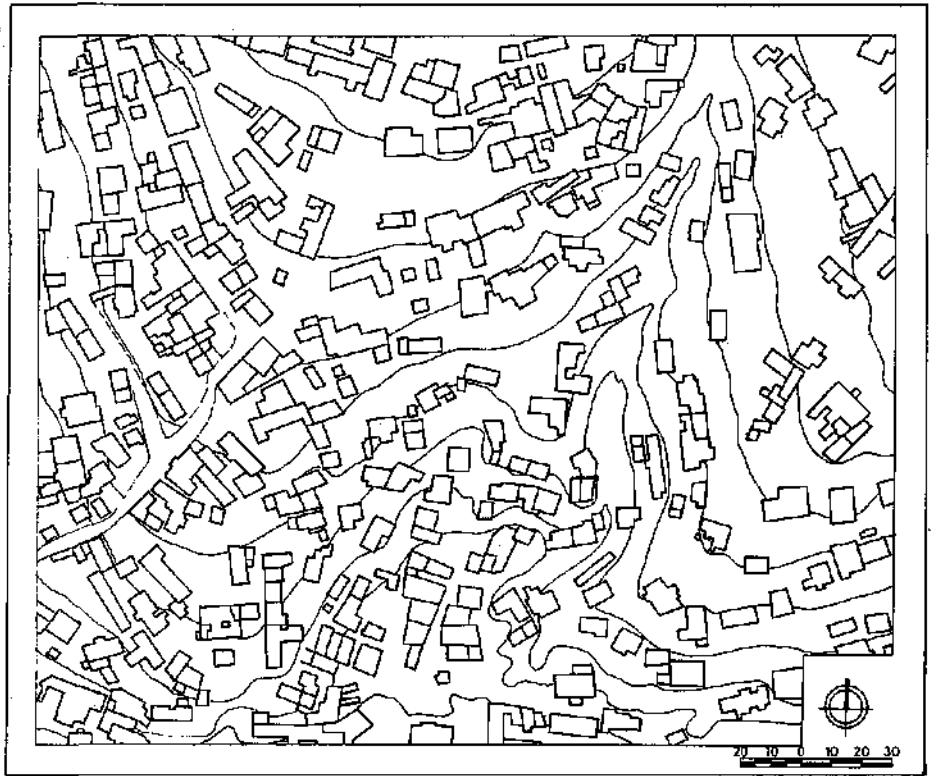
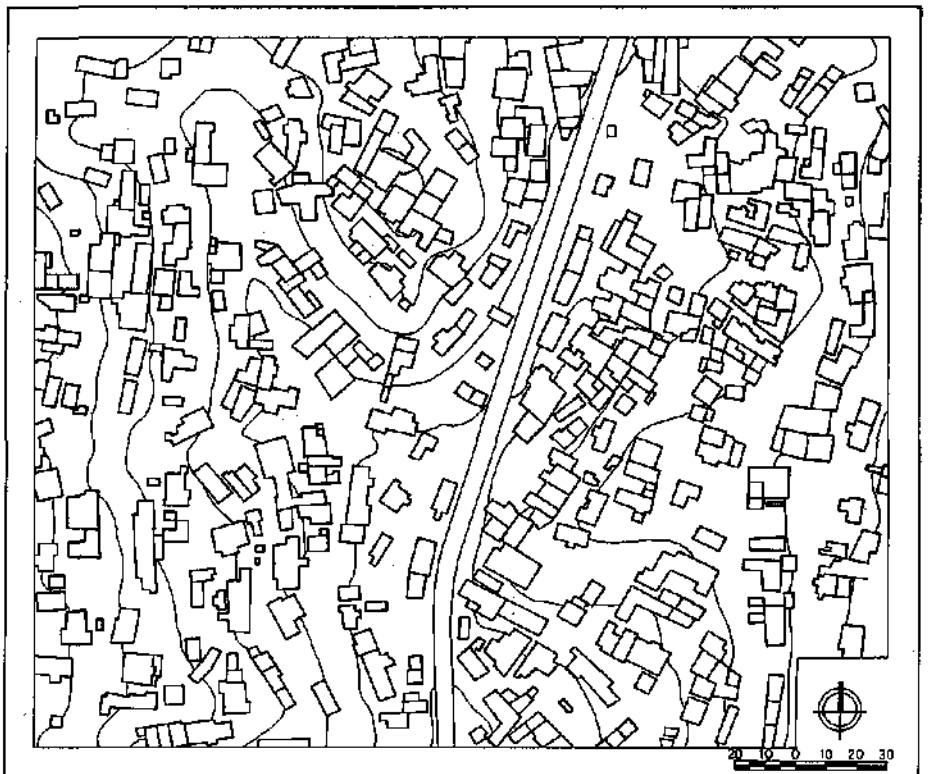


FIGURE 2  
A SETTLEMENT SECTION FROM AYDINLIKEVLER (ANKARA) ÇİÇEKÖNDÜ NEIGHBORHOOD



3. T. KURUCU, *Zeytinburnu Gecekondularının Kuruluş ve Usta Teşkilatları*, Yayınlanmamış Mezuniyet Tezi, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Antropoloji ve Etnoloji Bölümü, 1965.

4. İ. ÖĞRETMEN, *Ankara'da 158 Gecekondu*, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1967.

foundation which was raised for about 10 cm. above the soil.<sup>3</sup> The foundation walls were covered by wooden planks on which the skeleton of the house was fixed. This wooden skeleton was further reinforced with diagonally nailed wooden strips and was filled with rubble, mud and small pieces of stone and mud bricks. This type of construction was cheaper and enclosed an entrance and two rooms.

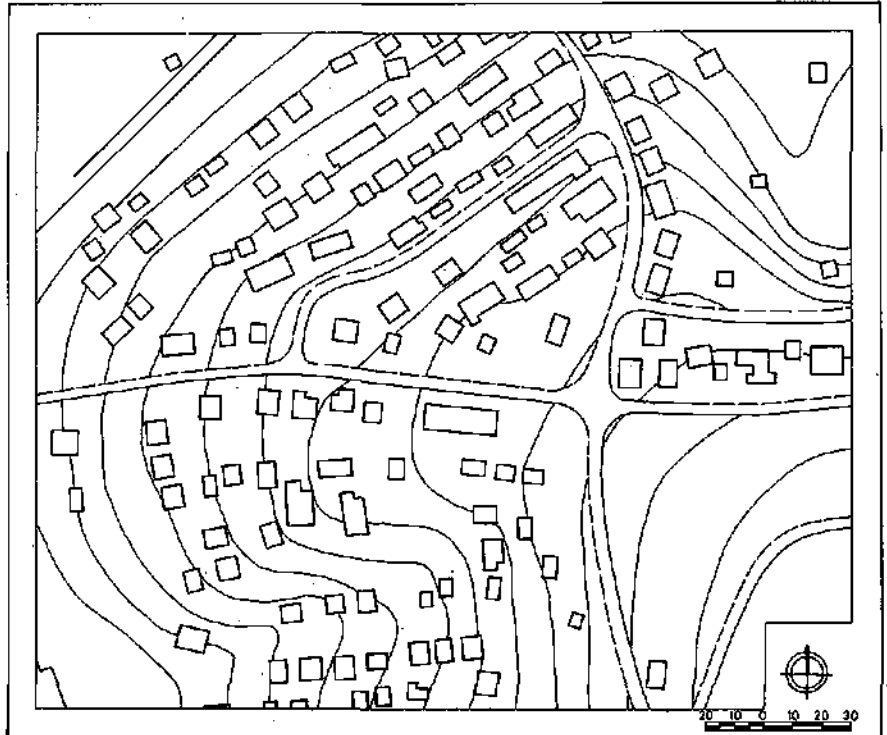
Öğretmen describes the construction process in Ankara: eight long, thin strips of wood are cut, two of these are joined by smaller pieces of wood and are plastered by mud.<sup>4</sup> This constitutes a wall. When four walls are thus completed, leaving space for one window and a door, they are transported to the site. With the assistance of a few people these walls are fixed in earth and nailed together. The roof is again covered by tarred tarpaulin or tin sheets.

If there were stones around, the shack was built of stone. The newspapers of the period have published stories of how Byzantine tombs were destroyed and street pavements were uprooted to obtain stones. In the stone shacks, mud was used instead of mortar. There was no flooring, the roof was covered by the same material as in the other types. The usual measurements of the shack were between 25-35 m<sup>2</sup>. The ceiling height changed between 2.20-2.50 m. and the width of the door was 86-90 cm. The windows contained only one pane and most did not have glass.

The construction processes reviewed here were also influenced by the fact that they were under imminent danger of demolition. According to the penal law no: 486 related to municipal affairs (Umuru Belediyeye Miteallik Ahkam-ı Cezaiye Hakkında Kanun) a gecekondu could only be demolished if caught during the process of construction. If, however the roof was closed and it was inhabited, a court decree was necessary for demolition. According to Kurucu, as soon as

FIGURE 2.

A SETTLEMENT SECTION FROM KAĞITHANE (ISTANBUL) GECEKONDU NEIGHBORHOOD



5. T. KURUCU, Zeytinburnu Gecekondu-  
larının Kuruluşu ve Usta Teşkilatları, Yayınlan-  
mamış Mezuniyet Tezi, İstanbul Üniversitesi  
Sosyal Antropoloji ve Etnoloji Bölümü, 1965.

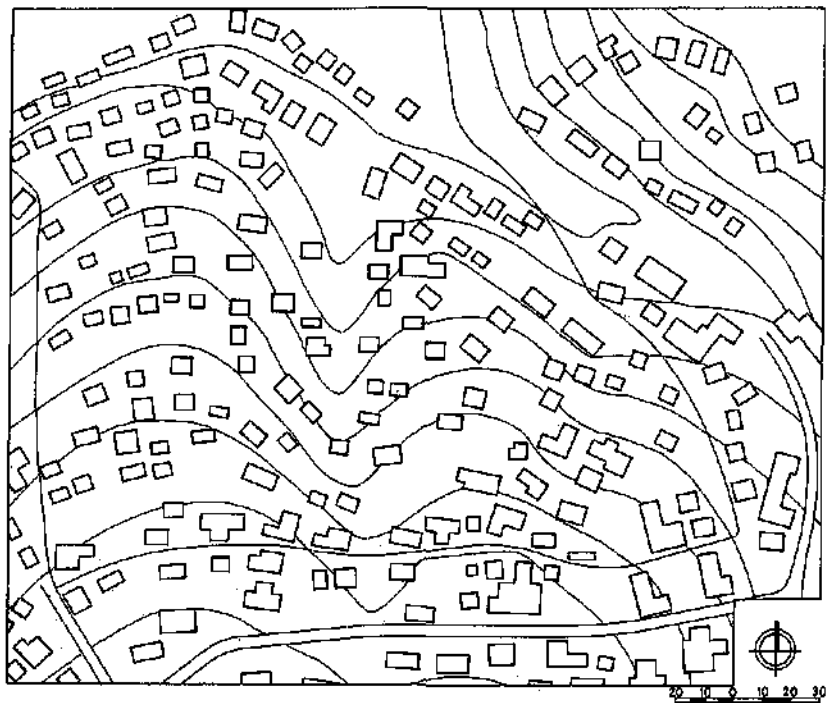
6. T. ŞENYAPILI, Ankara Gecekonduları, Ço-  
ğaltma, O.D.T.Ü., Şehir ve Bölge Planlama Bö-  
lümü, 1962.

the roof was closed, a bed, a stove, a swing for the babies were set in along with a photo of Atatürk on the wall and a brazier with a pot simmering on it was put on the doorstep.<sup>5</sup> In a study by the writer prepared in 1962, the authorities relayed that by the time the police could get a decree from the authorities, the owner himself went to court.<sup>6</sup> Since the court proceedings took a long time, the gecekondu avoided demolition. If, however the court finally issued a decree, the policemen met quite a dramatic resistance. Usually the women and the children climbed up the roof and remained there, supported in cause by their neighbors. If the gecekondu was finally torn down, it would be rebuilt in a short time.

When a gecekondu was built, no matter in what condition, the family was brought from the country. However, life was very difficult in this period. The only income of the family was the inconsistent, temporary, erratic earnings of the head of the family. The family, to support this meager income, tried small-scale gardening or raised poultry whenever possible.

The general layout of the neighborhoods in this period display a development without any physical planning considerations. The houses are situated not in reference to each other but in reference to the contours of the topography. It is quite possible to read off the topography of the settlement from the plan of the neighborhood (Figures 1,2,3,4). In general, the houses are in small groups. The unpaved paths and small gardens are defined in the negative areas left over from the buildings. (Figure 5). Therefore the width of the paths vary by the location of the houses and in general change between 7-10 m. Since the inner space of the houses is not differentiated and also because car ownership is almost nonexistent, the external areas are used intensively. The women work and socialize, younger and older children play in groups in different locations on the paths. In general, houses are entered directly from these paths; however, in the inner parts of the neighborhood houses may have small private gardens or courtyards.

FIGURE 4  
A SETTLEMENT SECTION FROM TAŞLITARLA, (İSTANBUL)GECEKONDU NEIGHBORHOOD



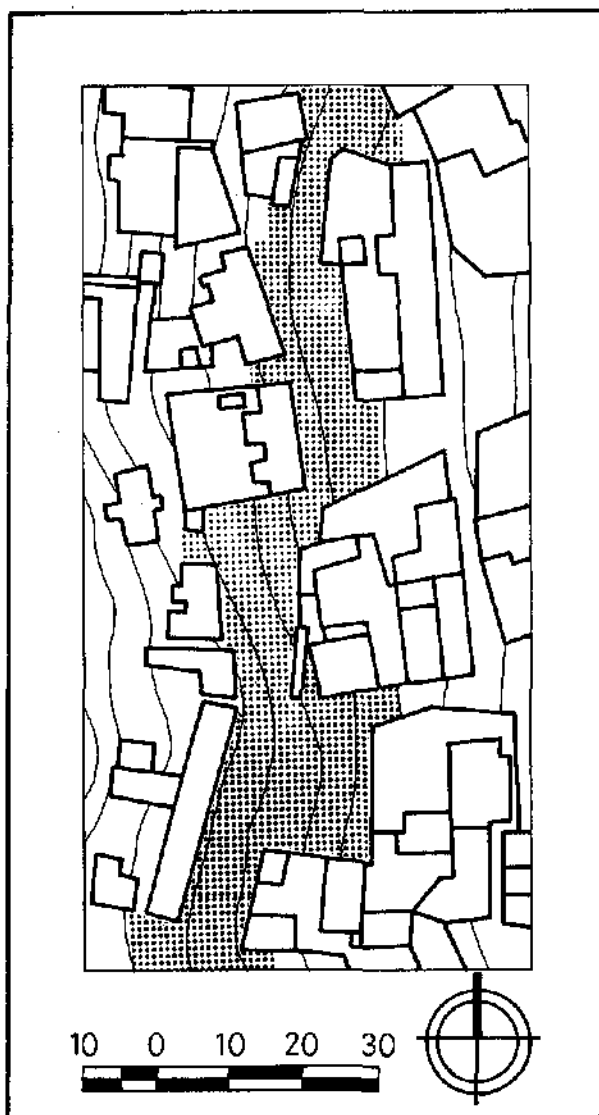


FIGURE 5  
A TYPICAL STREET FROM A  
GECEKONDU NEIGHBORHOOD

The shopping center of the neighborhood is very small consisting of one or two general stores. Usually, there is one grocery store which functions as a general store located where the main path of the gecekondu meets one of the regular roads of the city. In fact the neighborhood starts from this point and density is higher around this small nucleus. As the neighborhood develops towards the inner areas, other general stores appear as in general women do the daily shopping.

Relations with the rural area was very important in this period. Whenever the income of the head of the family fell below subsistence, measures like sending women and children to the village, performing of rituals like weddings, circumcisions and having births at the village, transfer of food and especially dry goods from the village eased the harsh living conditions and constituted the

only security source for the family. Because the family had to keep this relationship channel open, it maintained rural traditions, rituals and the way of life. In other words, income obtained from urban jobs was so low that it did not allow the family to change its way of life.

During this period the municipal authorities were openly antagonistic towards the gecekond dwellers. The newcomers were unwanted elements 'spoiling the urban culture'. They neither had a positive contribution to the labour nor to the income of the city. Therefore, the authorities searched for ways to prevent the incoming migration and even to send the newcomers back. Concomitant to this attitude, no service and infrastructure was brought to the gecekond neighborhoods and they were subjected to frequent attempts of demolition. Yet, when the liberal years of 1950 period began, the ratio of the incomers who worked in marginal urban jobs and lived in desolate, disorderly gecekond neighborhoods had reached unprecedented levels.

#### 1950 - 60: The Gecekond Family Assumes Non-marginal Functions in the Urban Economy

At the beginning of 1950's, Democratic Party won the national elections. By then the economy had improved in general, with the entry of foreign capital to the economy, rise of agricultural prices in foreign markets, increase of agricultural production and with the reduction in military expenses. Credit allocation to the private sector, especially to the commercial sector had increased as well. The number of commercial and industrial establishments in urban areas was on the rise. By the mid 50' s, the somewhat exaggerated attempt to enlarge the transportation network was added to the system. As the agricultural credit flow transformed cultivation methods and increased mechanization, more farmers were detached from land. On the other hand, increasing commercial, industrial and service investments in the urban areas had contributed to the attractiveness of the cities. This time the 'push' of the rural areas coincided with the 'pull' of the urban areas and migration to the cities gained a new impetus. Moreover, the development of the services sector, increase in bureaucratic and industrial jobs opened up new non-marginal employment areas for the incoming population. Although these jobs were petty in dimension and income, still, they were more permanent, secure and brought higher and steadier income compared to the marginal jobs.

The new industrialization attempt and investments, depended on the import of expensive foreign capital and technology. Therefore one other input, namely labour, had to be 'cheap' in order for the capitalist to maintain a certain level of expected profits. The term 'cheap', in its context here, does not only include payment to labour, but connotes a type of labour which can solve its basic problems without charging the cost either to the employer or to the government. The need was for a laborer who built his shelter with second hand construction materials and by his own labour, and who, when established his own small-scale business for himself, worked in abandoned buildings using minimum or no infrastructure and second or third hand capital. The gecekond population was ready to provide such 'cheap' labour with exactly the required qualities. This cheap labour was employed in unskilled and low-skilled service, repair-maintenance, distribution jobs and in petty private work.

Thus for the first time the male population of the gecekonds could pass from marginal jobs to small-scale but non-marginal jobs. Although they were not able to enter the new technical and bureaucratic jobs, they could now find work in

sectors, the employment capacity of which depended on these new jobs. Marginal jobs of the economy were left to the younger male children and to the recent comers from the rural areas. These small-scale, petty jobs were very important for the economy. Since all the sectors of the economy could not get organized at the contemporary level of technology; vital distribution, service, small-scale production and especially repair and maintenance work contributing to the extension of the life-cycle of capital were performed by petty workers.

The passage from marginal to petty but economically important jobs provided a functional and political dimension to the gecekond population. The Democratic Party exploited these masses not only economically but also politically. On the other hand, the gecekond population found the opportunity to use their political potential as voters, as a means of bargaining for permanent and legal settlement on urban land. The newspapers of the period documented the distribution of deeds and provision of infrastructure in exchange for registration to party sub-committees. The gecekond population, involved in a severe struggle to integrate with the city, has been influenced by this experience. Although they could never get organized economically because of high competition on the labour supply side, they always were organized at neighborhood level (Neighborhood Beautification Committees) and supported the ruling political powers.

The repercussions of the new non-marginal status in the economy could be observed in urban space as well. Although these non-marginal petty jobs did not provide security, continuity and adjustment of income to rising inflation, still the earnings of the head of the family were now higher and more permanent. Besides they were supported by the lower and erratic incomes of the women and children. The rising earnings coupled with the orientation of infrastructural investments to the gecekond areas which had now assumed a new function as potential vote areas, contributed to the improvement of the spatial quality of the neighborhoods. Besides, the process of building, starting with the occupation of land to provision of construction materials and labour, was getting organized informally. Thus desolate shacks built on slopes and abandoned areas, slowly transformed into regular neighborhoods.

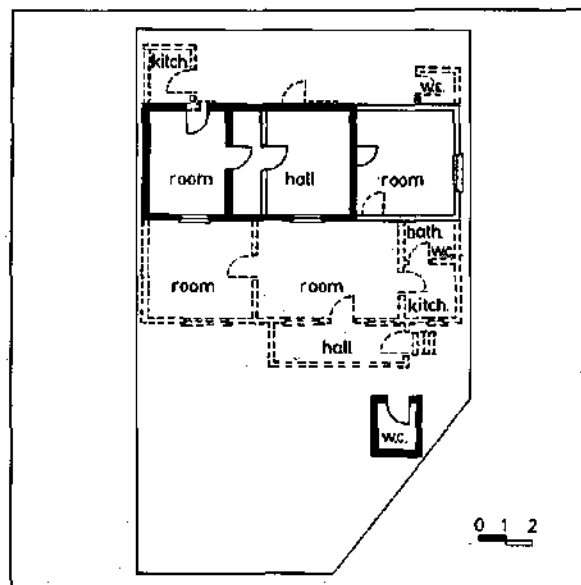


Figure 6: A gecekond in Tuzluca

- stage 1
- stage 2
- stage 3



7. Survey conducted in Tuzluçayır, Akdere and Yıldız gecekond neighborhoods of Ankara in 1976, by the third year students of the City and Regional Planning Department, METU.

A typical construction process in Tuzluçayır, Ankara in this period was realized by villager Ö.A.<sup>7</sup> Ö.A. had occupied 240 m<sup>2</sup> of treasury land in Tuzluçayır in 1956. Having traced the location of walls by a piece of string, Ö.A. and his wife dug for a week the foundations, 0.50 m. deep and raised the stone foundations 1 m. above the ground. Sun-dried brick walls which rose to 2.50 m. were plastered by a combination of mud and hay. Ö.A. then bought 12 long and thin stems of wood shaved by an ax, and placed them on the roof leaving 0.50 m. space between each. He then nailed 50 planks of wood on them and covered them by empty paper bags of cement. This flat roof was then covered by 20 long planks of wood on which a gable roof was nailed. This wooden gable frame was covered by 1 500 tiles. Thus Ö.A. became the owner of a room and a small hall, net area of which was 22.75 m<sup>2</sup>, the gross area being 36 m<sup>2</sup>, (Figure 6). Later on in 1977, by additions made to it, the net usable area rose to 104.05 m<sup>2</sup> and gross area to 114.30 m<sup>2</sup>. In those years families who were able to increase their incomes started repairing their gecekonds. These were then rented while the family built a better one for itself. Those families whose incomes increased considerably, moved to low cost apartment houses in lower middle class neighborhoods. Thus a 'deadless' asset market was created and rent belts started to appear in the older gecekond neighborhoods. So, while new areas were opened for gecekond, older areas were experiencing tenure. Older shacks were being constantly repaired and additions were being made along with new and better quality cinder block constructions which sometimes rose up to two stories.

After 1953, the older gecekond areas both in İstanbul and Ankara were full, yet gecekond owners had gained experience and necessary knowledge in building. Since these people had also learned how to cope with the danger of demolition, better quality houses were built in this period. Cinder blocks were substituted for sun-dried bricks. Cinder block, besides possessing the positive qualities of sun-dried bricks, was a stronger and better looking material. Those who could save their shacks from demolition, built cinder block walls inside the house and then tore down the outer wooden walls. New cinder block units were then added to the older core. On the other hand, it is not possible to summarize this enlargement process in the context of spatial plans because this process depends on factors like the shape of the site, its topography, orientation, relations with neighbours and economy of construction.

Thus, between 1953 - 60 cinder block buildings increased, older shacks were repaired and enlarged, proportion of rented gecekonds increased in older and inner gecekond neighborhoods and speculation of land, construction processes and of construction materials started. Of these three different types of speculation, the one on land has been much discussed in the newspapers. The possibility to occupy large sites of land in the early years was finally transformed into a source of speculative gain by some people. In a survey conducted in gecekond areas, we did meet people who had bought the site for money but had received no deed for it. If and when the real owner came to reclaim his land, the cases were taken to court.

Concomitant to this fact, speculation of construction processes also started. By then, due to changing external conditions and accumulation of knowledge more permanent constructions were required. Therefore skilled craftsmen acquired a sort of monopoly on the building process.<sup>8</sup> These craftsmen had learned the trade either when they were in the village or in the city through practical experience of constructing gecekonds. These men maintained good relations with the gendarmerie and had divided the neighborhood among

8 T. KURUCU, Zeytinburnu Gecekondularının Kuruluşu ve Ustif Teşkilatları, Yayınlanmamış Mezuniyet Tezi, İstanbul Üniversitesi Sosyal Antropoloji ve Etnoloji Bölümü 1965.

themselves. They did not actually work in constructions, but lingered around the neighborhood coffeehouse. Anyone wishing to build a gecekond was referred to them. These craftsmen provided the site, laborers and addresses of places from where construction materials could be bought and received a certain fee for their services. If the gendarmerie intervened with the construction, these craftsmen came and settled the trouble. If a person attempted to build a gecekond by himself, the craftsmen informed the gendarmerie and the construction was torn down. Öğretmen describes the same process for Ankara.<sup>9</sup>

9. İ. ÖĞRETMEN, Ankara'da 158 Gecekond, Ankara, Ankara Üniversitesi Siyasal Bilgiler Fakültesi Yayınları, 1957.

Sale of construction materials on credit also gained importance in this period. Since the gecekond builders used materials from demolished buildings, demolition, storage and sale of discarded materials became a profitable job. Some of those who had occupied larger areas, set up businesses based on collection and sale of discarded materials on part of their land. In some cases the 'scrap dealer' built the gecekond himself and sold them and in others he sold land on the condition that building materials were bought from him. Any person could engage in all of those three kinds of speculation.

In those years the conditions of migration were changed as well. Improvement of transportation and communication networks, and the accumulation of former villagers in urban areas conveyed knowledge related to urban life and opportunities open to villagers in the city, to the rural areas. The city was no longer an unknown entity for the migrants. So they no longer came with their beddings on their backs, but with the address of a relative or a countryman. The settlement and employment problems of the migrants were solved through these relations. Thus the migrants started to bring along their families with them. They could now find jobs and build gecekonds in shorter periods of time and both of these processes were supported and solved through informal relations.

Thus during the 1950 - 60 period, a portion of urban population who received profits from the type of labour provided by the gecekond areas, supported the gecekond. This positive attitude, coupled by the voting potential of these masses in favour of the ruling parties, contributed to the conditions of permanency and legalization for the gecekond process through spatial investments. During this period the gecekond family founded its permanency in economic and political dimensions.

#### 1960 - 70: The Gecekond Family Assumes Functions in the Domestic Consumption Market

During this decade, the gecekond family whose main function so far has been to provide 'cheap' labour to the economy, gained a new function. Since merchants and industrialists who were considerably enriched as a result of investments realized and also due to inflation of the past decade, could not participate in foreign markets as fully as they wanted, the existence of an ever expanding domestic market gained emphasis. One of the main proponents of this market, both as producers and as consumers, was the gecekond families. During 1960 - 70, the share of the gecekond labour in the economy was consolidated and with the entry of women and children to labour force, family incomes increased. This increase in income accompanied by an increase in consumption patterns resulted in an increase in investments both at neighborhood and at house level. The interiors of the gecekonds were further differentiated, construction quality improved, their environs were cleared, rearranged and thus the appearance of the gecekonds improved in general. The neighborhoods no longer looked like random conglomerations of shacks but

now consisted of small yet properly built, whitewashed houses in clean, green, small gardens. The entry of plastic and clay tile in the constructions contributed further to the improvement of appearance of these houses. As older gecekondu neighborhoods improved slowly in appearance, the type of commerce in their central areas also changed. Carpenter shops, ironsmiths, sellers of hardware and of construction materials were substituted by electricians, coffeehouses, cleaners, butchers and the like.

On the other hand, the entry of infrastructure to the gecekondu areas did not take less than 10 to 15 years in general. One can read about the long struggles between gecekondu neighborhoods and the authorities in the newspapers of the period. The local news sections of the papers published during 1950 - 55 are full of demands for roads, schools, health centers, public baths, electricity and water and the ceremonial opening of these facilities by the authorities. Although during the recent years the attitude of the authorities had changed and municipal investment priorities were given to gecekondu areas, still many of the families have unauthorized connections to their neighbors' water and electricity.

Differentiation of interiors reflects not only a change in the exogenous conditions but also in the mode of life of the family. One of the objects of the survey has been to see whether or not interior differentiation that is typical for apartment houses (e.g. like separate bedrooms for children or a hall for distribution of inner traffic) existed in gecekondus.<sup>10</sup> The survey results showed that although a separate bedroom was built for the parents as soon as it was possible, there usually was not a separate bedroom for children. The pattern of additions to the gecekondu displays the fact that separate living units for children are considered only when they are married. Even though the family may have the means for adding separate units for children, they prefer not to use them for this purpose. If, for example, it is possible to develop additional spaces for rent, the family prefers to spend its funds to realize this aim.

10. Survey conducted in Istanbul and in Ankara in 1976.

Likewise, service areas are added at certain stages of the evolution of the gecekondu. At first stage both because of the danger of demolition and because of financial difficulties, a separate kitchen and a bathroom are not built. A water closet sometimes shared by several families is built separate from the main building. Food is cooked outside when weather permits. However, almost always the first addition made to the house is a kitchen, and bathroom usually comes last. Families who do not own a bathroom, do their washing in the garden during summer and either in the small entrance hall or in the kitchen in the winter months. Baths are also taken in either of these interior spaces. Besides, a bathroom in a gecekondu is not like the ones constructed in apartment houses. In the gecekondu, the bathroom is only large enough to enclose a primitive shower. If the family possesses a washing machine it is kept in the living room as a piece of furniture. It is either saved for the dowry of the daughter, or cannot be used because there is no electricity in the gecekondu. In many other occasions it is rarely used and washing is done by hand.

In order to have an idea of the most common module size, measurements were made on the first stage plans of several gecekondus.<sup>11</sup> The net usable area of the initial unit changes between 15 - 35 m<sup>2</sup>. It consists of a single room which may have dimensions like, 3.00X3.50 m., 2.80X3.20m., 4.50X3.00 m., 4.00X5.00 m. and of a small entrance with dimensions of 2.70X2.00 m. or 2.00X1.80 m. The most common measurement for this single room is 3.00X4.00 m. Since windows are bought from scrap dealer they may differ even on the same surface of the house. In general, a window consists of a single pane of 0.50X1.00 m. If the

materials initially obtained are all used up, the construction may be continued with whatever material available. A sun-dried brick wall may be completed with bricks or wood. The measurements of windows and doors, covering material of the roof are all subject to alteration. Since no insulation material is used, it is important that the openings be as narrow and small as possible. So, like the windows, the space left for entrance changes between 0.80–0.90 m. and the ceiling height does not exceed 2.40 m. Another typical measurement of the gecekondus is their FAR (Floor Area Ratio: ratio of the floor area of the house to its site). In general building base covers about 30–35 % of the site. The reason why FAR is so low is because at the beginning it was easier to occupy larger areas whereas the family funds allowed only for smaller buildings. Rest of the land was kept for further extension or for speculative purposes. In the later gecekondus areas, because land prices were higher and official controls were more frequent, smaller sites could be occupied so FAR values are higher.

The gecekondus in our samples had average net usable area of 82 m<sup>2</sup>. This average is higher compared to net usable area of 65 m<sup>2</sup> to which housing credit was issued by Social Insurance Organization in the late sixties. Spatial characteristics of gecekondus as documented in different studies are presented in Table 1, which supports our argument.

Is it possible to summarize spatial evolution of gecekondus in any typology of planning? In our opinion such an effort would not be very meaningful because of two reasons. First of all, since gecekondus are built under insecure conditions and danger of demolition, by people with lack of the necessary funds, and technical knowledge, they could not be based on premade rational plans. Therefore the rationale of plan hardly functions as a factor orienting the spatial arrangement of the gecekondus. Secondly, there is a certain relation between the base of the building and the site. This relation may be expressed as:

$$Y = f ( T, B, X, I, G )$$

- Y : Orientation of the building on the site
- T : Topographical thresholds (slopes, flood direction, possibility of land slides, relations with street level, quality of the soil and the like)
- B : Form of the site
- X : Orientation (to the sun, scenery, to the existing streets and to the other housing groups)
- I : Relations with the neighbors
- G : Possibility for future extension, e.g. if the possibility to protect the occupied site seems weak, the gecekondus may be built right in the middle of it. If not, it is built in a corner, which affects extension plans.

The orientation of the house on the site is the result of the interplay of all such factors and that is why a mixed orientation is observed in gecekondus areas.

In 1950's the consideration to obtain services was not included in this list of factors. Both because the technology of the services was not known and also because since the neighborhood had yet appeared, none knew about the possible orientation of it.

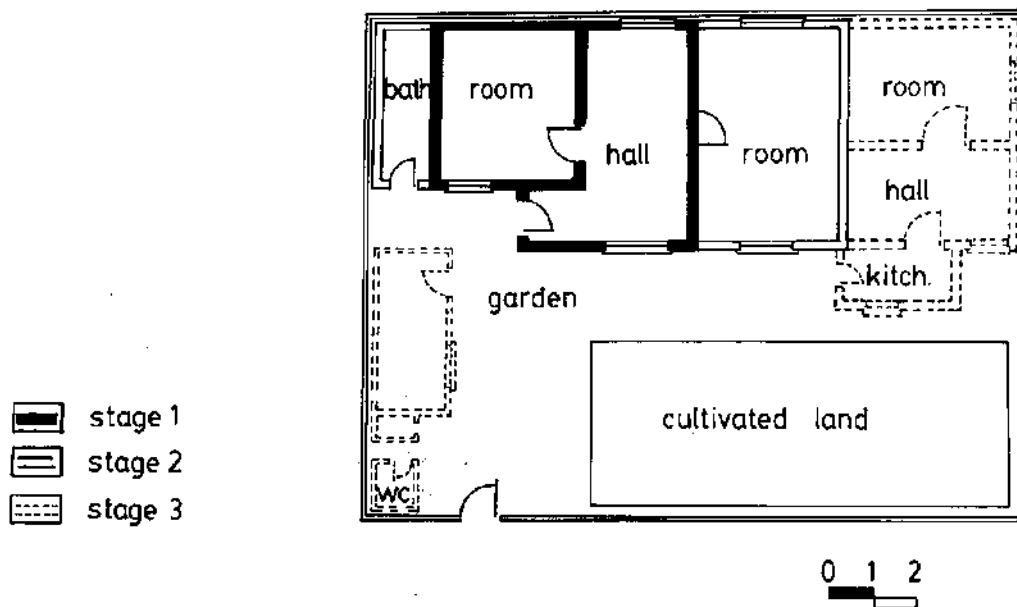


Figure 7: A gecekodu 'evolution process' in Akdere

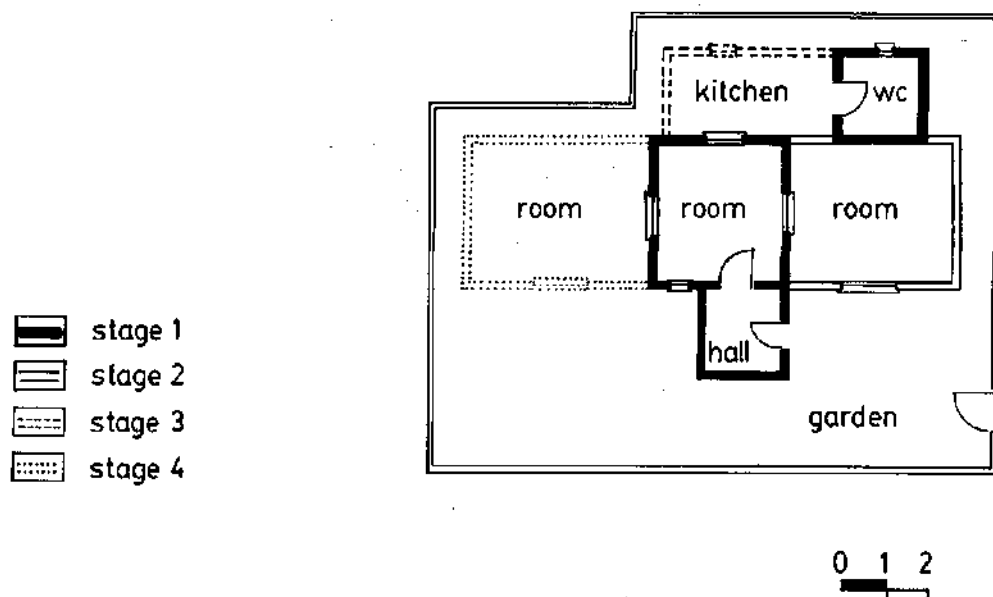


Figure 8: A gecekodu 'evolution process' in Tuzlucaayr

The factors affecting the arrangement of the inner space of the gecekodu can be expressed in the following model relation:

$$P = f(A, F, M, T, Y)$$

- P : Plan of the gecekodu  
 A : Relations with the site  
 F : Availability of funds  
 M : Quality and supply of available construction materials  
 T : Availability of technical knowledge and skill and their quality  
 Y : Danger of demolition.

Under these circumstances the aim is to settle on the site within the limits of the existing funds in a shelter the possible demolition of which will not result in great financial loss.

So gecekodu construction evolved in stages because of these reasons. This evolution is a process of 'addition' rather than planned development. (Figures 7, 8). Therefore instead of a planned unity of rooms designed for different functions opening into an inner service core, we observe horizontal additions to an initial core realized in accordance with the factors itemized above. In general, the foundations are not suitable for vertical expansion. Besides, extension in this dimension is more expensive and therefore attempted only when a deed is obtained. In the process of horizontal extension, either new units are added to the older one from one end. (Figures 9,10), or from two or more of its ends. Figures 11, 12) Thus either rooms open into each other or all rooms open to a single space which may happen to be a living unit itself. Within this addition process sometimes unusual proportions may result like 1.20X8.50 m., 2.70X8.00 m., or 1.00 X 7.70 m. Therefore it is possible to find several examples of this 'addition' process which is different from classical planning typologies. Within the addition process, use of the garden, if there is one, has special importance. The main function of the garden is no longer growing of vegetables but provision of service spaces and extension.

11. In this study, the instrument 'zoomtransferscope' was used by research assistant Murat Güvenc, City and Regional Planning Department, METU.

In order to document the development process of a gecekodu area, a study was conducted in İstanbul in Gazi Osman Paşa (former Taşlıtarla).<sup>11</sup> The development in the area was determined by aerial photographs for the years 1960, 1966, 1972 and 1976. Figure 13 which shows the total neighborhood in 1960 reveals that the area bounded by the Golden Horn on the west and by industrial establishments and work shops situated along the Topkapı Avenue on the east, extended towards the topographical thresholds (Küçükköy slopes) on the north. The area was first opened to settlement in 1952, therefore the development shown in Figure 13 is the result of 8 years. The densest core is along the Gazi Muhtar Avenue which joins the industrial areas on the east and west. The orderly settlement along this avenue changes character as it extends north. Both the housing concentrations and the streets have been shaped by topography. It is possible to read off the contours of the land from the arrangement of houses. This is typical in gecekodu areas where the cost of excavation is always avoided.

The housing settlement on the north of the map shows that it has not been developed in a planned arrangement. As observed in Figure 14, the houses are not situated so as to receive efficient service from the roads and the roads have not been planned so as to carry the infrastructure system. The impression obtained from the 1960 map is that the existing paths have been opened on traces made by animals and people while they walked over the land. Within the areas shaped by these irregular paths, gecekodular have been built in accordance with the factors discussed above. Inner paths are then opened to

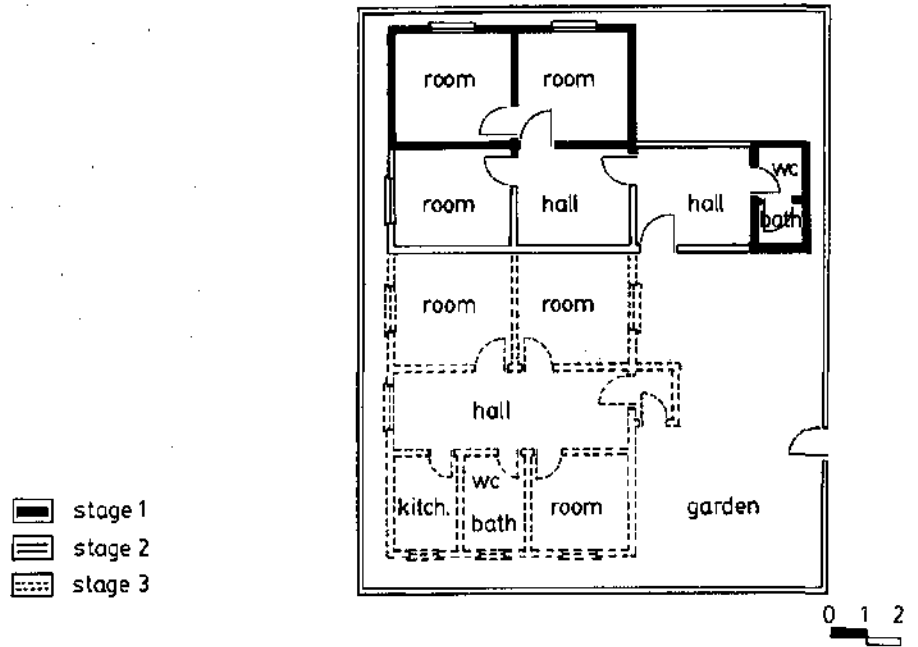


Figure 9: 'Horizontal extension' in Akdere

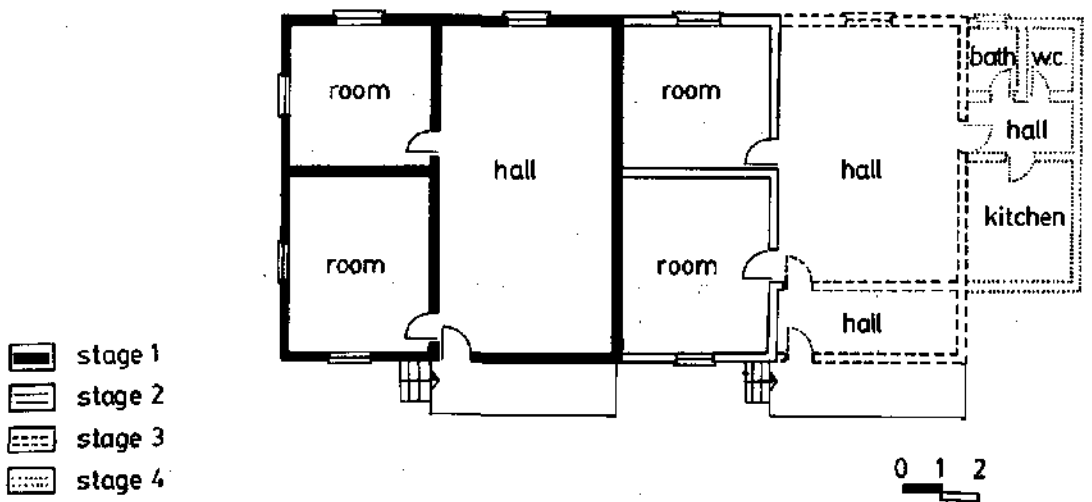


Figure 10: 'Horizontal extension' in Tuzlucayır

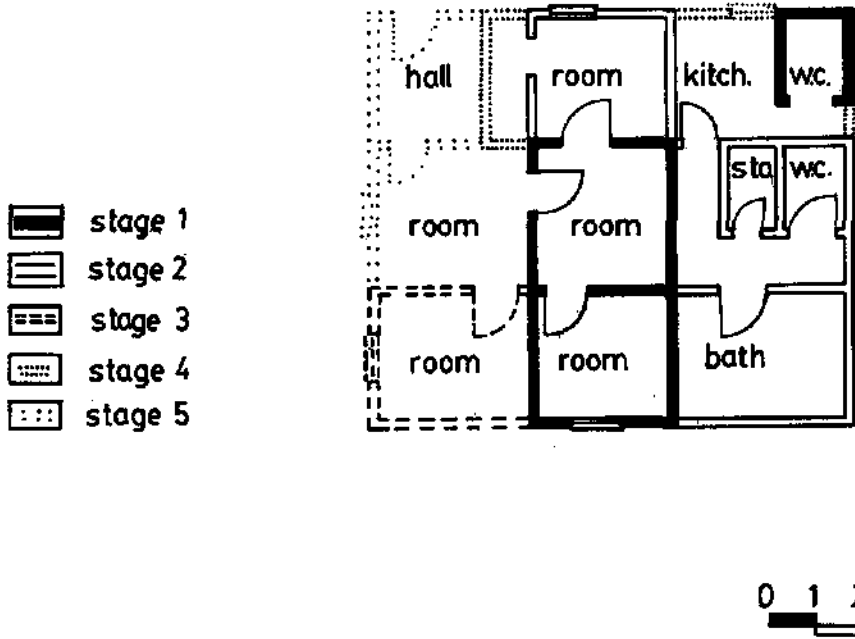


Figure 11: Horizontal extension in Tuzlucaýır

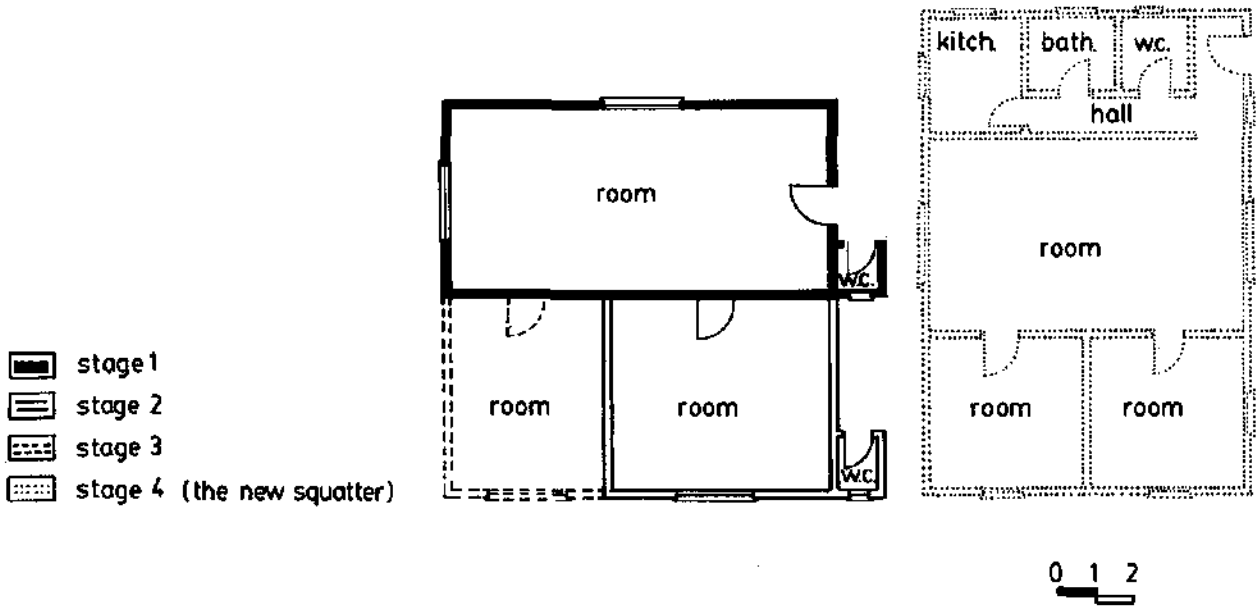


Figure 12: 'Horizontal extension' in Tuzlucaýır





connect these gecekondus to existing paths. First gecekondus are built along the paths and the inner parts of housing blocks remain empty.

In the 1960 map it is observed that the settlement extended towards Istanbul Avenue that passes on the north yet there are still empty areas along with agricultural areas and trees between the Avenue and the settlement. North of the Istanbul Avenue is not yet opened to settlement. Yet a path is opened in accordance with the contours on the north, parallel to the brook and there are a few houses where the path bends. There are also a few paths near these houses opened by the traces of pedestrians and animals.

The most important development in the 1966 map is the construction of a factory in the east of the area and the appearance of a new gecekondus settlement near it, around the Keçe water source, and appearance of paths. Besides, empty inner parts of housing groups are starting to fill and the gecekondus neighborhood extends towards the Istanbul Avenue.

The 1972 map shows concentration increases not only around the factory but new apartment buildings appear along the main road. The empty area south of

the Keçe water source has also started to develop. In 1976 we observe the increased density in the older parts along with appearance of some common spaces, improvement of road surfaces and building of the community mosque. Thus during the first stage housing begins along the perimeter of the irregular housing blocks delimited by pedestrian paths, in the second stage the inner parts become denser and inner paths appear. In the third stage, the common public structures like mosques, schools are built and roads are improved. Moreover apartment buildings replace gecekondus along the main avenues as observed on the eastern part of the area. In this stage, new gecekondus concentrations instead of being attached to the existing ones develop in separate units. New concentrations appearing on the north in the 1976 map are such examples. The development of this area and the new concentration on the north gives an idea as to how gecekondus development takes place. Development does not occur in homogeneous waves starting from one end of the available land. But it occurs in small concentrations where topography is most suitable and at points nearest to the existing paths. In time, the inner parts of these concentrations become denser and the concentrations join e.g. in the 1976 map on the south of the new development a new subdivision attempt is observed. It is also observed that differentiations appear with the realization of new concentrations in time. Experienced men now lead new formations with the expectation that the settlement might gain formal administrative status in the near future. Therefore, new gecekondus areas opened after 1970 were planned although in an elementary way. The new concentration on the east of the study area as observed in 1976 map is an example.

#### 1970 - 80: The Gecekondus Family Starts Small-Scale Land Speculation

Turkey lived a second high inflationary period especially during the last years of this decade. The gecekondus population who had gained nonmarginal status during the first rapid inflation, turned to small scale land speculation during this second inflation. During this period, the rapid boost of land prices to unforeseen levels increased the importance of those gecekondus areas which were connected to the city centers by bus or dolmuş (shared taxi) lines and which had already received infrastructural services. As expected, the speculation mentioned at this level is at small scale usually covering one or two houses and their sites. Yet when we consider that the greater portion of the urban population lived in gecekondus areas, it becomes obvious the gecekondus population is now holding the larger stock of urban land. A person who owns a gecekondus is a millionaire in today's economic conditions. The value of his land exceeds by far the value of the shelter on it.

On the other hand, when increase in car ownership, enlargement of city centers and increase of density in inner urban areas resulted in insufficient services and when shared ownership, on urban land froze the ownership and use of land in the inner areas; especially middle income groups tended to move to peripheral areas. Their first choice was to follow the peripheral axes where high income groups were located. So contractors started buying the gecekondus land situated on these axes and transformed them into mass housing or single apartments for the middle classes.

Thus gecekondus owners from 1950 onwards did not only consolidate their economic and political roles but also came to own more than half of urban land. Now if the gecekondus owner has the necessary funds, he builds a multistore house on his land or most often he either sells his land or gives it to the contractor in return for the ownership of a few flats in the apartment

building to be constructed. Thus in 1970 those gecekondu areas nearer or well connected to the city center and which were suitable from the point of view of thresholds were transformed into multistore middle class mass housing.

Throughout their short history the gecekondu areas were subjected to two different levels of differentiation. The first one was a horizontal differentiation observed in 1950-60 period when rent belts started to appear in the older and central areas of gecekondu neighborhoods and when those owners who could improve their economic status moved to lower class neighborhoods. Thus older, unkempt and rented inner cores were surrounded by newer gecekondus where ownership rate was higher. Today the rate of rented gecekondus is the highest in the oldest gecekondu areas like Altındağ (Ankara) or Zeytinburnu and Gazi Osman Paşa (Istanbul).

The second inner differentiation that occurred in the seventies was a vertical one when, as mentioned, inner and more connected gecekondu areas were transformed into multistore housing. However, this transformation did not occur in a planned and orderly way because it was realized by the juxtaposition of two markets, one legal and the other informal and most of the time illegal. So in most cases the transformation process did not proceed smoothly and was taken to courts.

One such example occurred in Ankara in 1970. The place was called Havuzlubag, which was within Güzeltepe neighborhood of Çankaya. In 1950 the southwestern slopes of Çankaya going down to Dikmen valley were settled by gecekondus. There was no infrastructure. In the Havuzlubag area of the valley, nearer to the Hoşdere Street there were about 800 gecekondus. These houses were built on the treasury land. They had no deeds but were registered at the tax office and the owners paid their taxes regularly. The population worked in petty service and private jobs and the women served as domestic help in the nearby apartment houses. The Ministry of Reconstruction and Resettlement, to clean up the area, had distributed forms to the households asking for information and promising to allocate social housing to those who would consent to leave the area. In 1966, about 120 families left the area in exchange for social housing in Tuzluca but according to information given by the authorities, many rented out the social houses and came back to build new gecekondus in the vicinity.

The "Gecekondu Law No: 775" passed in 1966 delegated authority on the subject of gecekondus to municipalities so the Municipality of Ankara continued to appeal to the gecekondu owners to move to social housing. In reply, 'Çankaya Havuzlubag Beautification, Maintenance and Improvement Association' notified the authorities that according to the new law those gecekondu areas settled before the law were to be accepted as 'Gecekondu Prevention Areas', and thus had to be allocated to the gecekondu owners since their neighborhood had been taken into municipal boundaries before the law. Thus the problem began. In 1967, the Association asked the Municipality to sell the land to them on its market value but met refusal. In 1970, the gecekondu owners were notified that the area was bought by a housing corporation and had to be evacuated. A month later a busfull of policemen arrived with workers of the corporation but had to recede after a street fight. The gecekondu owners went to the court. Yet a month later policemen and workers returned in greater numbers and some of the houses were torn down yet they were immediately rebuilt. Finally another month later, the corporation evacuated the area under police protection and distributed money to the evacuees. Ministry of

FIGURE 14

GAZİ OSMAN PAŞA 1960



FIGURE 15

GAZİ OSMAN PAŞA 1966






-  Houses from 1960 map
-  Houses from 1966 aerial photo
-  Roads from 1966 aerial photo

FIGURE 16

GAZI OSMAN PAŞA 1972

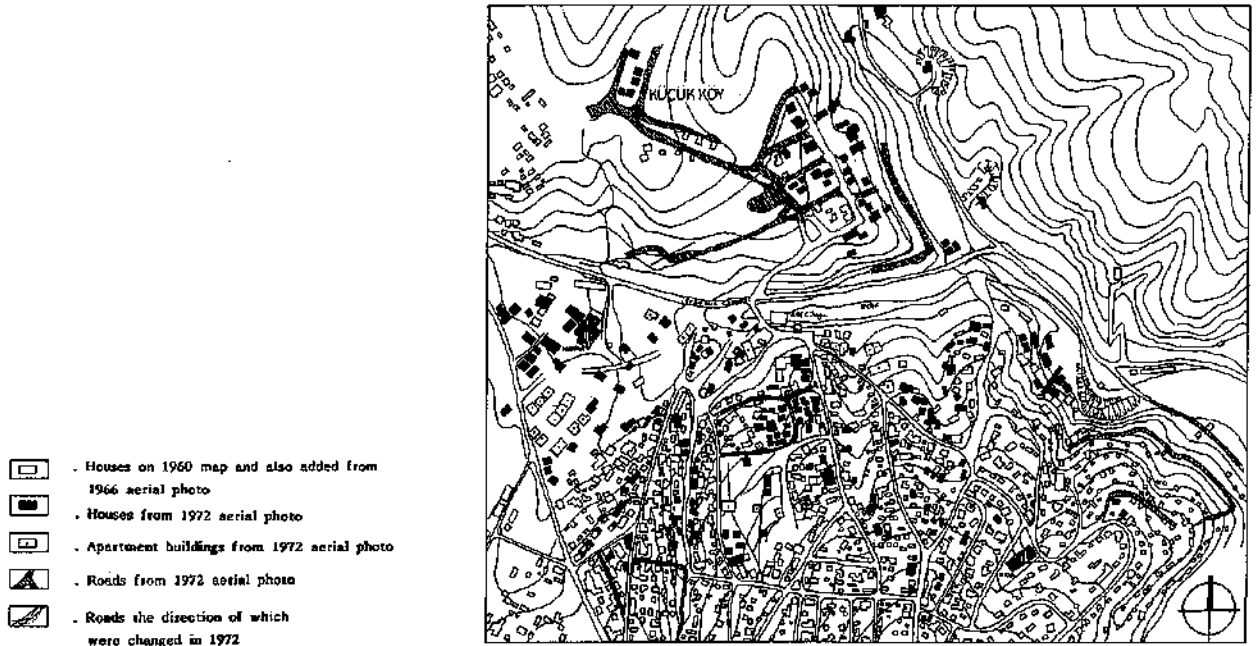
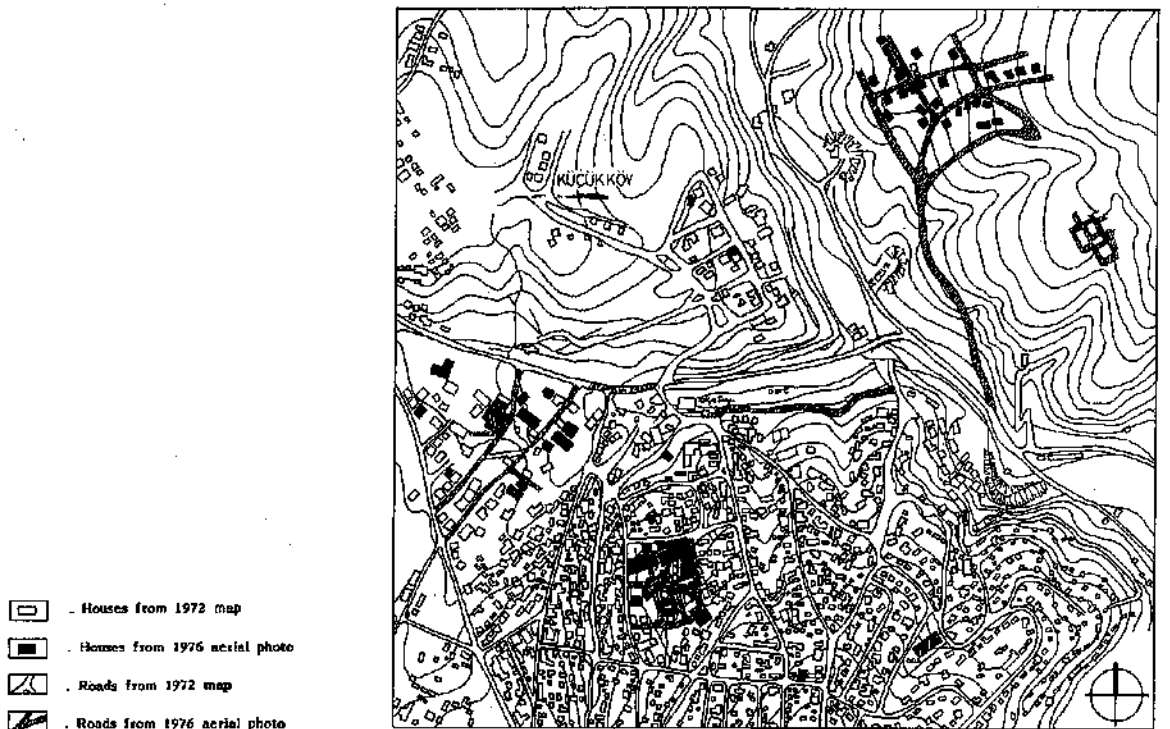


FIGURE 17

GAZI OSMAN PAŞA 1976



Reconstruction and Resettlement gave social housing to some of the evacuees over Atışderesi area. Yet the gecekondu owners claimed that the area should legally have been allocated to them and that although their proposal to buy the land was refused, it was both sold to housing cooperatives for a cheaper price and part of it was allocated to the corporation. They even obtained expert reports from the court, supporting their claims. Yet the housing complex was finished under police protection and was sold on flat basis. When the corporation reentered the area again in 1974 to build new housing blocks, it again met with resistance and this time had to build houses for the evacuees. Today the valley behind the housing blocks of the corporation is still full of gecekondu.

Another aspect of gecekondu areas opened after 1970 is that they were now being opened enmasse instead of on individual basis. This fact can also be observed in the new settlements being opened north of Gazi Osman Paşa map of 1976. (Figure 17). Another example was relayed to us during the survey. In 1974, gecekondu dwellers from Bayburt and Gümişhane who were living in Gültepe (Istanbul) decided to open to settlement an area called Küçüktepe near the Terkos lake together with their newcomer countrymen. They first asked assistance of experienced elders in Sanayi neighborhood near them. Together with them they went to the area and occupied about 150-200 parcels each about 10 hectares. In the meantime, the experienced elders walked over the site, allocating land for community facilities like schools, a mosque, sports areas and the like. One of the elders cautioned the others that when they were occupying their present Sanayi Neighborhood, he had asked them to pave a main road with 20 m. of width, they had not listened and now the road was inefficient. The next day local authorities arrived but a sort of agreement was reached on condition that the houses would be finished in a week. On the other hand, towards the end of this period with the increase in local controls, mass occupations had to stop.

Thus, between 1970 - 80, the gecekondu neighborhoods which were accepted as part of the regular urban set up in the previous era, started to transform into familiar multi-store urban tissue. As a result of this transformation and the dense control on gecekondu building, the outer sections of the city centers started to turn into transition areas, while the ratio of rented buildings increased to a great extent in the older gecekondu areas.

### Conclusion

Gecekondu is a type of shelter shaped by certain economic relations and forces to a great extent. Its evolution as a form of settlement follows the evolution and relative position of the gecekondu type of labour (low skilled, uneducated, inexperienced) in the urban economy. In this study it was discussed that during the years 1945-50, since the incoming migrants could find employment only in the marginal urban jobs, they could not find a permanent solution to their settlement problem. Thus remaining in the margin of the economy resulted in settlement in the margins of the city in tin roofed shacks. It was only when gecekondu labour found the opportunity to pass to non-marginal but petty, jobs, the spatial appearance of the gecekondu also started to change. Neighborhoods of tin roofed shacks without infrastructure transformed into orderly and neat neighborhoods. After 1960, the gecekondu population solidified its place in the economy not only as a source of supply of 'cheap' labour but as producers and consumers of an ever expanding domestic market. As the gecekondu labour became an integral part of the urban economy, gecekondu neighborhoods started to receive priority in the allocation of urban investments. After 1970, the

increase of speculation on urban land caused a transformation of former gecekond neighborhoods nearer to the city centers into high-rise cooperative housing. The basic character of a gecekond is no longer its illegality. In fact, illegality has lost its meaning as today 50 to 70% of the population in the large cities of Turkey live in such houses. Moreover most owners have acquired deeds by now. The distinctive character of a gecekond is its flexibility. It is our assertion in this study that this flexibility is a reflection of mobility in the urban economy. A man still mobile in the economy cannot afford a 'rigid' housing solution like an apartment house. He needs a solution that costs as much as he can afford at each stage of his economic life.

In conclusion we may assert that the gecekond is a spatial reflection of a certain stage of a development model. It definitely is not solely a physical phenomenon, but the spatial appearance of social and economic mode of living of the society.

### A CASE FROM AKDERE

B.A., born in Ağrı came to Ankara in 1954. He lived in a rented sun-dried brick gecekond in Yenidoğan for four months and found work in a workplace making cinder blocks. Through relations formed in this workplace, he was able to occupy 193 m<sup>2</sup>. of treasury land in Akdere the same year. Since the land was on a steep slope and unsuitable for construction, he hired two workers and spent three days cleaning the site. On the third night, he built a room and an entrance by sun-dried bricks bought from nearby producers on credit and the roof was covered by tin sheets. The net usable area of this initial unit was 26.64 m<sup>2</sup>. However, the police who arrived in the morning tore the building down. B.A. immediately rebuilt it. When the police came again, he negotiated with them and saved his gecekond. Three years later, in 1957, he added a room, a bathroom and a storage space for coal and covered the roof with tile. Four years later, in 1961, another room, a kitchen and a hall unconnected to the initial building were added. So seven years after the gecekond was built, food could be prepared in a proper kitchen. Laundry was still done in the garden in 1976. Water and electricity were connected in 1960, six years after the initial construction. Thus net usable area, which was 26.64 m<sup>2</sup>. in 1954 rose to 75.25 m<sup>2</sup>. in seven years. B.A. and his family of ten say that they are content with their gecekond and do not plan to move elsewhere.

### A CASE FROM TUZLUÇAYIR

C.D., born in Sivas, migrated to Ankara in 1948. He stayed with a friend for few days until he found work in a construction. Then he built a simple wooden shelter on the construction site and stayed there for a year. A year later, he found work in the municipal fire department, rented a wooden gecekond and brought his wife and son from the village. Yet the rent was high for him, so they moved to another wooden gecekond in Bostanlarıç. They lived here for six years and in the meantime C.D. found another job in a public agency. With the help of a friend working in the same place, he occupied 123 m<sup>2</sup>. of treasury land in Tuzluçayır in 1954. Since he had no money to buy construction materials, C.D. collected stones from around and with the small amount of cash he had, he hired two workers. Together they built a room and a W.C. Net usable area was 17.91 m<sup>2</sup>. Before they could cover the roof, the police tore down the stone walls. C.D. rebuilt the walls but they were torn down the second time. The third time, however, he was able to cover the roof by wooden planks. A few days later, he could buy tiles on credit and covered the roof properly. A few months later, a room and before the year was out a kitchen were added. A year later another room was added. Thus net usable area, which had started as 17.19 m<sup>2</sup>. rose to 54.28 m<sup>2</sup>. in a year. C.D. who was lucky to enlarge the gecekond in so short a time also received water in a year and electricity in about a year and a half. In 1954, the municipality collected 200 TL. from each gecekond and a sewage system was built. C.D. and his wife also said that they were pleased with their gecekond and did not wish to move elsewhere.



## ÖZET

## GECEKONDULAŞMA SÜRECİNİN FİZİKSEL ÖZELLİKLERİ VE TÜRKİYE'DE GELİŞİMİ ÜZERİNE BİR TARTIŞMA

Gecekondu belirli ekonomik ilişkilerin mekana yansıdığı bir barınak türü ve bu barınakların oluşturduğu bir yerleşme biçimidir. Gecekonduyunun evrimi onu yaratan emeğin ekonomi içindeki evrimini izler. Kırdan göçen emeğin, 1945-50 arasında, genelde, marjinal işlerde çalışması sonucu, sistemin kendilerine mekanda kalıcı çözümler getirmediği tartışılmış ve ekonominin marjinde kalmanın mekana yansımasının da mekanın 'marjinde' tenekte damlı konut mahalleleri biçimini aldığı öne sürülmüştür. Gecekondu kesimi 1955'lere doğru, marjinal işlerden küçük çaplı işlere geçmeye başlayınca, gecekonduyunun da mekansal görünümü değişmiş ve tenekte damlı, alt yapısız konut yığınları, düzgün ve düzenli bir yapılaşmaya yönelmiştir. 1960'lardan sonra ise gecekondu kesimi, ekonomi içindeki yerini, yalnızca "ucuz" emek deposu olarak değil, iç pazarın hem mekansal sınırlarını genişleten hem de katılımı ile yoğunluğunu arttıran önemli bir etken olarak daha da sağlamlaştırmış ve kesinleştirmiştir. Gecekondu nüfusunun kent ekonomisinin önemli bir ögesine dönüşmesi sonucu gecekondu mahalleleri de kentin olağan, alışılmış mahallelerine dönüşmeye başlamış, alt yapı yatırımları öncelik kazanmıştır. 1970'den sonra ise kent toprağı üzerinde spekülasyonun artması, özellikle eski ve merkeze yakın gecekondu mahallelerinde çok katlı yapılaşma dönüşümü başlatmıştır.

Kente yerleşmede ve kentli gibi bir yaşam sürdürmede, konut, göçenin en önemli güvence kaynağını oluşturmaktadır. Konduya bu boyutu ile değer verilmektedir. Kondu, yalnızca bir barınma aracı değil, bir gelir ve biriktirim kaynağıdır. İşler kötü gittiğinde kira geliri sağlayabilmektedir. Kent toprağının değeri arttıkça, kondu ufak çaplı spekülasyon kaynağına dönüşmektedir. Nitekim, konutun eklemelerle genişlemesi en fazla bu amaca hizmet etmektedir. Örneğin, konutlarda çocuklara ayrı bir yatak ve çalışma mekanı vermek için olanaklar zorlanmamaktadır. Bu olanaklar öncelikle aileye genel bir yaşam ünitesi sağlamak için kullanılmaktadır. Sonraki eklentiler ise, aile genişler ya da çocuklar evlenip aile ile birlikte yaşamayı sürdürürlerse ya da kiralama amacı ile yapılmaktadır. Gecekondu türü konutun en temel ayırıcı ve belirleyici özelliği "yapım sürecinde esnekliktir". Gerek güvencesiz koşullar, gerekse parasal olanaksızlar içinde konutun tümünü bir aşamada tamamlayamayan gecekonducuyu, ekonomik yaşamında gelirinin oynaklığı koşutunda, konutun yapımını, zaman içinde olanakları ölçüsünde gelişen bir sürece dönüştürmektedir. Parasal olanakları farklı düzeyler arasında değiştikçe, gecekonducuyu bu olanakları biriktirerek, konuta ekler yapmakta, oda ölçeğinde kiralamakta, konutun tümünü kiralamakta ya da satmaktadır. Konutun yapımı, böylece, gecekonducunun gereksinimleri ve olanakları arasındaki dengeye bağımlı olarak gelişmektedir.

Özetlenirse, vurgulanmak istenen, gecekonduyunun, bir kalkınma modelinin belirli aşamalarındaki ilişkilerin mekana yansıması olduğudur. Gecekondu salt mekansal bir olgu değil, sosyal ve ekonomik yaşantının mekandaki özel görünümüdür.

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TABLE 1

SOME PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF GECEKONDU SETTLEMENTS

Researcher	Place of Survey	Year	Total	No. of Houses	% of Owners	% of Tenants	Owner-Participated Construction %	Population Per House	Population Per Room	Rooms Per House
I. Öğretmen <sup>1</sup>	Ankara Kızıtlıuş	1956	1518	358	44.10	55.90	-	4.24	2.55	1.66
G. Tankut <sup>2</sup>	Ankara Akdere	1961	1480 <sup>3</sup>	300	80.00	20.00	74.00	4.90	2.80	-
G.H. Sewell <sup>4</sup>	Ankara Aktepe	1962	1404	274	78.00	12.00	75.00	5.12	3.08	1.66
I. Yasa <sup>5</sup>	Ankara Sevrak	1962	5038	916	59.00	31.00	16.00	5.50	2.70	1.47
J.L.B <sup>6</sup>	Ankara Çiğdem Çiğdembağları Topraklık	1962	40037	8280	60.31	39.68	57.31 <sup>7</sup>	4.83	2.38	2.02
J.L.B <sup>8</sup>	Ankara East Çankaya Dikmen	1963 1964	19784	3643	-	-	-	5.43	-	-
B. Aktolug <sup>9</sup> I. Özbay S. Özgökmen	Ankara Marmak	1965 1966	238	50	61.80	39.00	-	4.80	1.93	2.51
B. Gökçe <sup>10</sup>	Ankara Sevrak	1971	5820	934	80.30	19.60	-	6.20	2.20	2.73
E. Kongoz <sup>11</sup>	Ankara Altındağ	1971	2175 <sup>12</sup>	433	57.30	42.10	-	5.02	-	-
Z. Erdoğan <sup>13</sup>	Ankara Kabay Bayraktar İlkokul Area	1973	-	255	68.63	31.37	47.00	-	-	-
D.W. Desakakis-Sisidh <sup>14</sup> W.B. Fisher	Ankara Dikmen Etlik (New area) Altındağ (old area)	1974	3434 <sup>15</sup> 2798	582 571	78.20 48.90	18.90 45.20	- -	5.90 4.90	1.80 1.90	3.20 2.60
F. Eke <sup>16</sup>	Ankara Altındağ Çiğdem Aktepe, Farkoklar	1975	2433	468	68.00	32.00	-	5.20	-	-
G. Payne <sup>17</sup>	Ankara Sevrak	1975	4513 <sup>18</sup>	921	74.00	22.00	39.00	4.89	-	3.20
S. Aktöre <sup>19</sup>	Ankara Sevrak	1976	658 <sup>20</sup>	124	51.00	49.00	-	5.31	-	-
K. Kartal <sup>21</sup>	Ankara Sevrak	1977	2878	399	-	-	-	7.20	-	-
T. Şenyapılı <sup>22</sup>	Ankara Akdere Tezloşayır Yıldız	1977	3473	708	70.00	28.00	-	4.90	1.72	2.85
C.W.M. Herz <sup>23</sup>	İstanbul Zeytinburnu	1962	31213	6717	56.20	43.70	68.60	4.60	2.90	1.58
K. Karpat <sup>24</sup>	İstanbul Nispetiye Beşiktaş Çiçekliğin Paşa	1968	-	949	-	-	91.00	-	-	-
J.L.B <sup>25</sup>	Bursa İsmail D. Bekir Erasmanc İstanbul (Asanoflu side)	1964 1968	45756	9204	60.79	34.03	9.81	6.14	2.11	2.89
T. Şenyapılı <sup>26</sup>	İstanbul Çiğdem Zeyrek Eminönü Gazı Osman Paşa	1976	5341	1124	46.00	52.00	29.00	4.83	1.79	2.66

## FOOTNOTES OF TABLE 1

- 1 İ. Öğretmen, Ankara'da 158 Gecekondu, SBF yayını, 1957.
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- 5 İ. Yasa, Ankara'da Gecekondu Aileleri, SSBYB yayını, 1966.
- 6 İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı, Ankara - Gülveren, Çınçın, Topraklık Gecekondu Araştırması, 1964.
- 7 Only for Gülveren and Çınçın Bağları.
- 8 İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı, Ankara - Esat, Çankaya ve Dikmen Gecekonduları, 1964.
- 9 B. Aktolug, et. al., 'Mamak Gecekondularında Boş zaman değerlendirilmesi, Yayınlanmamış Tez çalışması, Sosyal Hizmetler Akademisi, 1966.
- 10 B. Gökçe, Gecekondu Gençliği, Hacettepe Univ., 1971.
- 11 E. Kongar, 'Altındağ Gecekondu Bölgesi', Amme İdaresi Dergisi, Cilt 6, No: 3, 1973.
- 12 Total population and population/number of houses have been computed by us.
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- 18 Total population, Population/number of houses, percentage of owners and tenants have been computed by us.
- 19 S. Aktüre, 'Konut ve Konut çevresi olarak Ankara Gecekondularına İlişkin Bazı Gözetimler', Yapı Araştırma Kurumu Bülteni, İ.T.Ü. sayı 3 - 4, 1977.
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- 21 K. Kartal, Kentleşme ve İnsan, T.O.D.A. İ.E., 1978.
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- 23 C.W.M. Mart, Zeytinburnu Gecekondu Bölgesi, İstanbul Ticaret Odası, 1989.
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