

CINEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF GECEKONDU AS AN URBAN
MEMORY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF NATURAL AND APPLIED SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

VİLDAN SEÇKİNER

IN PARTIAL FULLFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF SCIENCE

IN

CITY AND REGIONAL PLANNING

IN

URBAN DESIGN

DECEMBER 2009

**CINEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF GECEKONDU AS AN URBAN
MEMORY**

submitted by **VİLDAN SEÇKİNER** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for
the degree of **Master of Science in City and Regional Planning Department,**
Middle East Technical University by,

Prof. Dr. Canan Özgen _____
Dean, Graduate School of **Natural and Applied Sciences**

Prof. Dr. Melih Ersoy _____
Head of Department, **City and Regional Planning**

Assoc. Dr. Güven Arif Sargin _____
Supervisor, **Architecture Dept., METU**

Examining Committee Members:

Assoc. Dr. Serap Kayasü _____
City and Regional Planning Dept., METU

Assoc. Dr. Güven Arif Sargin _____
Architecture Dept., METU

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Adnan Barlas _____
City and Regional Planning Dept., METU

Assoc. Dr. Baykan Günay _____
City and Regional Planning Dept., METU

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Abdi Güzer _____
Architecture Dept., METU

Date: 03.12.2009

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name: Vildan Sekiner
Signature :

ABSTRACT

CINEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF GECEKONDU AS AN URBAN MEMORY

Seçkiner, Vildan

M.S., Department of City and Regional Planning, Urban Design

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın

December 2009, 140 pages

The purpose of this study is to assess Turkish squatters, namely ‘gecekondu’ over the image in cinema in terms of a visual urban archive. In order to analyze this representation in cinema as an urban image, both the cinematic production and urban theoretical approaches about migration and gecekonduzation process are discussed in order to find out the parallelism between the stories of gecekondu in these two fields, and to crosscheck the cinematic image of gecekondu. Therefore, the study is held in accordance with the epochs due to the break points of the history of the phenomenon. The movies are analyzed through a critical discourse analysis after the depiction of each epoch. Finally, the picture of the phenomenon is compared with the actuality of the epochs, academic framework and the cinematic image with the purpose of revealing the cinematic memory about it.

Keywords: Migration, Urbanization, Modernization, Gecekondu, Cinema, Cultural Studies

ÖZ

BİR KENTSEL HAFIZA OLARAK GECEKONDUNUN SİNEMASAL TEMSİLİ

Seçkiner, Vildan

Yüksek Lisans, Kentsel Tasarım Bölümü

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç. Dr. Güven Arif Sargın

Aralık 2009, 140 sayfa

Bu çalışmanın amacı Türk gecekondularını görsel bir arşiv olarak sinemadaki imajı üzeinden değerlendirmektir. Sinemadaki bu temsili kentsel bir imaj olarak analiz etmek için, göç ve gecekondulaşma süreci üzerine hem sinemasal üretim hem de akademik literatür farklı alanlardaki paralellikleri ortaya çıkarmak için tartışılacak ve gecekondunun sinemasal imajının sağlaması yapılacaktır. Bu nedenle, çalışma bu olguya ilişkin tarihin kırılma noktalarına göre dönemler içinde ele alınacaktır. Filmler, dönemlerin tasvirinden sonra eleştirel söylem analizi yöntemi ile incelenecektir. Sonuç olarak, bu olguya ilişkin genel görünüm, ilişkin sinemasal hafızayı ortaya çıkartmak amacıyla, dönemler içindeki gerçeklikler, akademik çerçeve ve sinemasal imajla karşılaştırılacaktır.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Göç, Kentleşme, Modernleşme, Gecekondu, Sinema, Kültürel Çalışmalar

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This study was completed thanks to the contributions of many people. Firstly, I would like to thank Assoc. Dr. Güven Arif Sargin for his guidance and toleration throughout this journey. I also would like to thank the committee members for their constructive critiques.

Furthermore, I wish to thank to my precious friends, Zeynel Dođan, Őefika Akile Zorlu Durukan, Tesa Helm and my family for their sincere supports, helps and their patience in my hard times. Without them I would never be able to complete this thesis.

Additionally, I would like to express my gratitude to Halime apan and Hayriye Ayhan from the department staff for all their support and kindness in solving the problems that we faced in this process.

I would like to make mention of Ulus Baker with gratitude for the idea and inspiration that he gave me at the beginning of this experience which inspires my further experiences too. I also wish to remember Mr. Zeki kten with respect for the attention he paid to my study, for the time he spent with me, and for his invaluable and inspiring movies.

Lastly, I would like to thank all my friends and colleagues who listened to me, believed in my struggle, and contuributed directly or indirectly to this thesis.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	iv
ÖZ	v
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	vi
TABLE OF CONTENTS	vii
CHAPTER	
1. INTRODUCTION.....	1
2. THE PROCESS OF “GECEKONDUZATION” IN TURKEY.....	16
2.1. Emergence of “Gecekondu”: What is a ‘gecekondu’?.....	16
2.2. The 1950s and 1960s: In the midst of rural and urban.....	20
2.2.1. Theory of Modernization and Gecekondu as a “buffer mechanism”.....	21
2.2.2. Gecekondu takes part in urban system.....	23
2.3. The 1970s : Rise of The Changing Character of Gecekondu	25
2.3.1. Basic Approaches of Researchers on the Phenomenon of Gecekondu in the 1970s: Labefaction of Theory of Modernisation and Rise of Marxist Theories	26
2.3.2. Gecekondu as the unintegrated dynamic of the urban system in the period of crisis.....	29
2.4. Gecekondu after 1980: Fall of Purity.....	39
2.4.1. Basic Approaches of Researchers to the Phenomenon of	

Gecekondu after the 1980s: Effects of Post-Modern Theories on the Approaches	41
2.4.2. Rise of Opportunities, Downfall of Solidarity	45
3. THE GECEKONDU IN TURKISH CINEMA AS A PART OF URBAN MEMORY TURKEY	54
3.1. Image of city in early examples of Turkish cinema	54
3.2. The Emergence of the Image of “gecekondu” in Turkish movies: the 1950s and the 1960s	56
3.2.1. First Gecekondu Stories in Turkish Cinema	57
3.2.2. The City is Paved with Gold	60
3.3. Gecekondu in Turkish Cinema in the 1970s: Growing Awareness ...	69
3.3.1. Settled Stories of Migration	69
3.3.2. Power of Consumption in Urban Experience	74
3.4. Gecekondu in Turkish Cinema after 1980: Losers and Anti-Heroes	91
3.4.1. Migrants in a Liberalized City	92
3.4.2. Identities and Heroes	98
4. CONCLUSION: ASSESSEMENT OF THE MEMORY OF GECEKONDU THROUGH CINEMATIC EXPERIENCE	117
REFERENCES.....	138

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

The intention of this thesis is to find out the physical reflection of the housing question in the urbanization process of Turkey due to the developments of social, political and economic dimensions within a chronological context, and it concentrates on the phenomenon of 'gecekondu' using its representation in Turkish cinema as a laboratory. The assumption in this study is based on the consideration that urban design issues cannot be discussed independently from all the formations within the urban system. Moreover, all dimensions of these formations define the urban experience. The specific field of interest of this thesis, gecekondu, which used to be considered as a temporary housing type surrounding the urban periphery which compensated the deficiency in housing supply for rural migrants, became a part of urban environment both as an alternative housing solution and as an urban problem. Therefore, it is a formation in the urban system that urban design studies should address in physical, social and economical terms. This phenomenon, which took part in the history of urbanization in Turkey as one of the factors that shaped this process, should be analyzed well before the realization of urban renewal projects. Even though it is possible to transform the physical environment, the social and cultural formation of gecekondu which affected the urban life style and environment for more than 50 years shouldn't be ignored in this process. In this sense, the history of gecekonduzation is also an example of how a physical evolution occupies all the urban development and culture through the aeges of capitalist powers. Therefore, it is healthier to understand this phenomenon with all its dimensions while it still exists physically and before it disappears.

While analyzing this phenomenon, it is important to benefit from a visual archive about its development process. However, there is a lack of systematic visual archive in reference to this formation. At this point, Turkish cinema can offer a new light on this process through the representation of the phenomenon over a very long period of time. In this thesis, this cinematic material is analyzed in light of the characteristics of epochs and the theoretical discussions with the purpose of finding out if it can be considered as a layout about the phenomenon of *gecekondu* and its history.

In order to construct the relationship between the actuality of the phenomenon and the actuality assumed both in theoretical description of the phenomenon and its cinematic representation, the approach of this thesis on these materials should be clarified. At this point, the explanation of Deleuze about the actual object and its virtual representation constructs the basis of this approach. He assesses the virtual images as the documentation of the actuality in the past: “It is by virtue of their mutual inextricability that virtual images are able to react upon actual objects. From this perspective, the virtual images delimit a continuum, whether one takes all of the circles together or each individually, a *spatium* determined in each case by the maximum of time imaginable” (Deleuze, 2002, p.149). Thus, its ‘ephemerality’ comprises the potency of virtuality, and the images constitute the memory of actuality capturing its ‘mono directional movement’, which refers to the continuity of the present, ‘continually making minute adjustments in response to changes of direction’ in order to ‘preserve the past’¹ (p. 151). That’s why the visual documentation of *gecekondu* is substantial enough to make possible the fair analysis of its history. Moreover, the codes underlying in the narrative of cinema, and the reason why those certain images are chosen add another dimension to the documental value of cinematic representation. In addition, it can

¹ “The present is a variable given measured in continuous time, a supposedly mono-directional movement, in which the present passes up until the exhaustion of that time. The actual is defined by this passing of the present. But the Virtual’s ephemerality appears in a smaller space of time than that which makes the minimum movement in a single direction. This is why the virtual is ‘ephemeral’ but the virtual also preserves the past, since that ephemerality is continually making minute adjustments in response to changes of direction.” (Actual and Virtual in Deleuze, Gilles and Parnet, Claire, *Dialogues II*, New York: Columbia University. Press, 2002).

be said that the use of natural set in Turkish cinema is an advantage to follow the actuality of the phenomenon through its representation².

To run the research, the situation is discussed in accordance with the theoretical framework and the cinematic representation of gecekondü for each defined time interval in the study. Thus, it is possible to find out the overall picture of the cinematic representation of gecekondü in accordance with the reality and the various interpretations of this reality. After analyzing each period comparatively both in theoretical framework and cinema, a final matrix is constructed to see the convergence and / or the differentiation between these two research areas. To see the literal context of gecekondü, the relevant theoretical studies and movies are analyzed using a Critical Discourse Analysis. Critical Discourse Analysis is based on Foucauldian Discourse Theory, and consists of a variety of methods which argue the inner meaning and approach within a discourse³. Luke (1997) asserts that this analysis requires describing, interpreting, analyzing and criticizing the social life which reflects on the discourse since it ascertains the power of the words. Likewise, Fairclough (2000) denotes that this analysis is an attempt to aggregate the actual text and the discursive practices, which are the processes of creating, writing, speaking, reading and hearing- and the larger social context which are bound up with the text and the discursive practices. According to Fairclough (2005, p.76), this type of analysis is a methodology as working in a “transdisciplinary way through dialogue with other disciplines and theories which are addressing contemporary process of social change”. He states that

²As the director of ‘*Düttürü Dünya*’ denoted, two different gecekondü houses had been used in the movie as if they were the same one; thus, the one which was demolished at the final scene was not the same house shown throughout the movie. This cinematic method indicates two important points: first of all, it gives an idea about the physical resemblance between gecekondü dwellings; secondly, it is an example of the natural set of Turkish cinema which captured the actual situation of the environment directly. (Interview with Zeki Ökten, 12.02.2009, Istanbul)

³ “My intention was not to deal with the problem of truth, but with the problem of truth-teller or truth-telling as an activity. By this I mean that, for me, it was not a question of analyzing the internal or external criteria that would enable the Greeks and Romans, or anyone else, to recognize whether a statement or proposition is true or not. At issue for me was rather the attempt to consider truth-telling as a specific activity, or as a role.” (Foucault, *Discourse and Truth: the Problematization of Parrhesia*, Concluding Remarks to the Seminar at the University of California at Berkeley, 1983).

“theoretically, this approach is characterized by a realist social ontology (which regards both abstract social structures and concrete social events as parts of social reality), a dialectical view of the relationship between structure and agency, and of the relationship between discourse and other elements or ‘moments’ of social practices and social events”⁴. Huckin (1997) implies that connotations and insinuations are the tools to depict a discourse using a critical discourse analysis. In this study, the Critical Discourse Analysis is carried on the visual images and narratives reading the subtext and overall conception of gecekondü through these tools. The theoretical studies and the characteristics of defined time intervals of the study guide this process of analysis. Moreover, the theoretical and cinematic processes about the development of the phenomenon are analyzed in a critical way. Thus, it becomes possible to construct the over-all picture of gecekondü within the boundaries of this triangle of actuality, theories and cinematic representation.

In order to construct a table representing these two inferential stories of gecekondü to compare the approaches and assumptions, the method of Qualitative Comparative Analysis is used in this thesis. This analysis is based on the methods to reveal the differences and connections between two expressions. The aims of Qualitative Comparative Analysis are to construct inferential histories, to develop typologies and analyze the processes (Peel, 1987). In this study, two different fields are compared in the matter of gecekondü which introduce two different materials about one fact. The intention in using this method is to compare the outcomes of these two fields in order to compose one single memory about gecekondü. Finally, selected movies for each period of the study are discussed both in Critical Discourse Analysis and Qualitative Comparative Analysis; the methods are based on the multilateral interpretation of the analyst. Therefore, it is important to expose and settle the substantial characteristics of each discourse and actuality. Consequently, the final matrix provides the interpretation of all these entries.

⁴ “Discourse is different from – not reducible to – but not discrete from – ‘internalizes’ and is ‘internalized’ by other social elements” (Harvey 1996, in Fairclough 2005 p.77).

In order to follow the two distinctive course of the process, the main body of the thesis is analyzed in two chapters. While the first chapter of this body reveals the theoretical chronology and the historical data about the phenomenon, the second part discusses the cinematic framework and the assessment of this material.

The second chapter of this thesis describes the history of gecekonduzation concerning the political, economic, social and theoretical aspects of the phenomenon mainly in four time intervals. This description of the phenomenon is important to understand the context that the study frames, because the overall image of gecekondu in cinema is analyzed in accordance with the actuality, and also in assistance of these scientific data.

After a brief description of the process of gecekonduzation beginning with the migration from rural to urban in the 1920s and 1930s, the time span of this study begins with the 1940s to construct an idea about the early theorization of gecekondu and first urban images in Turkish cinema. After this introduction to the different dimensions of the study by the emergence of the phenomenon, the period of the 1950s and the 1960s which is the epoch when the mass migration grew and Turkish cinema started to concern about the phenomenon of gecekondu is analyzed. In this period, the main discussion had been the Theory of Modernization. Thus, the phenomenon is assessed within the context of migration and modernization.

The 1970s and the 1980s are analyzed separately in the study, since these are the break points of the history of gecekonduzation revealing different characteristics. The cultural affects of arabesque music, different politic-economical issues (economic crisis and development of mass industry in the 1970s, the military coup and liberal economy policies in the 1980s etc.), and influences of the effect of western theoretical approaches (while in the 1970s the main theoretical discussion about gecekondu revolved around two theories, Modernization and Dependency, in the 1980s the fact began to be discussed within the scope of post-modern theories as well) differentiate these epochs.

The period after the 1980s up to the present is discussed mostly in terms of the social aspects of the phenomenon by the 1990s since in this epoch the physical environment starts to be transformed, but the life style it left in the urban system (which is then called ‘varoş’) keeps its importance. The economic, social and political aspects of this epoch are characterized by the effects of the period from the 1970s to the 1980s. However, the cinematic production went through a crisis until the 2000s, and the number of movies containing the image of gecekondü was minimal on the total production which was less than the half of 1980s. Therefore, this part of the study covers both the 1990s and the 2000s.

In order to define the context within which the phenomenon is analyzed in this thesis, a brief description of the history of gecekondü over the basic characteristics of epochs would assist to follow the overall direction of the study. The emergence of the phenomenon dates back to early republican period. In the late 1920s, the new industrial and infrastructural investments of government attracted the unqualified labor from the rural areas nearby the city. However, the size of the incoming population did not create huge agglomerations in city since the population in rural areas did not break away in a large proportion due to the labor intensive production in agriculture and scarcity of employment opportunities in the city (Şenyapılı, 2004 p. 73-74). Between 1930 and 1940, the crisis of 1929 and the organization model interiorized in Turkey affected the spatial urban structure. The attempt of industrialization was about to be affected by this situation because of the exportation of agricultural goods and importation of industrial products. Thus, a centralist governmental policy and an organization in accordance with these policies were embraced in these years, and rural areas became poorer while no substantial increases in population had been observed in cities. However, after the importation had been lessened, a crisis of housing occurred in cities because of the lack of material of construction (Şenyapılı, 2004). In early 1930’s, some booths called as “tin districts” started to appear in cities in different ways. Thus, first governmental response to such housing type occurred in late 1930’s in Ankara. In the meantime, the first theoretical discussions about such sheltering started in the

1940's when this housing type became more visible throughout the city as the increase in population started to become substantial.

The first theorization of gecekondu within urban studies in the 1940s had the basic concern of the rural to urban migration and consequently the first jerrybuilt shelters which appeared in the cities included in them. The first use of the term 'gecekondu' took part in theoretical frameworks during this period. In this part of the chapter, the first cinematic city image in Turkish cinema is also defined in order to see the effect of gecekondu in following decades. During this period, Turkish cinema was not aware of such a new formation in big cities since it was under the domination of Muhsin Ertuğrul who used to prefer the stories of classical bourgeois life in Istanbul. Turkish movies could not discover the fact of gecekondu until 1960's, just after the power of Ertuğrul on the Turkish cinema died out in late the 1950s, and stories of class conflict, poverty and migration to cities from rural areas took place in cinema through effect of the 'social realism movement'.

Between 1950 and 1970, both the cinema and relevant theories pointed out the mass migration, class conflict and the fact of urbanization and unemployment. Although Turkish cinema began to deal with gecekondu in late 1950s, it principally tried to point out the popular themes in its narrative which usually underlined the social stratification and poverty as tensions. That's why the story of gecekondu in Turkish cinema followed behind the discussion of theoreticians by a few years. The theories about gecekondu conceptualized the facts in 1950s after the increase in the number of such settlements within the city and occurrence of related problems, while the movies followed these theories in following decades, beginning in 1960's. The first approaches of both fields overlapped in the fact that people in gecekondu used to have an inferior condition in urban area and they were alienated. Although there had always been a lack of a well-arranged archive to follow the spatial development of cities in Turkey (Şenyapılı, 2004), movies could reveal the physical alteration of such contemporary housing style using the natural film set.

Construction of contemporary houses on public land in artisanal ways following migration from rural to urban areas such as primitive booths on geographically disadvantageous lands such as stream beds and precipitous slopes close to business centers continued increasingly in 1950's and 1960's. The infrastructure of cities was incapable of coping with the rapid increase in the urban population. In this epoch, user and producer of these houses did not differentiate at all. In the theoretical field, all the gecekondu inhabitants were considered as a homogenous group who migrated from rural areas to cities. Theories of modernization had been embraced broadly by theoreticians in this period. Gecekondu was considered a temporary phenomenon in the transition process from traditional society to modern society, and in the urbanization of rural immigrants during the development process of society. In other words, gecekondu districts were assumed as a buffer mechanism in cities in social and economical terms (Kıray, 1964). The idea that gecekondu would ruralize the urban space prevailed the other side of the discussion (Yörükhan, 1968). According to this concern, gecekondu inhabitants were a group who kept their rural habits also in the urban environment⁵. Consequently, theories concentrated on the relationship between gecekondu and migration in this period, and they discussed the feudal ties and integration into urban life. These new incomers from rural areas were neither villagers nor completely city-dwellers. They did not give up their traditional values even though they adopted the material culture. A part of the theoretical framework which followed the Theory of Modernization expected the gecekondu inhabitants to urbanize over time. Also Turkish movies pointed out the fact that the rural immigrants tried to integrate themselves into the economical system of the city though they kept their traditional values and habits (*Gurbet Kuşları*, Refiğ, 1964 and *Gelin*, Akad, 1973). Likewise, the changeover to consumption society affected gecekondu inhabitants during their attempt to adapt themselves to certain urban habits. The academic studies inclined to a comparison between gecekondu families and urban families in this sense.

⁵ such as the studies of İbrahim Yasa in Ankara, '*Gecekondu ailesi: Geçiş halinde bir aile tipolojisi*', (*AÜSBF Dergisi*1970)

Meanwhile, Turkish cinema found this conflict very effective in attracting the common attention of both sides of the city⁶, and used this class distinction and cultural differences as the base to its narrative. The urban enjoyments like cinema, theatre, and public contact points, such as café were compared with rural delights both in cinema and theoretical framework. Some basic consumption changes had been displayed in cinema clearly, such as the combination of clothes which revealed both rural and urban characteristics (such as *Gurbet Kuşları*, Refiğ, 1964), and the furniture at home, or the desire to have urban style furniture, as the studies were interested in the appearance of women of gecekondu and the urban accessories discerned in the rural outlook of gecekondu inhabitants. Of course, all these matters linked to consumption and social integration were allied with the economical existence of the immigrants in city. While industry was developing and the small shops were about to vanish, immigrants created a sector of temporary and irregular jobs to survive within urban system. Thus, a “marginal sector” emerged as a new entry of the urban economy (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2001). This marginal sector could take place in movies as of 1970⁷. Nonetheless, in 1960’s, the movies displayed the gecekondu inhabitants as servers/servants of bourgeois and workers of industry. The government recognized the fact of gecekondu through the first gecekondu law in 1966 as unplanned housing and restrictions for reconstruction were argued. Whereas a substantial part of gecekondu was supporting the conservative government for the purpose of integration to the urban system, first actions of non-governmental organizations came forward in society. Also, syndicate actions started to influence the gecekondu society, especially the unskilled workers. These new actions appeared in movies as well⁸. In this epoch, scholars criticized the situation of gecekondu inhabitants as cheap labor force and as consumers abused by the system, and

⁶ Mostly the so-called “saloon movies” of these decades used this class conflict as the basic dynamic of their narrative because of their attractive effect to appeal the audience.

⁷ such as the story of Cabbar who earns his money driving a horse – drawn vehicle throughout the city of Adana serving to the upper class (Umut, Güney, 1970).

⁸ In ‘Karanlıkta Uyananlar’ (Göreç, 1965) laborers of a dye works revolt against the industrialist.

condemned in cinema the attitude of state due to the lack of a certain stand towards gecekondu (Şenyapılı, 1982).

Before 1980s, apartment houses had been considered as the opposite of gecekondu houses. The opposition between the growth of legal, planned apartments as well as the illegal unplanned gecekondu was depicted in cinema contrasting the modern formality of the apartments with the marginalized and informal conditions of the latter. At that time, gecekondu became a more political district than it had been in the late 1970s. Alongside the leftist movies which defended the legitimacy of gecekondu, a new culture emerged affecting the music and life style in the 1970's which became a new genre in cinema as well: arabesque, which created a dignification of the sorrow, pain and difficulties that the immigrants faced in cities. This new hybrid culture in urban life had been effective first on the gecekondu society, and then it spread over all the urban life style.

In the 1970's with the rise of economical-political theories, the studies of gecekondu dealt with the phenomenon as a consequence of the urbanization problem caused by the capitalism in developing countries, and as a new development model rather than urban sprawl (Kongar, 1973 and Şenyapılı, 1978). Thus, gecekondu began to be seen as the 'disadvantageous and exploited' (Erman, 2004) part of the city. The changing ownership pattern of gecekondu had been one of the most critical disadvantages for incomers. The owner and the user started to differentiate, and some other actors began to produce and sell gecekondu. The land of gecekondu had been taken from its owners and sold to others for rental purposes. Also the lands in periphery had been parceled and sold. For Turkish cinema, this issue of exchange value of gecekondu became a very prominent subject, especially as an unfair commerce which aggrieves the inhabitants⁹. Another criticism of scholars was the lack of legal protection for these inhabitants and lack of official tenancy relations. Along with the political polarization, the

⁹ A good example of this matter in cinema in the 1970's is *Sultan* (Tibet, 1978) which displays the unofficial sale of gecekondu districts in periphery that ends with the resistance against the demolition of houses, which is a very common scene in movies of this decade, and attempt of aggrieved inhabitants to find another place to build gecekondu just to take shelter in it.

economical depression and the crisis all around the world, government policies failed to meet the desires of these inhabitants to urbanize their environment (Eke, 1981); gecekondu inhabitants started to polarize politically and to conflict with each other; and thus, instead of integration with the society, they tended to change the conditions in favor of their benefits.

Furthermore, the characteristics of consumption in gecekondu had been influenced by the mass industrial development in this decade. Gecekondu inhabitants sought to urbanize in terms of consumption (Şenyapılı, 1982). Even the economical difficulties could not discourage this attempt¹⁰. However, towards the end of the 1970s many consumption goods could be found in gecekondu and they became widespread¹¹. In addition, the effect of television on the consumption of these migrants was significant. Media and advertisements became determinative in daily life and preferences (such as in *Sultan*). Along with the effects of television culture, cinema became a popular entertainment also for gecekondu until this decade it had been dedicated mostly to middle and higher classes. This explains why the arabesque culture raised from gecekondu became an especially popular theme in cinema beginning in the 1970s. Finally, the prominent subjects of this period had been women in gecekondu, class conflict, unemployment, possession and ownership, land feudalism and emergence of arabesque culture both in theoretical framework and cinema.

Beginning with the 1980s, post-modern theories affected the Turkish theoreticians while arabesque culture, tenancy in gecekondu, and resistance against the acquisition of the land by government or other mechanisms took place in cinema. In 1980s the production and tenancy process of gecekondu changed remarkably. After the military coup in 1980, the global integration and liberalization in Turkey

¹⁰ In “*Canım Kardeşim*” of Eğinmez (1973), television was represented as the way to move up to social ladder, and the protagonist did his best to own a television; he tried to earn enough money selling his blood or cheating people; and finally he stole one from the window of a shop. Likewise, in *Çiçek Abbas* (Çetin, 1982), possession of a minibus had a similar meaning for the people of gecekondu.

¹¹ phenomenon of television: as a dream in *Canım Kardeşim*, and television as an ordinary furniture at home in *Sultan* and *Düştürü Dünya*

caused local – uncontrolled zoning after the zoning reforms and 2nd ‘urban renewal’ which attempted to transform the gecekondu into apartment blocks. In the meanwhile, gecekondu inhabitants tried to get their districts recognized and to receive social and infrastructural services. The process of industrialization was not developing in parallel with urbanization, and consequently, cost of living, financial difficulties, deficiency of employment, second job (*Düttürü Dünya*, 1988), and the informal sector kept its critical importance on the agenda of gecekondu (examples in movies: *Düttürü Dünya* 1988, *At* 1982). Moreover, a substantial part of gecekondu inhabitants became tenants in the 1980’s. This tenancy aggrieved them profoundly since they were not aware of their rights although these rights were still considerably scarce (as seen in *Düttürü Dünya* of Ökten, 1988). All these tenants were faced with the fear of losing their gecekondu¹². Since the ownership of gecekondu became something difficult to reach, immigrants produced new sheltering processes (as seen in *Bir Avuç Cennet*, Özer 1985, and *Gülen Adam*, Tibet 1989). Whereas gecekondu became a source of land rent, gecekondu owners started to sell the lands to contractors (*Düttürü Dünya*, 1988; *Sultan*, 1978; *Şaban Pabucu Yarım*, 1989, *Umudumuz Şaban*, 1979). This new form of informal housing required certain affairs and an information network (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2001) since the weaker segment was excluded from the production process of gecekondu (*At*, Özgentürk, 1982 and *Bir Avuç Cennet*, Özer 1985).

In this decade, the number of migrants from Eastern Turkey to western cities increased. Therefore, ethnicity in gecekondu gained importance, and it was not easy to consider gecekondu inhabitants a homogenous group anymore. In this epoch, post-modern theories which had already entered in the theoretical environment all around the world in the 1970’s, directed the theoretical discussions to this heterogeneity. This new approach covered the issues of identity, differences, and ethnical, denominational and gender-based differentiations (Karpat, 1976). Researches and studies had been carried out about the women of gecekondu, and in this decade, both movies and theories depicted these women in

¹² In *Düttürü Dünya* (1988, Ökten) the protagonist implies how he worries about finding a new gecekondu to hire.

detail. At the same time, all the goods assumed as luxury goods or indicators of the dream of a higher class in the 1970s continued to enter to gecekondü dwellings as ordinary things in daily life after mass industrial development (as seen in *Düttüri Dünya*, 1988). This cultural combination of traditional relationships and modern furniture strengthened the rise of the hybrid culture.

Critical issues in the 1990s were illegal housing and land mafia which were the consequences of the developments between 1970 and 1990. The theories about gecekondü accentuated the relation between the legal arrangements for the transformation of gecekondü into formal housing market and substantial land rents created by the driving forces like land mafia through the legal rent process. The studies after 1990 concentrated on the increasing gap between rich and poor, and gecekondü had been discussed through the inequality between the unlawful profits gathered through its rental value and the increasing poverty of these inhabitants. In accordance with the main concern of such studies, the Hungarian word “*varoş*” (Pérouse in compilation of Öztürk, 2008) started to be used to define the poverty and informality. The inhabitants of gecekondü started to be considered as ‘urban poor’ rather than rural citizens or villagers. Alongside the negative economic conditions, the ethnical identities endeavored to get accepted and to become visible in society after the rise of post-modern discourse in Turkey bringing the significance of identity and differences. At the same time, the studies about the social identity of gecekondü dealt with the changing institution of kinship, and demolition of feudal ties. Due to the rise of different ethnicities in this decade, a conflict between the state and ethnical identity started in gecekondü/*varoş*¹³ which determined the political atmosphere during the 2000s.

Especially in the 2000s, gecekondü was considered as the urban segment which suffers destitution of ‘aesthetic of consumption’ though the accessibility to all sources of the city. After the 3rd urban renewal plan, renewals in the urban segments which harbor the illegality, senior political and legal aegis for

¹³ In *Güneşe Yolculuk* (Ustaoğlu, 1998) the state marks some gecekondü dwellings according to the ethnical roots of their inhabitants.

illegitimate development have determined the direction of the physical dimension of the phenomenon. Especially through the step-up of social deviance and violence, gecekondu started to harbor illegal activities more than ever. Accordingly, cinema dealt with this issue of criminality in such districts and the criminality in other parts of the city arising from gecekondu districts. Thus, the approach of cinema on gecekondu differed from all previous decades since it left the point of view which assumed it as the only victim of the urban system.

The third chapter of the thesis concentrates on the cinematic representation of gecekondu. After the description of this representation in regard to the epochs, each part of this chapter concludes with the assessment of the cinematic representation of gecekondu through critical discourse analysis in light of the theoretical framework. In this assessment, the position of the phenomenon in the system and the prevailing characteristic of the process in the epoch are discussed in order to find out the overall subtext. The purpose of this final assessment is to depict the memory of gecekondu that comes out of Turkish cinema.

In conclusion, this thesis constructs the relevancy between the cinematic and theoretical histories of gecekondu. It is essential to take into account that cinema offers a subjective history of the phenomenon. However, this subjectivity has a further importance when it is considered as a material offering a memory, since it is a medium which is in interaction with all sides of the society. Moreover, the position of cinema is reflective of economic, political and social developments due to the conditions of its production process. It should satisfy the audience; but in the meanwhile it cannot be without a political standing whether accepting or criticizing the state. Therefore, it should be admitted that cinematic representation of the facts reveals all different approaches within a single context. Furthermore, the interaction between cinema and society is strong enough that inevitably both sides direct the attitudes of one another. Thus, through the cinematic history of the phenomenon, one can see what people experienced in reality, what they thought about the developments, and what did cinema want them to assume as reality. In this study, the reason why the cinematic discourses are analyzed in comparison

with the theoretical framework is to differentiate the effects of such interactions on the cinematic memory of gecekodu. The conclusion part of this study depicts this history through the convergent and contradictory assumptions in these separate fields of discourse in order to answer the main question, if Turkish cinema could be considered as an archive of gecekonduzation process offering an overall memory about its history.

CHAPTER 2

THE PROCESS OF “GECEKONDUZATION” IN TURKEY

2.1. Emergence of “Gecekondu”: What is a ‘gecekondu’?

In order to discuss the phenomenon of ‘*gecekondu*’, one should understand its roots based on the rural to urban migration process in Turkey. The term ‘migration’ refers to the movement of people in case of danger or in search of better living conditions (Finer, 2006). In Anatolia, several migration processes occurred throughout the history. Finally, after the establishment of Turkish Republic in 1923, migration from rural to urban areas dominated in the urbanization process, growing especially after 1945 (Tekeli, 2007. p.448). This movement of migration had been the start of the formation of the demographical structure of the country which fell behind the industrialization process, and had also been the beginning of dissolution in the rural structure (p. 448).

This migration process from rural to urban after the Second World War was triggered by the Marshall Plan, modernization of agriculture, and import substitution model (Davis, 2006, p.78). However, according to Keyder (2003, in Davis, 2006 p.79) the state was not capable of affording collective housing, nor transferring the public land to private sector; thus, populist policies of protectionism created a gap in the process.

Consequently, the migration process in Turkey after the 1930’s started to create new sheltering types in the urban areas. These simple temporary shelters turned

into permanent settlements through the growing rate of migration, governmental policies and the integration of this population in the urban market in terms of labor force, housing, economic activities they created and consumption style they adopted in city. The term ‘gecekondu’ defines such housing type which is built without permission with artisanal techniques¹⁴.

This fast housing process was a result of the attempt of newcomers to cope with the urban system creating a harbor in the city which could be modified or rebuilt easily. All in all, this solution had been effective thanks to its flexible characteristics convincing also the state that it was not easy to stop them by demolition¹⁵.

The start of the migration from rural to urban in Turkey was mainly based on the agricultural developments and the industrialization process¹⁶. In this decade, the performances of the government of Republican People’s Party¹⁷ to reach a modernized agriculture, and the permission for Turkey of benefiting from the Marshall Plan reduced the number of peasants necessary for agriculture in rural areas (Erman, 2001, p. 984 and Tekeli, 2007, p. 457). Thus, this rural population had been torn down from their origins to the cities with the hope of finding a chance to survive there. Beginning with this date, the urban population in Turkey started to increase faster; while the rate of this urban population was about %20 in 1945, it became about %80 in 2000’s (p.456).

¹⁴ The term is composed of two words ‘gece’ (night) and ‘landed’ (kondu) indicating that they were built in one night in order to get rid of the prevention of state forces. Actually this phenomenon might be considered as the response of both ‘slum’ and ‘squatter’ of migrants in Turkish urbanization process. However, as other slums in third world countries - such as ‘chawl’ in Mumbai, ‘callejone’ in Lima, and ‘favela’ in Sao Paolo- ‘gecekondu’ had its specific characteristics.

¹⁵ ‘Berci Kristin Çöpten Masalları/Berci Kristin Fairy Tales Made of Garbage’ of Latife Tekin (1984) depicted well this process of reconstruction after each demolition of gecekondu quarters, and the process how these people learned to build a durable gecekondu due to the environmental /meteorological conditions.

¹⁶ Even though an attempt for agriculture with machinery had been performed in early Turkish Republic, the Economic Depression in 1929 which affected the entire world postponed this process until the post- World War II period.

¹⁷ It was the only political party in the existing system of the epoch until 1950

The migrant population first appeared in 1930's with their simple booths close to central business districts, on the disadvantageous locations of the city (Erman, 2001. p. 985 and Şenyapılı, 2004. p. 95¹⁸). These first migrants who built simple booths on the public lands close to job opportunities were generally young men¹⁹. Since they had neither skills nor education for formal urban jobs, they either performed marginal jobs or worked in informal labor market. At the beginning, they slept in coffeehouses managed by their countrymen, parks or construction and work places. As soon as they started to build their simple shelters in the periphery without any infrastructure, also their families in rural areas joined their urban experience.

The process of such sheltering continued to spread over the city increasingly. As a consequence, the government took this process in the agenda, and defined them as shelters built in one night by people without any infrastructure and services. While the constructions of modern republic designed by famous architects such Holzmeister were rising on the city of Ankara, according to the minister of interior, these shelters were quite easy to demolish, but it was much easier to build new ones, since migrants were working all together in artisanal ways²⁰.

The resistance of the state against the fact of such 'gecekondu' construction had been revealed through different attempts to solve the problem. Amnesty law called 'Stimulation for Construction' in 1948 had been one of these performances. This law did not mention the gecekondu apparently, but the gecekondu districts were signed with blue lines on the map attached to the law, and an amnesty for these areas for a determined period had been defined. However, such amnesty attempts

¹⁸ Kemal Kurdaş (1987) denoted that these districts of such booths used to be called as 'tin quarters', and the term of 'gecekondu' had been created later (in Şenyapılı, 2004. p. 95).

¹⁹ Şenyapılı (1982, p.238-239), denoted that this migrant population was not welcomed to the urban economy in the 1940s.

²⁰ From the speech of Şükrü Kaya in parliament in 1934 about the case of Ankara, quoted in Şenyapılı (2004, p. 97-98).

caused a growing invasion of public land facing difficulties in terms of property ownership (Tekeli, 2007. p. 463).

The urban society perceived the development of gecekondu in the 1940s as a threat for the urban life. The Turkish cities were already in a process of modernization with regard to the western modernity. Therefore, these rural migrants had the potential to obstruct this process (Erman, 2001, p.985). The first sympathetic approach to the phenomenon of gecekondu had been revealed in the studies of German professor G. Kessler who escaped to Turkey from the Nazism in Germany (Tekeli, 2007. p. 462). He assumed these shelters as the solution implemented by people themselves while state was not able to find any. He defended that they shouldn't have been punished, but instead, it should have been eased for them to have housing in better conditions, to participate in local administration, and to integrate in the city through their entrepreneurial potentials (p. 462). Likewise, Pınarcıoğlu and Işık (2001) assessed these early gecekondu dwellings as the non-commercial solution for the newcomers to hold on the city while they were excluded by the markets and the state policies (p. 112). They asserted that since the beginning of the process of gecekonduzation, there had always been an 'explicit class content'.

The first rural migrants faced several difficulties in cities in terms of employment, space and social life since the cities were not ready to welcome such an amount of rural population. As 'tin districts' and later gecekondu had been the solution of their spatial problem, their economic difficulties had been met by the marginal jobs that they created (Şenyapılı, 2004, p. 10), since their unskilled labour force was not adequate for urban business fields. These marginal jobs concluded in the social exclusion of this population by other sections of the city, and they weren't accepted in social life or in physical space. Thus, the assumption that they were 'rural others' was already accepted in this early gecekonduzation process.

The period between 1940 and 1950 had been very negative for rural side of the country. The imbalance between agriculture and industry increased and

governmental policies failed to overcome this fact (Şenyapılı, 2004. p.116-119). The rate of the increase in the urban population, which was %2.9 between 1927 and 1935, and %4.1 between 1935 and 1940, decreased in the period of 1940-1945 because of the effects of the world war. However, after 1945, it started to increase faster, and at the beginning of the 1950s, this rate reached incredibly higher levels (p. 117). The temporary booth type shelters of 1930's started to transform into a permanent housing mode in the city in the 1940s, and they started to spread over the periphery of the city in the 1950s. The term 'gecekondu' actually defines this latter form of housing.

2.2. The 1950s and the 1960s: In the midst of rural and urban

Gecekondu suffered the confusion of being rural in the urban system especially in the period between 1950 and 1970, since political acts were motivating its formation, but the social, economic and spatial conditions were still very disadvantageous for them. Through the lacunae in the legal aspect of gecekonduzation process, Anatolian migrants started to construct gecekondu dwellings in big cities bargaining with the authorities (Davis, 2006, p.79). Moreover, politicians noticed the vote potential of these new population and made promises about gecekondu districts to attract them. This phenomenon aroused also the attention of scholars, and they performed several academic studies analyzing the process of gecekonduzation and the structure of these gecekondu families. Thus, the period between 1955 and 1965 grew into the 'golden age' of gecekonduzation since Turkey faced with the massive rural to urban migration after the 1950s, and the proportion of gecekondu population was %23 of urban population in this epoch, while it was previously %5. Also the existence of former migrants was encouraging the newcomers since they could trust in their contacts now. The successful stories of previous incomers about holding to the city and finding a job motivated the other rural citizens to move to the city hoping to save money for their plans in their towns or villages. Thus, this increasing amount of rural migrants in city started to affect the cities in economic and social terms.

2.2.1. Theory of Modernization and Gecekondu as a “buffer mechanism”

The phenomenon of gecekondu started to be discussed by Turkish theoreticians especially after the 1950s. The scholars in this epoch were strongly affected by the western academic environment, and thus, the Theory of Modernization which was predominant in west and US, had been effective on the Turkish academic studies (Erman, 2001, p.985). Also the modernization attempts in young Turkish republic had been a reason of the popularity of this theory. Allied with this theory, Turkish scholars assumed that the rural migrants in cities were going to become modernized and urbanized; thus they were about to become urban citizens after a certain process of integration into the urban society. Erman (2001) assessed this approach as a way to define them as ‘rural others’ in the city.

Kıray (1964, p.15-16) who defined the social structure as a whole of interaction between social institutions, human relationships and social values, suggested that the phenomenon of ‘gecekondu’ was a ‘buffer mechanism’ which played a part in the integration of rural and urban sides of city. According to her, since all values, institutions and relationships within the social structure were not capable to become a new structure simultaneously, such buffer mechanisms which appertained none of these distinctive social structures (rural and urban) had the role of enabling a transition without any depression²¹.

Ibrahim Yasa (1968, p.178), who had an attitude similar to Kıray towards the concept of social structure, defined the gecekondu families as the lowest social layer of urban population which was a ‘different social actuality’ than the bottom socio-economic layers defined as ‘slum’ and ‘tin quarters’. He denoted that some scholars who considered the indefinite and undulant structure of this layer defined it as ‘the society without any classes’. Some other scholars called it as ‘sub-proletarian’ considering the proletarianization possible in the future of industrializing societies. He also suggested that these gecekondu families were

²¹ She derived this theory from the ‘cultural gap’ concept of Ogburn, which was a result of the asynchronous change in ideology and technology.

transitional families since they had ‘one end in the village and the other end in the city’ (1970, p.10 in Erman, 2001, p.989). According to him, they still did not adapt to the urban life, and thus, they were still not able to be considered as urban families (p.15). He denoted that, gecekondü people, who were still keeping on their rural way of production at home, had the hope of finding jobs in industry as workers. While Yasa was asserting that these gecekondü families were temporary institutions that would tend to cease over time (p.17), Yörükhan (1968, p.21) mentioned that they were still keeping their strong ties with their origins, keeping their rural characteristics though they adopted a certain level of urban family characteristics.

The studies of scholars analyzed the way of life in gecekondü families due to comparisons with urban society in terms of their consumption habits, their dresses, and their educational levels and so on. Also their level of use of urban cultural facilities such as theatre, cinema and exhibitions had been considered as an indicator of their integration level.

Erman (2001) asserted that in this epoch, the gecekondü people were considered as ‘rural others’ by the scholars. According to her, in that case they had to leave their rural identities in order to get rid of this consideration. She denoted that this term ‘other’ did not only signify the differences between them and urban society, but also the belief of scholars and urban society that rurality was inferior to urbanity in contemplation that the civilization is incidental to the urban.

The criticism of the Theory of Modernization in late the 1960s after in western academic sphere along with the criticism of positivism in social sciences affected the Turkish scholars. The social inequalities started to be questioned, and the optimistic assumptions of the 1950s tended to leave their place to the Dependency Theory after 1970 which was a criticism of Theory of Modernization.

2.2.2. Gecekondu takes part in urban system

Urban conditions were quite difficult for first incomers. However, their existence in the city facilitated these conditions for subsequent migrants. Also the developing marginal activities created a hope for economic survival in the city. Most importantly, their new role in urban system determined by the governmental policies and market assumptions allowed them to take a part in this economy. This role as a consumer of national industry was stimulated with the idea of becoming urbanized through urban goods. Thus, the integration with the urban society was assumed to happen through consumption²².

In the 1940s and early the 1950s, the migrant population in city was providing cheap labor force for industry. The import substitution model adopted by the Turkish state which started in 1954 through the enacted restrictor decisions created a dissatisfied bourgeoisie; and the migrants from rural had been considered as the new potential dynamics of urban economy as consumers to meet this deficit, and this became another factor of the increase in the number of migration (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2001, p.99-101).

Şenyapılı (1982) denoted that after the 1950s, men of gecekondu families started to perform non-marginal small-scale jobs and newcomers and younger male children carried on the marginal jobs. In the meanwhile women began to do housework of urban families since the developing industry created an employment for educated urban women. According to her, this change in the economic role of the gecekondu family made them permanent in the urban system (p.242). Along with their economic activities in the system, their potential of consumption fed the development of internal market against the difficulties that the national industry

²² The popular urban commodity of the 1950s aroused as automobile. The urban transport policies of Menderes, the governor of the epoch, were in the direction of motivating the use of car. Other commodities such as fridge were not that diffuse yet; especially in gecekondu quarters, the amount of daily shopping was scarce due to the lack of conservation conditions of food. In the meanwhile, all the gecekondu quarters used to include small-scale shops such as butchers, groceries, and bakers (Keyder, 2000, p.207 in Kırel, 2005, p.26). It was evident that these quarters were becoming permanent village-like settlements in the city.

suffered due to the lack of western standards. Thus, the gecekondu family began to imitate the urban families in terms of their consumption behaviors despite their inadequate income levels, since it became the only way to integrate with the urban system and to overcome with the exclusive attitude of urban society (p.243).

The populist approach of politicians on gecekondu in the 1950s and the 1960s had been the initiator of growing amounts of rural to urban migration. According to Keyder (2003), politicians abused this phenomenon to sustain the protectionism enabling the informal acquisition of public land²³. Since they noticed the growing amount of this mass migration as a potential of voters, they promised title deeds and facilities to this population. Consequently, in the 1950s the gecekondu society was assumed as the conservatives, since they supported the Justice Party of Menderes due to their promises. However, it became evident in late the 1950s that the party could not keep these promises, and the reaction of this society was inevitable.

However, since the political collapse in the late 1950s after the Democrat Party failed to provide wealth; it was not possible to rely on such an expectation. Moreover, the oppressive policies of the government were provoking the society. Finally, in 1960, the military responded to the over-conservative and oppressive attitude of Democrat Party and this period concluded with a military coup. This coup had been assessed in several sections of the society as a progressive movement towards modernization. Daldal (2005) denoted that one of the major motives of this coup was the modernization and westernization movement held by the progressive bourgeoisie through ‘a new economic development’ model. She mentioned that scholars had been divided into two in terms of the assessment of this ‘progressiveness’; while a part of them were in search for a ‘third world socialist model’ as an ‘anti-imperialist’ progress, another part was considering it as a step forward to a progressive capitalist model (p.116).

²³ In the laws, number 5218 and 5228 in 1948, without mentioning the term of ‘gecekondu’, the government paved the way for legalization of gecekondu dwellings built within a certain period of time, and providing cheap land for the ones who did not have the property, tried to circumvent the construction of new gecekondu dwellings.

2.3. The 1970s: Rise of the Changing Character of Gecekondu

The 1970s had been an epoch of economic crisis and the social activation which was set off by the political climate rose as a consequence of this economic situation became prominent both in Turkey and around the world. The economic crisis emerged after the Oil Crisis in 1973 affected Turkey extremely and caused a political environment which faced several economic crises successively. This predicament in economy resulted in a deep complication in public politic attitude. The developments after the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s which cropped up in western world, and the crisis in the import substitution model which gained the popularity of gecekondu population in until the 1970s grounded the political polarization and conflict; thus, the weakness of the state gave rise to a Marxist rebellion movement, and a battle between the leftists and the right-wing idealists broke out all around Turkey.

Meanwhile, migration from rural to urban continued in the 1970s and the rural population increased significantly in big cities. According to Erkan and Bağlı (2005) about 200.000 rural migrants settled in big cities like Ankara, İstanbul and İzmir. Thus, the housing capacity for the newcomers in Gecekondu areas began to be scarce, and therefore the production process of gecekondu started to change and to gain new characteristics (Burgess, 1978). The crisis created a new approach in the way the gecekondu owners looked at their housing needs, and what they expect from the state changed consequently. Also the development in mass production in Turkey in the 1970s affected the attitude of gecekondu inhabitants towards urbanization in terms of social classification and consumption habits.

All these developments started to shape a new environment in Gecekondu groups and in the way the researches contemplate this phenomenon. The main approaches in researches and discussions on Gecekondu started to differentiate basically in two lines which run between the debate of modernization which focuses on integration of rural population into the urban culture, and the new approach which

propounds that the issue is just a matter of labor market based on the labor of migrants exploited by the system. The latter was based on the Marxist discourse of Dependency Theory which began in Latin America and spread around the world. Hence, the image of gecekondü revealed in researches and studies began to transform into a group of aggrieved people who suffer the disadvantages within the city.

While the Marxist theories and approaches overrode both in the political milieu and the researches, Turkish cinema began to discover the gecekondü issue in a different way. Besides the new approaches on the phenomenon, it came to light that these people living in gecekondü constituted an important number of the audience of Turkish movies. Thus, the number of movies including the image and narrative of gecekondü increased, and the movies about gecekondü became much closer to public, and the tendency to reality grew in comparison with the previous situation in cinema. Consequently, gecekondü and people living in it became the new popular subject of Turkish cinema in a more populist way.

2.3.1. Basic Approaches of Researchers on the Phenomenon of Gecekondü in the 1970s: Labefaction of Theory of Modernization and Rise of Marxist Theories

The Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s in the western world started to influence Turkey in the late 1960s. Correspondingly, Marxist theories criticizing the inequalities, class stratification and domination of western world became significant. Besides, the criticisms on positivism which spread over the world in the 1960s had become effective on the theorization of ‘gecekondü’ in the 1970s. Both of these developments in intellectual milieu began to weaken the theory of modernization which was prevalent in Turkish researches about gecekondü thus far.

Until the 1970s, The Theory Of Modernization which anticipated an integration of rural migrants in the urban life both in economic and cultural terms had been

prevalent in studies on gecekondü. However, the new movements in intellectual world, the effects of Marxist ideology and more importantly the development of Dependency Theory which sprang from Latin America affected the Turkish scholars in opposition to the modernization theory which had the tendency to see the social change in general concentrating on the rural-urban migration (Erman, 2001). This new approach had been more favored for the poor sections of the society.

In this epoch, the phenomenon of ‘gecekondü’ was defined as a result of the industrialization model in under-developed countries which was propounding a system exploiting the labor force of the gecekondü people through a ‘fast depeasantisation and slow workerisation’ (Kıray, 1970). The definitions related to ‘urban sprawl’ and comparisons with western cities had been criticized by the scholars which were impressed by the Theory of Dependency. They suggested that such explanations were unfolding the ideology which aggrandizes the western culture (Kongar, 1973). According to these scholars, ‘gecekondü’ was a permanent result of the urbanization problem of capitalism. Thus, the ‘structural-functionalist-modernist’ explanation for the phenomenon changed into a ‘structural-Marxist’ discourse (Erman, 2001). The disregard of rural values within the urban life and the social association in gecekondü in the Theory of Modernization had been deemphasized by these approaches. Karpat (1976) suggested that this type of urbanization had some technological and industrial characteristics of western cities and also the culture and social essence of the country side considering that gecekondü was an emergence of a new type of city which included the both urban and rural characteristics. This assumption of ‘emergence of a new development model’ can be seen in many other scholars such as Şenyapılı (1978), and Kongar (1973). Kongar kept considering the phenomenon within the context of “buffer mechanism” (1982) as Kıray suggested in 1964.

At that time, theorists in west, such as Turner, continued to defend the self-help housing school which began in the 1960s. Although there had been many other scholars supporting this model (Bromley, 2003; Harris, 2003), Turner made the

most significant contributions in his studies. He made a comparison between classical urban housing types and self-help housing (including the concept of 'gecekondu' in Turkey) coming to the conclusion that the classical and standardized housing types were requiring more income to live in it; thus, if states support the self-help housing, their inhabitants could have access to urban facilities and job opportunities (Turner, 1976).

Most of the scholars who confirmed this new approach emphasized the difficulties in the integration to the city for rural migrants. Şenyapılı (1982) addressed the problem of employment and exploitation of labor force of gecekondu inhabitants. "Marginal sector" entered in the theoretical studies in this epoch which means the unorganized and unproductive jobs performed by the gecekondu inhabitants. The jobs that the gecekondu people had to do were handicaps for integration to the urban culture, since most of them were within this sector. Şenyapılı assessed this new sector as a certain capitalism model which enabled the continuity of the system, but not a problem of gecekonduzation. Turner (1976), Kongar (1981) and Eke (1981) pointed out the lack of adequate public policies to correspond to the needs of gecekondu inhabitants such as availability of urban services and facilities. These difficulties have been seen as the limits of the integration to the city. All these new approaches had a closer attitude towards the rural migrant, and blamed the state for the situation. However, some researches kept going with the consideration which looked upon the phenomenon of gecekondu as "marginal rural" and lower culture asserting it as the fatalistic, irrational and outdated culture of poverty also in this epoch (such as in Türkdoğan, 1977). Likewise, Burgess (1977, 1978) criticized the self-help housing model propounding that it gained a 'exchange value' creating a new housing market in the city. According to him, the owners of such buildings began to modify them to gain extra income, or to build new ones to sell. Mathey (1997) summarized these critics concluding that the belief of self-help housing supporters that this model enables to the inhabitants to create their environment without the interference of capitalist system was just a myth, since it was ignoring the socio-political dimension.

Beyond all these developments in the approach to gecekondu phenomenon, researchers and scholars continued to assume the people living in gecekondu as a whole, and focused on the problem of integration to urban life. Gecekondu inhabitants were still considered as a group which was trying to integrate in the city urbanizing them, but facing the inaccessibility of urban facilities and social services because of their existing conditions. They were still integrating in terms of production and consumption, however, they were not able to gain acceptance of the other citizens in terms of social and cultural matters. The unilinear model constructed to define the gecekondu family and people living in gecekondu areas, which considered them as a homogeneous group had gone on also in the 1970s. Researches held the problematic of social integration and cultural issues as a matter of a unique culture, even though the social movement in gecekondu enclosed especially by the political atmosphere of the decade revealed the differentiation within these districts. Thus, the gap between researchers and the rural migrants remained unchanged (Erman, 2001).

2.3.2. Gecekondu as the unintegrated dynamic of the urban system in the period of crisis

After the political developments and social movements in the 1960s, the 1970s rose with a political base of polarization and conflicts. Especially the economic crisis around the world which occurred with the oil crisis in 1973 shot the developing countries like Turkey, and it affected especially the lower income groups like gecekondu districts. Although the state recognized the existence of the problematic of 'gecekondu' in 1966, the governmental policies had been criticized to be unable to meet the problem. Moreover, the import substitution growth model adopted by the state which promised a easy shift between social classes begin to be obstructed since it had to import the technology even though it was based on the interception of importation of any industrial materials from abroad (Işık, Pınarcıoğlu, 2002, p. 120). Thusly, the economic problems intensified and triggered the political tension in the society.

The discussion about gecekondur in Turkey revolved around the question of whether it was a problem or a solution for the housing need of low income groups within the city. Until the 1980s, governmental policies had seen gecekondur as a problem to solve. That's why all the policies were built on inhibition, deconstruction and renewal of gecekondur districts. In 1978, the government pointed out the creativity²⁴ of Turkish people seen in 'gecekondur' phenomenon, and offered municipalities to construct a solution for the housing problem including both this public creativity and support of the state, denoting that social house-dwelling process could take a long time.

The urbanization process in Turkey is usually held in two epochs, the epoch before the planned period and the epoch after the planned period. The Turkish state recognized the phenomenon of 'gecekondur' literally first in 30.07.1966 through the Gecekondur Law No. 775 during the so-called planned period, and with the following "Governing Regulations of Gecekondur Law" in 17.10.1966 and its amendment published in 1967. It was different from the previous laws²⁵ including the housing problem in terms of its systematical and single-minded characteristic. The definition of 'gecekondur' in this law revealed the way it approached to the problematic in which ways. According to this definition, gecekondur was an illegal, unauthorized and unpermitted housing built on the land of others. Thus, the housing types similar to gecekondur in terms of unhealthy conditions and building process were not included in this law in case they were built on the land of their builders. This law had been criticized in the 1970s considering its lack of ability to meet the needs of these districts to integrate in the city.

The import substitution growth model offered a negotiation between classes, and worked well until the second half of the 1970s (Işık and Pınarcıođlu, 2002, p. 120).

²⁴ An example of this 'creativity' can be seen in "Gülen Adam / The Laughter Man" (Tibet, 1989) in which Yusuf creates new solution for his housing problem as his father in law who prevents all his attempts to have a house since he doesn't want him to be his daughter. Finally, Yusuf builds a house-on-wheels.

²⁵ The first law directly related to gecekondur problems in Turkey was Law No. 5218 promulgated in 1948.

According to this model, gecekondu people were promised that their sheltering needs would be met in the city followed by participation to the formal system through these districts surrounding the city. This growth model let the gecekondu inhabitants support the existing socio-economic structure until a crisis in the system collapsed these promises (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2002, p. 122 and 123).

All these governmental attempts were providing a confidence in the economic development until the 1970s, and the gecekondu people were supporting the conservative parties in power. The import substitution model had been seen as a sign of the tendency of gecekondu inhabitants to integrate into urban society so far. The governmental policies indulged the easy income gathered from gecekondu in order to prevent any movements against the governmental policies. However, these negative developments in political and economic environment of the country sparked off new moves in the phenomenon of gecekondu especially in the second half of the 1970s. The crisis played down the populist political attitude of the government in terms of integration and the demands of gecekondu producers from the political system. Consequently, the demands of gecekondu inhabitants for urban services gained a political character.

Also the theoreticians made explanations about the mainspring of politization. According to Eke (1981, p.67) it was not the rural migrants who did not want to integrate in the urban life, but it was the lack of public policies to assist them. Both Kongar (1981) and Eke (1981) propounded that migrants were willing to participate in the urban functions when they were available. Eke denoted that the handicap of integration was not the “culture of poverty” within the gecekondu areas, but the policies prepared by the state²⁶. Likewise, Kongar (1981) suggested that they were open to use the urban opportunities, and they weren't pleased to be seen as second class citizens in the city.

²⁶ In “Sultan” (Tibet,1978), an old woman of the district delivers the babies; there is no village clinic nor any health centers in the gecekondu district.

After the convulsed political conditions in Turkey, leftist discourse struck a wide ground in public sphere. The demand of leftist parties for equality and their discourse of labor rights were sympathetic for gecekondu people, and thus, their votes shifted to these left wing parties which offered a change in the existing system. Leftist groups started to organize themselves in universities and in gecekondu districts. At that point, youth of gecekondu and also other gecekondu people became the hope of leftist groups (Erman, 2001, p.986). The gecekondu districts became sites of radical politics and this situation culminated in a new character and in a new concept called ‘liberated zones’ (Kalaylıođlu, 2006, p.67) which defines the regions in which the state authority and forces can’t enter (Erman, 2001, p. 986).

While the theoretical framework was still assuming the gecekondu people as a heterogeneous group of rural migrants, the political polarization process in the 1970s revealed that there were many different groups under the umbrella of these districts. Especially, the events which occurred in Maraş and Çorum in this decade highlighted the differentiations within the context of ethnical and religious identities (such as the matter of being Alevi or Sunni)²⁷.

The keen polarization between leftist and idealist right-wing groups turned into violent battles at the end of the decade resulting in a political crisis, and it concluded in the military coup which gave a start to a new mileage in Turkey. After all, the gecekonduzation process took a different way until the policies of the government of Özal preparing a base for the development in housing and rent issues in the 1990s.

Traces of the oil crisis around the world and the development of mass production in Turkey shaped the economic environment in the 1970s. The industrialization

²⁷ These variation in gecekondu districts, which was not a matter of discussion in theoretical studies yet was realised in a small number of examples of Turkish cinema already in 1960s such as “Karanlıkta Uyananlar” of Ertem Göreç (1964). In this movie, it was implied in their accents that some of the workers of the dye works who live in a gecekondu district were from different ethnical origins. In movies, this variation could be seen through the relations of kinship.

process advanced significantly in terms of technology. However, the problems of unemployment and cultural integration increased comparatively. The change in the political character of gecekondu in this decade affected the economic behavior and attitude in their consumption preferences. Thus, the housing process of gecekondu and the integration of rural migrants in urban economy broke new ground.

Kıray (1964) had explained the phenomenon of gecekondu constructing the term of 'buffer mechanism' based on the theory of 'cultural gap'²⁸ in the 1960s. In the 1970s the number of rural migrants in big cities increased exponentially, and Kongar (1982) continued to use this definition for the gecekondu phenomenon of the 1970s suggesting that gecekondu was an institution which provides a temporary balance and integrity in the society during the process of socio-economic change. According to him, the labor force came from rural areas because of technological and rental changes in agriculture and was attracted by the urban services and wages; however, they were not able to be absorbed in the city to get the opportunities of the industrial structure and the urban services.

The position of gecekondu in the urban system changed significantly in the 1970s as a result of the increasing role of gecekondu people in economy in terms of both production and consumption. Şenyapılı (1982) has seen the phenomenon of gecekondu as a labor market issue, and denoted that the rural migrants became an important part of marginal economy. According to her, the capitalist system was gaining ground through the marginal sector in order to sustain its own power. This was the reason why the system was supporting these activities in economy. Many other researchers revealed that the inhabitants in gecekondu areas which occurred a result of rural migration was to gather income through the work area defined as 'marginal sector' (Erkan and Bağlı, 2005). Tekeli (1976, p.207) defined the term "marginal sector" as an irregular and unorganized group which doesn't cause social depression while it sustains its existence within the city performing

²⁸ The concept of 'cultural gap' defined by Ogburn (in Kongar, 1982, p.27) theorizes the situation which comes out of the unparallelism of material culture and the moral culture as a result of fast change in technology and slow development of ideologies.

economic activities using the irregular and unorganized job opportunities or creating such jobs to earn enough income to survive only in relation with the rural marginal sector which feeds them²⁹. In the meanwhile, in many other researches, it could be ascertained that an optimistic attitude towards the income level in gecekondu district was possible in 1978-1979³⁰.

Another entry in the income of gecekondu house-hold was the changing working sphere of women. In first generation gecekondu families, women used to work in housework services only in case the family had a difficulty in maintenance (Şenyapılı, 1982). Thus, work was seen as a temporary situation for women. However, second generation women started to have a better education level even though it was not enough to get jobs in higher positions, and they did not want to continue to work in housework services. According to Şenyapılı, they were more familiar with the urban life, and therefore they wanted to acquire a level of income which enables them to reach urban consumption goods³¹. In the meanwhile, a part

²⁹ Keleş (1988) studied the researches about the income level of gecekondu families in the 1970s. He denoted that the results of inquiries were not convenient to define low income groups in general, since the results would change in terms of the differences in the house hold income data according to cities, gecekondu districts, and the period of time. As an example of this variation in gecekondu income levels, in “Canım Kardeşim / My Dear Brother” (Eğilmez, 1973) some gecekondu house-holds had television which was an indicator of higher income within this society, and the others had the desire to have one. Moreover, it should be considered that in some cases the members of the house-hold other than the head of the house might contribute in the income. According to the findings of the research of D.W. Drakakis-Smith (1975 in Keleş, 1988) the monthly income of gecekondu families were 1.265 TL and 1.310 TL which were below the minimum wage (The minimum wage determined by the state in that time was 1.800 TL). It revealed that gecekondu families constituted the lowest income level groups. However, Keleş continued with the extremely varying research results in the 1970s. For example, Kemal Karpat (1978) came up with the result that %63 of gecekondu house-holds had an income above 5.000 TL, while according to the findings of Şenyapılı (1981) this level was significantly below the average income level (in Keleş, 1988)

³⁰ According to the results of the study of Dr. Birsen Gökçe (1971 in Keleş, 1988) about the monthly income in gecekondu districts, the average income in gecekondu of Ankara was 1.157 which was above the minimum wage determined by the state.

³¹ Şenyapılı (1982) assessed this attempt of women in gecekondu towards urban consumption style as an endeavor to urbanize. She suggested that the marginal situation of gecekondu inhabitants changed in time in favor of the integration with the society in terms of economy through the production and consumption sphere. They integrated to the urban economy as cheap labor force and consumers. However, she denoted that they were not accepted by the urban society in socio-cultural dimension. According to her, the attempt of gecekondu people to reach the urban consumption norms was a result of their wish to overcome with the discrimination in urban section against them.

of the children of gecekondu district who were working in the 1960s in small-scale irregular jobs started to participate in the political activism.

One of the most important characteristics of the the 1970s was the social movement which emerged in the second half of the decade. Through this movement, the housing problem was taken into the political agenda. While some of the participants of the movement aspired to the solution of infrastructure problems, another part targeted on solving their housing needs by constructing gecekondu on public land as groups³². As migration to cities continued increasingly, a scarcity of land to build new gecekondu for newcomers occurred in cities. Furthermore, the movement of upper classes to suburbs, along with the increase in the car ownership³³ raised the value of gecekondu lands³⁴. As a consequence, land speculation took place in housing market, and gecekondu became a ‘competitive commodity’ (Erman, 2001)³⁵. Thus, the basic characteristic of gecekonduzation process which was defined as ‘temporary shelters’ in the 1940s and the 1950s, and ‘established neighborhoods’ in the 1960s turned into profitable commodities in housing market³⁶. The governmental policies were compensating the ways to get easy income from gecekondu building, and as a result the production and acquisition process of gecekonduzation took yet another

³² In “Sultan” (Tibet, 1978), the gecekondu inhabitants who lost their lands constructed a new gecekondu district as a group on the first empty land they coincided.

³³ The beginning of the automobile production in Turkey in the 1970s increased the number of car ownership. Thusly, highway investments took the place of railway in the transportation infrastructure.

³⁴ The gecekondu areas, which were built on the periphery land of the city became so close to the urban area that we can see the tall buildings of city just behind the gecekondu districts in “Umut/Hope” (Güney, 1970- Adana) and “Canım Kardeşim/My Dear Brother” (Eğilmez, 1973- İstanbul).

³⁵ In “Sultan” (Tibet, 1978), the result of this new value of gecekondu land, and the developing attitude towards acquisition of these lands is revealed explicitly. In the movie, it is implied that these lands were sold to gecekondu inhabitants deedless. Later, they were sold to an instruction company, since the land was getting more valuable after the belt highway planned to be built around it, and thusly those people who lived there had no legal rights to defend their possession.

³⁶ Acar (2005) defined this new mode of gecekonduzation in the second half of the 1970s as a institutionalized housing market which was waiting for the forthcoming repentance laws.

turn. Consequently, shared title deeds superseded the land occupation. As a result, the form of the gecekondü changed into ‘single-storey buildings’ which were more proper with small gardens around them (Şenyapılı, 1982 p.245), and a number of gecekondü houses became high-rise apartment blocks (Acar, 2005, p.361)³⁷.

The economic developments in the 1970s were strongly interrupted by the military coup in 1980. Therefore, the new gecekondü process and the attempts of gecekondü people to acquire public land through easier ways were restricted for a while. However, all these attitudes prepared a base for more acute developments in the 1990s which concluded with an urban crisis.

The political and economical characteristics of gecekondü districts which changed deeply in this decade created a big impact on the social structure. While the theorists started to adopt brand new approaches on the phenomenon in terms of social behavior and integration, the characteristics of gecekondü society changed in a relatively unexpected way. Moreover, the free market economies adopted by the government caused an increase in the gap between poor and wealthy, thus the conflict between rural and urban society within the city deepened.

The political tension and the developing activism of gecekondü groups accentuated the differentiations within this population, even though they were assumed as a whole by the theorists and politicians until then. Until the 1970s, the researches considered the gecekondü families and their members only as a different group from the urban society without concerning about any differences within themselves (Erman, 2001, p. 991). This consideration lost its prevalence in

³⁷ This commercial development of gecekondü process was a point of the critics of Burgess (1982) against the approach of Turner. Burgess defended that the use-value and the exchange value of such type of a self-help housing were different from each other, and the exchange value of a formal housing would be less than the other. Moreover, he criticised Turner suggesting that all housing types would have such a commercial / exchange value as long as they were included in a capitalist system. However, Turner (1982) responded to this critic denoting that he did not exclude the market value of this housing, but the exchange value should have been considered as a secondary issue after all other components of the fact. (in Duyar-Kienast, Umut. *The formation of Gecekondü Settlements in Turkey: The Case of Ankara*, 2005. LIT Verlag Berlin-Hamburg-Münster. p.69 and 70)

the 1970s in one sense, although this duality between rural and urban continued to be discussed in terms of integration. Some researchers took this matter in a broader sense in terms of socio-economic dimensions (such as Karpat and Şenyapılı, in Erman, 2001, p. 991)³⁸.

In the reasearch of Karpat (1976 in Erman, 1996, p.293) performed on the gecekondu society, the answer to the question of whether they wanted to have closer relationships with urban society had been 'yes' in 81% of men, 73% of women and 90% of youth. The participants of the inquiry explained the reason of their positive answer as availing themselves of the knowledge and ideas of urban people; improving their job opportunities; becoming civilized adopting their urban attitude and thoughts; and participation to the city completely. However, in the same research it had been clarified that the gecekondu inhabitants were complaining about the discrimination against them, and they mentioned that they were not able to see themselves as a part of urban citizens. They denoted that the most important reason of this discrimination was their financial disadvantages; and thus, their consumption conditions which were completely different from those of urban society³⁹.

The feeling of being discriminated and lonely within the city had been overcome through the kinship network constructed in gecekondu districts (Erman, 1996). That is to say that the rural ties turned into a rural-urban society⁴⁰. Through this network, which usually took place widely in coffeehouses, rural migrants and gecekondu inhabitants could help each other to find dwelling and job (Şenyapılı, 1978). The coffeehouses had become the places of social communication within

³⁸ Şenyapılı (1982) mentioned the new position of gecekondu people in urban sphere connected to their increasing activity in economy. According to her, their eager for urbanization ascended with their changing consumption habits. Yet, it was not enough to make them integrate with the urban culture. Erman (2004) assessed the attitude of theorists in the 1970s towards the gecekondu people as a tendency to see them as 'the disadvantageous marginal segment of the city'.

³⁹ During the research, one of the members of gecekondu society who was cleaning the bathrooms as a job, gave his difficulty to buy new pairs of shoes as an example (in Erman, 1996, p.294).

⁴⁰ Kıray (1964), Şenyapılı (1978) and Kurtoğlu (1989) assessed this kind of a congregational attitude with a rural base in favor of integration to the city as a 'buffer mechanism' in terms of the disengagement and continuity of history between the rural and urban.

the rural segment of the city, since the basic matter of talk was usually the daily news, news from rural areas, problems of the gecekondu districts, personal infightings and subjective assessments (Aytaç, 2005, p. 184). This institution enabled the newcomers to gain resistance against the city adopting the urban life while they kept their rural characteristics. However, according to Heper (1983), such relationship networks were wider in developing countries in comparison with industrialized ones resulting in a difficulty to sustain some activities in the city both for rural and urban citizens when they fell outside this network. Therefore, such social networks were complicating the urbanization process of migrants.

The increasing population of gecekondu inhabitants in the 1970s which constituted almost the 50% of the cities was a proof of the fact that this phenomenon was not temporary as it had been considered so far. As Kongar (1973) also defended, it was not correct anymore to assume this majority as a group of marginals in the city. Accordingly, the social conflicts and the cultural tension within the two margins of the city resulted in a rebellious state of mind in gecekondu sites.

This reaction of gecekondu society found itself in a music genre which started in the second half of the 1970s. It was a mixture of Turkish classical and folk music combined with the elements of western and Egyptian themes (Özbek, 1999, p.168). First experienced in the music of Orhan Gencebay in the second half of the 1960s, this music combining rural and urban elements was called 'arabesque'. In this atmosphere of conflicts and dilemmas, the music created a new culture which has been named as the music it referred. This new culture expressed the life of rural migrants in the city which had undergone a fast change in parallel with the modernization it experienced since the 1950s, and as a reaction of urbanizing rural public sphere against the capitalist modernization process they were forced to adopt themselves (p.169). The characteristic of this culture was its sadness, hopelessness, sentimentality and seditionism. After the effects of the modernization theory which grounded its assumptions on the theory of transitional period, it was considered that this new culture had negative effects on the urban environment ruralizing it (p.168). This attitude towards the arabesque culture

assumed it as a temporary fact which would be wiped away in time by the advancement of industrialization and urbanization.

2.4. Gecekondu after 1980: Fall of Purity

The 1980s in Turkey started with a military coup which entailed a substantial change in politics, economy and social attitudes. When the military coup dissolved itself in 1983, a new government was elected which had a right-wing ideology similar to the military defending the west-oriented liberal economy policies and a fight against communism. The fall of the Berlin Wall and termination of Cold War supported these neo-liberal economy-policies of government. Amnesty laws led the gecekondu to enter in the formal housing market. However, the attempt of the government to create a fully liberal market economy resulted in a negative impact on society, and the number of migrants from rural to urban increased exponentially.

The effects of this political picture gave a start to the commercialization process of gecekondu. Thus, gecekondu became a source of rent. This new commercial value caused dissolution in the social structure of the gecekondu districts. The political polarisation in the second half of the 1970s turned into a polarization in terms of economic situation and roles in social networks. While part of the gecekondu society was property owners, another part was their tenants. Moreover, finding a gecekondu was much more difficult than before, and for many newcomers it was a hard struggle to find shelter in the city. As gecekondu was suffering the inequalities between the urban and rural sides of the city so far, in the 1980s, the homogeneity died out, and gecekondu itself became a district where disparity prevails.

The urbanization process in the 1980s was not able to correspond to the rate of industrialization just as in the previous decades. Unemployment remained as the major problem in the city. However, newcomers kept creating their jobs, and their own informal rules to sustain their business. The arrangement of these rules

accrued with the new informal organizations based on the network and power relationships. In the meanwhile, gecekondu society started to struggle for their rights, and they claimed for urban services and infrastructure.

The academic discourse kept its approach to the gecekondu inhabitants as disadvantageous urban poor. Studies about this phenomenon had put the emphasis on the issue of their low living conditions, and the discussion became a matter of poverty rather than gecekondu itself. Accordingly, levels of economic integrity, featured living conditions, the consumption habits and social attitudes of urban poor took place in researches. However, the public discourse in this period counted them as people who derive undeserved personal benefits (Erman, 2001).

Likewise, in Turkish cinema, issues such as unemployment, gender, transformation in network relationships, rental struggle in gecekondu areas, dissention between rural migrants and the state, lack of legal conscience, social stratification, charlatanry, and difficulties that newcomers suffered had constituted the main subjects in the 1980s. The arabesque movies prevailed also in this decade, however, their rebellious attitude towards the urban struggle changed into a more individualist narrative to catch attention of a wider range of audience.

All in all, the transformation of network relationships unfavourable of weaker part of gecekondu; rental/exchange value that gecekondu gained and speculations about the land; difficulties in finding a shelter and work that newcomers and weaker parts of gecekondu districts suffer; and the increase in criminality in cities caused by the gecekondu population resulted in the loss of the former traditional characteristics of these districts, which had hitherto reflected rural purity concentrated mostly on the intention to survive in the urban system.

2.4.1. Basic Approaches of Theoreticians to the Phenomenon of Gecekondu after 1980: Effects of Post-Modern Theories on the Approaches

The criticism of modernism –post-modernist theories- which excluded the assumption of integration and defended the dismemberment in society, gained recognition in United States at the end of the 1970s (Aslan and Yılmaz, 2006. p.99), and along with western theories developing in the 1970s about identity and differences affected the academic environment in Turkey in the 1980s. This new approach led the Turkish studies to consider the phenomenon of gecekondu in a heterogeneous structure, and the various groups in gecekondu districts started to be recognized. There had been different considerations in this sense. While a part of the studies specified these groups according to the time they spent in the city, as a result of the emergence of identity politics, another part assessed their identities in terms of ethnicity and the region they came from (Erman, 2001. p.993).

According to the study of Erman (2000), the scholars considered the phenomenon around the classification of ‘urban poor Others’, the ‘undeserving rich Others’ and the ‘culturally inferior Others as Sub-culture’ between the mid 1980s and mid 1990s, and ‘threatening/*varoşlu* Other’ in the late 1990s. The basic approaches of the theoretical studies towards the phenomenon of gecekondu altered in this epoch and concentrated on the phenomenon of gecekondu and poverty in this epoch. While they were mentioning the gecekondu inhabitants as ‘the other’ within the city in previous decades, they changed this term into ‘others’ as a consequence of the effects of recognition that there were different groups within them. Accordingly, it was mentioned that they were not just the ‘other’ part of the city, but also ‘others’ for each other, within their own territory. Moreover, the term ‘rural in the city’ had been transformed into ‘urban poor’ (Erman, 2001. p.993), since it was valid for previous generations, but was not corresponding to the situation of new generations; and a new discussion occurred in studies considering ‘urban poor versus undeserving rich others’ (Erman, p. 993-994). In addition, the number of studies about gecekondu decreased while the fact of ‘poverty’ gained importance as a subject in researches. Likewise, economic dynamics created by

this phenomenon and the economic situation of gecekondu inhabitants constituted an important part of studies.

The world recognized the term of 'globalization' in the 1970s, and it started to reveal its effects especially in the 1980s which put forward the importance of global systems instead of privilege of nationality in modernism (İçli, 2001. p. 163). Accordingly, the center-periphery theory developed by the theorists such as Samir Amin, Immanuel Wallerstein, Andre Gunder Frank prevailed in many studies in this epoch. According to this theory, developed countries were shaping the social and economical environment of developing and less developed countries. That was the reason why modern capitalist society and feudal and traditional societies lived together in these less developed countries (Kongar, 1982. p.25-26). Thus, gecekondu had been the physical response to the separation of these two sides in urbanization (p. 26). Besides the theory of centre-periphery, the phenomenon had been held also in terms of national-economic relationships. According to the scholars who took this approach, the principal matter in this phenomenon was the labour market (Şenyapılı, 1978. p.17). They divided the labour of gecekondu population in three groups concerning the ones who work in central jobs, peripheral jobs and marginal jobs (p. 17).

The heterogeneity which began in gecekondu districts had been assessed as a reason for the criminality in urban areas (Tekeli, 1982 and Dönmezler, 1986). In the city the original homogeneity, the fact that everyone knew one another in rural areas, and the traditional social control mechanisms tended to be lost. The new move of fickle individuality arising through the competition between these people created an environment where crime could occur easily (Dönmezler, 1986. p. 60). At that time, Keleş and Ünsal (1982, p.32) asserted that inequalities and imbalances in level of living fed the violence in cities. Moreover, the migrants were considered as the ones who constituted the greater portion of the criminals (Dönmezler, 1986. p. 55).

Another differentiation appeared in gecekondu districts in terms of property ownership. There were two sides of this phenomenon: those who owned more than one gecekondu dwelling to rent out, and the newcomers who became their tenants. Thus, another dynamic of the discussion emerged about the economical stratification inside the gecekondu itself.

The approach of scholars criticized the government which had enabled the rise of the construction process of gecekondu after the dissolution of the military coup in 1983. In response to the debates about legitimization of gecekondu and how to include them in amnesty laws, Önder Şenyapılı (1981) suggested that there was no way to solve the problem unless the fundamental reasons were not taken into account. He denoted that even though it was clear that the way to get rid of this urban sprawl was demolishing them, the number of new gecekondu dwellings was more than the ones which were demolished. As a result, the politicians paid attention to this non-ignorable potential of voters, legalizing the gecekondu houses built until a certain date. In the meanwhile, Tekeli (1982) denoted that the structural and infrastructural characteristics of gecekondu were indicating the low income level of this group who lived there. He suggested that the primary goal to solve the problem should have been increasing their income levels, and providing their social security.

The theory of ‘buffer mechanism’ which had started to be discussed in the 1960s was maintained by certain scholars (such as Kongar, 1982). Kongar (1982, p.28) defined this buffer mechanism as the institutions and mechanisms which constitutes the integrity and balance in alternation processes for a while. Gecekondu, which had a function as buffer mechanism for the compliance with the city, formed the transition areas between the older urban citizens and newcomers in terms of both moral and material integrity (p.31) protecting the inhabitants from the urban life, and providing them an opportunity to live there. Thus, it was enabling the integration to city through the interaction and communication it provided between the different parts of the city. The effects of this approach

suggested a new discussion. Accordingly, gecekondu had been seen as neither urbanized nor rural, but as a new sub-culture in cities (Erman, 2001).

The discussion of 'marginal sector' left its place to a new concept called 'informal sector' which was first used by Keith Hart in 1973⁴¹ considering this unorganized, non-official and non-standard economic activities in favour of capitalist economic system including all marginal jobs. The functioning of the sector, how to enter in the sector, and how to arrange the new working areas were discussed in several studies. The theory of centre-periphery had been effective in such studies, and the analysis of network relationships which had been discussed in the 1970s constituted an important base for these researches, especially because of the segmentation and deformation in these institutions after 1980.

Consequently, the network relationships within the migrant society kept their importance as a research subject. After the 1980s, the diffusion of communication opportunities raised the knowledge of rural section about urban section, and the kinship relationships kept sustaining the position of migrants in city. While the reason for difficulty in integration to city was considered mostly as the result of insecure employment in informal sector with a scarce income and limited capacity of access to urban facilities (Erman, 1996), many scholars assumed that these unsecured and difficult conditions led the migrants to construct solidarity mechanisms based on kinship and community relationships. However, as seen in the studies of Erder (1995, in Erman, 2001, p. 994) these networks lost their previous structure which used to receive the newcomers with open arms, and they changed into selective networks which included only the individuals who were considered to have the capacity to contribute.

Scholars paid regard to many different groups in this epoch. In the 1990s differentiations based on ethnicity and gender also took part in several studies. After the execution of leftist discourse with the military coup in 1980, female

⁴¹ in Hart, Keith. *Informal Income Opportunities and Urban Employment in Ghana*, The Journal of Modern African Studies, Vol. 11, No. 1 (Mar., 1973), pp. 61-89

activists and intellectuals initiated a feminist movement. Thus, women gained visibility also in research. Gecekondu studies started to specify the conditions of female migrants. Thus far, scholars had been taking into account the family of gecekondu according to its head which was usually a man. Through these new attitudes the position of women in family, the jobs available for them, their consumption habits, and their position in urban society became subjects of various studies.

In the late 1990s, especially after the events in Gazi Mahallesi in 1995, the term ‘varoş’ started to define the physical and social existence of gecekondu. While it had been considered until the late 1970s as a buffer mechanism and a formation which would modernize after a certain process, the theoretical studies began to focus on the spatial and social transformation of this phenomenon which did not develop in accordance with the early theoretical assumptions. Now the main subject of scholars was ‘varoş’ and ‘varoşization’ rather than ‘gecekondu’ and ‘gecekonduzation’. This new approach was considering ‘varoş’ as the harbour of social perversion and violence.

2.4.2. Rise of opportunities, downfall of solidarity

After 1980 the amnesty laws that the government (of Özal) intended to promote the gecekondu dwellings into the formal housing market with the aim of solving the property issues brought legal status to gecekondu. Transformation of these districts was seen as one of the most effective solutions. Especially, the amnesty law in 14.02.1984 which was named as “Amendments to Carry Out in The Dwellings Incompatible with The Legislation of Development and Gecekondu” allowed the transformation of gecekondu into apartment blocks permitting construction of up to 4 floors in these areas (Ekşioğlu, 1984. p.103) to enable a rapid and mass process, even though apartment blocks had been seen as the opposite of gecekondu until this period (Şenyapılı and Türel, 1996). While the amnesty law enacted in 1983 was concerned mostly with the housing and gecekondu dwellings in general, this law included all unlicensed constructions as

long as their groundwork was completed. The intention of the government through this law was the compensation of the damnification of urban poor caused by the policies of a liberal economy (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2002. p.165). Thus, the government transferred the treasury land to municipalities, and started to organize the urban rent value of gecekondu ownership (Şengül, 2001. p.90).

In addition, in each election period, politicians kept promising to legitimize and improve gecekondu districts. Also the weakness of authority in these periods allowed the construction of new gecekondu districts within few days. The idea, that amnesty laws and political protection were in favour of this possession resulted in the despoilment of lands of public treasury and foundations⁴². The formalities for amnesty had been eased, the punishments had been extenuated or annulled, and the content had been enlarged in terms of time span and location through this law (Keleş, 1984. p.206). Thus, each amnesty law triggered another amnesty law in a larger scope. After all these legal developments about gecekondu, at the end of the 1980s, these districts became large settlements in the urban area, while they had constituted just the periphery until this decade (Yenigül, 2005. p.281). Thus, the process of gecekonduzation gained facility and rapidity.

Through the restriction of leftists ideologies by the military coup, and the effects of the policies of Özal government, the political state of mind in gecekondu districts became much more opportunist⁴³. The economic and social relationships that gecekondu inhabitants got involved in did not allow them to develop class

⁴² Aydan Sat (2007) assessed the targets of amnesty laws, and she denoted that they were preservation, improvement and demolition of squatter houses in 16.03.1983; preservation and improvement of squatter houses in 24.02.1984; and enlargement of illegal housing concept in 22.05.1986. When some inadequacies occurred in practice, new solutions had been proposed through the law in 07.06.1088. In this law, gecekondu inhabitants could have some development rights.

⁴³ Tansı Şenyapılı (in Tekeli, 2009, p.14) asserted that the existing radical revolutionist moves against the economic system which occurred in the 1970s could not appear in following generations, since newcomers started to find jobs or create job opportunities in the city even though their labour was exploited, and they integrated in the market as consumers; thus, they would choose to enter in the system instead of radicalizing themselves.

solidarity. Under these circumstances, opportunist and anarchist movements took the place of revolutionist conscience in gecekondu districts (Şenyapılı, 1981).

As a consequence of economic policies after 1980, the economical differences grew to the disadvantage of urban migrants who lived in gecekondu. The politics abused the feeling of this population as a socially and economically disadvantageous group in comparison with the modern urban section in the city exploiting the political adaptation of religion, and the cultural contradictions, and made them take refuge under their political roof destroying the rebellious spirit of this population.

Under these political conditions the 1980s were a period of rising individual benefits and opportunities motivated by the government ideology. The number of gecekondu dwellings and population of gecekondu inhabitants increased significantly⁴⁴. Moreover, the commercialization process of gecekondu which was based on the developments in the period after the 1960s in which the use value of gecekondu yielded to exchange value continued due to the liberal economic policies, and hence, the gecekondu rents increased⁴⁵. Thereby, gecekondu became not only the environment which harboured the poor, but also the focus of those who wanted to acquire urban rent. First, gecekondu owners started to rent out their dwellings; later different groups followed this commercial act controlling the construction and sale process of gecekondu. Gecekondu was no more a shelter to hold on to the city, but also a commodity in the market.

The process of gecekonduzation had experienced similar populist attitudes by politicians in all decades. Likewise in the 1980s, while it was tried to control this process by some legal arrangements, the amnesty laws which followed such

⁴⁴ While there were 600.000 gecekondu dwellings and a population of 3.000.000 living in them in 1970, these numbers became 1.150.000 dwellings and a population of 5.750.000 in 1980, and 1.250.000 dwellings and 6.250.000 people in 1983 (Keleş, 1984).

⁴⁵ Only at the end of the 1970s, use value of gecekondu had been defended by the effect of leftist discourse for a short term, and this commercialization process had been interrupted until the liberal economy policies of Özal after the dissolution of military coup.

preventing laws stimulated the people who attempted to build a gecekondu, since they were convinced that sooner or later such laws would legalize their dwellings. Moreover, each government promised to give them ‘title deeds’ in order to get their votes⁴⁶. Thus, politicians legitimized gecekondu, and provided condonation for new gecekondu constructions (Keleş, 1972 and 1984).

Gecekondu dwellings started to transform into apartment blocks in this decade especially in old gecekondu districts which became accessible⁴⁷. These government attempts to add a rental value to gecekondu resulted in the dissolution of kinship networks which used to enable the newcomers to find a shelter and a job in the city, because now all these necessities were in care of other groups such as mafia and gecekondu traders. These groups created big rental values alongside the legal values after the governmental policies.

In this period, although unemployment was a problem all around the world, it could be said that this problem was intensified mainly in developing countries (Ülgener, 1986. p. 113). The problem of unemployment was growing or diminishing in accordance with the economies of developed countries. Moreover, it was increased in developing countries chronically due to the high rates of migration to bigger cities from rural areas, insufficiency of investments, high inflation rates, and lack of qualified labour (Algan, 1994. p.3).

In Turkey, urbanization rose much faster than industrialization, and consequently, a substantial amount of urban population became unemployed. It was difficult for the rural migrants to find a formal job such as in industry since the production process in the city required skills other than agriculture. As job opportunities were scarce for migrants, they continued mostly with their creative informal jobs.

⁴⁶ Especially in each electoral period politicians used such promises to gain their sympathy. In local election in 26 March 1989, access to urban services and infrastructure for gecekondu districts, and cancellation of demolition verdicts took place in the agenda of candidates.

⁴⁷ Tansı Şenyapılı described the decade between 1970 and 1980 as the fourth period of gecekonduzation in which families started to get profit in a small scale through land speculation (in Tekeli, 2009. p.15).

Driving informal public transportation vehicles had been one of the most popular jobs they performed in city⁴⁸ along with street trading. The marginal, informal sector consisting of these jobs had the lack of intensity, security and continuity. It was flexible, temporary, and it was easy to enter or leave the sector (Şenyapılı, 1978. p. 28-29). Alongside these jobs which could be considered as 'services', they went also to illegal ways such as fraud, gambling and trade in the black market (Tekeli, 1982. p.159).

The living conditions of migrants were inextricable from their rural origins. The transfer of capital from rural migrants in city to their origins was a result of the discontinuous and insecure conditions that they suffered in their jobs and shelters as soon as they started to live in the city (Şenyapılı, 1978. p.14). However, in the long run, all these investments went to waste when they settled in the city permanently with regards to their economic and social rooting. It caused the loss of this investment that these sources were neither used nor sold. Moreover, the lack of adequate public policies for the concentration of these sources in the urban space caused an inability to improve the standard of living for the migrants (Kartal, 1983. p.38).

Meanwhile, their economic level and the income they gathered from their jobs in the city were rising, the quality of gecekondu dwellings were also improving since the inhabitants were preferring to maintain the permanency of their settlement as long as they could find an opportunity to work continuously in the city (Şenyapılı, 1981. p. 41). According to Şenyapılı (1982, p. 246), the gecekondu population reached to the consumption level of an urban middle class family in this period. However, it was not indicated that they were availing themselves of all urban facilities. Moreover, their daily mobility in the city was also limited (p. 246). She denoted that it was a consequence of their position in an urban economy, and their cultural and educational levels. Migrant women, who had started to participate in labour force in previous decades, began to work mostly in clothing industry which

⁴⁸ These vehicles were named as 'dolmuş', and it became an important symbol of the 'arabesque' culture in the 1980s.

prevailed after the transition from import substitution model to export oriented industrialization in the 1980s. Most unregistered companies were located in gecekondu areas, and employed women and children of these districts without insurance. In the meanwhile, the women who worked at home constituted the weakest part of this labour market (Eraydın and Erendil, 2002. p.22-23).

The rental value of gecekondu created a differentiation and separation in this society creating inequalities within these districts. After the amnesty laws, and some renewal attempts in gecekondu areas, a part of these people gained an extra income. This difference in income levels in these districts, their separation in two groups as landlords and tenants, and differentiation up to ethnical⁴⁹ and other factors changed the structure of network relationships established in previous decades based mainly on kinship and origins. The rental competition in gecekondu areas created power relationships which ended the homogeneity of gecekondu society in economical terms. This separation started to be classified through informal network relationships, and became a mechanism to reenforce identity in the city (Ayata, 1990/91). Those who could take part in these networks improved their situation while the others who were excluded became poorer⁵⁰.

The difficulty in leaving the previous social structure and integrating with the new urban society created distinctive social and economic problems and the cities could not create an adequate environment for each migrant (Kıray, 1982. p. 59). In this epoch, while the urbanization became faster and unhealthier⁵¹, the degeneration of solidarity networks and transformation of the social structure in gecekondu districts caused the loss of the reassuring effects of cultural values that they carried

⁴⁹ Different groups, such as Alevi society which was hidden until the social dissolution at the end of the 1970s have started to become visible in this epoch.

⁵⁰ Especially for the eastern migrants it was harder to integrate with the city. They were not accepted by other citizens, and therefore, they had become the victims of the urban system (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2002. p.174).

⁵¹ and the industrialization process was not completely implemented due to the lack of specialists and organized labour.

from their rural origins, and the required values that their new life in city brought them had not yet been fully adopted⁵².

Despite the fact that the urban consumption level of gecekondu family increased in the 1980s (Şenyapılı, 1982)⁵³, they were not benefiting from the urban opportunities and facilities such as cultural events and financial and legal organizations. According to Şenyapılı (1982), this was an obstacle in front of the gecekondu population for becoming a 'real' urban family (p. 246). Hereunder, they were trying to consume what they assumed as urbanization but still they were not able to get accepted by the city in terms of social integrity, and they could not get rid of their feeling of alienation⁵⁴.

The Arabesque culture which became popular in the 1970s as a result of the problematic of integration that the migrants face in the city became a style of segregation from the other parts of the city in a more individualist way. Arabesque defined their perception of loneliness, the depression they faced in the new system after their loss of kinship and cultural ties and became the mechanism of orientation to the city (Özbek, 1991. p. 33). However, since arabesque itself became an economic sector in the urban system, its producers became alienated from their origins⁵⁵. Meanwhile, the politicians discovered the important effects of this new culture on the vote potential of gecekondu population. Thus, they conducted researches about this movement⁵⁶. On the other hand, 'arabesque'

⁵² The attempt to make these people adopt these urban values through the mass communication tools resulted in many other social problems (Tortop, 1986. p. 176).

⁵³ They were using modern furniture and technological commodities such television.

⁵⁴ Also in movies of this epoch it can be followed clearly that the gecekondu houses were containing the furniture which had been seen as an urban matter to reach in previous decades. Moreover, property and some of these urban goods was objects of desire to shift their classes, such as in *Çiçek Abbas* (Sinan Çetin, 1982) and *Devlet Kuşu* (Ün, 1980).

⁵⁵ In *At* (1982, Özgentürk), the group which shoots an arabesque movie with an actor of eastern rural origins humiliates the rural migrants who watch them.

⁵⁶ In 1983, The Motherland Party composed a research group called 'Arabesque Group' to discover the things that the gecekondu population likes or dislikes.

performers reflected this attention from political milieu in a positive way, and they related to the leading politicians⁵⁷ of the epoch (Özbek, 1999. p. 180). Thus, the socially rebellious characteristics of this culture which used to contain also a political stand towards the matter of integrity and modernity were moribund beginning with this period.

The developments in the 1990s placed the phenomenon of gecekondü in a much more tragic position in the urban system than before. As the political environment continued to abuse the phenomenon both for political populism and for its rental benefits, the social conditions reached the most challenging level. Moreover, the physical environment of remaining gecekondü areas did not differ much from the early primitive examples even though they were right inside the city now. Thus, both socially and physically, the contrast between gecekondü and the rest of the city increased.

The gecekondüization process in the 1990s followed the developments in the 1980s that the liberal economic policies shaped. Along with the legal arrangements for the transition of gecekondü to the formal housing market and urban renewal projects such as the 3rd Urban Renewal in illicit urban segments, political and legal patronage for improper structuring, and the growing rental competition triggered by the legal rents and the power mechanisms such as land mafia determined the characteristics of the process. Thus, transformation of gecekondü districts and apartmanization process which was accelerated in the 1980s continued increasingly due to the commercialization of these dwellings (Kalaylı, 2006, p. 89).

As the commercialization of gecekondü increased with greater intensity in this decade, the gap between rich and poor deepened. Moreover, the insurance of informal institutions based on kinship transformed totally into a business network of power relationships, and consequently feudal connections collapsed. Erder

⁵⁷ For example, İbrahim Tatlıses, one of the popular symbols of arabesque culture was known with his close relationship with Turgut Özal, and his tacit support to his political acts.

(1999, in Keyder, p.198) states that after these developments, the competition within the urban sphere occurred between these kinship networks rather than the urban society and the migrants. In this manner, the institution of kinship changed into the urban mafia, and the gecekondu became a perfectly organized process rather than an individual performance for clinging to the city (Işık and Pınarcıoğlu, 2001, p.168). Thus, the disadvantageous part of gecekondu inhabitants and new incomers suffered the lack of the trust networks. Even though these feudal ties dissolved, the identity politics climbed up, and the ethnic identities endeavoured to gain visibility and recognition in the urban society (Tuncer, 2005, p.87). This growing awareness of ethnicity created a new tension in the urban society and national politics.

The negative social conditions and poverty did not convince the migrants to turning back to their villages, but caused an increase in the illegality rate within gecekondu districts. Gecekondu started to be considered as the sources of several illegal activities in the city. The 'liberated zones' of the late 1970s turned into the illegal gated communities. This situation limited the mobility in city for the both sides of the urban society. Due to the dangerous image of gecekondu districts, the other inhabitants of the city gave up frequenting these sites. Therefore, the physical segmentation in the city escalated.

Finally, by the 1990s, it became evident that it was not only the dwellings of gecekondu which was a physical element added to the city, but also the rental arrangements, its economic activities, social behaviours and its hybrid culture had been determinative on the urban environment.

CHAPTER 3

GECEKONDU IN TURKISH CINEMA AS AN URBAN MEMORY

3.1. Image of city in early examples of Turkish cinema

The history of cinema in Turkey dates back to the last years of Ottoman Empire. According to Scognamillo (1998), Weinberg and Cambon had introduced the cinematograph to Ottoman Empire already in late 1890's; however, the first Turkish film-maker was Fuat Uzkınay, who shot 'The Fall of The Sculpture of Ayastefanos' which was a documentary picturing the demolition of this sculpture in Istanbul⁵⁸. After this movie, Uzkınay kept shooting movies in the cities of Istanbul and Çanakkale. The first years of cinema in Turkey was mostly in hands of foreign directors. For these directors, the image of Istanbul had been the authentic attraction of the narrative (such as *Esrarengiz Şark*, 1922, shot by a French engineer). However, the most important development in cinematic production appeared with the movies of Muhsin Ertuğrul, who dominated this sector for a long time, and started to tell the stories of Istanbul and the War of Independence (*Ateşten Gömlek*) through cinema.

The early examples of movies shot in Turkey displaying the image of Turkish cities represented a flaneurship in Istanbul streets, and an experience in the high society urban life. Besides, the mise-en-scène was fictionalized up to the theatric characteristics. As a consequent, the cinematic production of this epoch had

⁵⁸ In the meanwhile, the first fictional movies had been shot by Sedat Simavi (Scognamillo, 1998).

displayed a European image of Istanbul, and only the beautiful factors of this city could appear on the screen.

Muhsin Ertuğrul, an actor and director of Turkish theatre dominated all the Turkish cinematic production for over 20 years shooting movies only in İstanbul. According to Yıldız (2008, p. 85) two movies of Ertuğrul, '*İstanbul'da Bir Facia-i Aşk*' (1923) and '*İstanbul Sokaklarında*' (In the Streets of Istanbul, 1931) could be considered as the first movies which represents the life in Istanbul. However, he denotes that these movies revealed a 'disinfected' and beautiful city panorama. In these movies, urban family was depicted in an elitist and uniform way as the modern owners of the city. Big and multiple-storey detached houses in gardens and streets in the sea side constituted the background of many movies of this epoch⁵⁹.

The movies until the 1950s represented the utopist assumption about Istanbul, displaying the city as if it was a very tidy and regular place (Öztürk, 2006)⁶⁰. Such movies revealed the attempt to define a dream-like Istanbul as a European city. This might have been a reaction of the Istanbulers to the growing prestige of the capital city Ankara as the planned city image of Turkish Republic. Finally, the urban reality could take place in Turkish cinema only after the 1950s by the termination of theatric effects of cinema of Ertuğrul, and the effects of Italian neo-realismo⁶¹.

⁵⁹ Along with such movies concentrated on an oriental picture of Istanbul, or a dream-like Istanbul represented in theatre forms, a documentary movie called 'Heart of Turkey: Ankara' (1943) shot by Yutkevich, a soviet director represented a transition beginning with the capital city of Ottoman Empire, Istanbul, and revealing Ankara as the identification of republican ideology, and exhibited the change in the ideological context through the relation between urban space and political fiction (Sargın, 2005. p.369).

⁶⁰ Zarife Öztürk analyzes two movies of this epoch in order to find out the picture of Istanbul in Turkish cinema: *Yılmaz Ali* (Faruk Kenç, 1939) and *Şehvet Kurbanı* (Muhsin Ertuğrul, 1939).

⁶¹ This new movement is analyzed broadly in '*1960 Darbesi ve Türk Sinemasında Toplumsal Gerçekçilik*' of Aslı Daldal (2005, Homer Kitabevi, İstanbul).

3.2. The Emergence of the Image of “gecekondu” in Turkish movies: the 1950s and the 1960s

The late 1950s and the 1960s have been the most productive times of Turkish cinema. The number of annual production in cinema in 1958 was 81, which became 231 in 1969 (Abisel, 1988, p.3 in Kırel, 2005, p.40). This rising number along with the increasing number of newcomers companies caused a competition between production companies. Since the cinematic production was suffering financial problems, it had to attract as much audience as it could in order to pay the loans received from other sectors. Thus, the way to overcome with these conditions had been shooting movies which responded to the visual demands of majority. However, a group of movie makers such as Akad, Erksan, Yılmaz and Ün started to make movies with an artistic sensitivity away from the dominance of theatric fiction (Daldal, 2005). According to Akad (in Daldal p.72) Turkish cinema learned ‘how to speak’ in the 1950s, and it was going to learn ‘what to say’ after 1960, when they could find a freer and more productive environment through the rise of the concepts like ‘social justice’ and ‘development’ against the ‘liberal growth’.

Migration started to appear in movies only after the 1960s, and gecekondu had been an already settled fact in the city. That’s why the construction process of gecekondu could not get mention in this epoch. It might be the consequent of this late meeting of cinema and gecekondu. However, the tension between urbanity and social and economic state of migrant took place frequently in movies. In fact, this was based on the new movements in Turkish cinema. In this epoch, several theoretical approaches appeared in the discussions about Turkish cinema around the concepts such as ‘national’ or ‘revolutionist’ cinema (Ok, 2001, p. 173 in Kırel 2005, p.46-47). While national cinema movement was searching for a national cinematic language, the social realism as a cinematic movement which arose in the 1960s after the effects of intellectual developments in the 1950s exposed stories and characters of different sections of the society with a critical social sensitivity. Rural could appear in movies with its distinctive stories and with its

characteristics which could not take place in theatric movies of previous epochs. Moreover, migration and stories of rural society in cities had become a part of movies. In fact, according to Daldal (2005), urban movies were wider than country side realities, and most of these village movies were adaptations of novels and folkloric stories. However, the urban movies depicted the classic bourgeoisie with its values, modes of property and its ambition for profit with a critical language (p.95). In fact, these movies were revealing the fictionalized ‘modernity’ inside the relationship between producers and audiences.

While modernity had been the prominent concern of scholars when considering urban life in the 1960s, not only scholars but also cinematic production took it as a basic issue for the urban experience of migrants. Turkish cinema discussed the phenomenon of *gecekondu* allied with the matter of modernization and class consciousness in the 1960s. In fact, directors of ‘social realism’ movement who concerned about the phenomenon had different life experiences, and different ideologies. But all of them revealed a didactic approach to social phenomenon with the belief that they had the mission for transforming the society. Therefore, their discourses were explicitly mentioned in movies. In fact, the political consciousness which arouse in cinema in this epoch was quite stylistic and incomparable with the critical and realistic narrative of late the 1970s and the 1980s.

3.2.1. First Gecekondu Stories in Turkish Cinema

The first images of *gecekondu* on the cinematic screen were not different than Turkish villages. Most of the dwellings were single-storey and uncared. The courtyards were the most important places of daily use. Many activities were kept performing in this semi-private parts. Also the places of common use in the quarters, such as small square-like spaces and coffeehouses carried importance for social interaction and daily activities. Not only the spatial use, but also the relationship patterns of these quarters were similar to villages. The inhabitants used to get involved with each other’s lives, and the sense of kinship was still very

dominant in relationships. So that, Arif (*Balathlı Arif*) finally complaint about this situation: “This quarter is just like a mother in law!”.

These quarters were segregated from the rest of the city both in social and spatial terms. In *Balathlı Arif*, each time when the university student Arif arrives to his quarters, it gives a sense that he enters in a different world. Especially the young generations had the intention to leave their misery in gecekondu quarters and take part in the gorgeous urban life. For the inhabitants, it was not a part of this ‘urban life’ but just a ‘village’ surrounding the city. That’s why it was not easy to confess where they live when their companies in urban sphere such as university wanted to know about them. The complaint of Arif about the interfering constraint of the inhabitants that I denoted above, and Ayşe (in *Ah Güzel İstanbul*) who mentioned that she escaped from her gecekondu life in İzmir, are the evidences of the search for freedom in the city getting rid of their ties to find a new way in urban opportunities. In fact, mostly these ‘opportunities in the city’ had been depicted as the breaking point of the urban experience almost in all movies of this period. However, their actualities based on rural origins were withholding them from the appeal of the modernity.

We may say that the common assumption of scholars considered the dwellings of ‘gecekondu’ as the shelters of incomers from rural who were trying to get benefits of the urban system which could be an opportunity to open up a business (such as the family in *Gurbet Kuşları* planned to do) to become famous like the images in magazines (*Ah Güzel İstanbul*) or only the hope to find a job to sustain their lives (*Karanlıkta Uyananlar* and *Bitmeyen Yol*). However, in *Gurbet Kuşları*, there was an important reference to the value of gecekondu which was going to become a prevailing discussion after the 1970s. At the beginning of the movie, we are introduced to a character that comes to Istanbul by train and meets the protagonists of the story. He explains them how he plans to become the ‘king’ of the city. In fact, the narrator also confesses how they hoped to ‘conquer’ the city. This was a common assumption both in academic studies and cinema that the intention of migration to cities was not just the hope to find a job to survive after the crisis in

rural, but it was an ambition to achieve the possible benefits of this system, since the experiences of the first migrants inspired them in this direction. But, this character, namely ‘Haybeci’ (The Sucker), was representing the expected type of migrants who do anything to get what they want from the city. This might have been what the classmate of Kemal from higher class mentioned about her idea about migrants, since Haybeci was representing exactly what makes the urban society uncomfortable with the idea of migration from rural. However, the most important clue that this character represented about the phenomenon of gecekondu had been his last word about his experience in Istanbul: “I owned a huge gecekondu quarter here”. Finally, property of gecekondu became the final point of ‘conquering the city’, and it was not the simple shelter anymore which harbored the rural migrants to prepare them for their urban experiences.

On the other hand, the representation of misery with the face of gecekondu dwellings was not something particular only to migrants. In ‘Ah Güzel İstanbul’, gecekondu was the final stop of old and fallen bourgeois, who used to live in the gorgeous villa nearby his gecekondu. Besides, not all the migrants were living in a gecekondu. In *Gurbet Kuşları*, their residence was an old two-storey frame house. However, to display the image of gecekondu over the eyes of inhabitants, most probably the best way to follow would be using its contrast: apartment blocks. In the 1960s, gecekondu was not transformed into multi-storey dwellings yet. Therefore, modern apartment blocks which started to rise in cities widely after the 1950s constituted the icon of dreams of gecekondu families. These buildings had proper infrastructures and healthy facilities. Moreover, they had the ‘image of modernity’. Thus, the phenomenon of apartment represented the relation between misery and passion for better urban conditions, thus gecekondu and modern city. While the image of apartment block was mesmerizing and also scary for Kemal (*Gurbet Kuşları*) and Arif (*Balatlı Arif*), who hesitated to enter in the building after a charmed glance on it, Arif’s girlfriend was already afraid of losing him to the appeal of these modern dwellings⁶².

⁶² She was jealous about Arif thinking that he had an affair with the daughter of Şinasi: “Şinasi Bey has a three-storey apartment block. What do I have other than my youngness?”.

3.2.2. The city is paved with gold

“Old civilization; are you that incapable of constructing a firm brand new world for your children? Will you feed us with the fancy lies that you imported from foreign lands?”

From ‘*Ah Güzel İstanbul*’, 1966

While scholars were considering that *gecekondu* was the ‘buffer mechanism’ which could offer an environment to enable the modernization and integration process of migrants, Turkish cinema represented the unsettled and doubtful point of view in the society about the development of this phenomenon. The tension could be asserted through the apprehension of ‘modernity’ and ‘urbanity’ in Turkish urban society.

Eisenstadt (1966) pointed out that the contradiction between modernity and migrants disordered the lives of both already settled urban side and the rural newcomers; and consequently caused the emergence of social disorder (p.40). Turkish cinema chose the characters at margins of the urban society to raise the tension of the narrative, and the stories were built on this reciprocal disturbance. While the members of urban ‘high’ society were mentioning clearly that they were uncomfortable with this migration, the stories were already constructed on the lives of migrants which torn down in the city. The attitude of urban society towards rural migrants had been depicted as a cruelty and intolerance. While the medical student in ‘*Gurbet Kuşları*’ criticized the migrants with burgling the urban citizens and ruining the city, many other characters kept on humiliating them stigmatizing their provincialism⁶³. In this point, the attitude of university students from *gecekondu* in these two movies, was supporting the idea of Eisenstadt who denoted that after migration to cities, the concept of family had also transformed, and alienation between generations unfolded in different ways.

⁶³ such as the university students in ‘*Balathlı Arif*’ who said their friends ‘how did you find this country man?’.

Both characters, Arif (*Balathlı Arif*) and Kemal (*Gurbet Kuşları*), hesitated to explain the fact about their families. Even though the characters of gecekondu society were uncomfortable with the ‘modern’ modes of urban relationships, which were actually exaggerated in movies, they were hesitating to confess the reality about their families and origins. Actually, they were suffering a dualism; they weren’t able neither to avoid their origins nor to give up of the charms of opportunities of urban life. While these opportunities were business means and possibility to shift their class for their families, the younger generations were appealed by the relationships and modern face of urbanity. *Balathlı Arif* and *Ah Güzel İstanbul* revealed evident examples of the urban dream of young generations. In *Balathlı Arif*, Arif was both appealed and afraid of the apartment block that his girlfriend lived. He also dreamed about being a famous doctor with servers and a modern office, but even this dream concluded with his anger against the modern patterns of relationships, which were depicted as the exaggerated high society in the movie. His desire was also his nightmare because he was aware of what he had to assimilate to achieve his dream, and he already began to use an awkward way to get accepted in this society and he lied. When he had to face with his father about his lies, he finally rebelled saying “I wish you never made me study; I wish I became a coachman. I am a human too, I have weaknesses!”. Likewise, Ayşe in ‘Ah Güzel İstanbul’ adverted a similar feeling when Haşmet criticized her about the way she chose, the amateurish imitation of western modernity in Turkish high society. Referring to the wealthy past of Haşmet: “I did not grow up in a villa as you did, and thus am not modest like you. I want to gallivant. I dreamt about it in all my lifetime.” This was the reason why she was so disappointed when she saw the gecekondu of Haşmet: “I ran away from a gecekondu in İzmir, finally I condescended to a gecekondu again.”.

While young generation of gecekondu was escaping from their poor living conditions in these quarters with the hope of becoming a member of urban society, urban families were considering the overseas experience as a necessity. In *Balathlı Arif*, the urban family offered to the gecekondu member to go abroad to change his behaviors in a ‘modern’ way. For these urban citizens, the good examples to take

were always the people who had western experiences, and even introducing such people, one of the first things to mention was these experiences. Moreover, this was so strong that it could sweep away their rural or poor origins. For example, the successful and young architect in this movie had been introduced to Arif as the son of a poor garbage collector who became successful after his education abroad. Likewise, in *Gurbet Kuşları*, the discussion between the young gecekondu member and his girlfriend from a higher class revealed this paradox. The girl was criticizing the rural migrants suggesting that they were disordering the urban life and abusing the urban society. However, Kemal, the young rural migrant criticized her when she said that her brother migrated to USA, asking her if his own country was not enough for him, which was a similar comment to the one the girl mentioned about the migration from rural to cities. Interestingly, after the father of this young girl assessed the migration from rural to urban related to the nomadic soul of Turkish people, in a news paper they noticed an article which associates the migration of medical doctors from Turkey to abroad with the rural to urban migration. This admiration of western world had been criticized also in *Ah Güzel İstanbul*. When the high society tried to form a new music genre imitating western music and abusing Anatolian culture, Haşmet, an fallen bourgeois, warned the young girl who wanted to become famous singing such songs, saying “Europeans like some buffooneries but they don’t like to get befooled”. All this criticisms were evidences of the poor cinematic image of unsuccessful and crude perception of ‘modernity’ in urban society.

Both in *Balathı Arif* and *Gurbet Kuşları*, university had been revealed as a place which brought these two sides together. In fact, this could be considered as an indicator of the transition from rural state of mind to urban values through education, which might have been assessed as a means of gecekondu as a ‘buffer mechanism’. This was the evident of how gecekondu society hoped to get rid of their inferior situation, and how the approach of these movies was hopeful about the next generation of gecekondu. Moreover, in both movies the characters out of gecekondu were studying medicine and people in their quarters articulated that they were expecting to get examined by them for free. It was a reference to the

costly public facilities that gecekondu people were hesitating to use, which was going to come out more evidently in 1970 through movies such as ‘*Canım Kardeşim*’ and ‘*Gelin*’.

Turkish movies of this epoch represented the phenomenon of gecekondu as the place of both misery and proletariat which was trying to achieve its right place in the urban system becoming conscious especially through the propellant effect of younger generations, such as *Şehirdeki Yabancı* and *Karanlıkta Uyananlar*. Actually this mode of representation and the general image of gecekondu in Turkish cinema of the 1960s demonstrates the hopes attributed to gecekondu society. While the scholars were expecting the modernization in the migrants and gecekondu society, cinema criticized modernity identifying it with raw pretention of upper classes imitating the western life style. The image of modernity had been represented with repetitive fruitless stereotypes built on the high society. The urban society was then cruel and insensitive, and the gecekondu society and the migrant were confused in this environment. However, they either returned to their original characteristics avoiding the rules of urbanization (*Balathlı Arif, Ah Güzel İstanbul, Karanlıkta Uyananlar*) or turned back to their village (*Gurbet Kuşları*) for a new beginning. Besides, what the character in *Gurbet Kuşları* told to the newer migrant envisaged the future of the phenomenon: “If one gets accustomed to here once, nowhere else can satisfy them anymore”.



Figure 1: A gecekondu district, Gurbet Kuşları, Halit Refiğ, 1964



Figure 2: First moment of 'Haybeci' (The Sucker) in the train station of Istanbul, Gurbet Kuşları, Halit Refiğ, 1964



Figure 3: Contrast of images; a rural girl and a modern woman, *Gurbet Kuşları*, Halit Refiğ, 1964



Figure 4: Image of a modern lady with her sewing machine, *Gurbet Kuşları*, Halit Refiğ, 1964



Figure 5: Balatlı Arif, Atıf Yılmaz, 1967



Figure 6: Balatlı Arif, Atıf Yılmaz, 1967



Figure 7: Balatlı Arif, Atıf Yılmaz, 1967



Figure 8: Balatlı Arif, Atıf Yılmaz, 1967



Figure 9: Balatlı Arif, Atıf Yılmaz, 1967



Figure 10: Image of modern construction and modern relationships, Balatlı Arif, Atıf Yılmaz, 1967

3.3. Gecekondu in Turkish Cinema in the 1970s: Growing Awareness

3.3.1. Settled Stories of Migration

Despite the crisis in the sector, Turkish cinema in the 1970s discovered the majority of rural migrants in big cities. However, it had been interested largely in the urbanization issues of Istanbul except for a limited number of examples from other cities⁶⁴. The general picture of the rural migrants in cinema was revealing two margins: lovely poor families who were admired by wealthiest, and the migrants who ruralize the city and who could not survive in urban area. The narrative generally kept its ground based on the tension between evil versus good. In other words, urban played sometimes the good, which let the migrant to shift their class or be happy as they were; and sometimes the evil that made them struggle against big difficulties. The mission of heroes of the movies was overcoming these entanglements against the sustainability of gecekondu people. In the meanwhile, the narrative involved in the characters more than before. Thus, the phenomenon of gecekondu had become to be considered through character analysis.

The democratic and populist movement in this decade affected also cinema. Besides the effects of Marxist theories in studies in this epoch, the treat of the gecekondu phenomenon in cinema had been an attempt for affiliation to the public situation. Cinema had the advantage of been accessible by the group it dealt with. Thus, the more it became populist about this phenomenon, the more it got followed by people from these districts. Even in movies it was revealed that cinema as a part of urban culture, got into the daily life of gecekondu inhabitants⁶⁵. This developing relationship between cinema and gecekondu people as audiences and as the theme could not be constructed by researchers (Erman, 2001; 2004). While the scholars approached to the migrants as ‘others’ and ‘marginals’ within the city, these growing majority became the subject of cinema.

⁶⁴ Such as Umut (Güney, 1970) which was shot in Adana, and Sürü (Ökten, 1978) shot in Ankara.

⁶⁵ In Sultan (Tibet, 1978) the popularity of cinema in gecekondu district is purported.

It can be said that the narrative of cinema dealt more with the problematic of migration and its reasons. Insomuch, the theme of many movies was the reason of the migration to city. In *Sürü*, the main character went to city carrying his wife to have her illness cured, while in *Gelin* the reason of migration was to set up a shop in a wealthy neighborhood. After all, the basic motivation to migrate from rural to urban had been considered as the belief that big city was going to be the nostrum for all problems.

The approach on the relationship between rural and urban of cinema in this decade differentiated from the previous examples. It was not only the conflict between rural and urban society resulting in discrimination and stratification, but also the rural identities surviving in the city had been a subject under discussion. For example, in *Gelin*, the rural family structure and rural state of mind sustaining in gecekondu was significant, especially the relationship between women and men⁶⁶ which was still male-dominant as in rural, and the attitude towards children⁶⁷ were indicators of this conventionalism. Women were the servers of the house, and they had no right to affect the decisions of the family⁶⁸. Moreover, in many movies, the characters revealed a tendency to become urbanized, but their accent and behaviors are labeled as ‘rural’ in a caricaturized way⁶⁹. As Şenyapılı (1978) pointed out, the movies revealed the support of kinship during the crisis of finding a job and dwelling⁷⁰. On the other hand the contrast between ‘pure newcomers’ and cagy gecekondu people who already settled in became another tension which

⁶⁶ Women are still the servers of men, and they are not allowed to participate in urban life, for example as a worker in industry.

⁶⁷ When the child needs to be cured in *Gelin*, the family sees the expenditure for hospital unnecessary and they prefer to spend their money to open a shop, since they don’t see any emergency in the medical condition of the child.

⁶⁸ In *Gelin*, when the mother of the ill child insists on the medical cure, she gets discriminated and her relationship with the other migrant women in the town who works in factory gets forbidden by the family.

⁶⁹ The guy sells the blood of gecekondu men (Metin Akpınar) in *Canım Kardeşim* is an example of this attitude.

⁷⁰ A distinctive example of this matter of kinship can be seen in *Gelin*, because this time, the female relative who works in factory is not approved by the migrant family. However, at the end of the movie, again this relative finds a job in the factory for the woman who loses her son.

established the narrative. Thus, the urbanization of rural migrant was stigmatized as an impossible change which turned into a transformation of rural identity into ‘urban others’ who looked after their own benefits.

In the meanwhile, the approach on the urban opportunities like education and health were another problematic which took place in cinema in this decade. As seen in *Gelin*, children were not the priority of the rural family who was the first generation of *gecekondu*. However, it was implied that the second generation had a eager to shift their class through education⁷¹. Likewise, the health opportunities in the city had been another issue in movies. They were accessible in one sense, but still the emphasis was made on the economic difficulty to afford the cure of illnesses. Both in *Canım Kardeşim* and *Gelin*, the cure of the illnesses of children cost too much that the family can’t or don’t afford them. However, they still have to access to medical consultation. Moreover, different from the first generation rural migrants, they try to use the formal medical services. In this point, the demonstration of housekeepers (so-called ‘*kapıcı*’ in Turkey) in 1970 performed in Istanbul in order to benefit from social insurance can be considered as an evidence of this change in the attitude towards the use of urban services and facilities as Kongar (1981) defended.

Another important subject in movies had been the job opportunities available for rural migrants. The marginal sector discussed in theoretical studies of this decade (such as Şenyapılı, 1978) was widely seen in movies. They usually appeared in irregular and unorganized works such as car or horse-car driving, housekeeping and street trading. Also other creative jobs were quite diffuse in *gecekondu* districts such as selling blood which took place in *Canım Kardeşim*. On the other hand, in *Gelin*, the rural family attempted to open a shop which was a dream for becoming wealthier in the city. In fact, finding a job was not that easy for these

⁷¹ In *Umut*, the father scolded his daughter since she was unsuccessful in her lesson, and in *Canım Kardeşim* (1973) the family keeps contact with the teacher of the child for his favour. Later, in *Düttürü Dünya* (1988) and *At* (1982) the growing importance of education of new generations will be seen clearly.

people in movies⁷². Going to Germany to work and save money was another popular subject of this decade in order to get rid of the difficulty to find a job or save some money in Turkish city⁷³. In all, the basic emphasis was made on the poverty they suffered in cities. By the way, as Şenyapılı (1982) denoted in her study, the participation of women of gecekondu districts in the labor took place widely in movies in this decade. Most of the movies revealed their job opportunities as housekeeper and worker in the factory⁷⁴. It was implied in such examples that these people yearned for the social security to improve their conditions. In these movies, they were considering themselves discriminated also by the state.

Even though the poverty they suffer was significant, the gecekondu people revealed a tendency to use urban consumption goods. Their domestic consumption started to show urbanized characteristics along with their rural habits.⁷⁵ In *Canım Kardeşim*, the ambition of poor men who live in a rented gecekondu dwelling to have a television is an evidence of the urban consumption on these people. In many movies, such consumption goods had been shown as the indicator of the social class. In the meanwhile, it was another point in movies that the spreading television culture and advertisements started to affect the consumption habits in gecekondu⁷⁶.

Since the 1960s, women had been showed in movies as envious of urban consumption (such as Gurbet Kuşları). This longing to reach the urban standards

⁷² Likewise, in *Canım Kardeşim*, two friends try to gather the Money for the cure of the child doing irregular and illegal jobs like selling their blood and cheating people.

⁷³ In *Baba/Father* (Güney, 1971), *Umut Dünyası/World of Hope* (Önal, 1973) and also in a scene of *Canım Kardeşim*, this hope to go to Germany as a worker took place.

⁷⁴ such as *Gelin* (the neighbor of the family who Works in the factory) and *Sultan* (women working in housekeeping job and taking about their neighbors who work in the factory with social security) and *Diyet* (the woman who works in the factory).

⁷⁵ For example in *Gelin*, there are radio and alarm clock in house even though all other furniture reveal rural characteristics.

⁷⁶ In *Sultan*, children want to buy the chocolate that they saw on the television.

of women had usually been assessed resulting in the loss of their honor/virginity. The city was so evil that it was waiting for the poor gecekondu girls to bespatter them. On the contrary, the female characters changed significantly in the movies of the 1970s in this sense. They became more powerful (*Sultan*), they started to work (*Diyet, Gelin*), and survive in the city even lonely. The educational situation of women did not change that distinctly, but it was implied that the picture of rural women in urban society was becoming much more different. They were not an admirer of urban life conditions anymore, but in a more rational way, they were trying to prevent their family from emulating the urban consumption and urban way of life (*Gelin, Sultan*).

The movies in the 1970s displayed the physical contrast between urbanized part of city and the gecekondu dwellings several times even though they did not make any emphasis on it. In some examples such as *Umut, Canım Kardeşim*, the physically closing distance between two different type of sites in the city was revealed explicitly. The gecekondu districts were still rural and unhealthy while in the urban side the dwellings were getting higher and more modernized. The basic characteristic of the gecekondu housing were still the same as the villages; scarcity of rooms causing a difficulty in private relationships (*Umut*), and domestic activities performed outside the house. As the rural characteristics of gecekondu in movies continued, a new popular issue took place in cinema: rental struggle. Turkish cinema was also aware of the rising value of gecekondu land in city. Now, the heroes of movies were struggling against the city police and mafia in order to safe the gecekondu lands of rural migrants⁷⁷, or the gecekondu people were performing this act themselves (such as *Sultan*).

Other than the development of approach of classical Turkish cinema on the gecekondu phenomenon, the phenomenon itself created a new culture. As a consequence of the musical movie habits since the 1940s⁷⁸, the power of arabesque

⁷⁷ such as *Umudumuz Şaban* (Tibet, 1979)

⁷⁸ This musical movie tradition was so popular since 1940s that most of movies were inspired by the lyrics of popular songs.

music rising in urban-rural society took part in cinema forming its own genre. The characteristics of the ‘arabesque’ lyrics shaped the narrative of movies. It was usually about new comers who suffer from stratification and poverty, and falling in love with a girl of upper classes⁷⁹. The tension between characters was mainly related to the discrimination and exploitation of migrants. Most of the stories were concluding with the revenge of the rural migrant who became rich (usually through their musical talents⁸⁰). That was an evident of difficulty in integration of the rural migrants with the urban society, and the main reason of this had been seen as the economic gap between them. In this decade, the scholars were still questioning the frequency of use of urban facilities such as cinema, theatre, concerts and exhibitions and their accessibility in order to see the level of integration in gecekondu areas. However, this attitude was ignoring the structural and cultural factors within this society. There was no attempt to approach to the life style and way of thinking in these districts (Erman, 2001). Turkish cinema could take an important step forward in terms of this tendency to reach them, and it took a new dimension with the emergence of arabesque cinema. This new genre started to become popular in the 1970s through its sad and rebellious spirit. However, it reached to its peak in the 1980s.

3.3.2. Power of Consumption in Urban Experience

The definition of the logic of gecekondu could be described well as Buckland and McNair stated (1952, p.62 in Günay, 1999, p.35): “Property or ownership is, roughly, title: possession is roughly, actual enjoyment”. Gecekondu inhabitants did not used to ‘own’ the dwelling until the Amnesty Laws. What they did was just an occupation possessing the land of others (mostly the public land), which could be considered as a pure anarchist attitude. At the beginning, the sole reason of this occupation had been the will or compulsion to survive in the city. It was just a result of basic necessities after migration to urban. However, the effects of urban

⁷⁹ Çeşme (Gürsu, 1977).

⁸⁰ Ayağında Kundura (Pekmezoğlu, 1978),

experience on the needs of these migrants were inevitable. Both urban conditions and governmental policies created a change in the perception of possession and property in gecekondu society. While until the 1960s the reason of migration used to be mostly the compelling conditions in rural especially after agricultural policies and effects of technology, later, the reason started to be the great white hope image of urban opportunities. In ‘*Gurbet Kuşları*’(1964) and ‘*Gelin*’ (1973), the rural family decided to settle in the city with the purpose of opening a shop and launching a business. Likewise, *Züğürt Ağa* (1985) decided to open a shop when he settled in the city. In a different example, ‘*Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir*’ (1978), the family migrated to city in order to save enough money for a tractor: even though they had a doubt at the beginning, they decided to take their chance in the city trusting in the common expression about Istanbul: the city paved with gold.

However, benefiting from the urban facilities had some certain rules. They had to serve for the favor of the system, and learn how to get accepted in this new area. Economic means were considerably enough for sustaining their existence. But they still had to integrate in urban system. According to the Theory of Modernization, this integration supposed to happen adopting the urban way of life and its social values. The Theory of Dependence which arose in the 1970s, on the contrary, criticized this optimistic approach, and revealed the dynamics of the capitalist system: they could integrate in the city if and only if they could contribute in the economy adding a refreshing dynamic. This happened in four ways: through their marginal economic activities, their cheap labor force, the market of gecekondu and their position in the market as consumers. Only the migrants who could adopt these conditions in the system could survive in the city, but the rest of them could not. In the 1970s, Turkish cinema started to reveal all sides of this integration mode. For example, in *Gelin*, there were both the ones who contributed to the system creating an economic dynamic, and the ones who hold on the city contributing in through their labor force. The losers were, however, mostly the pursuit of the movies in the 1980s.

In this epoch of economic and political crisis, especially the matter of labor arouse as a social consciousness in movies in general; after the effects of the movies of the 1960s with an apparent political discourse, in the 1970s the awareness appeared in many different movies, but not in strict political style, even though this epoch was characterized with the strong political polarizations, and gecekondu as the harbor of such political conflicts. Gecekondu as a gated community, which was an actuality of especially the epoch of late the 1970s could not appear in movies. But some certain references demonstrated this awareness of social rights and labor relation, such as *Gelin*, and a later example from the 1980s, *Fahriye Abla*⁸¹. In Sultan, gecekondu women who worked as a housekeeper for wealthy urban families were envying these women who worked in industry as laborer since they had the social insurance and a certain level of independence; at least they were not cleaning the mess of urban ladies. Now, the gecekondu society was calling for their rights as laborers, talking about social insurance, and demanding for infrastructure. However, in a certain point, the envy for urban commodities kept its importance within the gecekondu society. And the female characters kept demanding for urban level of consumption in several movies.

Until late the 1970s, Turkish melodramas fictionalized the urban society as the captive of deviancies, and rural migrants as the representatives of ingenuousness. In several movies, rural incomers were denigrated by the urban citizens (who were always wealthy side of this society). Later, they urbanized themselves for revenge attesting to the easiness of becoming like them. In fact, they gave them a good lesson demonstrating that the important fact was not being urbanized but keeping the humanistic values and ethics. Such a brutal definition of urban society played a part both in such melodramas and other cinematic experiments in this epoch. ‘*Otobüs*’ (Okan, 1975) tested an extremal example about how migrants were considered worthless in an environment where they were derelict, defenseless and alienated. Although the story touched on an experience of migration abroad, this movies was actually a good example of how the ‘modernity’ had been considered

⁸¹ This was also an awareness of the changing role of women in society. Also many other female characters started to appear in movies, although Turkish cinema used to tend to favor weaker women and stronger men.

as a monster in cinema of that time. In the movies, a cheater took nine Turkish migrants to Sweden illegally with the promise of finding them a job, and left them in the middle of Stockholm in a very old bus without food, water, money and their passports. Moreover, these migrants experienced the worst possible thing that could happen to them as soon as they left the bus. This nightmare abroad represented in fact the most apparently the consideration of Turkish cinema about the fact of modernization using an extraordinary story including fantastic elements. It was criticizing the modernization in terms of the exclusion of the basic needs of human, and the hunger of consumption.

‘Consumption – which is the increasing communion of the same material and cultural products, had been imposed as the correction of social conflict, hierarchy and discrimination caused by rulership and responsibilities’ says Baudrillard in ‘The Consumer Society’ (1970). According to him, both education and consumption are the means of going up to a higher class, both constituting inequalities in society. For a part of society, both objects and all other things such as thoughts, recreation, knowledge and culture mean values only as object. Thus, he points out that this ‘fetishist logic’ is exactly the ideology of consumption. In fact, at this point, we may worry about the fact how the attempt of human being for imitating the images is stronger than the need of the search for understanding the new values. Thus, consuming what the ‘others’ consume, or doing what they do could be considered as an instinct, like of the migrant in ‘Otobüs’ who tried to shape his hat like Humphrey Bogard did, as soon as he was his image on a shop window. Thus, we may say that the ideology of consumption culture is fed through this instinct.

Moreover, the domain of consumption is a structured social ambit where not only the commodities but also needs as characteristics of a culture move to the lower sections of the society beginning from the higher classes. Baudrillard states that ‘there is nothing called audience of consumption’, and needs and satisfactions trickle only downwards. ‘A certain urban socialization, contention of status, and psychological take off’ creates an unlimited hunger, and accrue up to the social

differentiation and interaction (p.71). Thus, this consuming yearning could be able to tolerate the crucial difficulties that some social classes suffer. However, needs and hunger related to the social differentiation and demand for status are faster than the level of their acquisition. The handicap of the system results in a 'psychological impoverishment' in society (p. 72). As Baudrillard states, while the basic needs of human being are limited, such as the amount of food that one could eat, the social needs are limitless.

This was the reason why the struggle of gecekondu people to survive in city transformed into a struggle to get the benefits of the city in the 1970s. After they could provide some certain basic necessities, the urban social structure, thus the urban system, induced them to call for the commodities trickled from upper classes. Television, radio, and clothes had been the most significant commodities symbolizing this urban consumption. Also the leisure time activities such as theatre and cinema, going to cafés etc. became a part of this urban dream of younger generations. It was the evidence that fastest modernization materialized in terms of consumption, thus, the system let them integrate in this sense in order to benefit from them as consumers especially after the development in mass production in the 1970s.

However, not just urban commodities and activities shaped the phenomenon, but also 'gecekondu' had become a commodity itself. Possession of gecekondu created different sections in this migrant society. In the meanwhile, the wealth gained through this possession enabled the access to urban consumption level. Therefore, gecekondu, which used to get modified in accordance with basic needs, began to develop in terms of the features which could bring economic revenue. Thusly, alongside of the social ambition in gecekondu families to reach the urban level of consumption, the gecekonduzation process itself became a dynamic of the system creating a new market. Sometime later, it was going to become apparent after the 1980s that the acquisition of urban goods and access to urban consumption level assumed as the transition to urban happiness was not a solution for the feeling of exclusion and poverty. All these commodities and activities had become a usual

part of their daily life in gecekondu, but the feeling of being poor, discriminated, and aggrieved did not disappear, and even accrued. Because these social needs had no limits, and the system was creating new ones continuously; new consumption modes were leaking out onto the gecekondu society constantly. Likewise in ‘*Devlet Kuşu*’ (Godsend, 1980) and ‘*Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir*’ (The City Paved with Gold, 1978), the gecekondu inhabitants, the members of the family in Devlet Kuşu, and the wife in the latter, depicted their ambition to achieve to the urban consumption level. In *Devlet Kuşu*, when the rich man offered a wealthy life to the gecekondu family, first things they wanted to have had been a house with infrastructure, which was quite understandable, fridge, oven, separate rooms, bicycle and good clothes. Indeed, as soon as they moved to an apartment, all the furniture of the house has changed into a modern look. Another example of such envy was *Canım Kardeşim*. While the little boy was dreaming of a television, only the wealthier person had it all around the gecekondu quarter. When the elderly brother found out that his little brother had cancer, he had no other chance than stealing one for him. This movie was a very innocent example of how this desires for urban commodities canalized some of the gecekondu people to criminality. In fact, substantial examples for this appeared in the 1980s after the social crisis created by the liberal economy policies, in line with the diagnosis of the scholars. The fear of the husband in ‘*Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir*’ against losing his wife after this consumption desire happened to ‘*Banker Bilo*’ (1980) and the appeal of urban wealth took his beloved from him. Also most of arabesque movies narrated the stories of men who suffer this aspiration of women for more. Such examples were indicating how the female characters had been blamed for being weak against the charms of urban commodities. In such examples, women were the promoters of urban system, thus, all the capitalist characteristics were attributed to them. From another point of view, these movies strengthened the legitimacy of the attitude of rural aspect towards the elbow room of women which was already an obstacle for the modernization process of rural migrants in city (Erman, 1996).

While their consumption level and commodities they attained were growing, the feeling of ‘impoverishment’ that gecekondu people suffered was also growing

likewise. This caused several reactions: calling for rights, political rebellion and criminality. Yet in the 1980s, this rebellious endeavor left its place to self-seeking and self-alienation. On the contrary, in the 1970s, benefits were social, and social kinship networks in gecekondu were constructed in order to protect themselves from the urban threats and to act together for their benefits. These network relationships were determining their behaviors and keeping them close to their origins. Also, the popular subject of the 1970s, demolition of gecekondu quarters was a medium to show how this networks and solidarity worked to keep or reconstruct (*Sultan* and *Umudumuz Şaban*) their quarters.

Along with the struggle between state forces or illegal urban forces like mafia and gecekondu inhabitants, movies started to reveal the new property relationships in gecekondu quarters. First of all, the user and the owner of the gecekondu were differentiating now, such as in *Canım Kardeşim*. Moreover, the users who considered themselves as the owners of their dwelling since they built it, faced with the truth in *Sultan*. Even though they spent a certain amount of money and labor for their dwellings, the property belonged to the headman, since they did not get any deed titles after paying him for the land. Thus, he had the right to sell the land to building contractors. This was a very common mode of property ownership in gecekondu lands. Since the words and promises used to be considered as a contract in rural, the migrants were not even asking for any other official document to authenticate their possession. This example from cinema was a proof of how the kinship relationships and networks based on trust started to decay in late the 1970s, and in the 1980s, it was not easy to talk about the positive effects of such relationships based on trust anymore.

At this point, the discussion about the rising exchange value of gecekondu overwhelmed the assumption of pure use value. In movies, the tenant landlord relationships, and examples of rent tricks such as in *Sultan* were signaling the terrifying developments in gecekonduzation process and gecekondu society. Such images in movies were indicating the gecekondu stories after the 1980s of losing migrants and the other migrants who aggrieved them.



Figure 11: A rural migrant and a modern man at the police station after an accident, Umut, Yılmaz Güney, 1970



Figure 12: A geceköndü dwelling in Adana, Umut, Yılmaz Güney, 1970



Figure 13: A gecekondu dwelling in Adana, Umut, Yılmaz Güney, 1970



Figure 14: Image of modern housing, Umut, Yılmaz Güney, 1970



Figure 15: Image of modern life, Umut, Yılmaz Güney, 1970



Figure 16: Canım Kardeşim, Ertem Eğilmez, 1973



Figure 17: The camera concentrates on the mud of gecekonda streets, Canım Kardeşim, Ertem Eğilmez, 1973



Figure 18: Canım Kardeşim, Ertem Eğilmez, 1973



Figure 19: The popular commodity that gecekodu inhabitants desire to have: Television, Canım Kardeşim, Ertem Eğilmez, 1973



Figure 20: Canım Kardeşim, Ertem Eğilmez, 1973



Figure 21: Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir (The City is Paved with Gold), Orhan Aksoy, 1978



Figure 22: Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir (The City is Paved with Gold), Orhan Aksoy, 1978

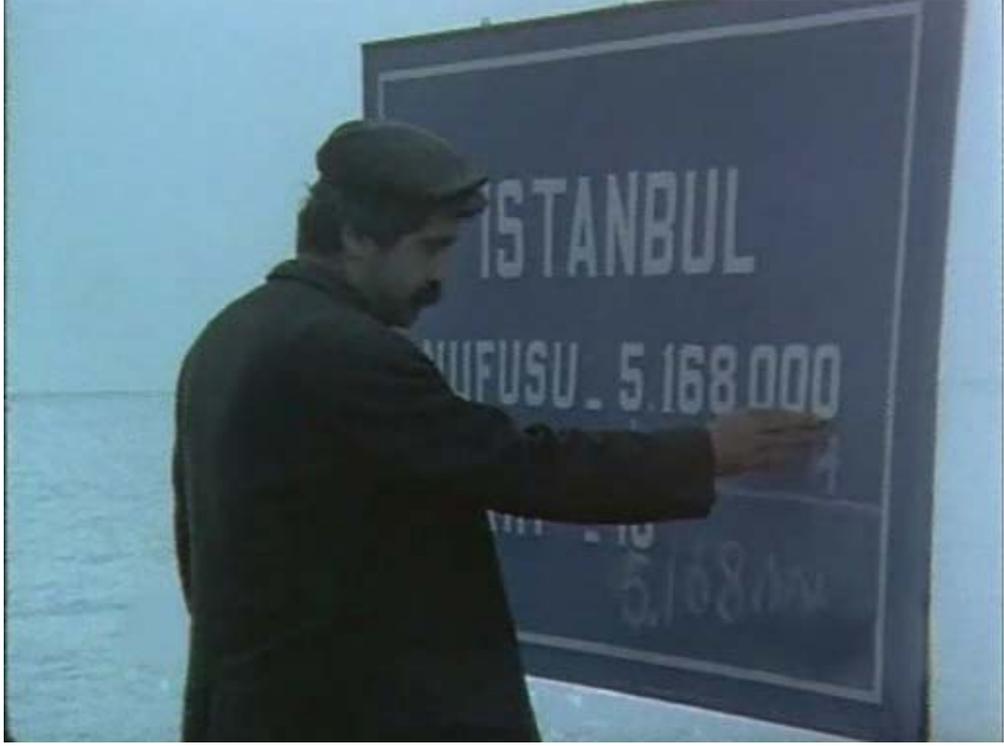


Figure 23: Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir (The City is Paved with Gold), Orhan Aksoy, 1978



Figure 24: Taşı Toprağı Altın Şehir (The City is Paved with Gold), Orhan Aksoy, 1978



Figure 25: Sultan, Kartal Tibet, 1978



Figure 26: Sultan, Kartal Tibet, 1978



Figure 27: Women of gecekondü are waiting in the line for water in front of fountain, Sultan, Kartal Tibet, 1978



Figure 28: Sultan, Kartal Tibet, 1978



Figure 29: Exiled gecekonu inhabitants building their new gecekonu district, Sultan, Kartal Tibet, 1978

3.4. Gecekondu in Turkish Cinema after 1980: Losers and Anti-Heroes

In the 1980s, Turkish cinema took shape in parallel with the change in society. Along with the dissemination of television, a crisis undermined the development of sector of cinema in Turkey. It became harder to shoot distinctive movies, since the audience started to adapt the simple mode of television (Yıldız, 2008. p. 119). In the meanwhile, television served for the governmental ideology, while cinema was not able to be political after the military coup because of both the political environment of the decade and the difficulty to reach audiences who became depoliticized. At the end of the 1980s, this obstacle in cinema caused a return to the ‘auteur’ style of direction which used to pertain to Metin Erksan in the 1960s who said “I shoot movies for myself” (in Dorsay, 1995. p.21).

The matters such as entrepreneurialism, consumption and competition which were the most popular subject arouse in this decade had frequently taken place in movies⁸² (Yıldız, 2008. p. 117). However, the decrease in the number of audiences made the Turkish cinema make for the state; thusly it was not possible to shoot political and contrarian movies (p. 120). Still, it could be said that some references had been made about the negative situation of the state institutions and loss of the confidence in the state.

Besides all these difficulties that Turkish cinema suffered, female characters in cinema changed deeply in this epoch. In conjunction with the rise of feminist movements after the military coup, a cinema about women sprinted mostly in hands of male directors⁸³. Thus, female characters started to constitute the protagonists who were more real and earthly characters. They had been described

⁸² such as *Banker Bilo* (Ertem Eğilmez, 1980), *Talihli Amele* (Atıf Yılmaz, 1980), *Faize Hücum* (Zeki Ökten, 1982), *Dolap Beygiri* (Atıf Yılmaz, 1982), *Namuslu* (Ertem Eğilmez, 1984), *Çıplak Vatandaş* (Başar Sabuncu, 1985).

⁸³ Atıf Yılmaz had been the initiator of this move in cinema especially with his Movie ‘*Mine*’ in 1982. His other films, *Bir Yudum Sevgi* (1984), *Adı Vasfiye* (1985), *Dul Bir Kadın* (1985), *Aaaah... Belinda* (1986), *Asiye Nasıl Kurtulur* (1986), *Hayallerim Aşkım ve Sen* (1987), *Kadının Adı Yok* (1987) followed its trace.

as more powerful⁸⁴ characters who were not the objects of sexual desire of men anymore, but they were individuals with their own sexual identities and desires, thus, sexual subjects now⁸⁵.

3.4.1. Migrants in a Liberalized City

In *gecekondu* movies, the primary reason of migration was scanty, poverty and the negative living conditions in rural which compelled the migrants to find another place to survive (*At* and *Züğürt Ağa*), or the hope to have better conditions in the city. However, the longing for their origins, their rural desires they kept⁸⁶, and the contradiction between their rural ties and urban life took place in the background of the narrative⁸⁷. Finally, besides their dream of clinging to the city, as soon as they arrived to their new harbour, they faced with the problem of finding a shelter (*Bir Avuç Cennet, Züğürt Ağa*). However, in any case, they found a solution in order to stay in the city (*Bir Avuç Cennet, Gülen Adam*)⁸⁸, and they did not accept the suggestions of their relatives or friends advising going back to the rural (*At* and *Bir Avuç Cennet*).

At first, most of the newcomers stumbled and got confused in the city (*Züğürt Ağa*⁸⁹, *At* and *Eşkiya*). All the functioning and organization of city was strange for

⁸⁴ The change of the female protagonist in *Fahriye Abla* (Yavuz Turgul, 1984) especially after she is released from jail is a clear example of this new attitude.

⁸⁵ In '*Bir Yudum Sevgi*' (Yılmaz, 1984) which is also a '*gecekondu* movie', the subject is based on the sexual quest of the female protagonist not showing her as a sinner as Turkish cinema used to do traditionally in previous decades.

⁸⁶ In *At*, the only thing that the little child wants to have is a horse during his travel to İstanbul, while the things the children desire in the city are urban consumption goods such as in *Züğürt Ağa* and *Sultan*.

⁸⁷ In *Züğürt Ağa*, the feudal landlord talks to his horse before leaving his village and tells that he can't take it with him, since the city is not a place for it.

⁸⁸ In *Bir Avuç Cennet*, the couple solves their problem of sheltering transforming an abandoned vehicle into a house. Likewise, in *Gülen Adam*, the man who is trying to get rid of the restraint of his father in law (who is a city police) produces a *gecekondu*-on-wheels.

⁸⁹ In *Züğürt Ağa*, when the old 'ağa'/landlord first move around the city, we see his difficulty to cross the street. Then he complains about it: "What a city? I lost my way twice. I was dying of fear.

them. If they could hold on to this system, and remain standing, they could have a chance to survive. Otherwise, they would be destroyed by the system (*At*⁹⁰). Even for the ones who had more experience in the city (*Düttürü Dünya*) it was too hard to survive in the system if they were not strong enough, since they had no security. Moreover, their power in the rural was not even valid in this system (*Züğürt Ağa* and *Eşkiya*). All the rural values were already lost. The power balances were totally different in city, and a new and harder feudal-like model was dominating.

The coffeehouses were still the social places to gather in gecekondu districts as seen in almost every movie of this decade. The culture of neighbourhood and their traditional reaction to some events was continuing in a transformed mode, even though the individual benefits were still prevailing (*Çiçek Abbas*, *Züğürt Ağa*, *Devlet Kuşu*, *Fahriye Ablâ*). The solidarity and hospitality in rural was already disappeared in the city (*Züğürt Ağa*⁹¹). However, there was still a facilitation effect of these ties. Almost in every movie, senior migrants gave advices to the newcomers (*At*⁹² and *Züğürt Ağa*). In addition, not all of the kinship and origin ties were that trustable, and in several cases migrants became the victims of the charlatanry while they were trying to reach the city (*Banker Bilo*).

In the meanwhile, unemployment (*Devlet Kuşu*), financial difficulty, and also finding a second job (*Düttürü Dünya*) kept their importance in cinematic narrative. Almost each movie was based on the fact of poverty. The jobs available for the characters were usually street trading, marginal jobs and services. Besides, women started to appear as factory workers (*Devlet Kuşu*, *Fahriye Ablâ*, *Bir Yudum Sevgi*). As it was something undesirable in gecekondu society in previous

What a crowd! They come at you!” Also in terms of urban order and functioning of jobs and life, both in *At* and *Züğürt Ağa*, the newcomers suffer the same struggle.

⁹⁰ At the end of *At*, the migrant made someone kill him as a solution to make his son study in state school.

⁹¹ The friend of the Ağa is annoyed by his guests, and finally Ağa says: “This is Istanbul; here every man is for himself”.

⁹² Advice of the senior migrants to the newcomer: “Take my advice; mind your own business, and don’t get involved with anyone.”

examples, the participation of women in industrial sector became something normal in this decade. Other jobs that women performed was production at home to sell their works to shops in the market (*Devlet Kuşu*, *Çiçek Abbas*), or housekeeping (*Düttürü Dünya*). Besides the rise of female labour and awakening of female characters (*Fahriye Abla*, *Bir Yudum Sevgi*), children also worked in atelier, on the street (*At*), and in illegal organizations in small scale. In these movies, men worked as construction workers or informal public transport (so-called dolmuş) drivers (*Çiçek Abbas*, *Mavi Mavi*, and *Sultan* as an example from 1978) which was identified with the arabesque music. The intention to open a shop as an ideal appeared also in the 1980s (*Züğürt Ağa*)⁹³. However, it was still not a simple business for the migrants who were stranger to everything in the marginal sector. Furthermore, also the rules that informal sector determined itself had appeared in movies demonstrating the build-up in this sector⁹⁴. All in all, it could be inferred from these movies that there was an attempt to match the gecekondu population with the blue-collar works (*Bir Yudum Sevgi*, *Fahriye Abla*, *Devlet Kuşu*).

The class contradiction between urban rich and gecekondu poor continued to be one of the leading themes in movies (*Devlet Kuşu*⁹⁵, *At* and most of the arabesque movies). They were misbehaved and excluded by urban people. In such movies, urban society represented usually as cruel and insensible characters⁹⁶. In the meantime, gecekondu itself became an object which was unreachable with its

⁹³ As seen in *Gurbet Kuşları* (1964), and *Gelin* (1973).

⁹⁴ such as in *Çiçek Abbas*: the ‘dolmuş’/informal public transport drivers determine the queue to work, and in *Devlet Kuşu*, street gambler is protected by his friends. Also in *Züğürt Ağa* and *At*, the rules of informal jobs appear, for example in *At*, all street traders shout the place to go before leaving, thus, they share the district to sell their goods..

⁹⁵ The daughter of rich urban family complains about the diner : “Chopped steak again?” while the gecekondu family suffers the difficulty to find food.

⁹⁶ In *At*, the official worker at state school who tells him that first he should speak Turkish properly and the man who reprehends the migrant just because he passed by his car with sales-car are examples of these cruelty of urban people. Also in *Devlet Kuşu*, the urban rich is caricatured as a cruel and insensible character. As a matter of fact, almost all arabesque movies are grounded on this tension point.

growing commercial value (*Düttürü Dünya*), and stratification in gecekondu society itself came out allied with proprietorship. Gecekondu was the place of both misery and opportunities now (*Banker Bilo*). Thus, gecekondu society split in property owners and their tenants. Besides, both sides of this society kept complaining about the expensiveness of the city⁹⁷.

Gecekondu families in movies carried on their rural habits and a substantial part of their traditional rural structure. Especially, eating on the floor table had been a frequent image. Moreover, changing this style of eating had been considered as an initial step towards urbanization⁹⁸. In movies, urbanization and shifting their class was identified either with their consumption style or property ownership (*Züğürt Ağa*, *Devlet Kuşu*, *Çiçek Abbas*), or with education of the next generations (*At*, *Düttürü Dünya*). The emphasis on the importance of education took place in many films directly or indirectly in this decade⁹⁹. However, a contradiction occurred between gecekondu people about this matter; while a part of them believed that it will enable to improve their situation, another part had no faith in it, and they were even associating education with the cruelty of urban society¹⁰⁰.

Another point of gecekondu movies had been the criticism of the state in the 1980s. Many images and cues referred to the attitude of mind¹⁰¹ and negative situation¹⁰² of the state institutions. Although finding a job in public sector was

⁹⁷ *Züğürt Ağa*: “It is clear that we are in the city, two candies or something cost 300 lira.”, even though he sold a village, and came to the city with a good amount of Money. Later, he opens a shop.

⁹⁸ In *Züğürt Ağa*, the rural migrant complains about the dinner on the table : “It was how beautiful eating on the floor.”, and his wife answers: “We are in the city now!”

⁹⁹ While the access to education constituted the main theme of *At*, in *Devlet Kuşu*, how to keep sending their child to school had been one the concerns of the family; in *Düttürü Dünya*, the father said: “My daughter won’t be like us, she will go to school”; and in *Züğürt Ağa*, Ağa receives the help of his little son while doing sums of the shops.

¹⁰⁰ In *At*, the street traders humiliate the man when he says that his child will have a good education, and they say that if he get education he will also be like the ones who misbehave them.

¹⁰¹ In *Devlet Kuşu*, the state officer says: “It is easier to establish authority on the simple people.....We arrange jobs for people, because it is a state institution.”

considered as an advantage, all the hopes grasped at the state concluded with disappointment. In fact, the picture of the state in gecekondur movies revealed how it dissolved itself and retrograded in this epoch.

Some other references had been made about the political situation of the country. The effects of liberal economy policies and its negative effects on people appeared at the background of the narrative¹⁰³. These migrants were all ignorant about their legal rights (*Çiçek Abbas, Düttürü Dünya, At*), and they were hopeless in front of the state. Moreover, the rural tradition of considering the promises as a contract aggrieved these people (*Çiçek Abbas, Banker Bilo*). However, there was still an attempt to call for their rights¹⁰⁴.

In all gecekondur movies, the physical contradiction between gecekondur areas and the urban side of the city could be seen clearly¹⁰⁵. Especially, many of the opening scenes were indicating this contrast. Also the infrastructural problems had been depicted in the details of the circumstances. They were dreaming to reach the urban infrastructure and services¹⁰⁶. On the other hand, the dissention between the state forces and gecekondur inhabitants, such as demolition cases still constituted a crucial problem (*Gülen Adam, Şaban Pabucu Yarım*).

Cinema had revealed also the diffusing effect of television¹⁰⁷, culture of media and advertisements. Some details made it clear how this culture affected the

¹⁰² In *At*, the office of state school is rugged.

¹⁰³ In *at*, the father continuously wants his son to read news papers and signboards around the city. On the news paper he reads: "IMF is discussing aid to Turkey..... A man killed himself because unable to support his family.", and when he tries to read the signboards, we see that all them are foreign names and at the end of this scene he reads "Atatürk is 100 years old" on one of them which reveals the irony in the situation.

¹⁰⁴ 'Th empty braiser meeting' in Tandoğan Square appeared in *Düttürü Dünya*.

¹⁰⁵ In *At*, children show where they live which is a gecekondur district rising behind the apartment blocks of the city close to the shore.

¹⁰⁶ In *Devlet Kuşu*, the family has the dream of having a bathroom, and they still carry water from a public bubbler on the street.

¹⁰⁷ In *At*, migrant children compose a song about a popular American TV serial called 'Dallas'.

consumption attitude in gecekondu. Especially, children were becoming the leading urban consumer¹⁰⁸. Above all, the first and fastest integration attempt of newcomers in urban system was adopting the consumption habits.

Arabesque cinema which rose as a gecekondu culture after the late the 1960s revealing the class stratification in rural (*Bıktım Hergün Ölmekten*, Osman F. Seden, 1976) and in urban (*Bir Teselli Ver*, Lütfi Akad, 1971), started to emphasize the rebellious spirit against the city (*Çilekeş*, Osman F. Seden 1978; *Çile*, Remzi Jöntürk, 1980; *Bu Talihin Canına Okuyacağım*, Ferdi Tayfur, 1988), and the cruelty of the city and urban society. On the other hand, using this crucial facts, this culture was creating heroes as consumption goods for these population, such as the child singers which became popular in this decade (Emrah, Ceylan etc.) making the narrative more affecting. Besides the arabesque movies, the predominance of this culture on the gecekondu life and also its criticism took place in other movies¹⁰⁹. The arabesque culture and movies were getting alienated from their origins and becoming a sector in the market since it attracted the producers with its wide range of audiences. Thus, arabesque artists started to consider themselves as a part of higher urban classes rather than their rural origins keeping their critical attitude towards the degenerating effect of urban system¹¹⁰.

Creating extra-ordinary heroes had always been a substantial instrument of narrative in Turkish cinema. However, the 1980s and 1990s had been the epoch of the contradiction between weaker characters and changing heroes. These heroes were vagabonds in gecekondu (*Devlet Kuşu* and *Eşkîya*), weak migrants who became stronger (*Çiçek Abbas*), or ordinary people who rose against the urban

¹⁰⁸ In *Züğürt Ağa*, as soon as they settle in the city, children ask for some money from their father to buy 'tadelle' and 'barbi doll'. Also in *Sultan* (1978) we see a similar scene in which a child want her mother to buy 'çokomel'.

¹⁰⁹ The arabesque music identified the informal transport sector in *Çiçek Abbas*, and it was the communication between gecekondu lovers in *Devlet Kuşu*. In *At*, the migrants were humiliated by movie producers while they were watching the shooting of the arabesque movies.

¹¹⁰ In *Sevmek* (Tatlıses, 1985) the migrant became a strong business man who fell in love with a model from urban society.

power (*Kanun Gücü*, Cüneyt Arkın, 1979). In addition to this, anti-heroes who overrode the innocence of migrants, and migrants as losers of the city had been more common elements of the movies in this epoch. Thus, the urban dream in cinematic adventure of rural migrants began to fall after this epoch.

3.4.2. Identities and Heroes

“The necessity of negotiating the problems of everyday life within a complex, highly elaborated social structure has produced nomadic subjectivities who can move around this grid, realigning their social allegiances into different formations of the people according to the necessities of the moment. All these reformulations are made within a structure of power relations, all social allegiances have not only a sense of with whom, but also of against whom: indeed, I would argue that the sense of oppositionality, the sense of difference, is more determinant than that of similarity, of class identity, for it is shared antagonisms that produce the fluidity that is characteristic of the people in elaborated societies.”

John Fiske, *Understanding Popular Culture*, 1989, p.24

Turkish cinema in the 1980s framed exactly this ‘fluidity’, and how the social relationships transformed in accordance with the necessities of urban system, concerning the subjective convergences and constant contradictions in city which created the hybrid character of migrant urban society.

Along with the developments in political and economical environment in Turkey after 1980, urban society and thus rural society settled in urban space shaped their social behaviors accordingly. In fact, the change in the migrant society had been more crucial than the urban one, because the urban values that they were trying to adopt thus far were changing rapidly too. Now their perception of individual benefits transcended their sense of cultural pride. Thus, they realized that they had to choose the right sides to take in order to exist in this urban system, since the method of trusting in the allegiance failed. They continued to keep these allegiances in case they were useful, but for weaker sides of these networks it was

not useful at all, since they were not considered to respond with any favors, or they were obligated to obey the rules and serve them. Moreover, they also constituted a threat for their own fellows who passed the strongest challenge of urban life at the beginning. These senior migrants had thus created a hybrid culture in between the urban and rural values after the effects of the developments both in the 1970s and the 1980s, by the change of gecekonduzation process and the means of liberal economy. They had to be close to the urban power in order to keep their position or to get a position in the city adopting all their rules. These rules were valid also for the newcomers. Therefore, these kinship bonds worked as a kind of educating institution for the purpose of preparing them to the city and also for warning them to keep distance. For the newcomers, this was another trauma, being excluded also from their fellows. Thus, this urban trauma experience led them to search for a new identity which could be accepted by the society. All these new and older migrants tended to change their perception of social values. The rural assumptions were useless anymore; and even though they were fighting against the urban system which excluded them, they started to adopt its actuality and its values. Consequently, it was a correct diagnosis that they were not ‘the rural in the city’ anymore, but they were ‘the urban poor’ now.

The matter of integration of a rural migrant population into the urban life was a change of the mode of benefits, and what made them adopt the urban rules was the result of changing social allegiances they faced in the city. That’s why the urbanization and modernization expected by scholars until the 1980s in Turkey could not be achieved in the way that they envisaged. In fact, it would be difficult to keep hoping that they were going to ‘modernize’ themselves in a period when the modernism was criticized and even tended to transform into another phenomenon. Instead, the change occurred only in accordance with the ambition of people to get as much expediencies as they could reach. Both in rural and in urban, pretending to obey the rules was the key to gain the sympathy of ruling side in order to keep the benefits of self. This benefits could be a more comfortable state of mind based on trust for power (*At*), or better conditions for trade activities in a network of relationships (such as *Züğürt Ağa*). Both in *Züğürt Ağa* and *At*, the

migrants defined their role models or “rulers” in order to get an ideal position in the city, and they imagined themselves in the position of these powerful images. The city itself was so powerful that it convinced the rural migrants that the cruelty of urban society towards them was reasonable. Likewise in *At*, after coming to the city, the father, who trusted the powerful ones in rural, found a new ideal in the image of urban powerful, who mistreated him continuously. When he passed by a car, it was the owner of the car insulting him in front of his son who became his imaginary hero with the face of his son, but not the ones who defended him. Also, the civil servant who reprehended him was a part of his dreams about the future of his son. He was admiring the power both in the rural and in urban area, and the humiliation of rural ones in the city; it was what he described as being ‘urbanized’, and the way of being a ‘winner’ in the city.

Alloush (2001) states: ‘The psychological imbalance induced by anxiety over potential threat is thus averted by becoming one with that threat, either by exchanging roles or by internalizing the perceived source of overwhelming fear.’ In fact, the assumption of the character in *At* was not just an envy, nor just a simple self-contempt, but it something more crucial: self alienation.

“The imagination is the faculty by which one can empathize with others – by which, for example, you can feel your way into the unknown territory of another culture. But this leaves unresolved the question of where you, as opposed to they, are actually standing. ... The imagination thus centers and decenters at the same time, lending you a universal authority precisely by emptying you of distinctive identities.”

Terry Eagleton, *The Idea of Culture*, 2000, p.45

As Eagleton stated here, imagination of these weaker section of the city led them to internalize the exclusive attitude of the ‘other’ part of the city towards themselves, who were the real owners of the territory. Thus, they could reach at least to the hope of becoming one of them, leaving all their actual identities behind. Migrants were now against themselves. The city / capitalist system made

them believe that they were the reason of the cruelty they faced, and the antagonism of the 1970s against the exploitation of urban system arouse in the form of rural versus rural by the 1980s. So that it could be easier to exploit them in the system, in parallel with the benefits of the dominant ones. This was the common way of describing the violent cruelty of the city in Turkish cinema in this epoch. Assimilation and insults that the *gecekondü* people suffered in this urban culture which took place almost in all movies until this epoch to create a tension in narrative now became much heart-wrenching through this new dimension emphasizing the loss of identity.

Likewise, in *Züğürt Ağa*, the croppers were glorifying the power of the so-called ‘Ağa’ in the village, the holder of all the possession in the village and the leader of all villagers; but as soon as they faced the new power relationships in the city, they left all their respectful attitudes towards him, since he was now just like one of them, even weaker than them since he was newer and knew less about the city life¹¹¹. In this case, different from ‘At’, they were not just admiring the power, but also exploiting it. Toadying the Ağa, they stole his crops, and toadying the mafia that they called the ‘ağa’ of the city, they could reach the means of trading and a chance to hold on to the city.

While, this was the actuality of the fact, the heroes, that is to say super heroes that seem could not exist, were created on this base of tending to power, such as in *Devlet Kuşu (A Godsend)*. In this movie, urban rich offers to a poor and unemployed guy who lives in a *gecekondü* a better life in rich conditions so long as he marries his daughter and adopts the urban attitudes he asks him for. Even the title of the movie indicates the preferability of what the urban rich offers to the *gecekondü* people. The young unemployed guy was a hero just because he refused the appeal of the social and economic power which could open all the doors for him while all his family and even his friends could not resist it, and insisted him to

¹¹¹ The cropper, who used to glorify the Ağa in village, says in the coffeehouse to the servant of the Ağa: “Being an aga is left in the village. It is Istanbul now, and here being an aga occurs in different ways”.

accept this offer concerning a possibility of access for their individual benefits¹¹². It was not because living in the gecekondu in a weaker position was more appealing, but was a search for identity. While the more realistic characters were revealing the tendency to get closer to the urban power relationships, it was of course a good choice to transform the heroes of cinema into the ones who prefer their identities. Now, the heroes did not even need to save lives, but it was enough to reject what the city forced them to do in order to hold on to urban life and to access to urban commodities, since it was already a big challenge to resist its charms. In fact, another Kemal Sunal movie directed by Osman F. Seden in 1979, *Kapıcılar Kralı* (*King of the Doorkeepers*) displayed the advantages of being close to authority, and how this relationship enables power in gecekondu society.

However, there were also other heroes that could gain this degree just through acquisition of urban commodities such as ‘Çiçek Abbas’. While he was a weak and ignorable character in ‘gecekondu society’, he gained sympathy and status after he could own a minibus. All his character and appearance changed after this ‘possession’. He even identified his love with the image of this minibus. The commodity and the girl, both were the objects of desire, and one had no meaning without the other¹¹³. It was not even clear who had the possession on whom: it was the guy who owned the minibus, or the minibus acquired his identity? In this case, it was not only the desire of becoming recognized by the urban society, or achieving the urban level of living, but it was self-actualization in the society that he was included. Thus, another challenge of integration in the city was evidently the acceptance by the gecekondu people themselves.

The relationship between human and commodity had always been very strong both in rural and urban society. Even if they did not have the property, just the

¹¹² As soon as he receives the offer, his family depicts their distinctive dreams about having urban living conditions mostly based on the infrastructural defects of gecekondu and the commodities they desire. Also his friends tell him to accept the offer dreaming the possible job opportunities they could reach.

¹¹³ In a dream sequence, Abbas sees both the girl he loves and his minibus. When the minibus disappears, he loses the girl too.

possession was enough to excite the migrants. In fact, as stated before in this study, *gecekondu* itself has the nature of possession and occupation. Just like *gecekondu*, commodities were enabling the migrants a chance to survive in the city. The horse-drawn vehicle in '*Umut*' (1970) and the barrow in '*At*' 1981 had similar meaning for their owners. They were their only chance to earn money in the city. That's why Cabbar (in *Umut*) when his horse died, and Hüseyin (in *At*) when the city police dispossessed his barrow were all destroyed. Cabbar discussed with the policeman after the accident, and Hüseyin ran after the police car which carried his barrow, until his body betrayed him. Moreover, they both fell back on the most difficult option: consequently, Cabbar lost his mind, and Hüseyin died.

If we take a general look at *gecekondu* movies after 1970, beginning with *Umut*, we can discover such a relationship between migrants and their possession on some certain commodities. The minibus in *Çiçek Abbas* was, in fact symbolizing, something quite similar to the one in *Sultan*. In both movies, it was the identity, the charisma of their owners, while in *Umut*, *At* and *Dolap Beygiri*, the barrows and the horse-drawn car were symbolizing the breadwinning. As an identity or as an instrument for survival, such the relationship of rural migrants with such commodities was completely different from the ones in urban society. In both manners, they were the assurance of their existence.

Similar to the ideals, the values changed as well in urban space, still in terms of the loss of identity. The hospitality, solidarity and respect were the concepts that rural migrants could give up of least resistance. In *Züğürt Ağa*, the solidarity and hospitality in rural ceased to exist under the shadow of the feeling of discomfort which appeared through the urban experiences. When the Ağa first came to the city, he had to stay at the house of his old friend from village. However, he was someone else now, admiring his own labor and his development in city in terms of the success in trade. While his wife was complaining about these guests, he was afraid of being trade-partners with his friend saying: "Partnership is a trouble; it may even lead one to kill his own brother". The answer of the Ağa was espousing it regrettably: "Yes, everyman for himself here". Also in *At*, one of the first advices of the senior migrant was: "Take my advice, mind your own business and

don't get involved with anyone". In fact, almost in all movies of this epoch, senior ones did not grudge their advices for newcomers, which might be the most useful help for them, and almost all of these advices included warnings implying the arduous rules of urban system to protect these inexperienced ones, and also to protect themselves against them. As Stuart Hall mentioned (in Eagleton, 2000, p.34), culture defined as 'lived practices' or 'practical ideologies' provided the ability of experiencing, defining, interpreting and making sense of 'its conditions of existence'. While the new values they adopted in the city were enabling them create a chance to survive, their origins and their ties with their origins constituted a threat. This was the definition of their new culture: they were now what the city taught them to become¹¹⁴:

"We belong to social apparatuses (dispositifs) and act within them. The newness of an apparatus in relation to those which have gone before is what we call its actuality, our actuality. The new is the current. The current is not what we are but rather what we are in the process of becoming – that is the Other, our becoming other."

Gilles Deleuze, "What is a dispositive" (1992, p.64)

In early epochs of migration and gecekonduzation, cinema had emphasized the threat that urban society constituted for newcomers. However, now it was the migrants themselves exploiting each other. In fact, already some movies in the 1970s started to face with this crucial actuality. In *Canım Kardeşim*, it was a migrant who was selling the bloods of other inhabitants. Likewise in *At*, this time a migrant was selling the corpses of other migrants. Such vampires and vultures were the marginal examples symbolizing the ultimate in violent capitalism. However, other examples (such as *Banker Bilo* and *Düttürü Dünya*) that deceived or aggrieved the other migrants in city were not more innocent. The actuality of new values in urban system changed the role of migrants, especially of the ones who settled before the others.

¹¹⁴ Eagleton gives a description of such a culture in "The Idea of Culture": "Culture is just everything which is not genetically transmissible. It is, as one sociologist puts it, the belief that human beings 'are what they are taught'" (p.34).

Hall (1993, p.90-103 in Şentürk, 2009, p.220) suggested that messages subject to circuit form the dominating power relationships in society. Codes and decodes are dependent on the discourse of the power. According to him, symbolizing processes are ideological, and both coding and decoding are determined by the dominating ideology. Coding and decoding processes in television shaped the audience in the 1980s in accordance with the discourse of the dominating ideology of the epoch. Thus, it became a tool to administer them easier, and to support the consumption attitudes of the society in favor of the market. “In a consumer society”, says Fiske, “all commodities have cultural as well as functional values” (1989, p.27). While television itself was a desirable and unreachable commodity in the 1970s (such as seen in *Canım Kardeşim*), it became an indispensable part of the everyday culture. This object of desire, which was a symbol of shifting class, a medium of hopes and dreams imposing affectation, seized the urban society both as a commodity and culture; and therefore captured the audience. It made its audience passive in front of the overriding system, and led them choose easy-consumable products. They weren’t resisting the state or other modes of power, but they were trying to be close to them, or one of them, but it was not a strong ambition. It was just an envy shaping their consumption and social attitudes. They weren’t even aware of the actuality of the oppressive political conditions anymore. Thus, the rural migrant, who was already more stranger to the political issues than the urban people, had no chance to decode or learn how to decode the impulses of such a dominating power. They were just tending to accept all it was imposing, without the awareness of why they were suffering such a discomfort and anxiety. We may consider it easier to understand when the newcomer in *At* doesn’t interpret what his son reads in the news paper: “IMF is discussing aid to Turkey..... A man killed himself because unable to support his family.” and on the signboards: “Atatürk is 100 years old” after he reads many foreign titles; but when the father of the family in *Düştürü Dünya* who has already settled in the city for a long time doesn’t take it serious what his daughter tells about their legal rights, it is a critical indicator of how they were made passive and hopeless by these tools of political power imposing its ideological discourse through the hidden and apparent codes.

This state of mind spreading over the society affected the cinematic production negatively, since video and television were more easy-consumable for these audiences, and their cultural effects captured the preferences of this people. In accordance with the rise of television culture, the crisis in Turkish cinema which occurred in the 1970s grew in the 1980s, and even several arabesque movies had been shot in video format. In fact, video was becoming so popular, that a substantial amount of production transformed into video films.

The consumption culture arising in relation with the television and advertisement had been stated frequently in movies of this epoch. While the children of Züğürt Ağa wanted to buy 'Tadelle' and 'Barby doll', gecekondü children working on the street were composing songs for the television serial called 'Dallas', even though they did not even have a television at home. Also other examples such as '*Aah Belinda*', '*Yüz Numaralı Adam*' and '*Çıplak Vatandaş*' revealed the sovereignty of television. It was just like the manner of Turkish cinema to complain about the invasion of television culture, and cry out against it.

However, producers found some methods to overcome with this crisis in terms of the sustainability of the sector. They continued to create heroes, especially abusing the popularity of arabesque culture. However, these heroes were simpler than before, and the rebellion inside the sense of this culture left its place to individual tragedies of losing urban poor who were further than the initial heroes of this act and far from the actuality of their target audiences as well. Fiske (1996) criticized the risk of such cultural figures and the mediums which represent the cultural spirit of a migrant group against the exclusion of the society (in this article, he discussed the culture of Hispanic Americans and 'banda', a hybrid music genre similar to arabesque) having the risk to become a 'capitalist' themselves losing their identities and meanings in case the production they perform become popular spreading over other sections of the society. The destiny of arabesque music and arabesque culture in Turkey had been exactly what he mentioned as a fear for the case of 'banda'.

Despite the crisis in production in cinema sector beginning with late the 1970s, the Turkish cinema experienced a transformation epoch in the 1980s. The melodramatic narrative already seemed to lose its popularity in previous epoch; however, this epoch had been the milestone of a brand new tendency in movies. The individualistic development in society effected this production in two ways: a part of movies targeted a box-office success using the narrative tools in parallel with the leading audience habit grown by television. Another part, on the other hand, chose the way of analyzing this change in society telling the stories of these individuals in society. The matter of identity was at the center of both of these approaches; the former aggrandized and exaggerated the identity, while the latter tried to find out how it changed through the forces of the urban system. Thus, the former kept creating attractive heroes, and the latter disclosed how this individuality caused a loss of identity and values. While the arabesque movies and the cheap adaptations of foreign movies served for the survival of the Turkish cinema as a market; social comedies and dramas of urban and rural system, critics of unsuccessful modernization attempts in Turkey were a search for a cinematic language after the affects of the rising social awareness of the cinema of the 1970s. Political discourses were still much far from being direct and apparent, but common characteristic of these movies containing the criticism social Darwinist atmosphere and smart political references identified these search and the style in this epoch. Moreover, the period of the 1980s was unique in cinema with this witty and brave attitude despite the difficulties of political environment and censor. The 1990s were going to lose this sense of humor wishing to be braver and imitating the European and American style of cinema. In fact, only the Turkish cinema of the 1980s could achieve the characteristics of a distinctive national language. Moreover, the new discourse of ‘varoş’ as to the 1990s resulted in a changing image of gecekondu districts in Turkish cinema which put the emphasis on poverty and criminality through a more dramatic narrative. The rising elitist attitude both in theoretical approaches and cinema in this epoch determined the distance between the cinema and the object of narrative. Even the protagonists were

depicted as modern urban individuals who were prejudiced against the migrants and gecekondu districts (*Camdan Kalp* and *Büyük Adam Küçük Aşk*).

The overall picture of gecekondu population in Turkish cinema of this epoch revealed the threat of changing and losing identities that the gecekondu people and migrants faced in the urban space. This was realized both voluntarily and automatically by these people, but the prevailing discourse of cinema had been this assimilating and destroying power of the urban system in all. The ‘rural others’ were now pretending to become one of the opposite others. However, it was still a challenge to get rid of their rural identities, their ties, and to get accepted by these ‘others’ though they adopted a substantial amount of their cultural values. Moreover, this state of mind created a contention within the gecekondu society, and they started to accept the legitimacy of the violation against each other. The image of ‘pure migrants’, all rural values and the values that gecekondu created itself thus far in the city life dissolved into the struggle for holding to the city through power relationships with the attempts of adopting and obeying the rules of this new system. So much so that, this obedience was unfamiliar for the modern urban elites and the elitist approach of the theoreticians in this epoch was based on this distance between the two sections of the city. In ‘*Camdan Kalp*’ (Fehmi Yaşar, 1990) the intellectual scriptwriter is so surprised that his housekeeper agrees to her husband, that this shock results in his death. In fact, throughout the movie, the audience witnesses the semi-innocent, but mostly ignorant confusion of urban elite in face of the phenomenon of gecekondu.

The feeling of ‘impoverishment’ could not cease though the physical development of the dwelling¹¹⁵. Finally, the emphasis on the human relations, class conflict and consciousness until the 1980s transformed into an individual struggle for livelihood, and the hopes set on the city in the 1960s decreased in the 1970s and died out in the 1980s. We may say that the military coup in 1980 suppressed both the leftists and gecekondu people spreading fear; and the liberal economy policies

¹¹⁵ The primitive single-room gecekondu without any privacy in ‘*Umut*’ transformed into multi-room gecekondu with much modernized furniture and some infrastructural facilities in ‘*Düştürü Dünya*’; however, they were still the poor side of the city, and suffering the cost of living.

and the opportunist discourse of following government of Özal abused this fear and turned it into an environment of contending benefits feeding the system. This system even stoke out a claim on the subculture of these people, which was actually born as the method of expression of the marginalized section of the society, and spreading to other sections, represented it as a production of the ideology of the system to all sections of the city, even in gecekondu society.



Figure 30: At, Ali Özgentürk, 1981



Figure 31: At, Ali Özgentürk, 1981



Figure 32: What the young boy reads on the boards, At, Ali Özgentürk, 1981



Figure 33: Aga crosses the street. Züğürt Ağa (Aga The Broke), Nesli Çölgeçen, 1985



Figure 34: Çiçek Abbas wraps himself up in the image of the ‘proprietor’. Çiçek Abbas, Sinan Çetin, 1982



Figure 35: Coffehouse, Çiçek Abbas, Sinan Çetin, 1982



Figure 36: Gecekondu district in Ankara, *Düttürü Dünya*, Zeki Ökten, 1988



Figure 37: The connection of gecekondu district and the city, Düttürü Dünya, Zeki Ökten, 1988



Figure 38: First visit of the scritwriter to the gecekondu district. Camdan Kalp, Fehmi Yaşar, 1990



Figure 39: Camdan Kalp, Fehmi Yaşar, 1990

CHAPTER 4

CONCLUSION

The people which defected from civilization may have created their own solution to the difficulties that they faced within the system. The capitalist system never fails in directing its own defects to its advantage. The history of gecekondu has been an evidence of the powerful hand of the capitalist system. It was a phenomenon which emerged as a negative result of the unplanned migration after the industrial developments in urban area and the agricultural mechanization. This undesirable and informal development was the logical self-made solution for problem of lack of adequate housing supply that rural newcomers had to deal with. Even though the urban society did not want them to become permanent in the city, the capitalist system and the politicians realized the potential of this population who could sustain the system even in periods of crisis. This also exemplified the fact that capitalism does not pay attention to the environmental health of the urban system at all, but is involved with the exploitation of it.

In the first years of mass migration from rural to urban after the beginning of industrialization and urbanization process in Turkey, the simple and temporary shelters built by their migrant users did not attract the attention of intellectuals and politics as an important housing problem until the 1940s. The first amnesty law in 1948 triggered the permanence of gecekondu, thus the phenomenon continued in the form of a process of 'gecekonduzation'.

The process of gecekonduzation is characterized by certain key concepts in each period. Actually, after the issue of modernization which arose in the period of the

1950s and 1960s, each of these concepts were added to the process. While it was discussed as a matter of modernization and urbanization in accordance with its use value, it became clear that the attempt of migrants for modernization happened only through their consumption. Moreover, every single thing that they produced in the urban area -their gecekondu dwellings, their music- contributed to the urban economy becoming a matter of consumption. After losing all they have to the urban system, the gecekondu society started to lose their individual and social identities as well. However, this loss of identity and self-alienation in the urban system did not destroy the spirit of gecekondu, but contributed to the formation of their hybrid culture. Insomuch that this culture had continued to be the object of discussion even the physical existence of gecekondu tended to cease.

The image of city in Turkish cinema until the 1960s was characterized by glamour exemplified in shots such as mansions, coastal lines, and a splendid life style. Moreover, the urban image was limited to the image of Istanbul. With the rising 'social realism movement' in the 1960s, slums in the city and villages were also added as subject matters to the field of interest in Turkish cinema. In this period, gecekondu had been considered together with the matter of migration from rural to urban. While it was the main concern in this epoch if this migrant population was going to be permanent or if they were going to be back to their villages, in 1970's it had been realized that they were absolutely permanent constituting a 'new type of city folk'. However, modernization and urbanization in gecekondu population could appear mostly in terms of consumption attitudes. Instead of becoming one of those urban people both in terms of mentality and life style, they only imitated their consumption behaviors. Although this imitation was not enough to make them accepted and enable them a social integration, the capitalist system held them as consumers and as a new dynamic of housing market in crisis. That's why the phenomenon could hold on to the urban system though the expectations of both migrants and scholars did not come true. Likewise, while the attitude towards these migrants had been more sympathetic in the examples of Turkish cinema during 1960s, their position in the urban system and their changing integration endeavors started to appear after the second half of 1970s.

By the 1950s, gecekondu attracted the attention of politicians as a vote potential. Thus, the position of gecekondu in urban system started to be arranged by these political concerns. However, in the late 1950s, it had been clear that all these political promises failed. Therefore, migrants and gecekondu inhabitants faced with a lack of confidence. In the stories of Turkish cinema in this epoch, it can be followed how the migrant population had difficulties holding to the system. The political process continued with the first law recognizing the phenomenon in 1966. Consequently, gecekondu gained legitimacy which worked in favor of its commercialization process starting in the 1970s. Even in Turkish cinema, some movies of this epoch, such as *Gurbet Kuşları* (1964) implied this forthcoming exchange value. However, the main concern of Turkish cinema in this epoch had been the social difficulties they faced in the urban system in line with the issue of modernization.

Since modernization was already a new entry for Turkish bourgeoisie to adopt from Western culture, the ‘modernity’ pictured in Turkish cinema had been quite artificial, and all its effect on the migrants had been demonstrated very negatively. This image of modernity which was dedicated mostly to the upper classes in the society (Turkish cinema confronted the rural migrants and gecekondu inhabitants mostly with the people of a certain class as if there were no other classes in the city before they settled in) became crueler in the time span of 1970-1990. After all, the image of modernity which was represented with the healthy multi-storey apartment blocks and latest fashion of clothing style had always been appealing for the gecekondu inhabitants. In fact, this attraction was criticized by cinema while theoretical studies were discussing whether this population would modernize or not.

While the modernity and modernization of migrant population continued to be criticized in cinema, the 1970s added a new dimension to gecekondu: Now it was a commodity that its inhabitants were different than its owners. This new possession pattern allied to the exchange value of gecekondu was a new dynamic in the narrative of movies concerning the housing question and tenancy. Alongside the

changing value as a commodity, the changing consumption attitude in this environment appeared significantly. Now, the urban consumption mode and advertisements – in other words the television culture- were effective in the preferences of this population that even television became a part of their daily life, though their economic conditions did not change in a favorable way.

Moreover, the preoccupation of some theoreticians about the ruralization of urban space seemed to be realized in the cinematic screen. The gecekondur districts - which were now closer to the city than the periphery - , the life style and behavior of this population were a hybrid composition made of ‘rural’ and urban characteristic. This hybridity were sometimes sympathetic on the screen, but sometimes the traces of a rural state of mind were the reason of their collapse in the city (such as *Gelin*, 1973). Consequently, in the epoch of the 1970s Turkish cinema portrayed a gecekondur which was already a permanent element of urban system, since the system admitted this population as consumers and an extra dynamic of capitalist urban economy. However, the inhabitants and new-comers were still struggling hard in social, cultural and economic terms. Unemployment and insecure marginal jobs were still the actuality of their lives which was represented also in cinema. The signals of the illegal ways of income which were going to arise in the 1980s had also appeared in these movies. Street trading and informal transportation were some of the characteristics job that gecekondur inhabitants performed. Especially such jobs were defining the image of the metropolitan cities (mostly of Istanbul) after the emergence of the phenomenon. Starting with this epoch, if the city images are compared with the ones of the former years in cinematic representation, the effect of gecekondurization and of its culture can be followed apparently.

After the commercialization of gecekondur in the 1970s, the direction of the urban experience for incomers and former migrants changed significantly. First of all, migrants, gecekondur inhabitants and gecekondur owners started to signify different things for the first time in this epoch. While kinship and the time spent in the city brought advantages, possession of gecekondur as an informal dynamic of housing

market was not under the control of its inhabitants anymore. Likewise, the physical characteristics changed as well, and these dwellings started to turn into apartment blocks which used to be considered as the opposite of them. As a consequent, both the culture and the physical environment of gecekondu revealed the hybrid and specific characteristics. It was not the 'rural' in the city like it used to be assumed until this epoch, but it was a combination of rural traditions and urban way of life. Turkish cinema concentrated on this new circumstance especially in the late 1970s. All these combinations, consumption habits, new desires and new relationship patterns constituted a substantial part of the narrative.

The cinematic story of 'gecekondu' experienced its breaking point in this period while its use value left its place to the discussion of exchange value, and the disadvantages they face in the city exploiting all their existence led them to find cagy ways to benefit from the urban system. This transformation in the pursuit of gecekondu inhabitants from the social integration attempts to economic concern had triggered the differentiation between the concepts of 'gecekondu inhabitant' and 'rural migrant'.

As urban consumption attitude continued to capture the life style and preferences of gecekondu inhabitants in the 1980s, these people gradually lost all their possession and culture to the capitalist system. Just like their dwellings, the arabesque culture that they created in the late 1960s as a rebellious reaction to the hypocrisy of urban system became a commodity that urban market sold back to these people scooping out its content. In this epoch, Turkish cinema abused this culture in a very populist way on one hand, on the other hand criticized this exploitation of it pointing out how it changed into a hollow image that system taking advantage of its popularity. These losses in the context of gecekondu community concluded with a loss of identity. This identity doesn't refer to the rurality of this migrant population, but refers to the characteristics and solidarity they had constructed in the city for decades. In the meanwhile, the dissolution of state institutions along with the state of mind arising in the society after the liberal economy policies of the government caused a wild arrangement of rental and

social issues by the mechanisms such as mafia. Moreover, it was remarkable that the gecekondu society was not a homogeneous community anymore. Ethnical diversity, different economic conditions, length of the urban experience and relationships with the power mechanisms differentiated the members of this society in respect of advantages and disadvantages of their positions. A self-alienation in gecekondu inhabitants and rural incomers arose out of all these rapid developments. The cinematic representation of the phenomenon depicted these conditions of the epoch using mostly a critical and humorous language, but the matter of self-alienation was described also in very tragic stories such as 'At' (1982) of Özgentürk. Furthermore, the conflict between modern bourgeois and rural migrant fell behind the one between the incomers and the former migrants in line with the changing meaning of the kinship ties. While the kinship had always been a motivation for migration to urban, new rural migrants in this epoch were so disadvantaged that even the former migrants who constructed their system in the city did not continue to lend a hand to their townsmen (*Züğürt Ağa*, 1985), and some of them even abused these incomers (*Banker Bilo*, 1980). This was one of the substantial indicators of the dissolution in the social structure of gecekondu society.

The developments after 1990 following the effects of the 1980s exhibited how the political, economic and social dimensions of the phenomenon determine the physical arrangement of the city. As to this decade, this chaotic environment started to be discussed in a new direction concentrating on the term 'varoş' which indicates the poverty and solecism of gecekondu. This new term can be considered as the last point that gecekonduzation arrived in the urban system. Under this conceptualization, the phenomenon was taken into account through its social, cultural and economic dimension, rather than its physical formation. Also the Turkish cinema after this date concerned more about the politics of ethnicity, social dissolution, illegality, and the hybrid culture of 'varoş' which resulted in extra-ordinary situations even in ordinary cases. The inevitable physical dissociation caused by the influence of varoş constituted the background of

movies. Thus, the final spatial process of the phenomenon was not constructed by the dwellings of gecekondü, but by the spirit arouse with this phenomenon.

While cinema used to prefer to marginalize the modernity and the ‘modern’ side of the city, the marginality of gecekondü –which is discussed as ‘varoş’ now- arouse after the new approach of this epoch. Of course, the new cinematic attitude which replaced the critical humor of the 1980s had also been effective in this change of the depiction. However, the most significant factor of this new image was the changing theoretical and social realization about the facts. Gecekondü and rural migrants in cinema were both invaders in the city, and the victims of the capitalist system.

Even though cinema did not deal with gecekondü as a distinctive genre, as a medium on which the social reaction reflects rapidly in a very simple way, it had no chance to ignore this phenomenon in urban stories. Therefore, including even its dithyrambic and colored melodramas, it might be accepted that Turkish cinema constitutes an underlay for defining the experiences of rural migrants and the history of gecekondü. Moreover, through the details in the narrative, it provided a laboratory for assessing the phenomenon within the context of different epochs revealing their main characteristics. Of course, in this study, Turkish cinema has been considered as a whole which constitutes a single gecekondü story for each epoch, though each movie has been analyzed separately. Thus, each movie is considered to complete one another in the overall picture, and this picture depicts the phenomenon both in term of the thesis and the anti-thesis. Assessing gecekondü within this entireness, it can be concluded that the traces of prevailing discussions in each epoch can be followed also in cinema alongside the change in physical landscape and its transformation.

The Turkish cinema mirrors all dominant topics of certain time periods that marked those eras: for instance, the discussions about modernization as of the 1960s with the thesis and anti-thesis; use and exchange value, ethnicity, consumption patterns and Theory of Dependency in the 1970s; the changing

position of gecekondu and gecekondu society, identity, alienation and the dissolution of the state which triggered many developments in gecekondu after the 1980s. Moreover, when considered as a whole, it describes the process which began with the driving forces of capitalism in rural, and concluded in the power of capitalism in urban system alongside its effects on the physical environment of both gecekondu districts and the rest of the city. Especially as of the 1990s, with the urban renewal projects, the discussions concentrated on the social and cultural existence of gecekondu instead of its physical state. In parallel with the academic studies, also Turkish cinema concerned more about the illegality and social collapse in the city originated in the gecekondu districts and varoş culture.

Today it is a matter of discussion if the gecekondu districts shall cease to exist soon. However, this physical exhaustion doesn't add up to the end of this phenomenon. It can be said easily that today's Turkish urban culture is determined extremely by the possession model and culture of gecekondu. Even the current political situation of the country is a consequence of this process. That's why the upcoming urban projects are still highly dependent on this formation. Moreover, not just the phenomenon itself, but what the process brought out about the urbanization in Turkey and the reactions of Turkish society is very important for the future developments. The representation of gecekondu in Turkish cinema highlighted both of these matters especially between 1960 and 1990. Even though in the subsequent period its physical image was quite limited, it can be said that almost all movies in this epoch were influenced by this formation since all the urban experience in the narrative was now linked to it one way or another. This inherence between city and gecekondu and between cinema and the city as well concluded with the picture of an overall perception. Therefore, the examples of Turkish movies which reflected the gecekondu experience in narrative, dialogs and images can provide guidance for future studies in terms of the history and development of gecekondu.

Turkish cinema did not only display the development of gecekondu, but also witnessed how the image of cities in Turkey changed after gecekondu. Along with

the social, political and economic processes, it is possible to follow the spatial transformation of the city in terms of possession-property ownership and physical arrangement. While in the 1960s gecekondü inhabitants were the rural migrants who create their own living opportunities, in the 1970s, changing property relations, such as tenancy and gecekondü ownership, started to depict the gecekondü people as two margins of property. With the 1980s, along with the rising critical humor of cinema, it has been displayed how gecekondü turned into a housing market, and how it left its basic reason of existence as an alternative solution for housing question. Now, gecekondü became a commodity which was less accessible for new-comers and for those who were weaker part of this community since they were excluded from the production process of gecekondü. In other words, cinema pictured gecekondü as a matter of housing which became a dynamic of urban commodity market rather than a mode of sheltering. Moreover, the physical consequences of the process might be followed even just looking at the CBD framed by the Turkish movies. The more regular CBD image until the 1970s yielded to a struggle in the chaotic city which was the basic approach to the phenomenon of 'city' in Turkish cinema along with the criticisms of modernization putting the emphasis on the feeling of being lost in this chaos. The physiological and social alienation in the city grew out of this chaotic environment especially after the 1980s.

Compared with the witnessing of the theoretical studies, cinema succeeded to be close to the experiences of this population. As Erman criticizes in her study (2000), theoreticians have always seen the gecekondü people as the 'others'. However, experiencing their own habitat, cinematic production was always next to the actuality of those people. Moreover, Günay (2009, in *Gecekondü, Dönüşüm, Kent*) points out the lack of attention on the characteristics of gecekondü as a housing production mode, and as a proprietary pattern because of the consideration of theoreticians concentrated on poverty and low-priced labor market. While these latter concerns were shared by Turkish cinema, the spatial production and property acquisition process had taken part in the field of interest of this medium. Thus, also the Turkish cinema concerned about the 'shape and the living' of the city as

Günay did. The obligation for cinema to be close to its audience in order to find the right way to attract them together with the limitations of production which forced the producers to use natural movie set provide a witnessing to the story of gecekonduzation inside the real experience. Of course, the subjectivity remains as a matter of distance between the reality and representation also in cinema. However, through a delicate analysis, this material appears to have a substantial potential to become a resource for visual memory about gecekondu.

TABLE 1: ASSESSEMENT OF HISTORICAL DATA

Titles	Characteristics of the epoch	Theories	Cinema
1950-1960			
		Theory of Modernization	Migration, class conflict, unemployment, criticism of modernity
Process of production and Gecekondu ownership	-constructed on public land as a result of mass migration from rural to urban by artisanal methods -producer and user of gecekondu don't differentiate.	- gecekondu as a temporary phenomenon in the process of transition from traditional society to modern society -gecekondu people as a homogeneous group migrated from rural to urban	- housing question is not mentioned strongly in this epoch -emphasis on the phenomenon of migration
Spatial and Infrastructural Issues	-jerrybuilt shelters close to business centers, built mostly on the geographically disadvantageous lands such as streambeds and steep slopes -problems of infrastructure and services	-preoccupation that the city would be ruralized (Yörükhan, 1968) -gecekondu which carries on the rural habits also in the city (İbrahim Yasa,1970) -insufficiency of urban infrastructure in the presence of rapid increase of population	- shown gecekondu districts (such as in <i>Balath Arif</i> and <i>Gurbet Kuşları</i>) were built on the geographically disadvantageous lands, and physically they weren't different than Anatolian villages.
Social Situation	-integration with the urban life -the relationship between migration and gecekondu -feudal ties -activation of NGO's	-gecekondu as a buffer mechanism (Mübeccel Kiray 1964) -gecekondu as a homogeneous community -a gecekondu which couldn't leave its rural identity, neither rural nor urbanized/ though it adopts the material culture, it doesn't give up its traditional values -the theoretical expectation that gecekondu will urbanize -gecekondu people who are the 'rural others' different from the urban society,	-cultural shock between rurality and modernism - social dilemma that younger generations suffer in the city - a very strong emphasis on the social conflict and discrimination - a sharp criticism of modernity -dignification of rural characteristics against the modern urban society - problems in the integration with urban life style

TABLE 1 CONTINUED

Economic Condition and Consumptional Attitude	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - transition to consumption society -development of industry and collapse of small-scale production 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -the rural habits of consumption continue also in the city (Ibrahim Yasa,1970) -comparison between gecekondu family and urban family (urban pleasures- cinema, theatre – and rural pleasures) -notification of urban appendices on rural appearance by the studies on dressing of the gecekondu women -usage of the concept of marginal sector -interiorization of elements of the material culture, (but protection of traditional culture) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -<i>Gurbet Kuşları</i> (Refiğ, 1964), <i>Gelin</i> (Akad, 1973) the desire to take a part in the economic system of the city¹¹⁶ - Marginal jobs such as horse-car driving - Taking part in the economic system as unregistered labour force (<i>Karanlıkta Uyananlar</i>) -<i>Gurbet Kuşları</i> (Refiğ, 1964) the desire for the furniture that urban families use in their houses¹¹⁷ --<i>Gurbet Kuşları</i> (Refiğ, 1964) yearning for the cultural behaviours and habits of urban society¹¹⁸ - <i>Gurbet Kuşları</i> (Refiğ, 1964) yearning of gecekondu women for the clothing style and appearance of urban women¹¹⁹
Political Situation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -the very first gecekondu law which is enacted by the state by admitting the presence of gecekondu (1966) -economical development -reaction to urban development measures which are for public good / un planned urban (Mimarlık Dergisi(Architects Magazine) 328- Mimarlık ve Eğitim Kurultayı (Architecture and Education Convention) 2005) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -gecekondu society as cheap workforce and consumer; and the state not taking any serious measures against gecekondu (Şenyapılı, 1982) -gecekondu society supporting the conservative governments (tendency of integrating with the rest of the society) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - gecekondu inhabitants depicted mainly as the proletarians / thus, stories defending the syndicates -a national socialist attitude diffuse in movies

¹¹⁶ will to open up a shop in a wealthy district

¹¹⁷ cuckoo clock, as a furniture, depicting the class differentiation and passion of becoming urbanized

¹¹⁸ longing to the life of Mualla who takes Fatma to the cinema and pastry shop

¹¹⁹ Fatma's effort for becoming urbanized while putting on make up

TABLE 1 CONTINUED

1970s			
	Economic Crisis	Economical- Political Theories	Position of women in gecekondu, class conflict and criticism of modernism, unemployment, changing pattern of possession, land feudalism in gecekondu, arabesque culture
Process of production and Gecekondu ownership	-parcellation and selling of peripheral lands by the owners -purchasing gecekondu lands from the owners and selling them for different -differentiation between gecekondu producer and gecekondu user; and existence of different groups producing and selling gecekondu	- gecekondu as a permanent result of urbanization problem of the capitalization -gecekondu as a “new development model” rather than irregular urbanization (Kongar, 1973 ve Şenyapılı, 1978)	- <i>Sultan</i> (Tibet, 1978) peripheral lands are bought and illegally sold to other people ¹²⁰ -people who left their gecekondu head towards gecekondu production again ¹²¹ - <i>Sultan</i> (Tibet, 1978) gecekondu lands are captured by other people or institutions for rent ¹²² -gecekondu inhabitant is not protected with laws and have no legal tenantry relationships ¹²³

¹²⁰ Gecekondu inhabitants, who bought their land from mukhtar and built their home on it with their own labor, become invaders when mukhtar sells the land to another person , because they do not have a title.

¹²¹ *Sultan* (Tibet, 1978) people who are expelled from their home built a new gecekondu on the very first open space they found.

¹²² lands which will gain extra value because of highway construction are underbought from their owners

¹²³ Landlord expels the tenant overnight in the movie “Canım Kardeşim”.

TABLE 1 CONTINUED

Spatial and Infrastructural Issues		<p>- demands of gecekondu inhabitants, such as; children's park and health center, are not met by the state (Kongar, 1973)</p> <p>-gecekondu people complain about being second class citizen (Kongar, 1973) and could not have access to adequate social and spatial services</p>	<p>-gecekondu – city relationship in visual and constructive terms ¹²⁴ (<i>Umut</i>, Güney,1971; <i>Canım Kardeşim</i>, Eğilmez, 1973)</p> <p>-gecekondu people sustain their rural space usage habits because of insufficient infrastructure services¹²⁵</p> <p>-transportation network problem at gecekondu districts (many areas do not have any roads, and existing roads are stabilized) (<i>Sultan</i>, Tibet,1978; <i>Canım Kardeşim</i>, Eğilmez, 1973)</p> <p>- <i>Sultan</i> (Tibet, 1978) gecekondu women queue up for water near the fountain</p>
Social Situation		<p>-Dependency School (underdevelopment theory)</p> <p>-gecekondu as a homogenized society</p> <p>-gecekondu people who try to become urbanized, however cannot access to urban facilities (social services) because of the circumstances</p> <p>-gecekondu integrated to the city in terms of production and consumption, however disproved in social and cultural terms (Şenyapılı,1982)</p>	<p>-urbans humiliating immigrants/ gecekondu people (<i>Umut</i>, 1971)</p> <p>-kahvehane (coffeehouse) as socialization place of gecekondu men (like the ones at their village) (<i>Sultan</i>, Tibet,1978, <i>Canım Kardeşim</i>, Eğilmez, 1973)</p> <p>-contradictions that gecekondu people experience while trying to act as an urban¹²⁶</p> <p>-arabesque culture impact on likings and cinema entertainments of gecekondu people which are gained after urban people (<i>Sultan</i>, Tibet,1978)</p> <p>-lack of health services at gecekondu districts (<i>Sultan</i>, Tibet,1978)¹²⁷</p>

¹²⁴ The easily observed structural contradiction between gecekondu districts of Adana seen in the movie “Umut” and gecekondu districts of İstanbul seen in the movie “Canım Kardeşim”

¹²⁵ Gecekondu women wash the clothes, feed animals and plant vegetables in their gardens. (*Sultan*, *Umut*)

¹²⁶ In the movie “Sultan”, Kemal says “Shut up, you barbaric! Here is no barn” to his friend who is touched by a scene of a movie and screams out.

¹²⁷ An elder woman delivers all of the babies, because there are no midwives or health center at the district.

TABLE 1 CONTINUED

<p>Economic Condition and Consumptional Attitude</p>	<p>-assembly industry starts to develop -marginal sector -gecekondu women starts to develop</p>	<p>-urbanization trials in consumption patterns of gecekondu (Tansı Şenyapılı 1982) -Dependency School (underdevelopment theory) -Informal sector (a concept including marginal sector describes it as a pusher of the economy)</p>	<p>-<i>Canım Kardeşim</i> (Eğilmez, 1973) effort to have a television and television as a means of social advance ¹²⁸ -<i>Çiçek Abbas</i> (Çetin, 1982) minibuss ownership as a means of social advance -some consumption goods which were considered as urban entered and became widespread through gecekondu areas towards the ends of 1970s (<i>Sultan</i>, Tibet, 1978) ¹²⁹ -effect of media and commercials on the consumption patterns of gecekondu people ¹³⁰ -cinema once considered as urban, also, becomes the entertainment of gecekondu people in 1960s ¹³¹ -Gecekondu people working at unsafe works at marginal sectors ¹³² -Gecekondu people who works at informal sector willing to work at official works ¹³³ and their disadvantageous and insecure conditions in their jobs -seek some other ways of earning money because of cost of living and unemployment ¹³⁴</p>
--	---	---	---

¹²⁸ images and dialogs about the antennas on the roofs of houses in the districts

¹²⁹ Television which started to enter to gecekondu districts however considered as a luxury good and excites all the households within the district in the movie “*Canım Kardeşim*”, is taken as an ordinary furniture in the movie “*Sultan*”.

¹³⁰ Children want “Çokomel” which they saw on a commercial while they were watching TV in their neighbors home, in the movie “*Sultan*”

¹³¹ Gecekondu women are going to the cinema as a group in the movie “*Sultan*”.

¹³² *Umut* (Güney, 1971) is about the struggle between the municipality and gecekondu people who earn their livelihood by riding horse carriage, *Sultan* (Tibet, 1978) is about Sultan who supports her family alone by working as a cleaning woman.

¹³³ Gecekondu women working as cleaning women envy their neighbor who works in a factory for having , in the movie “*Sultan*”.

¹³⁴ Majority of the district earns money by selling their blood, in the movie “*Canım Kardeşim*”.

TABLE 1 CONTINUED

Political Situation	-political polarization of the society -economic depression and crisis in the world -unionism	-state policies not meeting the will of becoming urbanized of the gecekondu people (Feral Eke, 1981) -gecekondu people politically polarized and fighting with each other -gecekondu people changing mind according to benefits instead of integrating with the society	- <i>Sultan</i> (Tibet,1978) gendarme designated to deconstruct the gecekondu houses also lives in gecekondu however he have to accomplish his mission, so; he struggles with gecekondu people -gecekondu people aware of having some legal rights but not knowing what those rights are ¹³⁵ -references to the unionization of the workers towards gecekondu (<i>Sultan</i> , Tibet,1978)
1980s			
		Postmodern Theories	Arabesque Culture, Gecekondu Tenantry, Resistance against taking Gecekondu Lands from their owners, loss of identity, self-alienation
Process of production and Gecekondu ownership	-exclusion of powerless groups from gecekondu production as it becomes a source of rent	-gecekondu as a part of rent struggle -division of gecekondu into landowner and tenant	- sales of gecekondu lands to contractors by their owners (Düttürü Dünya 1988, Sultan 1978, Şaban Pabucu Yarım 1989) - being a gecekondu tenant, fear of being expelled from gecekondu, concerning about the costs of moving into a new gecekondu (Düttürü Dünya, Ökten, 1988) - new immigrants come up with new sheltering solutions because gecekondu becomes harder to own (<i>Bir Avuç Cennet</i> , Özer 1985, <i>Gülen Adam</i> , Tibet 1989)

¹³⁵ Gecekondu people referencing to some legal rights, like, divorce and suing the counterside because of insult, are forced to leave their homes because of being unaware of their legal situation (land trade without title), in the movie “Sultan”.

TABLE 1 CONTINUED

Spatial and Infrastructural Issues	-efforts of gecekondu people to become legal and get served		
Social Situation	-arabesque culture	-postmodern statement (identity and differences) and ethnical, religious sectional (Karpat, 1976) and sexual differentiation among the society (doing research on gecekondu women) -buffer mechanism (Emre Kongar 1982) -cultural niche (Ogburn)	- citizenry institution and solidarity among new comers (<i>At</i> , 1982, Özgentürk, <i>Bir Avuç Cennet</i> , Özer 1985)
Economic Condition and Consumptional Attitude	-underemployment	-urbanization not realized at the same rate as industrialization does -gecekondu people as tenants	- most goods once considered as a tool of social advance becoming ordinary in 1970s (Düttürü Dünya 1988) -cost of living and second jobs (Düttürü Dünya, 1988) -high rents of gecekondu and gecekondu people becoming tenants (Düttürü Dünya 1988) -gravitate to marginal sector (<i>Düttürü Dünya</i> 1988, <i>At</i> 1982)
Political Situation	-integration to global world and liberalization -local-unrestrained development privileges; correction development plans, apartmanization of gecekondu by plans / 2 nd urban transformation		- unawareness of gecekondu people (especially tenants) of their legal rights (<i>Düttürü Dünya</i> , Ökten, 1988) ¹³⁶

¹³⁶ Daughter of a gecekondu family tells his father “... do you know what I read on the newspaper? They cannot expel us from this house. They cannot do that as long as we residence in. So tells the constitution” and stresses that landowner comments the laws for his own. However the father only congratulates his daughter for reaching such a knowledge and takes no more action. He has been convinced to the power of landowner and has no knowledge of legal process. Even he knew about his rights, he sustains the struggle over personal relations by gency.

TABLE 1 CONTINUED

1990-			Poverty, illegality and culture of 'varoş'
Process of production and Gecekondu ownership	-illegal urbanization (shanty settlements) -land mafia		
Spatial and Infrastructural Issues	- Urban Renewal Projects		
Social Situation	-efforts of ethnical identities to be noticed and approved - illegal activities sheltered in gecekondu districts	- postmodern statement (identity and differences) and ethnical, religious sectional and sexual differentiation among the society -gecekondu people not as villager but as urban poor -demolition of feudal ties(end of citizenry institution) -usage of terms "varoş" and becoming "varoş" -gecekondu as the shelter of social distortion and social violence (gecekondu as 'varoş')	- struggle between ethnical identity and state in gecekondu districts (<i>Güneşe Yolculuk</i> , 1998) ¹³⁷ -gecekondu-based illegality (such as <i>Eşkîya</i> , <i>Organize İşler</i>) -emphasis on the 'varoş' culture
Economic Condition and Consumptional Attitude	-widening gap between rich and poor	-gecekondu people as illegal gain holder and/or poorest side of the city -increasing studies on gecekondu and poverty -gecekondu people accessing all of urban resources, but lacking consumption aesthetics	- gecekondu inhabitants as poorest side of the city
Political Situation	-legislations to transfer gecekondu into legal housing market -top level patronization over improper urbanization / renewal of illegal city (3 rd urban transformation) -growing tension related to ethnicity	- huge rents originated from land mafia in addition to legal rents	- political criticism based on the ethnicity (such as <i>Güneşe Yolculuk</i>) and the effects of the military coup in 1980

¹³⁷ The state puts some markings on some gecekondu houses.

REFERENCES

Algan, Neşe, (1994) “Türkiye’de İstihdamın Yapısal Analizi: Sorunlar ve Öneriler”, İstihdam Dergisi, Sayı: 17, Ankara.

Alloush, Ibrahim, (2001), *Between Public Relations and Self-Alienation: Arab Intellectuals and the 'Holocaust'*. *The Journal for Historical Review* Volume 20 number 3, May/June

Aslan, Seyfettin and Yılmaz, Abdullah, (2006), “Modernizme Bir Başkaldırı Projesi Olarak Postmodernizm” *C.Ü. İktisadi ve İdari Bilimler Dergisi, Cilt 2, Sayı 2.*

Ayata, A.G., (1990/91), "Gecekonduarda Kimlik Sorunu, Dayanışma Örüntüleri ve Hemşehrilik", *Toplum ve Bilim*, s. 52, 1990 güz, 1991 kış.

Aytaç, Ömer, (2005), “Türkiye Kentleşmesinde Birara Kurum:Kent Kahvehaneleri”, *Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi* 2005/2

Baudrillard, Jean (1998), *The Consumer Society: Myths and Structures*, trans. By Sheila Faria Glaser, Sage Publications: London

Burgess, R. (1977), Self-help housing: A new imperialist strategy? A critique of the Turner school. *Antipode*, Vol. 9, No. 2.

Burgess, R., (1978), “Petty commodity housing or dweller control? A critique of John Turner's view on housing policy”, *World Development* 6 (9/10), pp1105-1133.

Burgess, R., (1982), “Self-help housing advocacy: a curious form of radicalism. A critique of the work of John F.C. Turner”, in Ward, P.M. (ed) 'Self-help Housing-A Critique', Mansell, London,. Bromley, 2003.

Daldal, Aslı (2005), *1960 Darbesi ve Türk Sinemasında Toplumsal Gerçekçilik*, Homer Kitabevi, İstanbul.

Davis, Mike, (2006), 'Planet of Slums', Verso, London.

Deleuze, Gilles (1992), “*What is a dispositif?*” In: Michel Foucault *Philosopher*. Ed. by Timothy J. Armstrong. New York: Routledge, pp. 159-168.

Dorsay, Atilla, (1995), *12 Eylül Yılları ve Sinemamız: 160 Filmle 1980-90 Arası Türk Sinemasına Bakışlar*, İnkılap Kitabevi, İstanbul.

Dönmezer, Sulhi, (1986) “*Hızlı Şehirleşme ile Suç ve Adalet Sistemi İlişkileri*”, Hızlı Şehirleşmenin Yarattığı Ekonomik ve Sosyal Sorunlar, SİSAV, İstanbul.

Eagleton, Terry (2000)., *The Idea of Culture*, Malden: Mass., Blackwell.

Eisenstadt, Samuel Noah, (1966), *Modernization: Protest and Change*. Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall.

Erder, Sema, (1995), ‘Yeni kentliler ve kentin yeni yoksulları’, *Toplum ve Bilim*, 66, pp.106-119.

Eke, E. Feral, (1981), ‘The absorption of low income groups in Ankara’, *Ekistics*, 286, pp.64-70.

Ekşioğlu, Kani, (1984), *Kooperatif Yasaları, Yasa Yayınları*.

Eraydın, A. ve Türkün-Erendil, A. (2002) “*Konfeksiyon Sanayiinde Yeniden Yapılanma Süreci, Değişen Koşullar ve Kadın Emegi: Ne Kazandılar, Ne Kaybettiler?*” , İktisat Dergisi, 430, 18-28.

Erkan, Rüstem and Bağlı, Mahzar *Göç ve Yoksulluk Alanlarında Kentle Bütünleşme Eğilimi: Diyarbakır Örneği* (2005) Hacettepe Üniversitesi Edebiyat Fakültesi Dergisi
2005 / Cilt: 22 Sayı: 1 / ss. 105-124

Erman, Tahire (1996) ‘Women and the housing environment: The experiences of Turkish migrant women in squatter (gecekondu) and apartment housing’, *Environment and Behavior*, 28 (6), pp.764-798.

Erman, Tahire (1997) ‘The meaning of city living for rural migrant women and their role in migration: the case of Turkey’, *Women's Studies International Forum*, 20 (2), pp.263-273.

Erman, Tahire (1998) ‘The impact of migration on Turkish rural women: four emergent patterns’, *Gender & Society*, 12 (2), pp.146-167.

Erman, T. (2000) ‘The politics of squatter (gecekondu) studies in Turkey: the changing representations of rural migrants in the academic discourse’, *Urban Studies*, vol. 38, no.7, 983-1002.

Erman, Tahire (2002) ‘Mekansal kümelenme, siyaset ve kültür’, in Dikmen, Ahmet Alpay (der.) *Kentleşme, Göç ve Yoksulluk*, Ankara, İmaj Yayıncılık, pp. 1-17.

Erman, Tahire (2003a) ‘2000’li yıllarda kent çeperindeki şiddet: Esenler, İstanbul olayının düşündürdükleri’, *Almanak 2002*, İstanbul, Sosyal Araştırmalar Vakfı, pp.503-507.

European Journal of Turkish Studies, URL: <http://www.ejts.org/document85.html>, 03.12.2009, Erman, T. (2004) 'Gecekondu çalışmalarında 'öteki' olarak gecekondu kurguları', , Thematic Issue N°1, Gecekondu

European Journal of Turkish Studies, URL: <http://www.ejts.org/document54.html>, 03.12.2009, Karpat, Kemal H. (2004) 'The Genesis of the Gecekondu: Rural Migration and Urbanization (1976)', Thematic Issue N°1 - Gecekondu,

Fiske John, (1989) *Understanding Popular Culture*, Routledge, London.

Fiske, John. (1990), *Introduction to Communication Studies*, Routledge, London.

Fiske, John. (1996) “*Hybrid vigor: popular culture in a multicultural, post-fordist world*”. *Studies in Latin American Popular Culture*, Vol: 15.

Günay, Baykan, (1999), *Property Relations and Urban Space*, METU Faculty of Architecture Press, Ankara.

İçli, Gönül, (2002), “*Türk Modernleşme Sürecinin Günümüzdeki Yönelimi*” C.Ü. Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi Aralık Cilt : 26 No: 2 245-254

İçli, Gönül, (2001), “*Küreselleşme ve Kültür*”, C.Ü. Sosyal Bilimler Dergisi Aralık Cilt : 25 No: 2 163-172

Işık, Oğuz ; Pınarcıoğlu, M. Melih (2001) *Nöbetleşe Yoksulluk: Sultanbeyli Örneği*, İstanbul, İletişim.

Kalaylıoğlu, Mahir, (2006), *Representation of Gecekondu in Mainstream Print Media: From Housing Question to Varoş*, A Thesis Submitted to The Graduate School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University.

Karpat, Kemal (1976) *The Gecekondu: Rural Migration and Urbanization*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press.

Kartal, Kemal (1983), *Ekonomik ve Sosyal Yönleriyle Türkiyede Kentleşme*, Yurt Yayınları, Ankara.

Kayasü, Serap; Işık, Oğuz; Uzun, Nil; Kamacı, Ebru. (derleme) (2009) *Gecekondu, Dönüşüm, Kent: Tansı Şenyapılı'ya Armağan*. ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi Basım İşliği.

Keleş, Ruşen (1972) *100 soruda Türkiye'de Şehirleşme, Konut ve Gecekondu*, İstanbul, Gerçek yayınevi. Keleş, Ruşen, (1984), *Kentleşme ve Konut Politikası*, A.Ü. S.B.F. Yayınları, Yayın no:540, Ankara.

Keleş, Ruşen (1988) “*Dar Gelirli Kentliler için Bir Konut Edindirme Yöntemi: Evini Yapana Yardım*”. *SBF Dergisi*, C:43, No:1-2 (Ocak-Haziran) s.81-112.

Keyder, Çağlar, (2000), *İstanbul: Küresel ve Yerel Arasında*, Metis Yayınları, İstanbul.

Kıray, Mübeccel B., (1964), *Ağır Sanayiden Önce Bir Sahil Kasabası: Ereğli*, D.P.T. Yayınları, Ankara.

Kıray, Mübeccel (1970) ‘*Squatter housing: Fast depeasantization and slow workerization in underdeveloped countries*’. 'Research Committee on Urban Sociology of the 7th World Congress of Sociology'de sunulan bildiri, Varna, 14-19 Eylül.

Kıray, Mübeccel B. (1982) II, “*Gecekondu*”, Toplum Bilim Yazıları, Gazi Üniv. İkt. Ve İd. Bil. Fak. Yay. No:7, Toplum Bilimleri Araştırma Merkezi Yayınları, Ankara.

Kıray, Mübeccel B. (1998b); “*Gecekondu: Az gelişmiş Ülkelerde Hızla Topraktan Kopma ve Kentle Bütünleşememe*”, Kentleşme Yazıları, İstanbul, Bağlam Yayıncılık, ss. 90-104.

Kirel, Serpil, (2005), *Yeşilçam Öykü Sineması*, Babil Yayınları, İstanbul.

Kongar, Emre (1973) ‘*Altındağ'da kentle bütünleşme*’, Amme İdaresi Dergisi, 6, pp.109-138.

Kongar, Emre, (1976). “*A survey of familial change in two Turkish gecekondu areas*”, in J. G. Peristiany, ed., *Mediterranean Family Structures*, (Cambridge University Press,), pp. 205-218.

Kongar, Emre, (1982), “*Kentleşen Gecekonducular yada Gecekondulaşan Kentler Sorunu*”, Kentsel Bütünleşme, Türk Sos. Bil. Der. T.G.A.V. No:4, Ankara.

Mathey, K, (1997), “*Self-help Housing Strategies in Cuba: An alternative to Conventional Wisdom?*” Chapter, 9 (164-187) in Potter, R.B. and Conway, D. (1997), *Self help Housing, the Poor and the State in Caribbean*. University of Tennessee Press, USA.

Özbek, Meral, (1991), “*Popüler Kültür ve Orhan Gencebay Arabeski*” İletişim Yayınları

Özbek, Meral (1998). “*Arabesk Kültür: Bir Modernleşme ve Popüler Kimlik Örneği*”, Türkiye’de Modernleşme ve Ulusal Kimlik, Der.: Sibel Bozdoğan ve Reşat Kasaba, İstanbul: Tarih Vakfı Yurt Yayınları, ss.168-188.

Öztürk, Mehmet (2008). (derleme) “*Sinematografik Kentler: Mekanlar, Hatıralar, Arzular*”, Agora Kitaplığı, İstanbul.

Özuyar, Ali (1999). “*Sinemanın Osmanlıca Serüveni*”, Öteki Yayınevi, Ankara.

Sat, N. Aydan (2007). *A Critique On Improvement Plans: A Tool For Transformation Of Squatter Housing Areas In Ankara*. METU JFA 2007/2, (24:2) 27-36

- Scognamillo, Giovanni (1998). “*Türk Sinema Tarihi*”, Kabalcı Yayınevi, İstanbul.
- Şengül, H.Tarık (2001) “*Sınıf Mücadelesi ve Kent Mekanı*”, Praksis, 2, 9-32.
- Şengül, H.Tarık (2002) “*Devlet ve Kent Mekanı*”, İktisat Dergisi, 404, 45-57.
- Şenyapılı, Tansı (1978). *Bütünleşmemiş Kentli Nüfus Sorunu*, Ankara: ODTÜ Mimarlık Fakültesi, Yayın No.27
- Şenyapılı, Tansı (1982) ‘*Economic change and the gecekondu family*’, in Kağıtçıbaşı, Çiğdem (ed.) *Sex Roles, Family and Community in Turkey*, Bloomington, Indiana University Turkish Studies 3, pp.237-248.
- Şenyapılı, Tansı ve Türel, Ali (1996). *Ankara’da Gecekondu Oluşum Süreci ve Ruhsatlı Konut Sunumu*, Ankara, Batıbirlik Yayınları No:1, Mayıs
- Şenyapılı, Tansı (1992) ‘*A new stage of gecekondu housing in İstanbul*’, in Tekeli, İlhan ; Şenyapılı, Tansı (eds.) *Development of İstanbul Metropolitan Area and Low Cost Housing*, İstanbul, Turkish Social Science Association, pp. 182-209.
- Şenyapılı, Tansı, (2004). *Baraka’dan Gecekonduya: Ankara’da Kentsel Mekanın Dönüşümü: 1923-1960* İletişim Yayıncılık, İstanbul.
- Şenyapılı, Önder, (1981), *Kentleşemeyen Ülke Kentleşen Köylüler* O.D.T.Ü.Mimarlık Fakültesi Ara-Yayınları, Ankara.
- Şenyapılı, Tansı (2005), (derleme). “Cumhuriyet’in Ankara’sı”, ODTÜ Yayıncılık, Ankara.
- Tekeli, İlhan; Gülöksüz, Yiğit; Okyay, Tarık, (1976), *Gecekondu, Dolmuşlu İşportalı Şehir*, Cem Yayınevi.
- Tekin, Latife (1984). “*Berci Kristin Çöp Masalları*”, Everest Yayınları, İstanbul.
- Tortop, Nuri, (1986), *Mahalli İdareler*, T.O.D.A.İ.E. Yayınları No: 211, Ankara.
- Tuncer, Selda (2005), *The Destruction of a City Myth in Late Modern Turkish Cinema*, A Thesis Submitted to The Graduate School of Social Sciences of Middle East Technical University.
- Turner, John F.C., (1976) *Housing by People: Towards Autonomy in Building Environments*. London: Marion Boyars.
- Türkdoğan, Orhan (1977). *Yoksulluk Kültürü*, Sebil Matbaacılık, İstanbul.
- Ülgener, Sabri (1986). *Milli Gelir İstihdam ve İktisadi Büyüme*. Filiz Kitabevi, İstanbul.

Wirth, Louis (1938/1967) “*Urbanization as a Way of Life*,” in Paul K. Hatt and Albert J. Reiss Jr. *Cities and Society*_(eighth addition). New York: The Free Press, pp.46-63.

Virgöl, URL: www.virguldergisi.com, 03.12.2009, Şenyapılı, Tansı, “*Gecekondu Değil, ‘Kentkondu’*”, sayı 2, s. 60.

Yasa, İbrahim (1966) *Ankara’da Gecekondu Aileleri*, Ankara, Sağlık ve Sosyal Yardım Bakanlığı, Sosyal Hizmetler Genel Müdürlüğü Yayınları, n°64.

Yasa, İbrahim (1968:176). “*İç Göçlerin Büyük Şehirlerin İş-güç Çeşitlerindeki Etkileri*”, AÜEF Dergisi, Cilt; 1, No : 1-4, Ankara.

Yasa, İbrahim (1970) ‘*Gecekondu ailesi: Geçiş halinde bir aile tipolojisi*’, AÜSBF Dergisi, 25, pp.9-18.

Yasa, İbrahim (1973) ‘*Gecekondu ailesi mozayigi*’, Amme İdaresi Dergisi, 6, pp.41-46.

Yenigöl, Sevinç Bahar (2005). “*The Effects of Migration on Urban*”, G.Ü. Fen Bilimleri Dergisi 18(2): 273-288.

Yıldız, Engin (2008). “*Gecekondu Sineması*”, Hayalet Kitap, İstanbul.

Yörükhan, Turhan ve Yörükhan, Ayda (1966). “*Şehirleşme, Gecekondu ve Konut Politikası*”, İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı, Mesken Genel Müdürlüğü, Ankara.

Yörükhan, T. (1968) *Gecekondu ve Gecekondu Bölgelerinin Sosyo-Kültürel Özellikleri*, Ankara, İmar ve İskan Bakanlığı-Mesken Genel Müdürlüğü-Sosyal Araştırma Dizisi 1.