

INTEGRATION THROUGH MOBILITY

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INTRODUCTION

The aim of this article is to determine the basic principles of a theory to cover the most prominent problem witnessed in the physical dimension of the urbanization process, namely "squatter housing" and "marginal sector" of underdeveloped countries which lives in this type of housing.

First, we shall review the theoretical background for viewing urbanization in developing countries and then take a new stance for examining the interrelationships in economic and physical space in the formation of squatter housing. Using our basic hypothesis that relations in economic space are the main determinants for patterns and relationships in other spaces, we shall draw on the results of a survey conducted by the author in Gültepe, a squatter housing district in Istanbul, to trace retrospectively the interplay between job mobility and housing.

A THEORY IS NEEDED COVERING THE CHANGING PROCESS OF URBANIZATION

Over the past years in Turkey, as elsewhere in the third world, the process of urbanization has undergone a large-scale qualitative and quantitative transformation. Yet a theory is still lacking. The process has been studied by researchers and theoreticians from different disciplines who brought their own approaches, terminology, theories and methods to the field. The result is a number of independent, micro-scale analyses specialized along different lines, and a dramatic lack of and need for a theoretical framework. Since these sectoral studies could not be combined and interpreted in comprehensive, multi-dimensional frames, it has not been possible to obtain basic solutions, to introduce a time dimension and feed-back mechanisms, to establish continuity. The control variables and parameters could not be determined. As these sectoral studies in time became obsolete, symptoms were misinterpreted by technicians and planners on different occasions and governments, influenced by these misjudgements, were driven to time and money consuming applications. The effectiveness of plans was reduced and universal dimensions were completely lost.

1. In Turkey, in 1950's the proposal of sending the migrants back was seriously discussed in governmental circles. The newspaper *Cumhuriyet*, dated August 1, 1951 published the news that the Municipality of Istanbul was buying return tickets for 500 migrants each month.

Today the accumulation of data, research and evaluation in different fields of specialization has reached a level where it can stimulate the development of a theory. The process of urbanization should now be re-analyzed and re-defined with

different concepts, studied in the context of new approaches. If the process is to develop in a planned environment, its parameters and independent variables should be determined and presented to the control of the planner.

The attempt to propose a theoretical framework for the process is an attractive challenge for spatial planners who are specialized in the most observable and measurable dimension of the process. On the other hand, spatial planners should be careful to avoid the frequently repeated error of interpreting spatial data as independent variables, which leads to the definition of 'spatial' problems and to solutions in 'spatial' reorganizations. In Turkey, as well as in other underdeveloped countries, governments have been influenced by this uni-dimensional approach and have sought for a solution to the "squatter" problem in spatial orderings and structures. The squatters were constantly shifted in space, forced into high rise social housing against high opportunity costs debitted to the society. Only when the squatter population reached such quantitative levels where it was no longer possible to consider housing them in publicly financed social housing, did the planners realize that this was not a solution.

2. Economic space concept is discussed in: Francois Perroux, *Economic Space: Theory and Application*. In John Friedmann and William Alonso, *Regional Development and Planning*. Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1964.

Social Space concept is discussed in: Brian J.L. Berry and Frank G. Horton, *Geographic Perspectives on Urban Systems*, Englewood Cliff, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1970.

METHODOLOGY IN DEVELOPING THE THEORY SHOULD BE BASED ON A MULTI-SPATIAL ANALYSIS

The methodology in developing the theory should be based on the interpretation and evaluation of data in an abstract-concrete spatial combination. Since we can define space in two or three dimensions, it is also possible to talk about n-dimensional spaces defined by abstract relations.² These spaces are structured by relations between elements and can be abstracted from physical space. As relations between economic elements build up economic spaces, relations between social elements shape social spaces. These spaces are measurable by monetary economic distances or by social distances. The relations in economic space are the main determinants, the variables in other spaces being the dependent ones. Therefore, the measurable dependent variables, pattern, shape and quality of the man-made structures in physical space should be interpreted as evidence of or clues to relations in economic and social space.

Economic space in Turkey is structured in an environment oriented towards middle size, consumption goods industry which operates under an accepted principle of free market conditions. The choice of a certain pattern of industrialization (based on foreign capital, with obsolete and expensive technology, cheap labor), balance between foreign political forces, control on resources, all impose constraints and thresholds on entry to foreign markets. Therefore the creation and enlargement of an internal market gains considerable importance.

This market has a twofold function:

--During the process of industrialization one small social class, in cooperation with foreign finance capital and national administrators, establishes control over the allocation of national income. Because of the differential income that accrues to this class, the social and economic distances which separate it from other social classes may increase to a point where the system itself may breakdown. Therefore, this class has to make concessions and grant

3. Further information on the subject can be obtained from: Ünder Şenyapılı, *TV'nin Türk toplumuuna Etkileri* (The Effect of the TV on the Turkish Society). Istanbul: Milliyet Yayınları, 1976.

4. Information on the descriptive characteristics of the marginal sector can be obtained from: İrfan Tekeli, *Bağımlı Kentleşme*, (Dependent Urbanization), Ankara: Mimarlar Odası Yayınları, 1977.

5. Convexity is a geometrical term. If all points on a straight line joining any two points in a set, belong to the same set, the set is convex. In other words, there are no holes in that set.

6. A very typical example is marketing of domestic cars in Turkey. Starting in 1967, during the past 10 years 3 different firms under contract engagements with Ford, Fiat and Renault firms manufactured Turkish type cars. The price is still beyond the purchasing power of most middle class members to whom the campaign is oriented. Therefore, there are almost as many credit and installment plans as there are dealers. On the other hand, neither the infrastructure nor the service sector is adequately developed. Parking problem is partly solved by marginal sector members who for a minimum amount of money watch cars parked along streets, on sidewalks or in vacant lots confiscated for this purpose. Since service stations are extremely few, inadequate and expensive, several thousand small repairers, artisans and marginal sector members are in demand. E.g. since one has to wait in queue to get his car washed at one of the few gas stations for approximately 1.5 dollars, there grew a small army of mobile car washers who walk around with buckets and brushes and offer their services for about 90 cents at the place where the car is parked.

subsidies to the rest of the society from time to time. The creation of an internal market to which all classes will participate is one successful way of creating the image of reduced economic distances. This policy is synonymous with the policy of creating and fostering a middle class. On the one hand, concessions and subsidies are granted in the form of pay increases, in the form of new organizations that facilitate entry to the market (credit and installment plans, annual-seasonal sales, coupons, credit cards, payment facilities). On the other hand, a new value system based on consumption norms is imposed through the mass media.³ Thus, a shock-absorbing middle class is settled between the control groups and the potential radicals; the lower income groups; but most important of all, all groups participate in this market. This wide participation creates the image that "integration" has been achieved and "duality" has been resolved. It is most significant for the maintenance of the system that this interpretation is made by the lower class themselves.

--This internal market provides a concentration of demand in economic and physical spaces because of the limitations on entry to foreign markets which we mentioned above. It is vital that the market should enlarge parallel to the rate of increase and expansion of industry.

IS MARGINAL SECTOR "MARGINAL" ?

The "marginal" sector contributes in several ways to the functioning of this market: it offers cheap and mobile labor to industry.⁴ Cheap labor is important because industrial technology is obsolete and entry to foreign markets is limited. Despite the concessions granted by the control groups to other classes to increase their purchasing power, in an underdeveloped country the internal market remains too limited for mass production. Cheap labor thus gains particular importance as a factor of production.

The "marginal" sector in addition to being a source of cheap labor also reaches impressive quantitative dimensions as an important source of demand. Consequently members of the sector are exploited not only as laborers but also as consumers. Obviously it is most important for this group, which is always believed to be the most likely to develop radical attitudes against the system, to participate in the consumption market. Yet since the sector can neither afford nor is accustomed to the formal, settled markets of the metropolis, participation becomes, in fact, another problem. On the other hand, the sector itself has solved this problem by forming mobile, and therefore cheap, peripheral markets. These markets not only serve the marginal sector and low income urban groups, but also the rural population that occasionally or periodically comes to the city to shop or use urban services.

For the rational and proper functioning of the internal market it is important that demand be met at every point of the market; or in other words, that the market surface should possess a convex quality so that profits can be maximized at all points.⁵ Again due to the specific pattern of industrialization adopted, the rate of specialization and organization does not match that of industrialization. The internal market in underdeveloped countries is imposed on a society where not only the service sector but even purchasing power has not sufficiently developed.⁶ Therefore, several supply and

servicing holes develop on the market surface. These holes are not continuous but move on the surface as demand is met. Therefore a special kind of emergency service sector is needed which should be cheap and most important of all should be mobile. These service vacuums are met by small artisans, small commerce and manufacturing (small entrepreneurs) and largely by the "marginal" sector which is not organized and therefore mobile and cheap. The sector flows on the market surface in pursuit of demand. Often members of the sector are in face to face relationship with the customers but they are also extensively employed by the small entrepreneur group and supply a mobile dimension to this sector as well.

In short, the "marginal" sector provides abundant, mobile and therefore cheap labor to the system, shares the consumption norms that contribute to the creation of demand necessary to meet the products of the primary sector, builds up participation channels to the urban internal market and ensures the convexity of the market by its mobile dimension.

In view of these functions the term "marginal", which was intended to describe the type of function the sector performs for society, should definitely be re-considered. The term implies that the sector can be withdrawn from the system without cost or with negligible cost. The above discussion has shown that the amputation of the sector would result in heavy costs to the system which could be serious enough to cause total collapse. Can this sectoral function still be described as "marginal"? If not, we need a new definition.

OCCUPATIONAL MOBILITY SHOULD BE THE BASIS FOR A NEW DEFINITION

In proposing a new definition our hypothesis is again that relations in economic space are the main determinants for the patterns and relationships in other spaces. The most important of the economic relations is doubtless man's work. The term "work" covers entry conditions, conditions of work (pay, number of work hours, time of day, the nature of work, the degree of hazard, the level of organization-protection offered), prestige attached and opportunities it offers for finding other kinds of work. A man's work determines the range of possibilities open to him in the system, in short, his place in the system. Its derivative in social space is his attitude towards the system and in physical space the type of settlement he chooses for himself.

The urban occupational scale is not totally open to the migrant, the most typical member of the marginal sector. The echelons, the entry conditions of which suit the abilities of the migrant, consist of marginal jobs, the factory and manufacturing sector, job opportunities in the service sector, clerical jobs and small-scale entrepreneurship. The terms for these echelons are products of the (very general and therefore not very workable) categorizations first produced in Western statistical compilations and later introduced to non-Western statistical compilations as well. These over-generalized work categories not only hide vertical differentiation but also conceal horizontal inter-categorical mobility. The migrant draws a curve, the shape of which has not yet been determined in literature, between categories of jobs open to him. Thus the migrant displays two different levels of mobility in economic space: one under the urban market surface and the other between

different categories of jobs after higher income, better working conditions and higher prestige. The latter type of mobility ends when two conditions are fulfilled: when the migrant finds a stable, secure, well-paid job (organized work) which also carries considerable social prestige and when he is able to buy or build a house. In other words, mobility type two stops when the migrant settles in both economic and physical space.

The following example aims at drawing the shape of the mobility type two curve and determining its derivatives in social and physical space under the principles set forth in the above discussion. The data are taken from a project directed by the author, under a grant supplied by the Centre for Environmental Studies. The aim of the project was to develop a theory covering the most prominent problem in the physical dimension of the urbanization process, 'the squatters'. The example presented in this article is one of the hypotheses tested in the project. The data used represent one of the five neighborhoods covered in the project survey consisting of 1100 interviews. Gültepe, the neighborhood covered in this article, comprises 350 of these interviews.⁷

7. 350 household heads were selected from a total of 15,481 by systematic sampling method. One out of every 10 household heads were interviewed. The data was processed at Middle East Technical Univ. Computer Center.

THE GÜLTEPE CASE

Gültepe, a neighborhood within the municipal boundaries of Kağıthane, lies within the northeastern edge of Istanbul. The neighborhood was first settled in 1956 when the municipality of Istanbul bought land from the then village of Kağıthane to settle the population from central neighborhoods of the city where houses and squatter houses were expropriated for reconstruction activities.

The 1950's were the years when the rush to the cities gained considerable momentum as mechanization in agriculture spread. In the meantime industry was developing in Istanbul, thus contributing a metropolitan dimension to the only city in Turkey's national space that then qualified as really urban. Employment opportunities were greatest here and therefore Istanbul became a natural target for internal migration. The city displayed rapid demographic growth which resulted in a spatial pattern of densely populated inner centers surrounded by rings and sectors of squatter houses. Industry now bounded by residences had to move. The new location criteria for industry were: easy access to the center and to the distributive network, possibilities for expansion and preferably the existence of a small village which would provide a labor force and ensure municipal services. Kağıthane fulfilled all these requirements and soon became an industrial center for largely small and medium-sized industry. Squatter houses immediately followed.

The squatter neighborhoods were constructed under easy and favorable conditions, without fear of police pressure (since Kağıthane village was outside the municipal boundaries) and with the hope of legalized ownership and the eventual provision of proper services. Therefore, the spatial structure was clean and of better quality compared to most other regular squatter neighborhoods. Kağıthane, as expected, became a municipality in 1963. Its population rose from 1431 in 1950 to 22 818 in 1960, to 107 347 in 1970 and finally to 163 311 in 1974. Today Gültepe, a neighborhood where part of the Kağıthane sub-center is located, houses a population around 20 000.

Gültepe was purposely selected because of the study's aim to describe the shape of the occupational mobility curve drawn among job categories until the subject finally settled in both economic and physical space. Gültepe houses a migrant population (90.3% born out of Istanbul) who now lived for a considerable period of time in Istanbul (53.1% arrived in Istanbul 5-10 years ago, 29.7% arrived about 20 years ago). Most of the population has now moved onto higher echelons of the occupational scale (Ref. Table 1) and has settled to a large extent in all the spatial dimensions under study.

Occupation	%
Marginal work	11
Small entrepreneurship	18
Large entrepreneurship	-
Factory work	22
Construction work	3
Service work	21
Clerical work	14
Professional work	0
Unemployed	7
Other	3
Unclear	0

Table 1. Occupational distribution of household heads

To detect occupational mobility pattern, a set of questions were asked about the first four sets of jobs held by the respondent in Istanbul, the duration of work and reasons for leaving work in each instance. To determine mobility, jobs were classified as marginal (this covered all unorganized, mobile, underpaid jobs); construction work; small commerce and manufacturing (small entrepreneurship); large scale commerce and manufacturing (large entrepreneurship); factory work; service sector work; clerical work; professional work and others.⁸

Of the household heads who were employed in stage I jobs (first job in Istanbul), only 33% remained at this stage. Of the 67% who passed on to stage II, 51% remained where 49% passed on to a third stage. Of the group employed in third stage jobs, 47% passed on to a fourth stage. This data displays the existence of mobility but gives no clue to the shape of the curve drawn or whether a general mobility pattern exists. Tables 2,3,4, and 5 show the mobility pattern. The general

Occupation	1.Stage(%)	2.Stage(%)	3.Stage(%)	4.Stage(%)
Marginal work	22	18	12	6
Small Entrepr.	15	21	22	12
Large Entrepr.	-	-	-	-
Factory work	22	21	31	39
Construction work	9	4	4	-
Service work	17	20	27	27
Clerical work	10	8	4	12
Professional work	0	0	-	-
Unemployed	1	1	0	-
Other	1	1	0	3
Unclear	3	5	-	-

Table 2. Occupation of household heads

8. In Turkish the word 'işçi' (laborer) denotes a form of employment. A factory worker and a street sweeper or a bus driver employed by the municipality are all 'işçi'. To bring a distinction, laborers employed in manufacturing activity and laborers employed in service sector were separately grouped.

	Marginal w.	Small entrepr.	Large entrepr.	Factory w.	Constr. w.	Service w.	Clerical w.	Professional w.	Unemployed	Other	Unclear+those who remain at stage 1	Row Sum
Marginal w.	21	14		9	2	11	2			1	16	77
	27	18		12	3	14	3			1	21	100
	53	30		20	22	26	12			33	11	22
Small entrepr.	5	11		5		6	2		1		22	52
	10	21		10		12	4		2		42	100
	13	23		11		14	12		50		15	15
Large entrepr.												
	6	10		22	2	8	4			1	24	77
	8	13		29	3	10	5			1	31	100
Factory. w.	15	21		49	22	19	24			33	17	22
	3	2		4	4	5	1	1		1	9	30
	10	7		13	13	17	3	3		3	30	100
Construction w.	8	4		9	44	12	6	100		33	6	9
	5	7		5	1	13	3		1		26	61
	8	12		8	1	21	5		2		43	100
Service w.	13	15		11	11	30	18		50		18	18
	1						4				30	35
Clerical w.	3						11				86	100
	2						24				21	10
Professional w.								1				1
								100				100
								6				0
Unemployed											2	2
											100	100
											1	1
Other											2	2
											100	100
											1	1
Unclear+those who remain at stage 1											2	13
											15	100
											4	4
Total N	40	47		45	9	43	17	1	2	3	143	350
Row %	11	13		13	3	12	5	0	1	1	41	100
Column %	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 3. Passage from first stage to second stage jobs

trend is a movement from unorganized work (marginal and construction work) to organized work. Departure is observed in all sectors with the exception of the clerical sector to which entry is relatively more difficult and which is structurally different. The departure percentages are higher in the unorganized, insecure and floating work sectors. As mentioned earlier, work conditions are not clearly defined, discussed and negotiated because work organizations are still not well developed in Turkey and thus conditions remain unfavorable for the worker. Consequently, there is considerable mobility in some subsectors of factory and service work.

	Third stage jobs										HOW SUM	
	Marginal w	Small entrepr.	Large entrepr.	Factory w.	Constr. w.	Service w.	Clerical w.	Profes w.	Unempl	Other		Unclear+those who remained at stage 2
Marginal work	5	5		9		2					19	40
	13	13		23		5					48	100
	50	26		35		9					7	11
Small entrepr.	1	8		6		2					30	47
	2	17		13		4					64	100
	10	42		23		9					11	13
Large entrepr.												0
												0
												0
Factory work	2	3		8		7					25	45
	4	7		18		16					56	100
	20	16		31		30					9	13
Constr. work	1	1			2	2			1		2	9
	11	11			22	22			11		22	100
	10	5			67	9			100		1	3
Service work	1	1		2	1	9					29	43
	2	2		5	2	21					67	100
	10	5		8	33	39					11	12
Clerical work						1	3				13	17
						6	18				77	100
						4	100				5	5
Profes work											1	1
											100	100
											0	0
Unemployed											2	2
											100	100
											1	1
Other		1		1							1	3
		33		33							33	100
		5		4							0	1
Unclear+those who remained at 2. stage											143	143
											100	100
											54	4
Total N	10	19	0	26	3	23	3	0	1	0	265	350
Row %	3	5	0	7	1	7	1	0	0	0	76	100
Column %	100	100	0	100	100	100	100	0	100	0	100	100

Table 4. Passage from second stage to third stage jobs

If we study the trend sectorwise: in the first stage only 20.8% of those who were employed in marginal jobs remained in their jobs whereas 79.3% changed jobs. A great percentage again found marginal jobs, the rest found factory work and work in the service sector. A smaller percentage was able to enter small entrepreneurship, an area which requires some capital. Entry to clerical jobs, which are part of a rather closed civil service sector, was limited and entry to the construction sector occurred only when there were no alternatives left for the job seeker.

Following the marginal sector, the greatest percentage of turnover is observed in the construction sector. As in the case of those who left stage I marginal jobs there is general

		Fourth stage jobs										Row sums		
		Marginal w.	Small entrepr.	Large entrepr.	Factory w.	Constr. w.	Service w.	Clerical w.	Professional w.	Unemployed	Other		Unclear + those who remain at stage 3	
Third stage jobs	Marginal w	1	2		1		2					4	10	
		10	20		10		20					40	100	
		50	50		8		22					1	3	
			1		3		2	2				11	19	
	Small entrepr.		5		16		11	11				58	100	
			25		23		22	50				4	5	
	Large entrepr.													
			1	1	4		1	1				1	17	26
	Factory w.		4	4	15		4	4				4	65	100
			50	25	31		11	25				100	5	7
					1		1					1	3	
Constr. w.					33		33					33	100	
					8		11					0	1	
Service w.					4		3					16	23	
					17		13					70	100	
					31		33					5	7	
Clerical w.								1				2	3	
								33				67	100	
								25				1	1	
Professional w.														
Unemployed												1	1	
												100	100	
												0	0	
Other														
Unclear + those who remain at stage 3												264	1	
												100	100	
												83	0	
Total N		2	4	13		9	4				1	317	350	
Row %		1	1	4		3	1				0	91	100	
Column %		100	100	100		100	100				100	100	100	

Table 5. Passage from third to fourth stage jobs

entry to factory and service work and marginal jobs. Entry to small entrepreneurship and to clerical jobs is limited.

Table 6 shows that the common reason for leaving work for all sectors is unfavorable work conditions. This heading includes inadequate pay, long work hours, heavy work, trouble with the employer, and finding a better job. The greatest percentage of those leaving first stage work for this reason is in the marginal sector, followed by the factory and service work sectors (Ref. Table 7). In the marginal sector the second important reason for leaving work is "establishment of one's own work". This reason is not as important as in other sectors. This shows the high degree of mobility and the possibilities that mobility creates for the migrant. "Closing of the work place" is seen in factory and service work sectors. It is

Reasons	1 Stage %	2 Stage %	3 Stage %	4 Stage %
Unfavorable work conditions	57	41	56	27
Closing at work place	3	7	11	-
Set up his own work	6	4	11	27
Went bankrupt	1	4	-	7
Lack of social rights	0	0	-	-
Personal reasons	8	26	11	13
Other	21	15	11	27
Unclear	4	4	-	-

Table 6. Reasons for leaving work

Reasons for leaving work	First stage jobs										Row sum	
	Marginal w.	Small entrepr.	Large entrepr.	Factory w.	Constr w.	Service w.	Clerical w.	Professional w.	Unemployed	Other		Unclear
Unfavorable work conditions	38	18		30	14	22	2	1				125
	30	14		24	11	18	2	1				100
	49	35		39	47	36	6	100				36
Closing of work place	2			3		1	1					7
	29			43		14	14					100
	3			4		2	3					2
Set up his own work	8			4	1	1						14
	57			29	7	7						100
	10			5	3	2						4
Went bankrupt	1	1										2
	50	50										100
	1	2										1
Lack of social rights		1										1
		100										100
		2										0
Personal reasons	5	5		3		2	2					17
	29	20		18		12	12					100
	7	10		4		3	6					5
Other	10	4		13	4	11	1				4	47
	21	9		28	9	23	2				9	100
	13	8		17	13	13	3				31	13
Unclear	13	23		24	11	24	29		2	2	9	137
	9	17		18	8	18	21		1	1	7	100
	17	44		31	37	39	83		100	100	69	39
Total N	77	52		77	30	61	35	1	2	2	13	350
Row %	22	15		22	9	17	10	0	1	1	4	100
Column %	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 7. Reasons for leaving first stage jobs

already known that the marginal sector is unorganized and lacks security, yet it is also observed that private sector small or middle scale production units and work places also fail to provide the necessary security. "Bankruptcy" is observed largely in the marginal section and in small entrepreneurship, both of which include jobs personally undertaken by the respondent. "The lack of social rights", one of the work evaluation criteria of modern industrial order, is obviously not functional in sectors where the modern mode of production has not yet been established.

Duration	1 Stage%	2 Stage%	3 Stage%	4 Stage%
- 3 months	3	3	0	6
3-6 m.	7	3	4	-
6 m.-1 year	9	3	9	9
1-2 ys.	11	12	4	13
2-5 ys.	15	78	9	13
5-10 ys.	9	0	4	6
10 ys. and +	8	-	4	-
Did not pass to the next stage	3	0	65	50
Unclear	5		0	3

Table 8. Duration of work

Duration of work	First stage jobs.										Row sum	
	Marginal w.	Small entrepr.	Large entrepr.	Factory w.	Construc w.	Service w.	Clerical w.	Professional w.	Unemployed	Other		Unclear
-3 months	4	1		3	1	1						10
	40	10		30	10	10						100
3-6 m	5	2		4	3	2						3
	5	3		5	5	4	1					33
6 m - 1 year	22	13		22	22	17	4					100
	7	6		7	17	7	1					7
1-2 ys.	6	4		7	5	8					1	31
	19	13		23	16	26					3	100
2-5 ys.	8	8		9	17	13					8	9
	12	6		9	2	7	1				1	39
5-10 ys.	31	15		26	5	18	3				3	100
	16	12		13	7	12	3				8	11
10+	19	7		13	3	4	3	1			1	51
	37	14		26	6	8	6	2			2	100
Still employed at 1. Stage	25	14		17	10	7	9	100			8	15
	9	2		7	3	9	2				1	33
Unclear	27	6		21	9	27	6				3	100
	12	4		9	10	15	6				8	9
Total N	8	6		7	1	6					1	29
	28	21		24	3	21					3	100
Row %	10	12		9	3	10					8	8
	13	20		22	9	20	28			2		114
Column %	11	18		19	8	18	25			2		100
	17	39		29	30	33	80			100		33
Total N	1	3		5	1	2			2		8	20
	5	15		15	5	10			10		40	100
Row %	1	6		4	3	3			100		62	2
	77	52		77	30	61	35	1	2	2	13	350
Column %	22	15		22	9	17	10	0	1	1	4	100
	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Table 9. Duration of work at first stage jobs

Tables 8 and 9 have been prepared to add a time dimension to the occupational mobility process. It is observed in Table 9 that while 19.5% of the employees in Stage I, in the marginal sector left their jobs in less than a year, 40.3% left their jobs in 1 to 5 years. On the other hand, in the second unorganized sector, construction, the percentage of those who

left work in less than a year is 36.7%, whereas only 16.7% left jobs in the period from 1 to 5 years.

This pattern is dissimilar not only to that of the marginal sector but to that of the other sectors as well. In all the other sectors as in the marginal sector the percentage of those leaving work in less than one year of employment is greater than the percentage leaving work of those who complete one to five years of employment. This general pattern results from the most important condition for change of work: knowledge about the work environment. When the migrant first arrives in the city he is well informed about certain sections of all spaces but he is totally ignorant about the rest. Certain sections of the "work environment" are among these. The migrant's main problem of the first year is to be able to put down roots in the city, to collect and enrich his information about the "environment" in all spaces. As this information is quickly collected, and as the migrant establishes new social relations during this collection process he becomes ready for new attempts and chooses his aims more rationally.

As for the construction sector: Table 7 shows that "unfavorable work conditions" are the most important reasons for initiating mobility. The sector where work conditions are most unfavorable is doubtless the construction sector. In addition, the seasonal character of construction activity makes jobs in the sector additionally unattractive. On the other hand, entry to this sector is easy where at times a minimum capital may be necessary to enter the marginal sector. Many come to the cities when their relatives, former neighbors or friends send word that they have secured a job for the newcomer. However those who come without skill, money and relatives willing to support them during the costly period of searching a job, must turn to the construction sector or to some sub-sections of the marginal sector. They thus perform a life-saving function. During the first year those who acquire or develop skills and collect knowledge, transfer to factory or service work sections and/or to those sections of marginal sector where work conditions are better. The few who remain in the construction sector are those who in time become specialized in the trade. In addition to earning good money, they acquire the status of a "boss". Consequently, the rate of turnover falls after the first year. Unlike the structurally more homogenous construction sector, the more heterogeneous marginal sector displays rapid and continuous labor mobility in time.

Tables related to mobility in the second and third and fourth stages display the same pattern. One general trend observed is the gradual limitation of mobility through different stages (Ref. Table 10).

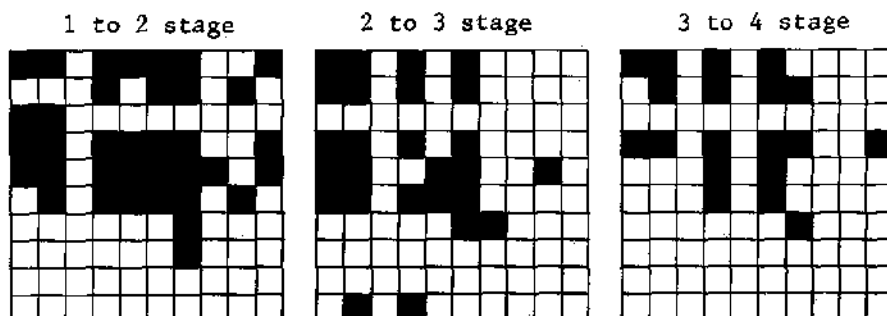


Table 10. Passage Between Stages

CONCLUSION

From the above data and discussions the following observations are derived:

--Jobs open to low income groups do not constitute stable steps for the migrant to realize his hopes and aspirations. The migrant occasionally slips and falls back to the unorganized sector. The passage from factory and service work sectors to the marginal sector is due to the slippery surface of these sectors created by unnegotiated work conditions. This not only shows that the marginal sector also performs the function of unemployment insurance in a society where this function has not yet been taken up by the organized service sector,⁹ but also that the migrant does not and cannot draw a stable, definite and clear mobility curve from unorganized to organized work sectors. The mobility pattern reflects the traces of a pendulum between organized and unorganized sectors and between their subsectors.

--The mobility range can be defined only among certain sectors. It is most significant that the professional and large scale commerce-manufacturing rows and columns are empty or carry minimum values in the tables.

--This mobility is not merely horizontal, for the vertical aim is entry to small-scale entrepreneurship. This aim is consistent with the capitalist economic market where the criteria for success are 'earning easy money' and becoming a "boss". In the factory and service work sectors work conditions are heavy and laborers are exploited. They have to be exploited if they are to provide the cheap labor vital for a system based on backward, obsolete production techniques. A factory worker, even if he earns good money, is not his own boss whereas a grocer earns easy money, can manipulate his income to rise with the rate of inflation, can determine his own work conditions and is his own boss. Therefore the ultimate aim of the mobility is to become a small entrepreneur.

--The existence of this mobility provides effective insurance for the maintenance of the system. It is this process that breeds hope and brings several possibilities within the range of the migrant, thus preventing the birth of radical attitudes against the system.

--Several authors have emphasized the "flexibility" of squatter housing.¹⁰ In view of the discussion above we would like to add that this "flexibility" constitutes the physical reflection of mobility in economic space. The aim of the man in the mobility process is to "settle" in all spaces, namely to obtain an organized, secure, continuous job in economic space and to find a "rigid" solution in physical space. The second is somewhat dependent on the first. Until settlement in economic space is secured, "squattling" is the most suitable solution. It provides minimum comfort and shelter at the beginning. As the man's income improves during the mobility process, additions are made not only to provide comfort but also to turn shelter into a source of rent income. This action stops if the migrant slips back to the unorganized or insecure sectors and proceeds when he is able to resume mobility. Today Gültepe has reached a stage where mobility has ended for most of the population and therefore the common mode of habitat is a two to three floor apartment building. Refusal to live in multistory apartment houses is not only due to the

9. Marginal sector performs the function of unemployment insurance for all classes when the need arises. At times newspapers relate the story of middle class members who sell cookies or newspaper or wash cars because they can not find proper employment.

10. A well known source for discussion of flexibility is John C. Turner's writings, especially.

John C. Turner, Lima's Barriadas and Corralones: Suburb, versus Slums. *Skistics*, 112, (March 1965). pp.152-155.

John C. Turner, Barriers and Channels for Housing Development in Modernizing Countries. *Journal of American Institute of Planners*, 33, (1967). pp. 167-180.

11. John C. Turner, *Housing Priorities, Settlement Patterns and Urban Development in Modernizing Countries*. *Journal of American Institute of Planners*, 34, (1968), pp. 354-363.

fact that this type of habitat is a product of middle class values¹¹ to which they do not adhere but to an inflationary environment where it is far more rational to own land rather than property. In addition, when a man is still mobile in economic space, rigid housing is a burden not a source of security and further income.

--The reflection of this mobility in social space is observed in the formation of a specific social network. The migrant establishes his social relations in the area that falls under his mobility curve. The friends he forms an acquaintance with are either from the same work place or in the same occupation or from the occupations open to lower income groups. Since physical space is shared competitively, the migrant is wary about his neighbors. On the other hand, most of his friends share the same work place or his profession. As the migrant moves from work to work, he forms new relationships and these relationships are therefore limited to his work place, profession and income groups and social class.¹² Since his mobility curve shapes his social relations, the migrant's social network pattern consists of small isolated islands. Real and definite segregation occurs in social space.

12. Data on social network patterns is not used due to space limitation.

We have based our discussion on the premise that the so called "marginal" sector performs vital functions in the system. This leads one to the conclusion that the third world countries are now experiencing a new development model. It is an oversimplification to call this model a "dualistic" one. The real "dual" model was the imperialist model where dual forms existed simultaneously in the same system without functional linkage groups. Friction soon led this model to the point of collapse. In the contemporary model the linkage groups -the middle class and especially low income groups which are most likely to threaten the system- are given important functions in return for which they receive certain subsidies, grants and returns in economic space. These not only pacify them but also create the image that they have been integrated into urban life. This image of integration in economic space counter balances real segregation in social space. The third world is applying a new industrialization model one which permits dual groups to exist in the same system. The greatest share of the cost of this dualistic industrialization model is paid by the low income, "marginal" groups.

The basic principles of a theory to cover the "squatter housing" problem can be summarized as:

--The term "squatter housing" and "marginal sector" should be interpreted in the context of a new development model. As both are termed "problems" in the earlier stages of the process of industrialization and urbanization, they are essentially functional in further stages. A new model has set in.

--Within this model, in order to define the function of the sector and trace its concomitant dependent variables in physical and social spaces, the model should be interpreted in an abstract-concrete spatial trilogy in which the variables in economic space are the main determinants.

--The specific economic relation which determines the type of physical pattern and type of social network the marginal sector member establishes and his attitude to and role in the system is occupational mobility. The setting of this principle will prevent the application of further wrong decisions. It is now

obvious that a "rigid" spatial form is a solution only for groups who are settled in economic space. It is also obvious that attempts to change the "marginal" character of the group will threaten the maintenance of the system. As long as the rate and type of industrialization, pattern of share of national income, conditions of entry to world markets remain the same, a large, cheap, unorganized and floating linkage group is necessary. Attempts to organize or settle this group without changing the basic reasons will be wasted.

A task that falls to the sociologists is to define the "marginal" group, according to the criteria of "mobility". A man, written down as a factory worker in a field survey, may have slipped to the unorganized sector by the time the researcher is out of the field. Values, attitudes and roles basically differ between settled and unsettled groups, not in groups who are still in the process of occupational mobility. The economists, on the other hand, should re-examine the function of the occupationally mobile groups and revise the term "marginal" according to performance in economic space.

DEVİNGENLİK YOLUYLA BÜTÜNLEŞME

ÖZET

Kentleşme sürecinin bütüncül bir yaklaşımla değerlendirilebilmesi için, sürecin bir mekanlar bütünlüğü içerisinde ele alınması gerekmektedir. Söz konusu mekanlar içerisinde, ekonomik mekandaki ilişkiler belirleyici ve bağımsız değişkenlerdir. Bu değişkenlerin öteki mekanlarda belirli izdüşümleri vardır.

Ekonomik mekan, bugün, serbest piyasa kabulü içinde, ağır sanayiden çok orta çaplı sanayiye dönük bir ortamda boyutlanmaktadır.

Serbest piyasa kabul dizisi yönlendiriciliğinde, marjinal kesimin, ekonomik mekan kapsamında, sistemin sürekliliğini sağlama açısından önemli iki işlevi vardır.

Sanayileşme seçimleri, siyasal konjonktür, kaynaklar üzerindeki denetim ve pazarlama sorunlarının dış pazara girişi kısıtlaması nedeniyle, bir iç tüketim pazarının yaratılması ve genişlemesi önem kazanmaktadır. Artı-ürünün denetimini ellerinde tutan sınıflar dışındaki sınıflar, hem sanayileşme ortamı için gerekli talebi yaratarak, hem de bu talebi yaratan tüketim eğilimlerini paylaşmak yoluyla sınıflar arası sosyal mesafenin daraldığı izlemi uyandıran ve her ikisi de sistemin sürekliliğini sağlamaya katkıda bulunan iki önemli işlev görmektedir.

Pazarı denetleyenler açısından pazar yüzeyinin her noktasında kârın maksimize edilebilmesi; sistemin sürekliliği açısından ise tüm sınıfların bu pazara katılmaları gerekmektedir. Sayılan gereklerin yerine getirilebilmesi, pazar yüzeyinin belirli bir konveksite göstermesine bağlıdır.

Sanayileşme hız ve örüntüsünün özelliklerinden ötürü uzlaşma ve örgütleşmenin yeterince gelişmemesi sonucu, pazar yüzeyinde ayrımlı hizmet ve katılım boşlukları ortaya çıkmaktadır.

Marjinal kesim, ekonomik mekanda, yalnızca bu kesime özgü devingenlik özelliğinden yararlanarak, pazar yüzeyi altında, talep peşinde yüzerek ve gezerek, yüzeyin konveksitesini

sağlamakta; yüzer ve gezer çevrel (peripheral) pazarlar ve katılım kanalları kurarak, boyutları geniş marjinal kesimin pazara katılmasına ve kentsel hizmetlerin her kesimine yönelmesine olanak vermektedir.

Kısaca, sistemde hem sanayileşme için talebi yaratması, hem de pazara yaygın katılım sonucu sınıflar arası sosyal mesafenin daraldığı izlenimini vermesi açısından önemi büyük olan bu tüketim pazarını yaşatmak yolunda marjinal kesimin yüklendiği üç işlev vardır. Birincisi pazara ucuz emek sunmaktır. Söz konusu 'ucuzluk' kesimin ekonomik mekanda devingen-yüzer-gezer olmasından doğmaktadır. İkinci işlevi, gene devingenlik özelliğinden yararlanarak pazar yüzeyi altında yüzerek ve gezerek pazar yüzeyinin konveksitesini sağlamaktadır. Üçüncü işlevi ise, tüketim pazarına talep yığılmasıdır. Böylece, tüketici olarak, sömürüye açık bir kesim niteliği de taşımaktadır.

Marjinal kesimin sisteme bu önemli katkıları yoluyla, sistemdeki ikili yapının parçaları arasındaki sürtüşmeyi ve dolayısıyla olası bir patlamayı önleyen bir tampon görevi görmesi, olguyu, sistemdeki yüzeysel ve geçici bir 'bozulma' olarak nitelemenin doğru olmadığını da belirlemektedir. Sistemde bir bozulmadan daha çok, serbest piyasa kabulü içerisinde bir sanayileşme modelinden, kısaca yeni bir sistemin varlığından söz etmek daha gerçekçidir. Eski sistemden yeni sisteme geçiş sürecinde, marjinal kesim, ulusal ekonomik mekanın kendisine açık kesimlerinde yüzerek ve gezerek işlev görmektedir. Sistemin sürekliliği açısından marjinal kesim, bu özel kalkınma modelinin, kuşkusuz, en vazgeçilmez öğelerinden biridir.

Marjinal kesimin devingenlik özelliğinden yararlanarak ekonomik mekanda sistem çapında gördüğü işlevlerin yanısıra, kesim çapındaki işlevleri de, mekan planıcıları için de son derece önemli sonuçlar getirmektedir. Bu çalışma, marjinal kesim üyelerinin örgütsüz işlerden örgütlü işlere geçişi tek bir aşamada değil, zaman içerisinde ileri ve geri kayan bir devinimlik göstererek gerçekleştirdiği varsayımı benimsemiştir. Kente göçen marjinal kesim üyesi, ekonomik mekan içerisinde kendisine açık iş kolları arasında, taleplerini, yeteneklerini ve olanaklarını dengelemeye çalışarak devinmekte, bu dengeyi kurduğu anda da ekonomik mekana çökmektedir. Bu varsayım, İstanbul'da 20 yıllık eski bir göçen nüfusu barındıran Gültepe'de sınanmıştır. Elde edilen bulgular varsayımı doğrulanmaktadır.

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