

21659

ORGANIZATIONAL AND INSTITUTIONAL
INTEGRATION OF THE GECEKONDU DWELLERS
INTO THE ORGANIZED URBAN STRUCTURES
IN ANKARA

A MASTER'S THESIS

PRESENTED BY

KEMÂL İNAL

TO

GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY IN
PARTIAL FULFILLMENT FOR THE DEGREE OF
MASTER OF SCIENCE

IN

SOCIOLOGY

T. C.
Yükseköğretim Kurulu
Dokümantasyon Merkezi

MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

ANKARA

OCTOBER, 1992

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences



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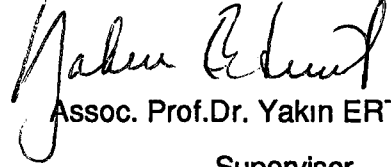
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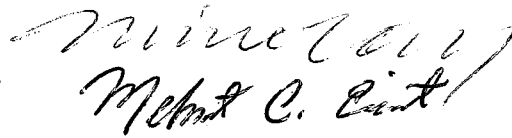
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ABSTRACT
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IN ANKARA

INAL, Kemâl

M.S. In Sociology

Supervisor: Assoc. Prof.Dr.Yakın ERTÜRK

October, 1992, 160 + XII pages

The purpose of this study is to examine the level and process of organizational and institutional integration of the Gecekondu dwellers into organized urban structures. It is assumed in the study that three basic factors are implemental in determining the integration process. These basic factors, as independent variables, are distance to the city centre, duration of residence in the city, and type of the current work.

The research question underlying the thesis is: To what extent do gecekondu dwellers use organized urban structures? In attempting to answer this question the study will try to determine the effect of independent variables in the organizational and institutional integration.

The field study, carried out in two Gecekondu districts (Yenidoğan and Hüseyingazi) in Ankara, has indicated that the Gecekondu dwellers have been utilizing the urban organizations and institutions at the lowest level. Their integration capacity into organized urban structures has appeared very low in comparison with the other areas of integration such as, the consumption of household durable goods, and the use of mass media. Based on the findings in our study, it has been indicated that they have rarely participated in urban organizations and institutions such as special training courses, employment

agency, financial assistance chests, supermarkets, associations, political parties, trade unions, cooperatives, foundations, sport clubs, cinemas, theatres and so on. The highest integration rate of the Gecekondu dwellers has been found in health organizations. This implied that they are closely concerned with their health problems.

Depending on the findings in the study, we have also concluded that. In utilizing urban organizations and institutions, it has been shown that there is no significant correlation between the three independent variables and participation in organized urban structures. So there existed no significant impact of the three independent variables on the use of organized urban structures.

It has been illustrated that the Gecekondu dwellers preferred to use informal (primary) relations rather than formal (secondary) relations or ways. In solving any difficulty or problem, they refer to close relations in the Gecekondu surrounding, much more than organized urban structures. So the use of close relations with kins, co-villagers and neighbours arising from kinship, and hometownership are more effective as survival and integrative mechanisms than organized urban structures. As a result, integration of Gecekondu dwellers into the city is materialized in the context of informal relationships, rather than organized urban structures.

Keywords: Urban organizations and institutions (organized urban structures), the Gecekondu dweller, organizational and institutional integration, informal sector, formal and informal relations.

Science Code: 211.01.01

ÖZ
ANKARA'DAKİ GECEKONDULULARIN ÖRGÜTLÜ
KENTSEL YAPILARLA ÖRGÜTSEL VE KURUMSAL
AÇIDAN BÜTÜNLEŞMESİ

İNAL, Kemâl

Yüksek Lisans Tezi

Tez Yöneticisi: Doç.Dr.Yakın ERTÜRK

Ekim, 1992, 160 + XII sayfa

Bu çalışmanın amacı, gecekonducuların örgütlü kentsel yapılarla örgütsel ve kurumsal açıdan bütünleşmelerinin düzey ve sürecini incelemektir. Çalışmada, bütünleşme sürecini belirlemede üç temel faktörün tamamlayıcı nitelikte olduğu varsayılmaktadır. Bağımsız değişkenler olarak dikkate alınan bu temel faktörler, kent merkezine uzaklık, kentte ikamet süresi, ve araştırma esnasında hane başkanının yaptığı işin tipidir.

Araştırmanın temel problemi şudur: Gecekonducular örgütlü kentsel yapıları ne düzeyde kullanmaktadırlar? Bu soru yanıtlanmaya çalışılırken, çalışmada, yukarıda belirtilen üç bağımsız değişkenin gecekonducuların kentle örgütsel ve kurumsal açıdan bütünleşmelerine etkisinin olup olmadığı belirlenmeye çalışılmıştır.

Ankara'nın iki gecekondu mahallesinde (Yenidoğan ve Hüseyingazi) yapılan alan çalışmasının bulgularına göre, gecekonducular kentsel örgüt ve kurumlardan çok düşük düzeyde yararlanmaktadırlar. Gecekonducuların örgütlü kentsel yapılarla olan bütünleşme kapasitesi, hanede kullanılan dayanıklı tüketim eşyaları ve kitle iletişim araçlarının kullanımı gibi diğer bazı bütünleşme alanlarına göre çok düşük çıktı. Çalışmadaki bulgulara dayanarak,

gecekonduluların politik, toplumsal, ekonomik, idari, eğitsel, mali ve kültürel alanlarla ilgili kentsel örgüt ve kurumlara çok seyrek düzeyde katıldıkları gösterildi.

Gecekonduluların kentsel örgüt ve kurumlar içinde en üst düzeyde kullandıkları örgütlü kentsel yapılar, sağlık örgütleri olarak bulundu.

Çalışmadaki bulguları dikkate alarak vardığımız bir diğer sonuç da şudur: Yukarıda da belirttiğimiz üç bağımsız değişkenle örgütlü kentsel yapılara katılımın arasında anlamlı bir ilişkinin ortaya çıkmamasıdır. Üç bağımsız değişkenin örgütlü kentsel yapıların kullanımı üzerine olumlu yönde anlamlı bir etkisi bulunamadı.

Gecekonduluların, formel (ikincil) ilişkilerden ziyade enformel (birincil) ilişkileri kullanmayı tercih ettikleri gözlemlendi. Herhangi bir güçlük ya da problemin üstesinden gelmek için, gecekondu, gecekondu çevresindeki birincil ilişkilere, örgütlü kentsel yapılardan daha fazla başvurumaktadırlar. Böylece akraba, hemşehri ve komşularla kurulan birincil nitelikteki ilişkilerin kullanımı, örgütlü kentsel yapılara göre daha etkili bir varılma ve bütünleşme mekanizması olarak ortaya çıkmaktadır. Sonuç olarak, gecekondu, gecekondu kente bütünleşmesi, kentsel örgüt ve kurumlardan ziyade enformel ilişkiler çerçevesinde gerçekleşmektedir.

Anahtar Sözcükler: Kentsel örgüt ve kurumlar (örgütlü kentsel yapılar), gecekondu, örgütsel ve kurumsal bütünleşme, enformel sektör, formel ve enformel ilişkiler.

Bilim Kodu: 211.01.01

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to express my gratitude to Assoc.Prof.Dr.Yakın Ertürk, supervisor of the thesis, and Prof.Dr.Mine Tan for their invaluable supervision and guidance in the preparation and completion of this study. I would also like to thank to Assoc.Prof.Dr.Sencer Ayata since he has contributed to the formation of the study.

I owe very special thanks to Adnan Mert, Berrin Çolak, Devrim Kılıçözgürler, Dilhun Karaman, Fevzi Bakır, Gülbahar Arslan, Hülya Apaydın, Mansur Sezen, Murat Aslan, Serdar Gündoğdu and the others for their assistance in gathering the data despite the heavy rain and cold weather during field work.

I owe special thanks to Adnan Mert and his family members since they did not only permitted me to use their home, but also introduced me to Muhtar in Yenidoğan in determining the sample.

Finally I want to thank Erol Demir for his valuable contributions in processing the data.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

A. STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

The purpose of this study is to examine the level and process of organizational and institutional integration of the Gecekondu dwellers into organized urban structures. It is assumed here that three basic factors, as independent variables, are implemental in determining the integration process. These factors are distance to the city centre, duration of residence in the city, and the type of current work.

The research question underlying this thesis is: To what extent do gecekondu dwellers (heads of household) use organized urban structures? In attempting to answer this question, the study will try to determine the effect of independent variables in the organizational and institutional integration.

Contrary to some arguments advocated by modernization school with its Dualist thesis and Marginalist approach, it is held here that the squatter dwellers (referred to as "Gecekondu dwellers") do integrate into the city on a large scale. The major areas of integration process for the Gecekondu dwellers involve job, clothing, nutrition and food consumption, health care, household durable possessions, and mass media. In addition, Gecekondu, as a way of urbanization in Turkey, provides many integrative mechanisms into the city and survival strategies in new conditions without necessarily adapting into organized formal structures. It could be assumed that Gecekondu dwellers have limited access to organized urban structures in cities. This is also valid for shantytowns in other underdeveloped countries.

For instance, in his study, Lomnitz (1974: 145-146) reveals that the residents in a Mexican shantytown have very little contact with organized urban structures. The organizational life in this shantytown is also very limited. Integration in this shantytown appears mainly through work and mass media, especially radio and TV.

The Gecekondu dwellers utilize and participate in urban organizations and institutions at the lowest level (Yasa, 1966; Kongar, 1972 and 1973; Baştuğ, 1976; Şenyapılı, 1978 and 1981; Kartal, 1983; Karataş, 1987; Tatlıdil, 1989; Demir, 1991; Alpar and Yener, 1991). The studies carried out in Turkish Gecekondu areas since 1960s have indicated that the level of utilizing organized urban structures or participation in urban organizations and institutions has been very low in comparison with those urbanized. Instead of formal* relationships, or the use of formal procedures through organized urban structures, the Gecekondu dwellers prefer the traditional solidarity (informal)**

* In the study we will use 'formal relationship' or 'secondary relationship' as "a relationship that is specialized, relatively unemotional and impersonal" (Popenoe, 1983: 599). By means of this concept, we will refer to the use of formal procedures (through organized urban structures). We will also use urban formal organizations such as banks, political parties and so on to refer secondary group "... which is a specialized group whose purpose is to achieve practical goals and whose members are linked mainly by secondary relationships" (Popenoe, 1983: 165).

** Informal relationship here is used instead of the term "primary relationship". We will use informal relationship as a "personal, emotional, and not easily transferable relationship that includes a variety of roles and interests of each individual" (Popenoe, 1983: 598). Informal (primary) relationships are densely shared by members of primary groups. Family, youthful peer groups and some neighborhood groups are some major examples of primary group.

relationships much more than those urbanized since they cannot abandon some patterns of rural life, originated from kinship and hometownship, at the first years of residence in the city. The relationships, arising from traditional solidarity, constitute a mechanism becoming necessary in the case of being unable to integrate into the urban organizations and institutions. This is the way adopted by the Geceknodu dwellers to survive in cities in place of the organizational structures. For example, instead of using some financial organizations and institutions such as bank, Emekli Sandığı (an official social security organization for public sector workers in Turkey), and financial assistance chests, the Geceknodu dwellers apply to their kins, co-villagers, and neighbours for borrowing. In addition, they also resort to informal relations of their kins, co-villagers, and neighbours in getting a job, instead of using some organizations such as İ.İ.B.K. (an official employment agency in Turkey). Even though geceknodu dwellers contact with urban organizations, this contact is materialized with their kins and co-villagers in the city (Özer, 1983: 103). In other words, they form informal relations within urban conditions. Geceknodu as a settlement environment is considered by the dwellers an appropriate context. Özer (1983: 106) points out that geceknodu makes easy adjustment of the dwellers into the city.

As mentioned above, the solidaristic relationships arising from hometownship, and kinship are a mechanism put into practice in the case of being unable to integrate into the urban organizations and institutions. However, an increase in the level of organizational and institutional integration may be expected in direct relation with the increase in duration of residence in the city, making a transfer from informal sector to formal sector jobs, and with decrease in the distance to the city centre. Therefore, the traditional solidarity relationships among Geceknodu dwellers may be replaced by formal relationships with some organized urban structures such as cooperatives, associations, trade unions and so on in a long term.

As noted above, organizational and institutional integration into organized urban structures has come into existence for the Gecekondü dwellers at the lowest level. But, on the other hand, there exists greater integration in the area of conspicuous consumption.* This kind of consumption is, on a large scale, materialized by using household durable goods, urban way of clothing, nutrition habits, marriage and wedding ceremonies, and ways of eating and hygiene (Yasa, 1971: 4-10). Participation of Gecekondü dwellers in consumption market of the city concentrates particularly on the area of household durable possessions which are also used as an indicator of status and prestige in Gecekondü settlements. However, these possessions or goods are bought from petty traders in the nearby environment rather than organized institutions in the city centre (Alpar and Yener, 1991: 98-99).

Adopting urban way of conspicuous consumption is the most definitive area shared by the Gecekondü dwellers in resembling those urbanized. By internalizing some consumption norms and patterns of those urbanized, integration of Gecekondü dwellers into urban structures comes into existence to some extent. According to Ayata (1989: 104), along with the type of employment and the level of using public services, conspicuous consumption indicates further stage of integration into national economy. Particularly, purchasing household durable goods, enrolling for membership in housing cooperatives, investment in real estates and gold are the major items in this kind of consumption. One of the outcomes of this is to acquire status and prestige in gecekondü district.

* The term "conspicuous consumption" was firstly defined by Thornstein Weblen. According to him, "conspicuous consumption" not only refers satisfaction of biological needs but it also functions as an indicator of social status and prestige (Weblen, 1934).

In process of integration, however, the Gecekondu dwellers do not directly internalize all urban consumption norms. The integration process is, in fact, largely implemented in the way of articulation of rural values with urban consumption norms. The phenomena, such as Gecekondu which may be considered as the dominant way of urbanization in Turkey, the existence of solidarity relationships with kins and co-villagers, and new jobs created in informal sector all could be regarded as some parts of new synthesis or articulated structure in city. This new articulated structure means a survival strategy in tackling with the difficulties in urban life. As Özbek (1992:26-27) pointed out for instance, "arabesk" music is a successful indicator of survival strategies and adaptation to urban conditions for the Gecekondu dwellers. Structure, words and way of production and consumption of "arabesk" music indicate that it has a mixed characteristic and articulation of traditional patterns with modern ones in historical structure peculiar to Turkey.

Therefore, it could be stated that integration of the Gecekondu dwellers into urban structures does not imply that they adopt all urban consumption norms without changing in them. Integration is materialized in the context of mutual interaction process. Interaction between urban structures and rural values exists and continues at all integration levels. Such as at organizational and institutional level, the Gecekondu dwellers as well as middle classes use informal relationships of kins in solving the problems concerning organized urban structures. This could be argued not only for the Gecekondu settings but for underdeveloped countries in general since urban organizations and institutions have not been fully developed in underdeveloped countries, therefore, informal relationships fill in the gap. In fact, this is the characteristic of Third World urbanization, and gecekondu is but one of its manifestations. Therefore, preference of gecekondu becomes for rural migrants a survival strategy to cope with urban difficulties.

The new structure arising from the process of integration carries neither only urban characteristics nor dominant rural values. Gecekondu dwelling, the use of informal relationships in tackling some difficulties such as employment and housing, and the use of Gecekondu unit for subsistence and commercial production all are new phenomena appeared as a result of the integration of the Gecekondu dwellers into urban structures. Unlike some theses of modernization school, which will be elaborated in the next chapter, in the course of integration, rural and urban structures affect each other correspondingly.

As the duration of residence in the city is increased and the Gecekondu dwellers gained access to organized occupations, an increase in the level and density of integration into organized urban structures may be expected. This is partly due to the increases in the levels of education, urban experience of life, and income. The level of integration, however, into some organized urban structures, which requires specialized knowledge and experience such as using banks for credit, also comes out at the lowest level.

The inadequacy in education, the lack of time, and the absence of experience of urban way of life before migration affect adversely the integration process into organized urban structures. Apart from the factors above, the distance of Gecekondu dwelling to the city centre appears to arise some problems, particularly in terms of mobility since transportation becomes more expensive and causes to consume extra time. Duration of residence in the city, on the other hand, has a substantial impact in obtaining higher levels in education and urban experience of life. While gecekondu dweller tries to adopt norms of the urban way of life, with solution for some major problems such as residence and employment, adjustment to urban life, the dweller achieves to get a stable income.

B. APPROACH OF THE STUDY

AS it has been mentioned in chapter one, the purpose of the study is to examine the process and level of organizational and institutional integration of gecekondü dwellers into organized urban structures. It is assumed in the study that three basic factors are implemental in determining urban formal organizational and institutional process. These basic factors or independent variables are distance to the city centre, duration of residence in the city, and type of current work.

In realizing the purpose, some theoretical approaches with respect to the subject of the study have been argued. Then a survey was conducted in two gecekondü districts of Ankara, namely, Yenidođan and Hüseyingazi. The choice of these two districts is based on the following two factors. Firstly, it is due to the distance between gecekondü dwelling and city centre. It is expected that the factor "distance to the city centre" has a significant impact on the use of urban formal organizations which have been mostly located in city centre. Thus, Yenidođan is closer to the city centre (Ulus) than Hüseyingazi. This selection provides some possibilities in studying the variation of distance. Secondly, it is due to the factor "duration of residence in the city" since, it is assumed, there is a directly proportional relation between duration of residence in the city and construction time of the gecekondü dwelling and the gecekondü settlement. Thus, it has been supposed that the closer gecekondü settlements and dwellings to the city centre are older than the other ones. In addition, it is expected that those residing in close distance to the city centre have more possibilities in utilizing urban formal organizations than those living further away from the city centre.

Besides the two independent variables explained above, it is expected that the type of gecekondü dweller's current work will effect the use of urban formal organizations. So it is supposed that gecekondü dwellers

employed in formal sector works such as official, industrial worker and technician use more urban formal organizations than those employed in informal sector works such as petty hawkers, and day-labourers.

The data of the study has been gathered through interview by use of a questionnaire which is comprised of both open-ended and close-ended questions. The sample has been selected by using "systematic sampling technique".

C. OUTLINE OF THE CHAPTERS

Outline of the chapters is as follows: The next chapter is comprised of two sections. The first is aimed to present a discussion on theoretical perspectives related to the research problem, namely; modernization school, dualist thesis, marginalist approach, dependency school, and articulation theory. The second section focuses on the main trends in the urbanization processes in the global universe, in the Third World, and in Turkey. In the same chapter, findings in some studies on organizational and institutional integration of Gecekondu dwellers in Turkey are examined. Chapter three is concerned with the presentation of methodology of the study. Chapter four presents an evaluation and interpretation of field data. The last chapter is a discussion of the main findings of this thesis.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

A. THEORETICAL APPROACHES TO DEVELOPMENT AND UNDERDEVELOPMENT IN TERMS OF INTEGRATION PROBLEMS

As a significant criterion in defining the characteristic of being urbanized, integration is one of the the basic variables in determining the diffusion of specific patterns of human relationships in a settlement, as a city or a region. Therefore, integration is both an indicator and mechanism of urbanization. The difficulties of migrants with city, in fact, show the process of integration into urban structures. The problems of migrants in the begining years in city concentrate on the primary level needs, for instance, housing, employment and sufficient income with respect to the standards of urban life. The supplement of these needs indicates a step towards integration into urban structures. Participation in organized urban structures implies a further stage in the process of being urbanized since using urban organizations and institutions necessitates migrants to have some specialized knowledge and expeirence of urban life.

In connection with the concept of "integration" and social structures of the Third World cities, some theoretical approaches have been developed within academic circles. Modernization School, together with Dualist Thesis and Marginalist views underlying it, Dependency School and Articulation Theory are the main approaches related with the subject.

1. Modernization School

As a dominant analytical paradigm in American sociology, after the Second World War, Modernization theory has been based on the explanation of the universal process by which traditional societies would achieved modernity (Abercrombie et al., 1984: 138).

According to Giddens (1982: 36), "the key idea in modernization theory is that the 'underdeveloped' societies remain trapped within traditional institutions, from which they have to break free if they are to approach the economic prosperity achieved in the west".

According to this School social, economical and cultural structures of underdeveloped countries include the one end of the modernization process, namely, "traditional" (Ersoy, 1982: 31). So underdevelopment in these traditional societies "... can only be overcome by the adoption of modes of behaviour based upon those found in the existing industrialised societies" (Giddens, 1982: 37).

Equating modernization with urbanization (and development), the advocates of this School have pointed out that more urbanized world provides underdeveloped countries with a model to become more modern (Ersoy, 1982: 88). In the course of the modernization of these countries, as the traditional relationships disintegrate, two results related to urban organizations and institutions will appear: Firstly high differentiation and specialization with respect to individual activities and institutional structures; secondly, the large number of functionally specific organizations (Eisenstadt, 1966: 2-7).

At a very general level, Hay and Lughod (1979: 104-105) summarize the views of Modernization School on underdevelopment at three points: a)

Underdeveloped countries have remained backward due to their unproductive agricultural and rural structures. Therefore, their efforts to develop would come into existence with industrialization. This necessitates a massive movement of the labor force out of farming and primary industries into manufacture. The provision of employment opportunities in industry is related firstly with migration from rural regions to urban areas. Therefore, the two processes - urbanization and industrialization - run parallel, supporting and facilitating each other. b) The reasons of underdevelopment could be only found within the traditional backward structure of underdeveloped country itself. Therefore, a socio-economic and political transformation is needed; and it is the developed (modern) countries who have to assume the obligation to realize this transformation. For the realization of transformation, the aid from modern countries is sometimes in the form of technical expertise, extension of credit and loans for capital accumulation, training of local entrepreneurs, technicians and industrial workers. c) By means of aid from the core to the periphery, the cities in underdeveloped countries play an important creative role in integrating the country into modern world and in stimulating its parallel transformations.

But the continuous process of urbanization starting with migration often disintegrates both rural communities and older types of urban setting. This process creates many manifestations of social disorganization and dislocation (Eisenstadt, 1966: 20). At this point, the marginal position of migrants would be gradually eliminated so that they can survive within urban conditions. As Moser (1987: 1042-1043) explains;

"... in the process of modernization migrant workers from rural areas would gradually become 'absorbed' into the city. With increased participation in the urban structure and increased assimilation of urban norms they would shift from their 'marginal' position towards integration moving from peripheral

occupations in the 'exaggerated" tertiary sector to industrial sector with waged employment".

According to Modernization approach, in the course of being urbanized, there appears a transition stage. It is assumed that Gecekondu as a squatting unit in both socio-economic and spatial scopes is, to a large extent, transition stage. This transition stage would be subjected to some changes in city since the survival of traditional culture of the Gecekondu dwellers brought from rural areas has very little chance in city. In the phase of migrant's transition from a rural to an urban position, namely, in the process of modernization or urbanization, the marginal position of migrants is weakened through integration into urban structures.

As noted above, within this approach the migrant's or squatter dweller's social and economic position in city is considered "marginal". This marginality could be put to an end only with being urbanized. In this approach, it is claimed, when the migrants have the availability of steady employment, increased income, possibilities to impact on the government, and occupational mobility, their marginal positions could be weakened, and integration of migrant into city may be materialized.

This approach supposes that migrants from rural areas to city have a very limited socio-economic and cultural stock in integrating into city, so their position will remain marginal as long as they do not make any endeavour by eliminating traditional values. These values should be abandoned if the migrant desires to be urbanized. The major element causing the survival of marginality in both social and economical spheres is the traditional culture which prevents modernization of the migrants. Cultural change in comparison with economical and occupational change occurs in very low speed. As Karpat (1976: 42-43) stated, urbanization of rural migrants in the squatter areas is

materialized mainly as a process of economical and occupational integration rather than strictly a matter of cultural change. At this context, integration means a response to marginality, rather than assimilation, which is one remedy for alienation.

By defining some changes causing the occurrence of modernization, Smelser (1964: 258-272) also explains integration with the term "differentiation". For him, "differentiation" alone is not a sufficient element in defining modernization. For this reason, the integration of different activities is necessary for the emergence of modernization. The process of integration produces more differentiated structures such as trade unions, voluntary associations and political parties. In traditional societies, there is little differentiation among economic roles since under a simple economic organization, subsistence agricultural or household manufacture was prevailed. The integration of unspecialized activities is based on local family and community structures. As a result of differentiation, according to Smelser, a separation occurs between production and consumption. Productive roles of family members are isolated in many ways from their familial roles. Thus, integrative problems run parallel with such differentiation. Meanwhile, says Smelser, the formation of new institutions and organizations make increase some problems for integration. Despite industrialization, many communal and kinship ties can survive within urban structures. Thus, this kind of urbanization, Smelser points out, may create some anomic deviances. Nevertheless, to eliminate anomy, alienation, and sub-cultural deviances. in cities some voluntary associations such as religious centers, unions, halls, shops and natural aid groups are constituted. These organizations and institutions function as the mechanism of integration in the city. In addition, political structure of traditional society disintegrates. Old political organizations such as chieftainships, kingships, council of elders, powerful landlords and magicians are replaced by new ones, such as political parties, parliament, democratic

massive organizations and interest groups. These new political units provide modern integrative forms among modern population, based on different roles and interests. Thus, wider integration within political structure is constituted.

To sum up, the term "integration" in modernization school has a teleological meaning. The notion of integration for this school means the articulation of migrants with the way of life of some urban stratum within ideological, political and economical spheres. In this framework, an "ideal" is determined. This ideal is the urban way of life. The level of integration of migrants into city is determined to the extent they materialize a way of life familiar to city or to what extent they participate in relations for the urban way of life. As Ersoy (1985: 16) emphasizes on the direction of the process,

"... integration means that by facing a transformation at the present the migrants being at the lower stages of evaluation process resemble to bourgeoisie that have reached to the upper stages of evolution process, becoming familiar with them".

Modernization School has been criticized at two important points. Firstly, it has been based on only some developments in the West. For this reason, it is ethnocentric. Secondly, so far it hasn't resulted in expected "...industrial growth and equal distribution of social benefits since, it is an essentially uneven process resulting in underdevelopment and dependency" (Abercrombie et al., 1984: 138).

Moreover, Modernization theories deny and neglect the historical specific conditions of underdeveloped countries. For instance, the Gecekondu settlements have been a structural characteristic of urbanization in Turkey rather than a transitional stage. Although the level of integration of the Gecekondu dwellers at some areas such as job, health, clothing, and nutrition

increases, this kind of settlements continue to keep its characteristic of Gecekondur setting. In addition, a substantial part of the Gecekondur dwellers work in unorganized and insecure informal jobs, reside in unhealthy and illegal dwellings, lacking many municipal undertakings and facilities, continue to hold own rural values, agglomerate on certain districts in terms of hometownship, and kinship relationships, and vote in favour of conservative political parties in spite of extreme poverty and unemployment.

In addition, some adjustment problems like alienation and deviance among the Gecekondur dwellers appear very little or none since the traditional solidarity ties and habits brought from the rural areas could keep their existence for a long time. Anyway, the physical establishment of Gecekondus, as Ayata (1989: 107) has described, enables the dwellers to help one another. Ayata defines many solidarity patterns among the dwellers such as ones in the field of building the Gecekondur dwelling and finding job, etc. Thus, it could be claimed that Gecekondur provides many integrative mechanisms into city and surviving strategies in new conditions. Unlike the views of Modernization School, Gecekondur, as a physical settlement and a way of life, is the expression of integration into city to some extent.

Because of the non-historical determination, modernization theories do not take into consideration the underdeveloped countries' historical specific conditions by putting all these countries into the same category, namely; traditional backward positions. The diverse modes of production of pre-industrial phase; the feudal society, the bureaucratic empires, and tribal societies cannot be put into the same category. These societies are not static but have more or less dynamism. Furthermore, these theories are teleological since they determine a beginning point in the smooth line such as backward, traditional, primitive, static, feudal, and rural. And all these beginning points-societies- will evolve towards modern, developed, dynamic and

capitalist social structures. Thus, all these theories hold the fact that development or progress is one-dimensional (Aydın, 1986: 127-128).

Lastly, the traditional and modern structures can keep their existences in the same society. The institutions belonging to both structures could become integrated, coming together into the same stage. To regard this integration as "disintegration" or "dysfunction" implies value judgement (Kongar, 1985: 242).

2. Dualist Thesis

Beginning from 1970's, several studies on analysis of the urban economies of underdeveloped countries have been based on the conception of "informal sector".* Though Hart (Tuğrul, 1990: 29) was the first social scientist in using this concept, wide acceptance of the concept has been realized by means of the ILO-WEP. The term has been applied many times in the various policy oriented studies by researchers. In eliminating unemployment problems in underdeveloped countries, ILO, since 1970s, has conducted some studies by using the concept "informal sector" (Tuğrul, 1990: 29-31).

There are various views on dualism. Some of them regard sectoral differences in social, political, and economical behaviour; some imply

* Safa (1986: 137) defines the informal sector "as unregulated small-scale manufacturing and service industries employing labor-intensive methods of production requiring a low level of skill and capital investment and often utilizing the labor of unpaid family members".

well-defined predictions about the course of economic development and structural change. The term "dualism" has been argued at the various levels, regarding mainly differences-social systems, racial or ethnic backgrounds, production conditions, demographic behaviours, consumer expenditure and saving behaviour of consumer, and the domestic and foreign sectors (Kelly, et al., 1972: 8-9).

Despite all various approaches, some definitions have been held by some researchers. For instance, Todaro (1981: 525) defines the concept in very vulgar typification. To him, dualism is,

"the coexistence in one place of two situations or phenomena (one desirable and the other not) which are mutually exclusive to different groups of a society; e.g., extreme poverty and affluence, modern and traditional economic sectors, growth and stagnation, university education among a few and mass illiteracy".

This dichotomic typification has been largely used in the studies in underdeveloped countries. The theories on dualism arose first within literature on the economical and social structures of underdeveloped countries, and they appeared as explanations of the development in the advanced industrial economies only in the last decade (Berger and Piore, 1980: 15). It has been assumed that the dominant sector in these societies is the traditional informal sector* which would be replaced by formal sector as the traditional societies

* In the literature some distinctions between formal and informal sectors have been formulated so far. For example, according to the ILO/UNDP Kenya employment mission report (ILO, 1972), the main distinctions between two sectors are as follows: **Formal sector**; difficulty of entry, dependence on imports, corporate property, large scale operation, capital intensive and imported technology, skills often acquired abroad, markets protected by tariffs, import and exchange licences. **Informal sector**; ease of entry, reliance on indigenous resources, family ownership of enterprises, small scale operation, labour intensive and adapted technology, skills acquired outside the formal school system, unregulated and competitive markets.

evolve towards modernization. The evolution would appear in the way of a smooth line, and as the result of process, informal sector would be transformed into formal sector. Thus, modernization would have been put into everyday life with elimination of traditional informal activities.

In the dualist theories, traditional sector, it has been claimed, not only produces continuously traditional values and judgements, but it also impedes the take-off of national industry and universal development. It is this traditional informal sector which causes underdevelopment. Therefore, transformation of underdevelopment into development necessitates modern knowledge, skill, and technology, transferring them from the core to the periphery. In a broad sense, dualistic theorists reduce the solutions, which modernization theories propose to underdeveloped countries, into individual countries. Sometimes the typification is removed from individual countries to global world unit.

In the dualist thesis, modern sector is considered with all positive features. For instance, according to Boeke, (Higgins, 1956: 103) who has observed Indonesian case within dualist framework, both sectors have different historical past and are independent from each other. People employed in both sectors have different behavioral and motivational characteristics. Man in the modern formal sector is a Western one, and in addition, he is materialist, rational, and individual. The other one in the traditional informal sector has the definitive opposite characteristics.

The dualistic structures of underdeveloped countries have been recognized for a long time. The key idea under this approach, namely, the coexistence of the two parallel economic modes of production in the society, after a certain period, has been criticized by many neo-Marxists, especially by the advocates of Dependency School.

The Dependency School has asserted that dualistic theses had not given any importance to the larger system of the analysis unit; that's to say, they have not regarded the impact of imperialism on restructuring underdeveloped formations but, drawn attention only to internal processes of underdeveloped countries (Ersoy, 1982: 8). Moreover, this model has appeared to regard dualism as a result of an internal process rather than consequence of the position of the underdeveloped countries in an international capitalist system.

Lastly, the dualistic thesis point out that both sectors constitute two different sides, and between them there is no linkage and interaction. Unlike these theses, however, as Ersoy (1982: 123) has noted that,

"... the empirical findings of the case studies investigating both the consumption patterns of the marginal masses and the means of production utilized by the non-dominant modes of production show succinctly that the consumers and the producers of the latter (informal sector) do not constitute an isolated, unintegrated, and closed section of the urban economics of the peripheral formations".

In addition, based on many surveys conducted in Latin American squatter settlements, it has been asserted that the interrelations between formal and informal sectors are strong and constant. Many people living in squatting settlements, at least, cater their needs such as clothing and durable consumption goods from the formal sector (Ersoy, 1982: 124-125). This interrelationship among two sectors indicates a high degree of integration of squatter dwellers in some urban structures.

3. Marginalist Approach

The term "marginality" has been begun to be used sociologically since the end of 1960s. The main hypothesis of this approach is that the migrants settled in Latin American cities could not participate in urban social life, and so they become marginal. This marginality hinders the arrival of some public services such as education, health and cultural activities for migrants. As a result, this situation gives rise to insufficient levels in consuming urban public services (Erder, 1982: 63).

Marginalist approach originally arose from Modernization theories and Dualist thesis, then it has been elaborated in the sectoral context. Keleş (1988: 16) explains this relationship as follows:

"The theory of marginalism has been equated primarily with the informal sector of the economy and perceived in the economic sense. However, it was later expanded to encompass non-economic spheres as well. According to this school which is also labelled as the 'Modernization School' or 'dualism', there is a dual structure in Third World societies".

This dualist structure exists in all areas of society. As urban people are identified with the characteristics of formal sector, marginal masses, it has been assumed, share the informal activities of the sector.

While Dependency School maintains the view that marginalization is the byproduct of capitalism, and an unavoidable, and permanent phenomenon, Modernization School, on the other hand, claims that its appearing reasons should be observed in the individual country itself. The advocates of Dependency School puts forward the fact that, rather than the disappearance of marginal masses in the course of modernization, it will

maintain its existence in underdeveloped countries (Ersoy 1982: 108-109).

Generally speaking, the views on marginalization of masses might be summarized as follows: Marginalist position of migrants derives from their traditional cultural values. Óscar Lewis (1961) conceptualizes this fact under the term of "culture of poverty". Those having "culture of poverty" are characterized by low standards of life, high illiteracy, low professional capacity and by being a refuge for criminals and the other social deviants. These marginal masses densely live in squatter settlements. Their integration capacity into the city is not very high. Moreover, their marginal position would disappear as the process of integration into urban life proceeds since social mobility and integration would be predominant within city everywhere. All deviant facts, which are not structural but transitory would be eliminated by development process.

It has been also argued that marginal masses are on the margin of two cultures and societies. This point of view is also shared by Welson (Peattie, 1974: 101). According to him, the unskilled, semi-employed and poor urbanities are called "marginal". They are economically marginal for they contribute little to and benefit little from production and economic growth. Their social status is very low, and they benefit very little from formal organizations and associations. They are heavily rural in origin and culturally marginal since they largely depend on traditional patterns such as custom, manner, dress, speaking, values etc., which contrast with widespread urban patterns. Politically, they have very little impact on the formal political institutions. For they live in a segregated part of the city, namely, in squatter settlements, they are geographically marginal, too.

With respect to participation in urban structures, Lloyd (1976 in Ersoy, 1982: 106) states that the term "marginal" sociologically refers to

"unintegrated" into urban structures and "not share" the dominant values of city. The disorganized position of "marginal masses" indicates their experience of anomy. They lack urban culture and also do not participate in voluntary organizations and political decision-making processes. Again they are far from participating in the services of the city such as electricity, transportation, hospitals and schools. At the same time, they are economically not producers in the modern sector (Ersoy, 1982: 106).

Marginalist approach as well as modernization school and dualist thesis has been criticized in the light of data gathered from underdeveloped countries, especially Latin American cities. Perlman has claimed that this theory is almost universally untrue. Depending on data taken in the case of Brasil, he rejects severely the dychotomic typification of masses as "marginal" and "integrated". Brazilian Favelodos (squatter dwellings) are not socially marginal but rejected, not economically marginal but exploited, and not politically marginal but repressed (Peattic, 1974: 108). Furthermore, residing with the kins and co-villagers provide squatter dwellers to live in solidaristic conditions, which prevents a marginal life among them (Baştuğ, 1979: 126-128). The inhabitants of squatter settlements are far from being marginal since they contribute to the economy as producers and consumers in many ways (Keleş, 1988: 19). Also Kongar (1972: 38-40) emphasizes on the dynamic positions of squatter dwellers.

4. Dependency School

In the post-1960s, Modernization theories have been densely criticized as the result of developments, empirical findings and theoretical studies which have not corresponded to the "ideal model". These critiques have been directed to the theories from both inside the school and outside.

Marxist critics have proposed some new concepts: "cyclical development" instead of linear evolution; "underdevelopment", "dependence", "capitalist world system", "centre-periphery (societies)" instead of modern society. In making analysis, socio-economic, international and historical factors have been emphasized. The concepts "traditional" and "modern" have been replaced by "pre-capitalist" and "capitalist" concepts. The concepts "mode of production", "articulation" and "instance" have been developed as analytical instruments (Özbek, 1991: 37).

In the light of the new concepts, Dependency theories have evaluated the dualist theses as static and non-historical since the dualists have assumed that, in the peripheral countries the traditional sector had no historical past, and there existed no interrelationship between two sectors (Ersoy, 1984: 7). Yet both sectors should be taken into account as the two integral parts of whole. A part of the whole cannot be thought as separate, independent and disintegrated from the whole.

Chilcote (1979: 134-135) discerns three formulations of Dependency model. Firstly, in the stage of feudalism, the backwardness of the countryside cannot be explained by the image of a dual society. The poverty of rural areas are not due to feudalism but urban and international market influences. The result has been the enrichment of the cities and the dominant nations. Secondly, Dependency theorists assert that capitalist connection between city and countryside is characterized by commerce between landowners and merchants who constitute an agro-commercial bourgeoisie that is subject to the market forces of a national and international capitalist economy. Lastly, they suggest that dominant class interests are dependent on world imperialism for the manufacture of some goods, for foreign currency and capital.

In a broad sense, this approach views development and underdevelopment not as two different stages within history of mankind but as

integral parts of the same "world economy". Every kind of underdevelopment arises from capitalist world economy. As Portes (1979: 122) has stated that,

"... the form that social poverty and economic stagnation take in the Third World at present are largely creations of the process of the capitalist world expansion. It is argued that rapid industrial growth in the West could not have occurred without the conditioning of a 'periphery' from which an economic surplus is extracted and necessary raw materials secured".

Dependency school considers squatter settlements in a different way in comparison with Modernization School. As has been mentioned by Keleş (1988: 20),

"this school views the squatter settlements, the formation of the informal sector as well as the continuing urban poverty of most of the nations as a consequence of their dependence upon the capitalist world system. Unlike the theory of marginality, which does not have anything to do with exploitive relationships, it tries to explain the existence of squatter settlements and the growth of informal sector by exogenous rather endogenous factors".

While modernization school together with Dualist thesis and Marginalist approach have always stressed the gap between formal and informal sectors, urban people and squatter dwellers, and evaluated these two parts as an independent process from each other, Dependency school has emphasized on the interrelations and integral processes among two sides. However, Dependency school has neglected the analysis of internal dynamics. National variants at the context of international order have not been regarded sufficiently. Due to the absence of empirical data on the bases of individual countries, the assertions generally have been derived from an abstract framework (Portes, 1979: 124-125).

5. Articulation Theory

Articulation theory at a level of economic sector as well as mode of production suggests that, contrary to the dualistic thesis in which it has been assumed that two sectors are isolated, separated, and mutually exclusive of each other, there exists interrelationships between them in the modes of production.

This theory is important socially as well as economically since it provides a global analysis at the socio-economic, historical and international levels (Özbek, 1991: 44-45). In this approach, a synthesis of 'external' and 'internal' relationships is the main point. Articulation theorists respect neither the dualist theses of the Modernization School pointing out the existence of an independent, separate "traditional" sector, nor the monist viewpoint of the Dependency school which sees "capitalism everywhere" (Ersoy, 1982: 377).

Within Articulation theory, the concept of integration has been examined in the framework of the term "articulation". While, in the concept of integration, the transformation of one into the other is important, in Articulation theory the focus is on synthesis or emergence of a new structure when two different social formations meet. In this interaction, urban factors play the dominant role in encompassing change. Ersoy (1982: 17) states that;

"although urban culture, ideology and economy is dominant in the synthesis, in this new structure cultural, ideological and economical characteristics which migrants brought from the rural areas also keep its existence, and so there appears a new articulated urban structure".

Criticizing both marginalism and Dependency theory, Articulation theory supposes that pre-capitalist modes of production, petty-commodity

production and the capitalist ones can exist together within the same society as in the forms of articulated social formations. It is pointed out that the invasion of capitalist relations in the peripheral formations does not put an end automatically to the existence of pre-capitalist techniques as well as informal sector, but uses them in favor of its own penetration. This theory also defines how and in what way the small-scale artisans and the international corporations affect each other's operation (Keleş, 1988: 21). Thus, the theory considers squatter settlements as both "provisional residential areas on the way towards modernization" and "special socio-economic formations existing in a symbiotic relationship with the formal and informal sectors"; that's to say, peripheral capitalism is regarded as the combination of dominant and non-dominant modes of production (Keleş, 1988: 22).

As a conclusion of this chapter, we have examined these five theoretical approaches in terms of some conceptions such as development and underdevelopment, integration and disintegration, urban people and Gecekondu (squatting) dwellers and so on. Modernization theories point out that in the course of modernization of underdeveloped countries (and of the Gecekondu dwellers), as the traditional informal relationships disintegrate, two outcomes related to urban organizations and institutions will appear. First is high differentiation and specialization with respect to individual activities and institutional structures. Second is the large number of functionally specific organizations. These theories assume that functionally specific organizations and institutions are heavily used by urban people as well as rural migrants. But in the light of the data gathered from some case studies in Turkey (Yasa, 1966; Kongar 1972 and 1973; Şenyapılı, 1978; Tatlıdil, 1989; Demir, 1991), the Gecekondu dwellers supply their needs mostly through informal relationships without the use of functionally specific organizations with exception of organized health structures. For example, for borrowing, they apply to kins, co-villagers and neighbours, instead of banks. They rarely use and participate in some urban organizations and institutions such as bank,

association, cooperative and the like. On the other hand, as modernization theories have stated, urbanization of Gecekondu dwellers heavily comes into existence in the economical and occupational areas; however, their cultural adaptation is realized at very low speed, for their social and cultural values brought from rural areas keep their existence in city for a long time.

Unlike some thesis of Modernization school, Dualist and Marginalist approach, Gecekondu, as a settlement and way of life, is the expression of integration into urban life to some extent. Moreover, Gecekondu dwellers, as Articulation theory has presupposed, have not a limited socio-economic and cultural stock in integrating into city. Their traditional culture does not constitute an obstacle for some integration areas, especially for the consumption of household durable goods and organized health structures. Contrary to Marginalist thesis, Gecekondu dwellers largely use informal relationships in integrating into many urban areas such as borrowing.

As Dualist thesis has claimed, formal sector is not independent from informal sector. The two sectors do not constitute two different sides; On the contrary, between them there is interaction. Gecekondu dwellers, as producers and consumers of informal sector, are not an isolated, unintegrated and classified section of the urban economics of underdeveloped countries. Interrelations between the two sectors are strong and constant. Most people residing in Gecekondu settlements, at least, supply their physical needs as clothing and durable consumption goods from the formal sector. They use informal (primary) relations to solve some problems in urban organizations and institutions. Thus, it cannot be said that, as Marginalist theories have mentioned, Gecekondu dwellers, as marginal masses, share only informal activities of the informal sector. Their integration capacity into city life is not very low, with the exception of organizational and institutional dimensions. They benefit, as marginalist theories have noted, very little from formal

organizations and institutions. But this does not imply that they are unintegrated into urban way of life. In addition, they contribute to the economy by both producers and consumers in many ways.

All five theoretical approaches contribute to our study in analysing the integration problems of Gecekondu dwellers. Between these five approaches, Articulation theory seems to me most influential and appropriate in constituting the theoretical framework of the study since, at least, it implies the interaction and integration process between formal and informal sectors, urban people and Gecekondu dwellers. What the significant point in this theory is the synthesis or a new structure which is formed through combination of the two different social worlds, namely, urban and rural. As articulation theory has stated, although urban culture, ideology, and economy are dominant in the new synthesis, in this new structure some cultural, ideological, and economical characteristics which migrants brought from rural areas can also keep their existence in city, and so there appears a new articulated urban structure. In addition, the existence of informal sector jobs and informal relations which are used instead of urban organizations and institutions in solving the difficulties encountered in urban life indicate that, as Articulation theories have pointed out, the invasion of capitalist relations in the underdeveloped countries does not put an end automatically to the existence of some pre-capitalist relations.

B. MAIN TRENDS IN THE URBANIZATION PROCESS

1. Urban Growth in the World

Prior to the nineteenth century, even in the highly urbanized societies, about 10 per cent of the population were living in cities. By modern standards, nearly all cities in the pre-industrial societies, were relatively small. For

instance, the population of London in the fourteenth century, was about 30.000 but, by the turn of the nineteenth century its population increased sharply, to 900.000. Prior to the 1800, only very low rates of the population were living in cities. One century later, nearly 40 per cent of the population were inhabitants of cities of 100.000 or more, and almost 60 per cent were living in cities of 20.000 or more (Giddens, 1988: 6-7).

While, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, only 3 per cent of the world's population were living in urban areas, this figure reached to about 15 per cent by 1900, and it is estimated to rise 50 per cent by the end of this century. But the figures for Western countries are much higher than the others (Hay, 1979: 71).

As shown in the figures above, an obvious increase of the world population draws our attention. Indeed, taking into some sources account, it is agreed that world population is growing fast (Karpal, 1976; Hay, 1979; Todaro, 1981; Giddens, 1988). This growth takes a parallel path with rapid urbanization. This large increase can be seen clearly if the definitive numbers are taken into consideration. The world population has increased by 29.2 per cent in 1800, 49.3 per cent in 1950. But the rate of urban growth in localities with more than 100.000 people reached to 444 per cent in Asia and 629 per cent in Africa, from 1900 to 1950 (Karpal, 1976: 9-10).

After the second half of the twentieth century, the growth of cities and an increase in number of cities started to rise sharply. In fact, in 1970 there were only 644 cities with a population of 100.000 or more in the developing countries of Africa, South America, and Asia. But, according to the estimates, it is expected that by the year 2000 there would be nearly 1862 cities of the kind (Lubell, 1984: 2-3).

2. Rapid Urbanization In the Third World

One of the most significant post-war demographic phenomena has been the rapid growth of cities in developing countries. In 1950, 275 million people were living in the Third World cities, 38 per cent of total urban population in the world. At that time, the total urban population of the world was 724 million. This figure increased to 1.56 billion in 1975. According to U.N. estimates, 66 per cent of urban dwellers of the world will be living in underdeveloped regions in the near future. Anyway at the present, the Third World cities are growing faster than the Western cities. Now the world's fastest growing cities are Bandung, Karachi, Boguta, Baghdad, Bangkok, Tehran, Lima, Mexico-city and Bombay (Todaro, 1981: 226-227). These cities are all metropol centers with the primary commercial and industrial activities.

The reasons of why the Third World cities are growing so rapidly, should be searched in the regulations and relations which have been formed in the colonial period. Main origin of many chronic problems at present depends on the roles imposed on these countries by the "centre". About 100 or 150 years ago, indeed, as Karpas (1976: 31) has mentioned, "with the expansion of European political and economic domination in the nineteenth century, many cities in the Third World became centers for the economic and political power of the colonial powers and of the native classes associated with them in various administrative or educational roles". Including the political pressures, the economical policies of the center on periphery led to a transformation towards distorted capitalism. By the early 1900s, almost all the Third World cities had begun to be transformed in favor of capitalist countries.

With the expansion of capitalism, the Third World cities have come to resemble each other largely due to their economical roles for the export of goods and raw materials and importing-marketing centers for goods coming

from the industrialized countries. These cities were not industrialized but political and commercial centers (Karpat, 1976: 32). They have been the main ports in transferring the surplus value into the metropol countries. This role has led them to grow in a great extent since 1900s. However, this rapid urbanization was not the same as the process realized in the West.

While the urbanization process in the West has gone parallel with development, the industrialization in the Third World has followed urbanization from behind. The speed of the industrialization was very slow. At the beginning of industrialization, the poor peasants, migrating to industrial cities had many opportunities in finding work but rural migrants in the Third World could not have got sufficient employment opportunities in formal sector. Thus, they have found all solutions in the informal sector. This solution has caused some negative trends and consequences between industrial working conditions and employment opportunities, between formal and informal sectors.

The main problem behind the off-balance was related to employment. The most obvious fact distinguishing the urbanization in the Third World associating the urbanization form of colonial period from the process in the West based on industrialization is the scarcity of workers employed in manufacture industry of the Third World (Keleş, 1984: 4).

Indeed, in the most of the Third Word countries, one of the most important outcomes of the rapid urbanization has been the widening supply of urban job seekers. Furthermore, the gap between supply and demand in developing cities is getting increased. Thus, the result becomes high rates of unemployment and underemployment in urban areas (Todaro, 1981: 229).

The studies carried out in the past by various international organizations such as UNESCO, U.S. Agency for International Development (AID), Ford Foundation, World Bank, ILO and U.N. HABITAT, and some

researchers indicated that, (a) in the Third World the two main theme, namely, rapid population growth and rural to urban migration, draw attention; (b) the increase of the urban population has serious pressures on land, housing, transportation, water supply, sewerage, and other infrastructure facilities as well as on health, education, and other services of the Third World cities; (c) urban poverty related to unemployment and underemployment is widespread and extensive, and the poor population increasing continuously are living in unhealthy urban conditions; (d) urban employment problems are getting worse since the capacity of formal sector in cities could not meet the demands of urban labor force (Lubell, 1984: 1). The surplus labor force that couldn't be absorbed by formal sector masses in the informal sector. The informal sector also appears as a clear indicator of underemployment.

To sum up, the most important characteristics of the Third World's urbanization are formulated by Keleş (1988: 5-12) at six dimensions:

a) Demographic dimension: The urban population in the Third World has been still increasing rapidly than the urban population in the developed countries. In the last 25 years, in Asian developing countries the urban population had increased 160 million, whereas throughout the 19 th. century the increase in total population of Europe was only 4.3 million.

b) Urban-rural disparity: The urban-rural disparities in the Third World can be easily seen in wages, per capita gross domestic products and in life standarts.

c) Regional inequality: In almost all the Third World countries, many modern public services, products and skilled labour are distributed unevenly over geographical regions. This unbalaced distribution of sources is getting much more impetus, together with by rapid urbanization.

d) Urban primacy: Mostly in the Third World countries, primate city has a dominance over others from social, economical and cultural aspects. But the primacy of a city over others is also the case for developed countries such as Austria, France, Denmark, Hungary and Italy.

e) Rapid social transformation: In spite of the fact that inhabitants of the Third World cities are experiencing a rapid social transformation, they generally persist to hold rural values in cities. Their ties with rural areas are kept for a long time.

f) Structural changes in economy: Unlike the developed countries, the urbanization of the Third World countries has not been a result of industrialization. In the cities of these countries, a widespread poverty is being experienced like rural poverty. Rural poverty is transferred into cities. Most important thing at this point is the fact that the flow of migration into cities continues to increase faster than creation of jobs in formal sector. As a result of this, some non-economical configurations for economy such as unemployment and underemployment emerge. These two aspects reflect themselves more clearly in an unproductive sector, namely, the informal sector which is an unhealthy solution for unemployed millions of poor people.

The general urbanization characteristics of the Third World countries summarized by Keleş at six points also resemble the process in Turkey.

3. Major Urbanization Trends In Turkey

Turkey like other underdeveloped countries is also undergoing a rapid process of urbanization. This process has still been going on. But the increase in the rates of urbanization was very slow before 1950. Before 1950,

annual urban growth was 2.4 per cent. The urban population rose from 2.2 million to 3.9 million between 1927 and 1950. Meanwhile, the rural population increased from 11.4 million to 17.1 million. Annual urban growth was 2.4 per cent during this period. The growth in the rural sector was 1.7 percent. The urban share of Turkey's population increased from 16.4 per cent in 1927 to 18.5 percent in 1950 (Danielson and Keleş, 1985: 27).

After 1950, as a result of economic transformations in the rural areas, the urban growth has begun to accelerate sharply. This has caused the flow of the rural population towards big cities. According to the estimates of Keleş and Danielson, during 1950s, over 3.3 million people were added to the urban population. The sharp growth in the number of the urban population and increase in the population of the major urban centers mean that "Turkey became one of the most rapidly urbanizing countries in the world between 1950 and 1980. The average annual increase of the urban population was 5.7 per cent" (Danielson and Keleş, 1985: 27).

Within this migration process after World War II, it is pointed out that there existed two reasons for migration. First is, rapid growth of the population; Second is, an expansion of the mechanization in agriculture. By breaking down the balance in the rural areas, these two reasons led to the transformation of the social structure towards a new structure (Tekeli, 1977: 11). In addition, some other factors such as the limitation in agricultural lands, the smallness and fragmentation of agricultural enterprises, the unbalance in the distribution of lands, the looseness in agricultural productivity all have caused the flow of rural population into big cities rapidly (Sencer, 1979: 57).

As a result of rapid migration, which has constituted the prime driving force in rapid urban growth, towards big cities since 1950, the level of urbanization increased to 45.4 per cent. The urban population between 1960

and 1980 increased from 6.9 million to 20.3 million, and during same period the ratio of urban share within the total population of Turkey went up from 25.2 per cent to 45.4 per cent while the rural population increased 1 per cent, and this growth has been 2.5 per cent for the total population, the urban population rose 6.1 per cent (Keleş, 1984: 22-25).

The number of cities in Turkey, which was 97 in 1940, went up to 147 in 1960. This figure reached to 275 in 1985. In view of the changes in the rates of urban population growth, it can be seen that the first five major cities in Turkey increased their populations three times during the years between 1950 and 1970. Table 1 illustrates this growth.

As shown in Table 2, the cities with populations of 100.000 or more in Turkey have been increasing as the year pass.

The share of the large cities in urban population has also received large amounts of population from 1927 onwards as indicated in Table 3.

In addition to the increase in the share of the big cities within urban population, it can be seen that urban population is densely concentrated in Istanbul, Ankara, Izmir, Adana and Bursa. This irregular urbanization and unequal growth as a general trait of capitalism exists not only in the distribution of the population but in the spheres of job opportunities and public services. The trend of unbalance makes its existence more clear if industrialization is taken into account. Indeed, the factory production and the manufacture industries are concentrated within some big cities. But the main disparity is seen in industrialization trends compared to urbanization index.

It is obvious that urbanization process in Turkey has been going forward faster than industrialization if the number of industrial works is

compared with urbanization index. Table 4 indicates the relationship between industrialization and urbanization in large cities in Turkey.

The progress of urbanization faster than industrialization* leads firstly to some employment problems. This sharp trait of urbanization in Turkey still keeps its existence, and as a result, the unemployed population is increasing. As Keleş (1988: 55) mentioned, "imbalance between the absorptive capacity of large city and the creation of employment opportunities (still) constitute the most important feature of Turkish urbanization". This imbalance is getting dense. Despite this trend, the service sector in the large cities continues to enable rapid responses to new demands in the labor market. Danielson and Keleş state that the importance and share of informal sector in urban Turkey have been rising in comparison with the formal sector. As they pointed out,

"throughout the urban Turkey, services account for a significantly larger share of the economically active population than does industry. Between 1950 and 1980, service employment in Turkey expanded three times as fast as industry. As a result, service jobs rather than industrial employment have absorbed a substantial portion of the rural influx, especially among the unskilled and poorly educated. Large numbers of migrants are employed... in retail trade and other services" (Danielson and Keleş, 1985: 39).

In spite of the fact that the employment opportunities in urban areas are more than the rural areas, the rates of unemployment in former are higher

* Of the three factors commonly involved within modernization approach, industrialization, "... refers to a change from human to nonhuman sources of energy and the rise of a factory system of work organization" (Popenoe, 1983: 576).

than the latter since the employment capacity of the formal sector in cities couldn't absorb labor force of the new comers. For this reason, an informal sector, whose size and variety have been continuously rising, emerges. According to Keleş (1988: 59), "mainly because of the discrepancy between the capital intensive industrialization efforts and the huge flow of migrants into the cities, the size of surplus labor in the urban sector has grown wider". We can say that the surplus labor force can not find any real and continuous solutions, except for living in Gecekondu type of dwellings and working in some informal jobs. Neither (the low level of) income nor (the scarcity of) employment opportunities generated in the big cities can stop the flow of rural migrants into the cities. The contribution of the Gecekondu dwellers to the national economy by working in informal sector constitutes a very minor part. As Keleş (1972: 15) also pointed out that "although a squatter family earns a larger income than that in a village, the contribution of their marginal occupations to national economic development appears to be extremely limited".

In my opinion, informal sector will continue to keep its existence because of the unemployment in the cities since, we can say, it provides a possibility of survival strategy for gecekondu dwellers. Characterized by small-scale service enterprises, labor intensive employment and substantial excess labor, the informal sector, giving a primary response to overurbanization with its potential in job opportunities, still maintains its attractive or imaginative aspect for rural migrants. Considering many advantages, the Gecekondu dwellers still prefer working in informal sector. Apart from the informal sector jobs, the Gecekondu dwellings constructed of very cheap and old building materials by rural migrants has been the unique solution to housing in the city. Because of scarcity of regular housing, the newcomers have tended to generate their housing needs by using low costs and materials since their housing demand could be met by neither private nor

the public sector. By occupying lands in the outskirts of big cities illegally and building squatters in a short period, the newcomers (migrants) of urban life have found an original solution to the housing problem. It can be said that this new original way of life and housing, namely, Gecekondu, has provided an articulation of rural social and cultural values with urban life-style, and this way of life quickly spread throughout some big cities.

The number of Gecekondu settlements expanded sharply, from 100.000 units in 1950 to 1.25 million in 1983. In 1983 the number of Gecekondu dwellers reached 6 million. The substantial part of urban population has been still living in gecekondu dwellings (Danielson and Keleş, 1985: 41-42).

Together with the rise in figures of Gecekondu settlements and in population, one of the outcomes of development in Turkish cities have been to generate new and powerful political interests. According to Danielson and Keleş these interests have been organized around the distinctive activities of the informal sector of the economy, such as Gecekondu housing and "dolmuş" transportation. So the human agents around Gecekondu settlements such as small merchants, "dolmuş" drivers and users, and Gecekondu dwellers and developers have constituted influential participations in politics of urban development to maintain and improve their existing life conditions (Danielson and Keleş, 1985: 43). This participation has provided for the Gecekondu dwellers some opportunities in integrating into urban structures. Especially, during the periods of political elections, their integration capacity increases. This aspect of Gecekondu indicates that the worlds of Turkish cities are not completely and rigidly divided. Through some possibilities, such as informal activities, transportation opportunities and political participation, especially during the periods of political elections, the Gecekondu dwellers can integrate into urban structures in many scopes. The importance of political integration is

much more than the other integrative mechanisms. According to Karpat (1976: 197-199), many problems such as migration from village, establishment of settlement, employment problems, use of city amenities (electricity, water and transportation) etc., are related to and solved through politics. Political relations used by Gecekondu dwellers in solving some problems are connected with protection of dwellings. To put these aims in implementation ; namely, survival and protection of dwellings, they may constitute some legal associations easily. Indeed, some of them before 1980 contributed to many purposes in tackling local problems. For instance, societies for settlement improvement Gecekondu (Gecekondu Beautification Associations) provided vital links between Gecekondu dwellers and political parties, local authorities and central government. "Their political objectives were governmental recognition of their communities, provision of public services, and legalization of individual dwellings through granting of a land deed, or tapu" (Danielson and Keleş, 1985: 125).

As shown in the examples above, "Gecekondu" offers to rural migrants some substantial possibilities in integrating into urban structures. The low cost of solution of housing problem in very cheap prices, the supplement of infrastructure needs by using some agents such as the head and municipality and finding a job in informal sector in a very short time all provide for Gecekondu dweller some possibilities in integrating into urban structures in many spheres. Within these spheres, employment opportunities and housing needs are firstly regarded, and solution of these two problems means the first step for dwellers in participating in and integrating into urban formal relations. Taking the steps towards urban structures, some mutual interactions between dweller and urban structures emerge. Within the process, some solidaristic relations are also implemented in city, especially in Gecekondu districts. As Danielson and Keleş (1985: 169) have stated,

"beyond the direct housing benefits, squatter settlements have also played a critical role in easing the assimilation of migrants into city. Gecekondu provided a foothold in city for urban newcomers, offering community solidarity and mutual assistance in the struggle to survive in a hostile environment. Migrants from the same family, village, and region tend to cluster together in squatter settlements. Solidarity was reinforced by communal efforts to establish a gecekondu, secure deeds, and obtain public services".

In spite of the fact that Gecekondu as both a dwelling unit and a way of life has offered many possibilities in various spheres in integrating into urban structures, participation in and integration into "organized urban structures" have been realized at a very low ratio in comparison with the other dimensions such as consumption of household durable goods. The reasons of this fact are discussed at the subsequent chapter.

4. Organizational and Institutional Integration of Gecekondu Dwellers into Organized Urban Structures.

One of the most important traits distinguishing developed societies from underdeveloped ones is the development of complex and large urban organizations. Anyway, developed society, in a sense, is an "extremely organized" one. Large and complex organizations have encompassed the developed society. It is an obvious fact that individuals in a developed society, at the same time, maintain their activities within large organizations (Öncü, 1982: 13). These organizations have a great importance for an individual in surviving and protecting his/her life rationally and mutually. In reaching the aims in a shortest time and evaluating the ends rationally, human population have given importance to the idea of organization and institution for a long

time. The idea of government and state as an expression of political organization has been the most important factor in constituting the solidaristic and collective relations among people in the past.

The notion of organization and being organized arises from the fact that supplying people's needs not individually but collectively is rational. Taking this rationality into account, at present, all people try to maintain all their life within organizations from birth to death. All social aims and objectives are met by means of organizations (Kasapoğlu, 1985: 41-48). The multiplicity and complexity of aims in human life lead to many kinds of organizations. Many social, cultural, economical and political functions in industrialized societies are materialized by means of institutionalized relations and their organizations. At present, as Kiray (1982: 367) has mentioned, "... no function could be performed properly except through the mechanism of large-scale organizations".

Organization can be defined "as an effective group device for getting something done" (Ogburn and Nimkoff, 1947: 364). According to Öncü (1982: 35-36), organization is a social structure designed and planned to reach a definitive goal. Each organization reflects a process of historical progress, socio-economic characteristic, and all conflicts, cultural values and institutional structure of society. Etzioni (1964) defines organization "as a social group that has been consciously constructed to achieve specific goals". These goals in an organization, "... are specific, clearly stated, and usually well understood by the members" (Popenoe, 1983: 320). In addition, organizations have, "... a division of labor, a concentration of power, and a membership that routinely changes" (Popenoe, 1983: 341).

Institution is "... a social cluster which consists of the coordinated and harmonious ideas, beliefs, and behaviours" (Ozankaya, 1986: 140).

Institutionalization of ideas, beliefs, and behaviours is materialized within organizations. In a sense, it can be argued that organization implies to the actual aspect of institution.

Popoenoe (1983: 88) defines institution, "... as a stable cluster of social structures that is organized to meet the basic needs of societies". This definition refers to close relationship between institutions and organizations. However, as Kasapoğlu (1985: 45) mentioned, there are some differences between them. For instance, one can become a member to organizations but not institutions. Therefore, organizations (University, mosque, and company) are the concrete aspects of institutions (education, religion, and economy).

The distinction between developed and underdeveloped economical structures is defined with not only the number of organizations but that of organized* and unorganized works. While the number of workers employed in organized works in developed economical structures is high, this figure for underdeveloped countries is very low (Şenyapılı, 1978: 38-39).

Acquiring the urban way of life in developed societies is directly related with working in an organized work and using organizations when needed. Migrating into city is not enough to be defined as urban man. Urban man, in fact, is one who is shaped by organizations. Many social, cultural, economical, and political needs in developed societies are met within big or small formal organizations. These organizations are equipped with specialized knowledge and detailed working rules. Integration into these organizations is associated with being urbanized. As Kiray (1982: 168-169) explained below that,

* We can characterize "Organized work" by regular wage, social security, social and economic rights and detailed work rules.

"One direction occurring through industrialization and urbanization is that many persons in huge organizations equipped with every kind of specialized knowledge and skill have been working and producing knowledge, service and goods in the way of definitively determination of someone's roles compared to the others. The distinctive peculiarity of modern industrial society bases on these specialized and complex work organizations. The main population of cities consists of those employed in specialized and organized works. Specialization in a job provides for an urbanite some advantages, such as, steady income, social and economic assurance, and privileged status in society. If an urban person is not sufficiently a member of an organization and has no specialized knowledge in operating his/her labor force, his/her integration process into urban structures remains limited. Thus, industrialized societies in which economical development keeps its continuity, and employment possibilities exist at a large scale, have no integration problems".

It is well established in Modernization literature that the relationship between urbanization and use of organization is directly related. In a sense, being urbanized may be defined as participation of individuals in organizations or using them rationally. All education, health, transportation and communication problems and requirements concerning amusement-resting of urban people are met by organizations (Şenyapılı, 1982: 110).

Being urbanized and using organized urban structures seem to refer to the same process and concept. Being urbanized and integration into urban formal organizations result in urbanism since urbanism is closely related to the integration into organized urban structures. Castells (1976: 65) defines urbanism "as the expression of a particular form of activity and social organization". Castells also points out the characteristics such as the predominance of secondary relations over primary, the shift from community to

association and the subordination of the individual to organization in expressing urbanism (1976: 65).

At this point, it may be stated that "integration" is a substantial criterion in explaining the characteristics of urbanization and being urbanized. The criterion in determining the level and form of integration is the pattern of being urbanized and using all necessary urban organizations and institutions.

Although rural migrants in city easily integrate with the material culture of city, such as consumption of household durable goods the main integration process into urban structures, however, can be materialized only by being organized and the level and form of using organizations (Şenyapılı, 1978: 38). Göymen (1982: 81-82) also points out that the solution of problems concerning urban integration can be possible for migrants only by interacting through formal organizations.

The empirical studies conducted in some Gecekondu settlements in Turkey since 1970 (Kongar, 1972; Baştuğ, 1976; Şenyapılı, 1978 and 1981; Kartal, 1983; Karataş, 1987; Tatlıdil, 1989; Demir, 1991) indicated that Gecekondu dwellers have used urban organizations and institutions at the lowest level. Using urban organizations and institutions is lower at the early years of migration in comparison with later years. For instance, according to Şenyapılı's study (1987: 152), only two per cent of the migrants have used urban organizations to solve their problems at the beginning of when they came to city. In the later years, this proportion rised to only 6 per cent. Gecekondu dwellers who migrated to city a short time ago, at the first hand, tended to use urban organizations and institutions concerning their major and important problems. The most important problem in city, at the early years is to find a job. Some other problems such as residence, adjustment to the city, and the difficulties in the standards of life are taken into account later (Şenyapılı, 1978: 153). The first work is generally found through informal relations without use of any kind of urban organizations and institutions. According to Kongar's

study (1973: 122), which was conducted in Altındağ gecekondu settlement in 1970, 63.3 per cent of the sample found their first works without receiving help. 25.2 per cent of the sample utilized the help of their relatives and friends. 90.2 per cent of the sample got their first job without applying to formal urban organizations. According to Yasa's study (1966: 25), 70 per cent of the sample found their first job without receiving aid from organizations.

The same findings are seen in Tatlıdil's latest study (1989: 91). According to this study, in Gecekondu squatters of Kayseri, the problems are solved more through informal ways but, as duration of residence in the city passes, the rate of using formal ways increases. The rate of application to employment agencies and to advertisements in the press for the last work is high.

According to Şenyapılı's study carried out in Gecekondu settlements of Istanbul in 1981, the ratio of membership in formal urban organizations was to be found low. It was seen that the sample had chosen the organizations for social security to be a member. Membership in some formal urban organizations such as sport associations, trade unions, professional societies and political parties has ranged between 9 per cent and 25 per cent. According to Şenyapılı's study, majority of the sample did not become member to social security organizations and trade unions. They generally work in unorganized and insecure informal jobs. According to the findings of Şenyapılı's another study (1978: 135), approximately 70 to 85 per cent of the sample are not members of trade unions, professional associations and political parties.

It is an obvious fact that Gecekondu dwellers use formal urban organizations more, which provide them the possibility of participation in material consumption market of city. This is obviously seen in the consumption of household durable goods. According to Şenyapılı's study (1978: 163-164), for instance, while only 7 per cent of the sample have used banks, and 17 per

cent have applied to a lawyer; on the other hand, shopping by installments has been used by 73 percent of the sample. The Gecekondu dwellers, "cannot use the organizations which will be directly useful for themselves. The organizations they could use are those which give the image of false integration" (Şenyapılı, 1978: 164).

The relations of Gecekondu dwellers with bureaucratic organizations are also restricted. For instance, in Kongar's study (1972: 652), only 7 per cent of the Gecekondu families have borrowed money from bureaucratic organizations. According to Kongar, "... only 11 per cent of the Gecekondu families receive any kind of monetary help and help in kind from the bureaucratic organizations. Yasa has found out that only 8 per cent of the Gecekondu families in Ankara receive help from bureaucratic organizations". According to this survey, while only 26 per cent of the Gecekondu families have bank accounts, the same figure is about 54 per cent for the rest of the urban families in Izmir. Kongar (1972: 654) explains this in two ways. Firstly, depositing money in banks is an urban attitude, and in rural areas money is invested in gold, land, or preserved at home. Secondly, it is due to the lack of savings.

It is perceived that, at the beginnings of migration, the Gecekondu dwellers solve their problems largely through informal ways. According to Şenyapılı's study (1978: 155-156), for instance, only 2 per cent of the sample have demanded aid from a formal organization in solving problems related to state bureaucracies whereas the rest have used informal ways or relations as relatives or co-villagers. In the same research, the most preferred way in solving problems of money is to borrow from personal sources as relatives and friends. The rate of people who said that they had used an organization for borrowing is 6 per cent. This figure is 30 per cent in Kongar's study. Again, in this study, 93.2 per cent of the sample had not received any kind of property, money or service from any organization and institution till the research time (Kongar, 1973: 64).

As the duration of residence in city increases, the rate of membership in some urban organizations may be expected to rise. According to Kartal's (1983: 234) study, while the membership of the sample into trade unions is 20 per cent for the period of 1 to 5 years, this figure is 36 per cent for those living in the city from 11 to 15 years, and for 16 years or more, the rate is 40 per cent.

Those who were born in cities, having urban experience and high level of education utilize urban formal organizations and institutions more to solve their problems. Those who had no any urban experience make use of informal relations in tackling urban difficulties (Tatlidil, 1989: 106). In addition, second generation (those such as children who were born in city) use urban organizations and institutions more than the first generation. According to Tatlidil's study (1989: 98-99), while the membership for social security organizations among heads of household is 74.0 per cent, this is 90 per cent for second generation. The situation in the cases of trade unions and professional associations is also in favor of second generation.

Unlike the theses of Modernization School, Gecekondu dwellers apply to informal (primary) ways and relations in urban conditions of life for a long time. These informal (primary) relations originate from rural cultural patterns. However, some of them, as Articulation theory has claimed, can be formed with respect to new structures, articulating into urban structures. The feeling of solidarity is transferred from rural areas. This feeling, however, can be materialized in new and original forms. The solidaristic relations among kins, and co-villagers are heavily maintained as integrative mechanisms in urban conditions of life. According to Demir's study (1991: 123-125), the solidarity with respect to bringing some solutions for urban difficulties is realized among Gecekondu families. In this study, almost all the heads of household have stated that they had turned to their relatives to get help. Of the sample, 56.8 per cent for borrowing, 33.3 per cent to find a job, 27.9 per cent for child care, and 18.9 per cent for supplying furniture received economic assistance from their

kins. Most of heads of household had not resorted to urban formal organizations and employers for financial aid, furniture and clothing, borrowing goods, health, and child caring. Only small percentage of hheads of household - about 5.4 per cent for borrowing and 4.5 for seeking a job had resorted to the employer and urban formal organizations.



CHAPTER III

FINDINGS AND INTERPRETATIONS

A. THE STUDY SITES

1. The historical development of Gecekondu phenomena in Ankara

When the Turkish Republic was declared in 1923, Ankara was a small town included a settlement area about 140 hectares around Ulus and its surroundings. During this period, Ankara consisted of some primitive houses which were constructed of a mixture of materials adobe and mud. These dwellings had one or two floors. The need for water in the city, where infra-structure was still lacked, was being supplied from district fountains. At the beginning years of 1920s there was no sewerage system in Ankara (Şenyapılı, 1983: 5-9).

During this period the economic structure of Ankara was largely based on agricultural activities. Apart from petty commodity production, there was some commercial activities, which were under the domain of non-moslem merchants. These merchants were residing in vineyard houses around Balgat, Çankaya, and Seyran, districts. Later, together with Atatürk's preference to reside around Çankaya, the development of Ankara was directed towards the south. When the first Assembly was formed, a housing problem occurred due to the newcomers, namely, deputies, journalists and others. As a result of the residence of Atatürk around Çankaya and the rise in real estate prices, public buildings and embassies were built towards the south of Ankara. However, because of lack of housing and the inadequacy in municipal services many

ambassadors continued to live in Istanbul for some time (Şenyapılı, 1983:11-19).

Construction of the city was undertaken by Ankara municipality in 1924 in accordance with law article 417. Since the end of 1920s, the municipality has started to expropriate Land-However, before expropriation the speculations on the real estates had been widespread among the local population. Meanwhile, in 1927, Herman Jansen was charged by the government to reconstruct Ankara. According to the first reconstruction plan, Jansen foresaw the city population to be around 250.000 to 300.000 in a period of 50 years. In 1928, the Directory of Reconstruction for the city of Ankara, with the law of article 1351, was constituted (Şenyapılı, 1983: 20-40).

The first steps in Gecekondu type dwellings in Ankara appeared between 1923 and 1930 years. The housing need of newcomers (especially, of workers) was supplied with primitive shacks. At last, with the construction of the first shacks without official permission in 1933, the intensive efforts towards Gecekondu type of housing started; however; these shacks were being demolished by the official authorities. In 1930s, the poor people all preferred shacks. The rich people's solution was housing cooperatives. At the beginning of 1940s, the population in Ankara exceeded 150.000. As the years passed, the Jansen Plan started to deteriorate. Finally, between 1940 and 1950 the shacks were replaced by Gecekondu dwellings (Şenyapılı, 1983: 56-71).

Between 1945 and 1950, as a result of structural changes in rural areas, a massive labor force started to flow towards big cities. Yet, because of the war economy, neither official authorities nor private enterprises invested in the development of big cities throughout the war years. Thus, other big cities as well as Ankara had no potential capacity in absorbing newcomers. There were no enough jobs to employ a massive labor force without experience and

skill. For this reason, the migrants have settled in the margins of cities in words of economical relations and physical settlement. These urban poor have concentrated on informal sector. However, the capacity of informal sector in absorbing the labor force of newcomers has not been sufficient. Due to this reason, the rate of unemployment among the Gecekondu dwellers was high. The current jobs were with low wage and temporary (Şenyapılı, 1983: 79).

By the 1950's, the most attractive Gecekondu districts in Ankara were Altındağ and Yenidoğan. In these districts there were 60.000 people. The rate of Gecekondu population in the latter, Gülveren and its surroundings, was 41 per cent. The third region, Seyranbağları and its surroundings, was full of Gecekondu population (Şenyapılı, 1983: 81-82).

Between 1945 and 1950 years, the Gecekondu problem was discussed in the National Assembly and by the Press. By the arguments it was continuously stressed on the imprudence and unplanned conditions of the city. It was largely believed that the solution could be realized in legal regulations. In the course of these critiques in 1948 the first Gecekondu law was constituted. The purpose of this law was to legalize Gecekondu dwellings within the surroundings of the municipality. Including articles of 5218 and 5228, within all laws some essentials have been accepted till now:

- a) acceptance of Gecekondu and legalizing all the dwellings,
- b) considering the aim above, the transfer of the land by central administrations to local authorities,
- c) construction of social dwellings by the municipality for Gecekondu population,

d) supplement of financial sources by means of banking credits (Şenyapılı, 1983: 87-90).

Together with the economical arrangements of Democrat Party government, commercial activities, manufacture and infra-structure investments developed in Ankara were then attractive to rural people. The commercial activities and manufacture were continuously demanding cheap labor force. At last, noticing the vote potential of the Gecekondu dwellers, DP government began to develop new policies for Gecekondu problem. The distribution of title-deeds and the supplement of infrastructural services were the major policies. The political relations connected with Gecekondu settlements have formed a substantial step in integrating the migrants into urban way of life. The Gecekondu Beautification Associations were organized by the help of the government (Şenyapılı, 1983: 127-128).

Post-1960, the Gecekondu problem was included in development plans. In the Uybadin-Yücel Plan (1957-1969), the Gecekondu fact was not evaluated sufficiently. This plan anticipated a city having a population of 750.000, without Gecekondu dwellings. However, the official authorities couldn't have brought a solution through this plan for the Gecekondu settings. The second plan after 1960, called Ankara Metropolitan Area Regulating Plan Office (1969-1984), got substantial achievements in planning the city. The experience and case of Batıkent is the one of the most important successes. After 1983, the Greater Ankara Municipality was constituted. With this planning period Ankara municipality got some possibilities in reorganizing the city (Bademli, 1986: 107-113).

Post-1960, the demands for housing in Ankara increased sharply. The number of houses needed between 1966 and 1984 was anticipated to be 287.605; however, the number of houses which had been built were only 170.039. In this period, the number of licensed houses were 204.099. In 1985

the number of Gecekondu dwellings in Ankara was calculated to be 291.600. Keleş estimated the number of Gecekondu dwellings in Ankara for 1966 to be 100.000 and for 1980 to be 275.000. By Considering these numbers, it is seen that the number of new Gecekondu dwellings which were built between 1966 and 1984 was estimated to be about 190.000. However, this number is much more than the lack of licensed dwellings. After 1980, unlicensed dwellings were controlled effectively by the authorities, and the rate of Gecekondu dwellings, as a result of measures, has been low (Türel, 1986: 62).

2. The Short Description of the two Study Sites

In the field study, we have studied two neighborhoods: Hürriyet neighborhood in Yenidoğan and Başpınar neighborhood in Hüseyingazi. There are two reasons in selecting these two districts. Firstly, the construction time of Yenidoğan is older than Hüseyingazi. Secondly, it is due to the distance to Ulus since Yenidoğan is nearer to Ulus (city centre) than Hüseyingazi.

Hürriyet neighborhood in the district of Yenidoğan is 2.5-3 km far away from Ulus. Yenidoğan as a Gecekondu setting which was firstly included in the zoning plan in 1940's, had been legalized by the Democratic Party Government in the early years of 1950.

According to the local administration there have been no houses which were demolished due to the lack of title-deed but, have only been some houses demolished because of construction of main road. Streets in Yenidoğan are very narrow. Houses have one or two floors, and almost every house has a yard. Since streets are narrow and steep, it is difficult to carry the load of coal and firewood to houses. The most important demands of the

dwellers from the Municipality are widening streets, improving the system of sewerages and getting more parks and greenfields.

The dwellers living in Yenidoğan have usually migrated from Erzurum, Kars, Yozgat, and Haymana. They generally give their celebration parties such as weddings and circumcision feasts in the open halls of the neighborhood. So they try to conserve their rural traditions. Finally, they are in a great solidarity in cases of weddings, deaths, accidents, constructing houses and carrying the loads of coal and firewood.

In Başıpınar neighborhood of Hüseyingazi district there are approximately 50.000 people living in 7000 houses. The construction of neighborhood started in 1970's, and then it became legal and turned out to be an administrated neighborhood in 1977. The illegal houses have been demolished by the municipality. And, in the near future some others will be broken down due to construction of the legal main road.

Every house in the neighborhood has one floor and yard. The streets in the district are very wide and with asphalt. The materials used in construction of houses are more qualified than those in Yenidoğan. The number of the buildings constructed with concrete materials are quite high.

The major problems of the Başıpınar neighborhood concentrate on the lack of health house, system of sewerages and parks and greenfields. The distance between the neighborhood and Ulus is 15 km. The cities which were mostly migrated from are Çorum, Yozgat, Erzurum and Bolu. The rural traditions of the dwellers have been still maintained. Solidarity among families is very common. Celebration patterns like wedding are generally given in front of the houses.

B. DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE GECEKONDU DWELLERS

As has been mentioned before, some important changes in the structure of the rural areas in Turkey after 1950s have caused many transformations in social structure, in both rural and urban areas. Because of mechanization in agriculture, polarization in land and so on, Turkey has faced a population increase and migration phenomenon from rural to urban areas. This migration flow has continued up to now. Thus, after 1950s, rural migrants in big cities have begun to fill in the gaps in urban areas. The numbers of rural migrants have sharply increased. They have settled in the outskirts of cities. This massive movement, at last, has caused the construction of Gecekondu districts in big cities, especially in Ankara, Istanbul and Izmir. Particularly, Ankara has absorbed a substantial ratio of rural migrants. In spite of many difficulties, the Gecekondu dwellers have constituted a settled unit in cities. It has been claimed that they had been carrying their rural characteristics to cities. This was almost true since they had no sufficient occupational skill or educational capacity. They have continued to keep the existence of some rural values and characteristics as a survival mechanisms or strategies in tackling the urban difficulties.

In our study, demographic and social characteristics of the Gecekondu dwellers (head of household) are rural-origin. The living places before the migration are largely rural areas, either from village or town.

Table 5 illustrates that heads of household in the sample are largely (about 60 per cent) migrants from rural areas. 25.5 per cent of the heads of household have migrated to Ankara from towns which could be considered semi-rural areas. The proportion of Gecekondu dwellers born in Ankara is 9.2 per cent. According to the findings in Table 5, a substantial portion of the

sample has moved to Ankara from rural areas. In Özer's study (1983: 159) large proportion (74.5 per cent in Çalışkanlar district and 94.1 per cent in Zeki Doğan district) of the gecekondü dwellers migrated to Ankara from villages. In Tatlıdil's study (1989: 57). 58.0 per cent of the gecekondü dwellers migrated to Kayseri from villages. Therefore, these all findings indicate that gecekondü dwellers are largely from rural areas. It is a well-known fact that particularly dynamic population of the rural areas migrate to cities due to employment problems. This population group generally consists of young and middle ages.

As seen in Table 6, the age distribution of the sample shows that the majority of the sample are gathered in 31-60 age groups, including about 81 per cent of the sample. The largest ratio, 34.7 per cent is included in 41-50 age group. This indicates that the heads of household in the sample constitute an economically active population. The mean in age distribution is 44.5.

Table 7 shows sex distribution of the sample.

As shown in Table 7, majority of the sample (85.7 per cent) is male.

According to Table 8, majority of the sample consists of married people. The rate of divorced or widowed seems to be high.

As has been said before, the study was conducted in two Gecekondü districts. We have tried to regard an equal distribution of the sample in two districts.

Because of the variable "distance to the city centre", the two districts have been chosen in terms of distance to Ulus, which is the second city centre in Ankara. So Yenidoğan is nearer to Ulus than Hüseyingazi.

The variable "duration of residence in city" is our second variable. Table 10 illustrates the duration of residence of the sample in Ankara.

In Table 10, it is seen that the duration of residence in Ankara concentrates on the group between 16 years and more (53.9 per cent). About 39 per cent of the sample are involved in the 6-15 year groups. It is clear from Table 10 that the duration of residence in Ankara for the sample seems to be not high. The mean is 12.5 year.

The occupations and current work of the sample are shown in Table 11. The type of "current work" is considered as the third independent variable. The choice of the type of "current work" as the third independent variable is due to some reasons. First of all, employment in a formal sector job provides the worker some opportunities to use some urban organizations such as social security organizations, trade unions, financial assistance chests and so on. Secondly, because of its some characteristics such as illegal and small scale operation, long working hours, informal sector jobs sometimes prevent some daily life activities. Therefore, by using the variable "type of current work" of the sample, we will examine how the employment conditions effect the participation in organized urban structures.

As pointed out in Table 11 showing occupations and current works of the sample, almost all of them are employed in jobs related to their occupation. Substantial portion of the sample concentrates on the formal sector works (50.1 per cent). Formal sector work comprise petty traders, industrial workers, service workers, technicians, officials, drivers, and retired. These sort of works are more organized, programmed and secured socially, in comparison with informal sector works. The rate of informal works is 19.3 per cent. Informal sector works involve petty hawkers, building workers and daily-labourers. The propartion of unemployed sample is quite high (29.6 per cent). In fact, we can add these unemployed dwellers into informal sector since they sometimes work in dayly works. As shown in Table 11, there is nobody working in independent business, teaching and public service which require high level of

education and knowledge. This indicates that the level of education of the sample reflects the kind of occupation and work.

Household size in the sample is shown in Table 12. The smallest household size consists of two members, the largest involves 14 members. The most common household sizes are gathered in groups of 4,5,6, and 7 persons. The average value in the household size is 5.4 persons.

The findings of other studies are almost the same of our findings. For instance, in Kongar's gecekondu study (1973: 129), the mean in the household size is 5.1. In Özer's study (1983: 155), the average value in the household size is 4.9 for the first gecekondu district and 4.5 for the second district. In these two gecekondu districts, the household sizes before migration are 6.7 and 7.6 persons. These figures indicate that the average value in the household size in rural areas is bigger than that of gecekondu families. In Timur's study (1972:), the average value of household size in urban families is 4.1. Therefore, the household size in gecekondu families is bigger than that in urban families.

Table 13 shows the possessional distribution of the houses in which the Gecekondu dwellers reside.

According to Table 13, 75.5 per cent of the sample are owners of the houses. The rate of tenants is 17.3 per cent. Although 6.1 per cent of families do not own the house, they do not pay any rent. Therefore, the proportion of house ownership in the sample is very high. Findings of other gecekondu studies show a high house ownership in gecekondu: 59 per cent in Yasa's study (1966: 63), 76.5 per cent and 78.6 per cent in Özer's study (1983: 177), 80.5 per cent in Gökçe's study (1976: 80), and 58.6 per cent in Demir's study (1991: 57).

Table 14 illustrates educational level of the sample. Our findings and the other studies indicate that educational level of, gecekondu dwellers is very low. For instance, in Kartal's study (1978: 54), 19 per cent of the gecekondu dwellers is illiterate. 36 per cent of them graduated from primary school. Some other gecekondu studies (Kongar, 1973; Şenyapılı, 1978) also show that educational level of gecekondu dwellers is low.

Table 14 shows that 20.4 per cent of the sample are illiterate. Majority of the sample (54.3 per cent) have graduated from primary school. The rate of the sample who graduated from secondary school is 13.2 per cent. The rate of literate sample (but not finished a school) is 7.1 per cent. The proportion of graduation from post-secondary school seems to be very low, totally 5.0 per cent.

To sum up, we can touch on some general demographic and social characteristics of the sample. Majority of the sample are rural-origin. The rate of sample who migrated to Ankara from a province is only 6 per cent. So they are largely rural migrants. Again, majority of them in terms of age distribution are gathered in 31 - 50 age groups. The average value in the age distribution is 44.5. They largely consist of married people (86.7 per cent). But the rate of divorced or widowed does not seem to be low (13.3 per cent). The duration of residence in Ankara is not high. About three fourth of the sample migrated to Ankara before 1980. Almost all of the heads of household are employed in a work related to their occupation. The rate of employing in formal sector works (50.1 per cent) is more than that of working in informal sector works (19.3 per cent). The rate of unemployed dwellers is very high (29.6 per cent). The average value in the household size is 5.4 persons. The rate of house ownership is also quite high. Three fourths of the sample own the house. This is a general characteristic within Gecekondu settlements. The educational level of the sample is very low, concentrating on illiterate and primary/secondary level (about 95.0 per cent).

As a result, by considering the findings above, it can be said that Gecekondu dwellers in the sample social and demographic characteristics which fully do not differ from that of rural population. This indicates that they still try to keep their rural socio-cultural patterns in the city. So these general demographic and social characteristics would effect the use of organized urban structures. We will see this in the following sections.

C. EDUCATION

In this section, we will try to show participation of Gecekondu dwellers in the sample in urban educational organizations. While doing so, we will attempt to determine whether there is an effect of three variables on integration into urban educational organizations. To determine the level of participation in urban educational organizations, we have excluded the official schools from Table 15 since attending to the official schools is, at least primary level, compulsory, and the young generation attends to these schools. Yet, our concern in the study is not children but household, heads.

Table 15 illustrates that how many people in the household attend to the special training courses, such as sewing, driving-licence, foreign language, typewriting, computer and so on.

As indicated in Table 15, attending special training courses such as sewing, driving-licence and so on, appears low. 78.6 per cent of the sample said that they had not been attending any course. Only 20.4 per cent have actual attendance to special training courses. These people having actual attendance to special training courses consist of second generation on a large scale. Table 16 shows the people attending these courses.

Those attending special training courses are largely (75.0 per cent) people of the second generation, the children of the heads of household. The second generation seems to be more urbanized in respect to educational scope than the first generation. Only one of the heads of household (5.0 per cent) in the sample has been attending special training courses. Reasons of this are shown in Table 17.

As seen in Table 17, the inadequacy of income constitutes the most important reason of not attending special training courses. The rate of insufficiency in income is 46.16 per cent. The second substantial reason is the absence of time (16.67 per cent). But if the insufficiency in income is gathered together with answer (e) and (f), than the rate of the insufficiency in income rises to 58.98 per cent. In the same way, the rate of the absence of time becomes 29.49 per cent. So the two reasons, namely, the absence of time and insufficiency in income appear the most important reasons of not attending special training courses.

Table 18 illustrates the reasons of attending special training courses.

As shown in Table 18, the main reason of attending special training courses is to gain a professional skill (75 per cent). The other important reason is to increase professional knowledge and experience. The rate of increasing professional knowledge and experience is 2.0 per cent. So economic reasons are firstly regarded by the dwellers in having attendance to the special training courses.

Table 19 indicates the correlation between attending special training courses and the duration of residence in the city.

Table 19 shows that there is no significant correlation between the duration of residence in the city and attending special training courses. Although as the increase in the duration of residence in the city run parallel with the rise in attending special training courses, as seen in the second cell, the rate of the heads of household in not attending these courses also increases. Therefore, there is no impact of the duration of residence in the city on attending special training, courses.

To sum up, we can say that the educational level of Gecekondu dwellers in the sample is quite low. This is also valid for attending to the special training courses. About four fifth of the heads of household and the other members in the household said that they had not been attending these courses. Those attending to these courses are largely second generation. The inadequacy of income and the absence of time appear as the most important reasons of not attending special training courses. To gain a professional skill constitutes the main and most substantial reason in attending these courses. As shown in Table 19, there is no significant correlation between the duration of residence in the city and attending special training courses. Therefore, special training courses as urban educational organizations are used by gecekondu dwellers at a quite level. The heads of household are not concerned with these courses.

D. URBAN EXPERIENCE OF LIVING BEFORE MIGRATION

In this section, we will deal with the urban experience of living before migration. This aims at determining whether the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample visited a city before migration or not. If s/he visited a city, did s/he resort to an organization and an institution? We will suppose that one of the indicators of urban experience of living is the urban visit of rural migrants. So the first

table of this section is related with their visiting city. Have they been to any city before migration?

As indicated in Table 20, the level of pre-migration urban experience of living is quite high (39.15 per cent). Before migration, the rate of Gecekondu dwellers who have not been in a city before migration is 60.85 per cent.

What was the aim of staying in a city before migration? Table 21 deals with the aim of staying in a city before migration.

Table 21 indicates that the main purpose of staying in city before migration is either to find a job (30.3 per cent) or to work (39.40 per cent). Therefore, the economic reasons in pre-migration visiting to cities constitute the driving force. On the other hand, the use of official or private organizations in the cities before migration is quite low (12.1 per cent). So there is a parallel line between the economic reasons and the pre-migration urban experience of living.

Table 22 clarifies that the duration of staying of the sample in a city before migration concentrates on between less than 1 year and 3 years (81.82 per cent). This implies that more four fifth of the sample have not long period for urban experience of living.

Table 23 illustrates the relation between the distance to the city centre and the pre-migration urban experience of living.

Table 23 indicates that there is no significant relation between the distance to the city centre and the pre-migration urban experience of living. While the rate of having pre-migration urban experience of living in Yenidoğan is 22.9 per cent, the rate for this in Hüseyingazi is 16.9 per cent. This means

that; as it is getting near the city center, the rate of pre-migration urban experience of the dwellers does not get higher.

As a conclusion of this part, it is obvious that half of the sample did not experience urban life before the migration. The main reasons of staying in the city before migration are economic. Participating in urban organizations before the migration is at a very low level.

E. TRANSPORTATION AND DISTANCE TO THE CITY CENTRE

Transportation problems in this century entirely effect social life of urban people. This problem reflects itself especially in underdeveloped countries since because of the lack of municipal services, transportation difficulties can result in some obstacles for participation in organized urban structures. It may be expected that this problem exists especially in Gecekondü districts which are far away from the city centre. So the first table of this part clarifies the distance between the workplace and home.

As pointed out in Table 24, the distances between work place and home are largely gathered between 1 and 20 kilometres (72.22 per cent). Is there a transportation problem between city centre/work place and the dwelling? Table 25 indicates that about half of the sample (44.5 per cent) face such a problem.

As seen in Table 25, the substantial rate of the sample has been facing transportation problems. The rate of those having no transportation problems is 50.0 per cent. Why doesn't transportation become a problem? This is illustrated in Table 26.

Table 26 indicates that, because of existence of transportational facilities, the rate of those having no transportation problem is 74.42 per cent. The existence of transportation facilities such as municipal undertakings is the most important facility in transportation.

Does the transportation problem effect social life? Table 27 illustrates the impact of transportation problem on social life.

Due to transportation problems, the rate of those who are often late to work is 58.70 per cent. This results in, at the same time, some problems in the work place. Table 27 shows that the rate of the sample who are late when s/he has a problem in an urban organization is quite low. This is the expected finding since, as we will show in the subsequent parts, the rate of using urban organizations and institutions is very low.

Table 28 indicates the relation between transportation problem and the type of current work. By considering the values in the cells, it could be said that there is no significant correlation between transportation problem and the type of current work. Therefore, employment in formal sector works does not decrease transportation problems; that's, the possibilities of formal sector related to transportation such as service car have no significant impact in decreasing transportation problems.

To conclude, the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample generally work far away from their home. The distance between workplace and home is largely gathered between 1 and 20 kilometers. 11.1 per cent of the sample work in a long distance, namely, more than 20 kilometers. About half of the sample have been facing transportation problems such as being late to work. But some transportation facilities decrease the rate of these problems. In addition, there is no significant impact of the type of current work on

transportation problems. So employment in formal sector jobs does not decrease transportation problems.

F. SOLIDARITY, SOCIAL AID AND SOCIAL SECURITY

Here we will deal with the membership in some urban organizations and institutions, and social aid. Then we will indicate whether there is any significant correlation between the membership in some urban organizations and the independent variables or not. The first table of this section shows the rate of membership or participation in some urban organizations.

As indicated in Table 29, the rate of membership in urban organizations is quite low. The average rate of membership is 11.7 per cent. 47 per cent of the sample is not a member to any organization. The membership in foundations is zero. The rate of membership or participation in the activities of associations (11.2 per cent), political parties (6.1 per cent), and trade unions (10.2 per cent) is already quite low. The highest rate among these organizations has been found for social security organizations (39.8 per cent). This can be explained in two ways: Firstly, employment in an organized and formal job legally necessitates membership in a social security organization. Secondly, it is due to financial and social security. Therefore, membership in social security organization cannot be a suitable indicator of integration into organized urban structures.

In other some gecekondü studies (Kartal, 1978; Özer, 1983; Tatlıdil, 1989), the rates of membership in urban organizations are low as the findings in our study. It is only social security organization for which the rate of membership is high. In Tatlıdil's study (1989: 99), 74.0 per cent of the head of household and 89.8 per cent of the children of heads of household become member in social security organizations.

In the case of a problem, do the Gecekondu dwellers resort to the urban organizations? Table 30 shows the places and people resorted for aid.

As indicated in Table 30, in case of a social or a financial problem, the rate of receiving aid from kins, co-villagers and neighbours is about 60 per cent. On the other hand, the rate of using urban organizations such as state office, bank or financial assistance chest is quite low, namely, 16.4 per cent. Applying for the help of colleagues is only 3.1 per cent. Therefore, in case of a problem, the Gecekondu dwellers heavily use informal relations (59.2 per cent) in comparison with formal relations through organized urban structures (16.4 per cent).

Do the Gecekondu dwellers resort to some urban organizations and institutions for social aid? Table 31 shows that they rarely use urban organizations and institutions, for social aid, such as in kind of monetary aid from official organizations.

As shown in Table 31, the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample rarely demand social aid from urban organizations (11.2 per cent).

In Table 29, we have dealt with the rates of membership in some urban organizations. Do the independent variables have any impact on the use of these organizations? Table 32 indicates this relationship.

According to Table 32, there is no significant correlation between the membership in associations and the type of current work. Whereas, as the Gecekondu dwellers who are member of an association have gathered in the formal sector, the number and rate of those in the formal sector, who are not member of any association, are higher than that in the informal sector.

As indicated in Table 32, although membership in political parties in the formal sector is much more than that in the informal sector, the rate of not being a member of any political party in the informal sector as well as in the formal sector does not give us any significant correlation among them. For this correlation, chi-square value is zero.

As again shown in Table 32, we can say that there is no any significant difference between membership in trade unions and the type of current work. This can be also said for the relationship between membership in financial assistance chests and the type of current work. In the light of chi-square values, we can also mention that for the membership in cooperatives and sport clubs by the type of current work there exists no any significant correlation. Among these, a significant difference appears only for social security organizations.

Table 33 illustrates the relationships of membership in some urban organizations by the duration of residence in the city.

As seen in Table 33, there does not appear a significant rise in the rate of membership in associations as years in the city pass. This is also valid for the rate of membership in political parties. The same insignificant relationship is seen between membership in trade unions and duration of residence in the city. So the value of chi-square for trade unions in the cell is zero. We can also indicate same relationship for cooperatives and sport clubs. Therefore, it could be supposed that there is no significant impact of duration of residence in the city on membership of the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample for some urban organizations. This can be also proved by taking the values of chi-square in the table into consideration as well.

After the examination of the variable "duration of residence in the city", here we will touch on the relationship between the variable "distance to the city centre" and the membership in some urban organizations. Table 34 shows that the rate of the membership in all urban organizations, in the Table for Yenidoğan, which is nearer to the city centre (Ulus) than Hüseyingazi, is much more than Hüseyingazi. So it can be said that the Gecekondu dwellers living close to the city centre participate in urban organizations more than those residing distant from the city centre. But this does not mean that there exists a significant correlation between the distance to the city centre and use of all urban organizations in the table. There is a significant correlation only between distance to the city centre and membership to social security organizations. However, except social security organization, the rates of not being a member of any organization in Yenidoğan are almost the same in the ones in Hüseyingazi.

To sum up, in this section it has been attempted to determine the rates of membership in selected urban organizations, the use of selected urban organizations and institutions for social aid, and the relationships between participation in some urban organizations and the independent variables. In view of the findings in Table 29, it has been found that about half of the sample did not become a member in urban organizations, as shown in the table. The average rate of membership in urban organizations in Table 29 is 11.7 per cent. The highest rate in Table 29 has been found for social security organizations (39.8 per cent). In case of a social or a financial problem, the Gecekondu dwellers utilize informal relations (about 60 per cent) much more than formal relations through organized urban structures (16.4 per cent). The Gecekondu dwellers use urban organizations and institutions for social aid at a very low level (11.2 per cent). Therefore, the informal relationships fill in the gap occurring in the course of integration into urban structures.

In Tables 32, 33, and 34, we have tried to determine whether there are any significant correlation between membership in selected urban organizations and the independent variables. With exception of social security organization, in all three tables we couldn't find any significant correlation between membership to some urban organizations and the three independent variables.

G. PARTICIPATION IN STATE AND LOCAL BUREAUCRACIES

In this section, we will examine the relations of the Gecekonu dwellers in the sample with the state and local bureaucracies. To what extent do they use state bureaucracies? While using state and local bureaucracies, do they apply to informal relations? In a problem faced in state and local bureaucracies, do they mostly use which relations, formal or informal? To answer these questions, the tables below give some clues about the use of formal and informal relations.

Table 35 is related with the way in solving the problems encountered in state bureaucracies.

Table 35 illustrates that, in case of a problem in the state bureaucracies, the rate of resorting directly to the state office is quite high (40.8 per cent). This finding is contrary with other findings since, as it has been seen in the previous parts, the Gecekonu dwellers utilize urban organizations and institutions very little, and while using them, they heavily apply to the informal relations rather than formal procedures. Indeed, the total rate of using informal relations, as shown in Table 35, is not low (36.7 per cent).

Where or to whom do the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample apply to when they face official problems in the state and local bureaucracies? What is the most encountered behaviour? Table 36 makes clear of this question.

Table 36 indicates that the rate of introducing formal ways seems quite high (32.7 per cent) compared to informal ways (23.5 per cent). This finding is the same with that in Table 35. So it can be said that if they have official problems in state offices, the use of formal ways appears much more than that of informal ways. This implies that the Gecekondu dwellers tend to use formal ways more in comparison with informal ways in tackling the difficulties in state and local bureaucracies.

Table 37 reveals the most important reason of being unable to tackle the problems in the state and local bureaucracies. The red tape appears as the most important reason for the Gecekondu dwellers.

As shown in Table 37, the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample see the red tape as the most substantial reason of the difficulties encountered in the state and local bureaucracies (39.8 per cent). The red tape involves some behavioural types such as unconcern and inadequacy of officials, errors made in the procedures, the density of work, and the lack of the government's control on administrative procedures.

As it has been shown in this section, in case of a problem in the state and local bureaucracies, the substantial portion (40.8 per cent) of the sample goes directly to the state offices. Again, at the same way, the most preferred behaviour type in tackling an official problem is to introduce formal ways (32.7 per cent). But the use of informal ways is not very low in comparison with the application to formal ways. The Gecekondu dwellers in the sample see red tape and bribery as the most important reasons of being unable to tackle the problems faced in the state and local bureaucracies.

H. EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS

In this section, we will deal with the employment relations of the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample concerning the use of organized urban structures. In attempting to do this, some questions have been formulated. For the current work, from where and how would they get the needed professional skill? How did they find the first work when migrated to Ankara? If they have changed their first work in Ankara, how did they find their last work? Here these problems are tried to be answered.

As it will be seen in the subsequent sections, the employment problem together with housing generally and heavily constitutes the most important difficulty encountered by the Gecekondu dwellers at the first year(s) of migration. In producing solutions for the employment problem, to which extent do they use organized urban structures? Table 38 is interested in gaining the professional skill.

According to Table 38, to get the professional skill for the current work, the total rate of using organized urban structures as special training courses, trade schools and military service is only 9.9 per cent. They gain professional skill by mostly working on the job (75.3 per cent). "Working on the job" means that the skill in the employment is learnt through informal ways such as assisting masters in the work place. Although the rate of the formal sector works in our sample is more than that of the informal sector works, some formal sector jobs such as petty tradesman, official duty and service worker do not necessitate any kind of professional skill.

How did the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample find their first work when they migrated to Ankara? Table 39 examines the ways used in finding the first work in Ankara.

It is indicated in Table 39 that the rate of applying to employment agency is only 2.7 per cent. The majority of the Gecekondu dwellers (89.5 per cent) stated that they have found their first work in Ankara by using informal relations, namely, either the help of friends, co-villagers, kins, etc. or by himself. In other some studies, the gecekondu dwellers prefer informal relationships more in finding job than formal relationships. For instance, in Tatlıdil's study (1989: 92), only 22.2 per cent of the gecekondu dwellers used an employment agency to find their first job. The remaining of the sample found their first work by using either their kins and co-villagers or by themselves.

Table 40 is on the use of urban organizations in getting the last work in Ankara.

The findings in Table 40 is almost the same with that in Table 39. Like the findings in Table 39, the use of the informal relations in finding the last work in Ankara is much more than that of formal organizations. 48.6 per cent of the sample have not changed their first work.

As it has been designated in this section, the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample mostly use the informal relations of kins, co-villagers and neighbours to cope with employment problems. While doing so, they rarely resort to the formal relations through organized urban structures. This has been pointed out in Tables 38, 39, and 40. The total rates of using urban organizations in three tables are 9.9 per cent, 6.6 per cent, and 4.2 per cent respectively. These results indicate that Gecekondu dwellers in the sample see the informal applications to close circles in finding an urban job as the most rational choice with respect to survival strategies.

I. ADJUSTMENT TO THE CITY

Although the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample heavily use the solidarity relationships with kins, co-villagers and neighbours in urban conditions, they face many urban adjustment problems in city. In spite of the fact that living and residing in Gecekondu settlement provide some integrative mechanisms as survival strategies for the Gecekondu dwellers, it is inevitable that they will encounter such difficulties. The adjustment difficulties of the Gecekondu dwellers concentrate in certain areas, especially in economic sphere. For this reason, the preference of Gecekondu dwelling becomes the most rational choice since the cheap prices in the rent and construction materials compared to that in settled areas of city appear for the dweller as survival strategy.

The housing and employment are the most substantial adjustment problems that the Gecekondu dwellers face in the city, especially in the first year(s) of residence in the city.

Table 41 designates the two most important problems of the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample in terms of adaptation difficulties.

As seen in Table 41, the housing problem is given priority (totally 69.9 per cent) in the first year of residence in Ankara. The second one is employment (totally 66.3 per cent). Therefore, these two problems imply that the first difficulties arise from economic deficiencies. The rate of those indicating these two problems all together is 48.2 per cent.

Some other studies (Kongar, 1973; Şenyapılı, 1978; Özer, 1983; Arcak, 1986; Tatlıdil, 1989) indicate that some economic reasons such as unemployment, insufficient income level, and landlessness have important

impacts on the decision of migration towards big cities. The economic problems which cannot be solved in rural areas are brought by the gecekondu dwellers to the big cities. Thus, the problems such as unemployment and underemployment constitute the most important difficulties for the gecekondu dwellers in cities.

Table 42 deals with the type of solution to cope with these two problems.

As shown in Table 42, the use of the formal urban organizations to cope with these two problems is quite low (2.7 per cent). This should be expected since the Gecekondu dwellers mostly try to solve the housing problem by himself or by the help of kins and co-villagers, either building or renting a Gecekondu dwelling. As designated in the table, the rate of those who solved by themselves without receiving any aid, if we add the help of the aid received from the close circles to this, reaches to 88 per cent. Therefore, the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample heavily apply to the informal relations to solve the adjustment problems in the first year of residence in the city. They are concerned with the use of organized urban institutions for adaptation to city at a quite low level.

To sum up, it can be expressed that the two most important problems of the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample from the point of adjustment difficulties in the first year of residence in Ankara are gathered in housing and finding employment. These problems arise from economic deficiencies. More than half of the sample (totally 69.9 per cent) have encountered the housing problem. Again, more than half of the sample have faced the employment problem. In tackling these problems, they have mostly applied to the informal relations of close circles.

K. FINANCIAL RELATIONS

In this section, we will attempt to explain the borrowing sources of the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample. We will also show how they use their savings if they are able to save. Here our purpose is to determine whether they use urban formal organizations or not. Table 43 shows the borrowing sources.

Table 43 points out that majority of the sample (73.5 per cent) borrow money from their close social environment, including kins, co-villagers, friends, neighbours, and district petty traders. The use of financial organizations is quite low (10.2 per cent).

How do they use their savings? Table 44 illustrates the ways to make profitable of the savings.

As seen in Table 44, majority of the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample (83.7 per cent) are not able to save. Only 16.3 per cent of the sample can save. The rate of using banks for saving is very low (4.1 per cent). 8.1 per cent of the sample expressed that they have preferred traditional saving ways, namely, buying gold and depositing cash money. So using an urban formal organization in saving seems very low.

As a result of this section, it has been shown that majority of the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample could borrow money by using informal ways. The use of the formal financial organizations for borrowing is very low. Due to the insufficient income, more than four fifth of them cannot save. Therefore, economic impossibilities of the sample decreases the level of participation in financial organizations.

L. HEALTH

In this section, we will bring out the relationships of the Gecekonu dwellers in the sample with the health organizations. At which level do they apply to the health organizations? Do they attach importance to their health problems? In tackling the health difficulties, do they apply to unlicensed people for medicine? The tables in this section give some clues about the solutions for the health problems. As it will be indicated later, the Gecekonu dwellers attach extreme importance to their health problems and heavily use the health organizations. It can be concluded that the health organizations are the commonly used ones by the Gecekonu dwellers.

The first table of this section shows the health organizations resorted to by the dwellers.

As shown in Table 45, Gecekonu dwellers in the sample firstly and commonly resort to the state hospitals (75.6 per cent). Secondly, they prefer the health houses namely, 13.3 per cent. The cheap prices of state hospital services in comparison with private doctors and hospitals importantly effect application. In Alpar and Yener's study (1991: 72-73) the proportion of using hospitals is also very high. According to this study, the rate of resorting to the hospitals is 85.9 per cent in gecekonu districts of Ankara, 81 per cent in that of Istanbul, and 87 per cent in that of Izmir. Do the Gecekonu dwellers frequently resort to the hospitals or health organizations? Table 46 shows that about two third of the sample apply to the health organizations in case of illness.

Table 47 illustrates where the children were born in Ankara after migration.

As indicated in Table 47, the rate of application to state hospitals for birth of children in Ankara is quite high (85.7 per cent). 14 of the heads of household said that their children were born in rural areas.

Is there a significant correlation between the frequency of resorting to the health organizations and the independent variables?

According to Table 48, there is a significant correlation between the distance to the city centre and frequency of resorting to the health organizations. The rate of frequency of resorting to the health organizations in Yenidoğan (40.0 per cent) is almost twice of Hüseyingazi (21.1 per cent). Therefore, it can be said that the variable "distance to the city centre" significantly affects the frequency of resorting to the health organizations.

But, on the other hand, there is no significant difference between duration of residence in the city and frequency of resorting to the health organizations.

As shown in Table 49, the values in both columns increase together. So the variable "duration of residence in the city" has no significant impact on frequency of resorting to the health organizations.

As illustrated in Table 50, there exists no significant correlation between the two variables since values of formal sector are bigger than that of informal sector.

As a result of this section, we can state that the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample commonly use the health organizations, especially the State hospitals. The three fourth of the sample said that they firstly used the State hospitals. It is remarkable that they do not apply to unlicensed people such as

folk medicine practitioners for their illness. About two thirds of the sample mentioned that they had frequently gone to the health organizations, in case of illness. Another finding is that; about three fourths of them had preferred the State hospitals for the birth of their children after migration. While we have found a significant correlation between distance to the city centre and frequency of resorting health organizations, we have not seen the same significant relation between frequency of resorting health organizations and the two other independent variables. The significant relation between distance to the city centre and frequency of resorting to the health organizations can be interpreted in only one way: the gecekondu dwellers residing close to the city centre have no heavy transportation problems so they easily arrive to the hospitals since the health organizations are largely located in the city centre and its surrounding.

M. SHOPPING PATTERNS

In this section, we will examine the shopping patterns and the consumption level in the household durable possessions of the Gecekondu dwellers. Here the aim is to determine at what level they use urban shopping centers such as supermarket. First of all, from where do they commonly supply their food? Table 51 is related to this question.

Table 51 shows that the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample mostly supply their food from petty traders in the Gecekondu settlement (totally 79.6 per cent). The rate of using supermarket is not low (totally 15.4) since the supermarkets are generally established in the city centre and its surroundings, due to density of population. The total rate of using supermarkets and Ulus Hâli is 24.6 per cent. As it will be shown in the next table, instead of supermarkets, they prefer peddlers and street hawkers, as well as petty traders in the district.

Table 52 designates the rate of shopping from peddlers and street hawkers.

According to Table 52, two thirds of the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample do shopping from peddlers and street hawkers. Table 53 deals with the probable reasons of shopping peddlers and street hawkers.

Table 53 illustrates that the most important reason in shopping from peddlers and street hawkers is the cheap price of the goods (totally 76.2 per cent).

Table 54 shows the ownership rates in household durable goods. As it has been explained in the first chapter, we have mentioned that participation of the Gecekondu dwellers in the market of household durable goods was very high. With this consumption, they try to get a status and prestige in the Gecekondu setting.

Table 54 shows that the consumption level of the Gecekondu dwellers in household durable goods is quite high, especially for TV set, refrigerator, carpet, radio, and tape recorder. The average rate of ownership is 55 per cent. The highest rates are gathered on TV set (92.9 per cent), refrigerator (84.7 per cent), carpet (82.7 per cent) and radio (79.6 per cent). The lowest rates concentrate on a set of armchairs (34.7 per cent), book shelves (21.4 per cent), fan (6.1 per cent), and computer (3.1 per cent).

The use of household durable goods is seen by the gecekondu dwellers as the indicators of their being urbanized (Özer, 1983: 193). These goods are perceived by them as important factors in exhibiting their social status and prestige.

As a result of this section, it can be said that the most of Gecekondu dwellers in the sample participate in the urban consumption market for household durable goods. They commonly use the petty traders in the district to supply food. About four fifth of the sample mentioned that they have mostly done shopping from the petty traders in the district. Two third of the sample do shopping from peddlers and street hawkers. Approximately half of the sample pointed out that the main driving force behind the shopping from peddlers and street hawkers was the cheapness of the goods. As it has been indicated in the last table of this section, the rate of ownership in the household durable goods has appeared quite high, especially for TV set and refrigerator. Therefore, as the dwellers in the sample participate in urban consumption market for household durable goods, they don't prefer supermarkets due to the high prices and distance to the dwelling. Because of instalment sale, the consumption of household durable goods is quite high.

N. LOCAL PARTICIPATION IN URBAN ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS

In this section, we will examine the local level of participation in some urban organizations and institutions. As it has been pointed out in the previous sections, the rate of integration in selected urban organizations on the general urban level has been found quite low. What is the rate of local participation in urban organizations? The first table in this section is related to membership in selected urban organizations in the Gecekondu settlement and its surroundings.

According to Table 55, the rate of participation in some urban organizations such as association, cooperative, sport club and so on, in the gecekondu settlement is quite low (9.2 per cent). The probable reasons of this are illustrated in Table 56.

As seen in Table 56, the most important reason indicated is that they don't need such an urban organization in the local settlement (27.6 per cent). The second reason is concerned with having no experienced people among them (19.4 per cent). Shortage of time appears as the third reason. So it is obvious that about one third of the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample does not need urban organizations mentioned above.

Does the shortage of time cause problems in utilizing urban organizations and institutions?

According to Table 57, approximately half of the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample have problems on the shortage of time in using urban organizations and institutions. So the time factor appears to have substantial impact on the participation in urban organized structures.

To conclude, it can be assumed that, in terms of the findings in Tables 55 and 56, nine tenth of the sample do not participate in any urban organizations and institutions. The three reasons, namely, no need for such an urban organization, having no experienced people amongst them, and shortage of time have been designated by the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample as the most important reasons in relation with the absence of urban organizations and institutions in the gecekondu settlement. Lastly, it has been determined that shortage of time for the Gecekondu dwellers has been causing problems in integrating into urban organizations and institutions. Therefore, household heads in the sample use organized urban structures at both general urban level and gecekondu settlement at a quite low level.

O. LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES

Here we will state how the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample spend their leisure time. While doing so, we will also show to which extent the Gecekondu dwellers participate in culture-oriented urban organizations and institutions while they spend their leisure time activities.

The daily activities of human being may be divided into three time-segments: the time-segment for supplement of biological needs such as eating, sleeping and cleaning of body; the time spend for employment to survive; and the time free from the two times mentioned above. Tezcan (1977: 1-3) defines the time which is free from employment and supplement of biological needs as the leisure time. According to Parker (1971: 20), leisure time, "... means the time in which the individual is free from obligations and will concern with a social or cultural activity when s/he wants".

It is expected that the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample spend their leisure time activities by either watching TV or visiting their kins, co-villagers and neighbours since these two kind of activities can be evaluated at home and near surrounding without spending any expensive expenditure. Therefore, in this study, how do the Gecekondu dwellers spend their leisure time? Table 58 deals with the various ways of spending leisure time.

According to Table 58, the rates of spending leisure time in urban organized structures related to cultural activities are quite low. For instance, only 5.1 per cent of the sample attend to the cinemas. The rate for theatre is 6.1 per cent, 2.0 per cent for cafeteria, 4.1 per cent for concert, 2.0 per cent for casino, and 1.0 per cent for opera-ballet. If we do not regard the choice of watching TV-Video, the most used way of participation in cultural activities is gathered in visiting to exhibition (9.2 per cent) and reading newspaper (61.2

per cent). The highest rates in watching TV-Video and reading newspaper should be evaluated the expected results since these two activities, apart from the others, can be realized at home. The high rate in visiting kins, co-villagers, and neighbours implies that the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample still keep their traditional relations arising from kinship, hometownship and ethnic relationships. 85.7 per cent of the sample mentioned that they had been visiting their kins, co-villagers, and neighbours. Coffee houses and pubs, as it has been expected, are not heavily attended by the dwellers. Sporting is also restricted among the dwellers.

In Alpar and Yener's study (1991: 74-75), the gecekondu dwellers in Ankara, Istanbul, and Izmir spend their leisure times as in the ways mentioned above. According to the findings of this study, major ways of the gecekondu dwellers in spending leisure times are attendance to coffe-house, reading newspaper, watching television, and visiting kins and neighbours.

Therefore, it can be suppose that the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample mostly spend their leisure time activities at home and its surrounding whereas their participation in organized urban structures related to cultural activities such as cinema, theatre, concert and so on has appeared very low. Then, why do they not participate in organized structures related to cultural activities at low level? Table 59 attempts to answer this question.

Table 59 illustrates that the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample see expensive prices as the most important reason for being unable to participate in organized urban structures concerning cultural activities (44.9 per cent). So this means that the income level of half of the sample are not sufficient to spend these activities. 21.4 per cent of the sample mentioned that they have not needed to attend organized urban structures related to cultural activities.

Table 60 illustrates whether the distance to the city centre has any significant impact on spending leisure time or not.

As seen in Table 60, there appears a significant correlation only between reading newspaper and attending coffee house-pub, and distance to the city centre. The rate of reading newspaper in Yenidoğan (38.8 per cent) is more than that in Hüseyingazi (22.4 per cent). The rate of reading newspaper decreases as the distance to the city centre increases. Therefore, distance to the city centre effects the level of reading newspaper. There is also significant correlation between attending coffee house-pub and distance to the city centre. Except for reading newspaper and coffee house-pub, it can be supposed that there exists no significant difference between formally organized (cinema, theatre and so on) and unorganized (watching TV-Video, visiting kins, co-villagers and the like) cultural activities and distance to the city centre.

Table 61 deals with the relationship between duration of residence in the city and spending leisure time.

According to Table 61, there is no significant correlation between the duration of residence in the city and all the cultural activities in spending leisure time. As the duration of residence in the city increases, the rate of participation in formally organized and unorganized cultural activities to spend leisure time does not rise. So it can be said that the duration of residence in the city has no significant impact on participation in formally organized and unorganized cultural activities in spending leisure time.

Table 62 is related to the relationship between the type of current work and spending leisure time.

As shown in Table 62, no significant correlation between the type of current work and the activities of spending leisure time, found except for reading newspaper. Indeed, as the Gecekondu dwellers substitute their informal sector works for formal sector works, the rate of participation in the activities of spending leisure time with exception of "reading newspaper" does not increase. The rate of reading newspaper in formal sector works (55.9 per cent) is higher than that in informal sector works (13.2 per cent). Therefore, it can be stated that the type of current work of the Gecekondu dwellers has no significant impact on participation in formally organized and unorganized cultural activities in spending leisure time.

The last table of this section is about the questioning for the places for overnight visits.

Table 63 indicates that majority of the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample (approximately, two third of the sample) cannot go for overnight vacations. Only 8.2 per cent of the sample who go for overnight vacations stay in a formal place such as hotel and pansion. Most of them who are able to go for overnight vacations stay in the houses of kins or friends (26.5 per cent).

As a result, in this last section of Chapter IV, we have attempted to examine the leisure time activities of the Gecekondu dwellers, together with consideration of the independent variables. As it has been shown in the tables, the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample commonly spend their leisure time activities at home and local surrounding by either watching TV and video films or visiting kins, co-villagers and neighbours. The total rate of these two activities is extremely high, namely, 91.8 per cent for watching TV and video films, and 85.7 per cent for visiting kins, co-villagers and neighbours. The expensive prices of organized urban structures related to cultural activities have appeared as the most important reason for being unable to participate in

organized cultural activities. In Table 60, we have seen that the variable "distance to the city centre" had no significant impact on the cultural activities spent in lessure time, except for "reading newspaper". In Table 61, we have indicated that there existed no significant correlation between duration of residence in the city and spending leisure time. In this table all the chi-square values have appeared zero or near to zero. Again, in Table 62 we couldn't find significant difference between the type of current work and spending leisure time, except for "reading newspaper". Therefore, an organized formal work of the Gecekondu dweller does not cause an increase in the level of participation in organized cultural activities. In fact, these findings should be the expected results since the rates of level of using urban organizations and institutions, as it has been illustrated in the previous chapters, were quite low.

As shown in the findings above, the gecekondu dwellers in the sample utilize cultural activities through organized urban structures very less. According to Özer (1983: 207), some reasons such as low level of income, difficulties in conditions of employment, unsuitable housing, and the survival efforts in urban areas constitute the major obstacles for the gecekondu dwellers in spending their leisure time activities in organized urban structures.

In the last table of this section, it has been indicated that about two third of the sample could not go for overnight visits. Those who can go for overnight visits stay in houses belonging to their kins or friends.

CAHPETR IV

CONCLUSION

In this study, we have tried to analyse the level and process of organizational and institutional integration of the Gecekondu dwellers into organized urban structures. In determining the level and process of organizational and institutional integration and the effects of the independent variables in integrating into organized urban structures, we have conducted a field study in two Gecekondu districts in Ankara.

The research question underlying this thesis is: To what extent do gecekondu dwellers use organized urban structures? In attempting to answer this question we tried to determine the probable effects of the independent variables - distance to the city centre, duration of residence in the city, and the type of current work - on the use of organized urban structures.

Conducting the field study, we have found that Gecekondu dwellers in the sample have a limited access to organized urban structures. They have been utilizing urban organizations and institutions at a quite low level. As a result, their integration capacity into urban organizations and institutions compared to the other integration areas has appeared very low, especially in educational, cultural, financial, political organizations. But we have indicated that there appeared greater integration in the area of conspicuous consumption, especially in the consumption of household durable goods. In addition, their integration capacity, if considering the findings of some studies in the literature (Yasa, 1966; Alpar and Yener, 1991), into some other areas such as urban way of clothing, habitudes of nutrition, marriage and wedding ceremonies, and ways of eating and hygiene comes into existence at very

high levels. The highest integration rates for the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample have been found in health organizations. They are closely concerned with their health problems since it is a vital situation.

We have also illustrated that, in utilizing organized structures there appeared no significant correlation between the independent variables and participation in organized structures. This finding indicated that there existed no significant impact of the independent variables on the use of organized structures. Instead of using organized urban structures, they have applied to the informal relations of kins, co-villagers, and neighbours. The use of close relations with kins, co-villagers and neighbours arising from kinship and hometownship have been interpreted as an integrative mechanism and survival strategy in adapting to urban conditions.

We can summarize the findings of the study as follow: Majority of the Gecekondu dwellers in the sample are from rural-origin. They largely consist of middle-age groups. The average value in the age distribution is 44.5. Their duration of residence in Ankara is not high. The rate of those employed in formal sector work (50.1 per cent) is much more than that of those working in informal sector works (19.3 per cent). About one third of the sample is unemployed (29.6 per cent). The average value in the household size has been found 5.4 persons. Three fourths of the sample own their houses. Their educational level concentrated on illiterate and primary/secondary level (about 95.0 per cent), so their educational level appeared very low. The rate of attending special training courses with exception of official schools is also quite low. About four fifths of the sample have not been attending to any special training course. Those attending special training courses are commonly second generation, children of the heads of household. Insufficiency in income and the absence of time have appeared as the most important reasons of being unable to attend to the special training courses.

Half of the heads of household heads did not experience urban life before migration. Having experience of urban life before migration may effect participation in organized urban structures positively. In other words, this experience may cause an increase in the level of use of organized urban structures. But, on the other hand, in the study, level of participation in organized urban structures before the migration has been found to quite low.

Majority of gecekondu dwellers in the sample work far away from their home, ranging between one and more than 20 kilometers. This indicates that their work places are largely located in the environment places of Ankara. So the long distance between home and work place causes emergence of some transportation problems. About half of the sample mentioned that they had been facing transportation problems. It also effects the use of organized urban structures negatively.

Approximately half of the heads of household did not become member to any urban organizations such as cooperative, political party, trade union, sport club and so on. The highest rate for membership in urban organizations has been found for social security organization (39.8 per cent). This can be explained in two ways: firstly, employment, as mentioned in section f of the previous chapter, in an organized formal job legally necessitates membership in a social security organization. Therefore, there is a significant correlation between high rate in membership in a social security organization and high number of the sample working in formal sector works.

Instead of using formally organized financial institutions, they mostly apply to their close circles as kins and co-villagers for financial needs such as borrowing. More than half of the sample supply their borrowing needs by using informal relations of their kins, co-villagers and neighbours. This is a rational choice for them since supplement of borrowing needs from close circles mostly

does not require the interest. In addition, they can get borrowing from their close circles in a very short time. Yet the demand of borrowing from financial organizations such as bank takes some time and necessitates to do some formal procedures.

We could not find any significant correlation between membership in urban organizations, except social security organization, and the independent variables. In case of a problem in state and local bureaucracies, on the other hand, the rate of sample resorting directly to the state and local bureaucracies is quite high (40.8 per cent). This indicates that they attach more importance to their official problems in state and local offices. Without receiving aid from some persons or organization, direct application to the state and local bureaucracies seems contrary with other findings since, as stated in the previous chapter, the rates of using organized urban structures in many areas have been found quite low. However, this may not be interpreted as a contradiction since gecekondü dwellers mostly can not solve their formal problems such as title-deed, improvement of infra-structure through informal relations outside the state and local bureaucracies. In addition, the most preferred type of behaviour in solving an official problem is to introduce formal ways such as application to an authorized person or organization.

In coping with employment problems, gecekondü dwellers in the sample mostly receive aid from their kins, co-villagers and neighbours. This implies that solution of employment problems through informal relations of close circles is realized in a short time. The solidaristic relations are heavily used. In the early times of migration solidaristic relations are higher. Particularly together with finding employment, housing is the most substantial problem of the dwellers with respect to adjustment difficulties in the first year of residence in Ankara. So it is an obvious fact that their adjustment problems in the early times of residence in Ankara arise from economic difficulties. This

means that their economic capacities are not sufficient in surviving in urban conditions when they migrate to city. Thus, the use of informal relations of close circles from supplement of housing need to adoption of some urban norms and patterns, is materialized by them.

Gecekondü dwellers in the sample attach more importance to their health problems. The rate of using health organizations is quite high. Particularly, they resort to the state hospitals. This finding can be interpreted in two ways. Firstly, the prices of health services of the state hospitals are lower in comparison with private hospitals and doctors. Secondly, it is due to being insured. The second factor can be related to the high rate of membership in social security organizations.

About two thirds of the sample have been frequently going to the health organizations. In addition, we have found significant correlation only between distance to the city centre and frequency of resorting to the health organizations.

The gecekondü dwellers in the sample mostly participate in urban consumption market for supplement of household durable goods. These goods are seen as prestige and status symbols in the gecekondü settlements. These also indicate their integration capacity into urban consumption market. But, despite the large share of consumption in household durable goods, their adoption tendency for urban socio-cultural patterns takes a more slow speed compared to the urban conspicuous consumption norms. This, at the same time, implies to what William Ogburn (1950) identified the fact under the term "cultural lag".

They do their shopping largely from the petty traders in gecekondü neighborhood for supplement of food. Due to the cheap price, they also heavily prefer shopping from peddlers and street hawkers.

Local participation in urban organizations and institutions was also found to be very low. Due to three substantial reasons, namely, seeing urban organizations unnecessary, having no experienced people among them in establishing urban organizations, and shortage of time for this, their local participation in urban organizations and institutions appeared at a quite low level.

They generally spend their leisure time activities at home and district with its surroundings by either watching TV and video films or visiting kins and neighbours. Approximately 92.0 per cent of the sample spend their leisure time in two ways mentioned above. They are unable to participate in organized cultural activities in city centre due to the expensive prices of them. We have also indicated that the variable "distance to the city centre" had no impact on the cultural activities spent in leisure time, except "reading newspaper". We have illustrated that there existed no significant correlation between duration of residence in the city and spending leisure time. Again, we could not find significant difference between the type of current work and spending leisure time, except "reading newspaper".

Unlike the thesis of Modernization School, the Gecekondu phenomenon does not seem to be a transition stage. On the contrary, as the years pass, the numbers of the Gecekondu dwellings, and settings increase, and this trend reflects a dominant way of urbanization in Turkey. Gecekondu indicates neither a transition stage nor a marginal setting. In spite of the fact that the Gecekondu dwellers utilize organized urban structures at a quite low level, they continue to keep their relationships with city at the other areas. Although they could not integrate into urban organizations and institutions at a high level, the traditional (informal) relations brought from the rural areas fill in the gaps. For instance, if the Gecekondu dweller could not meet the demand of credit from the banks, the gap is filled by the way of borrowing money taken

from the close circles. If the Gecekondü dweller could not do shopping from the supermarkets and large stores due to the high prices of the goods, the use of peddlers and street hawkers appear as a rational choice. Therefore, the phenomenon such as the solidaristic informal relations among the Gecekondü dwellers, the employment opportunities and possibilities within informal sector, the gecekondü as a dwelling unit and way of life could be considered as integration mechanisms in urban conditions and survival strategies in tackling the difficulties in all urban organized and unorganized structures. In other words, these factors play an important role in facilitating the integration process. Although the Gecekondü dwellers could not participate in organized urban structures at a high level, it cannot be said that they (a) live in marginal conditions in the outskirts of the city, (b) largely keep their rural traditions and habitudes without changing them, (c) supply all their needs from the informal sector, (d) work only in informal sector jobs.

Unlike the theses of the modernization School and its variations, integration of the Gecekondü dwellers into urban life does not come into existence in a smooth line. This integration process is formed mutually. Both sides affect each other at many dimensions. For instance, the invasion or penetration of capitalist relations does not put an end to the traditional relationships among the rural migrants automatically since Gecekondü dwellers function as a cheap labor force. In reproduction of the system, employment of the Gecekondü dwellers in low wages and insecure jobs is necessary for the capital accumulation. For this reason, the official authorities, at least, try to procure some municipal undertakings for the dwellers.

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APPENDIX I : ABBREVIATIONS

İİBK: Türkiye İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu.

ILO: International Labour Organization

ILO-WEP: International Labour Organization-World Employment Programme.

UNESCO: The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.



APPENDIX II: THE TABLES



TABLE: 1**The growth rates of the five major Turkish cities (1950:100)**

CITIES	1950	1970
Istanbul	100	229
Ankara	100	419
Izmir	100	231
Adana	100	299
Bursa	100	266

Source: Keleş, 1972:4

TABLE: 2**The number of major cities with the population of 100.000 or more**

Years	1927	1935	1940	1945	1950	1955
Numbers	2	3	3	4	5	6
Years	1960	1965	1970	1985		
Numbers	9	14	20	52		

Source: Keleş, 1988:2

TABLE: 3**The share of large cities (100.000 or more) in Urban population**

Years	1927	1935	1940	1945	1950	1955	1960	1965	1970	1985
Percentage	38.8	38.5	35.3	40.3	44.6	45.7	48.4	50.7	56.8	75.2

Source: Keleş, 1972:3

TABLE: 4
Industrialization and urbanization in large cities

Cities	Industrial Index (No.of Industrial Works)	1950: 100 Urbanization Index
Istanbul	240	178
Ankara	446	313
Izmir	139	174
Adana	179	246
Bursa	154	205
Eskişehir	170	194
G.Antep	115	220
Konya	242	245
Kayseri	155	194

Source: Keleş, 1972: 16

TABLE: 5
Place of origin before migration

Place	N	%
Village	58	59.2
Town	25	25.5
Province	6	6.1
Was born in Ankara	9	9.2
Total	98	100.0

TABLE: 6
Age distribution of the sample

Age categories (Years)	N	%
22-30	10	10.2
31-40	27	27.6
41-50	34	34.7
51-60	18	18.4
61-82	9	9.2
Total	98	100.0

Mean: 44.5

TABLE: 7
Sex distribution of the sample

Sex	N	%
Male	84	85.7
Female	14	14.3
Total	98	100.0

TABLE: 8
Marital status of the sample

Marital status	N	%
Married	85	86.7
Divorced or widowed	13	13.3
Total	98	100.0

TABLE: 9

Distribution of the sample by current district of residence

District	N	%
Yenidoğan	50	51.0
Hüseyingazi	48	49.0
Total	98	100.0

TABLE: 10

Duration of residence of the sample in Ankara

Duration (year)	N	%
Less than one year	1	1.15
1 - 5	5	5.75
6 - 10	13	14.97
11 - 15	21	24.14
16 - 20	20	22.99
21 - 30	12	13.79
31 and more	15	17.24
Total	87	100.0

Mean: 12.5 year

Missing value: 11

TABLE: 11
Type of occupation and current work of the sample

Occupation and current work	N	%	N	%
Farmer	4	4.1	-	-
Petty traders (tailor, restaurater, grocer and so on)	8	8.2	8	8.2
Industrial worker (factory, workshop and so on)	10	10.2	8	8.2
Service worker (servant, nurse, waiter, salesman, etc.)	9	9.2	9	9.2
Technician (car repairman; water, electricity and central heating installer)	5	5.1	5	5.1
Official	14	14.3	8	8.2
Driver	5	5.1	4	4.1
Retired	1	1.0	7	7.1
Petty hawkers (peddler, street hawker and so on)	8	8.2	7	7.1
Construction worker	13	13.3	7	7.1
Day-labouror (porter, cleaner, child caring, etc.)	3	3.1	4	4.1
Housewife	13	13.2	1	1.0
Having no occupation and unemployed	4	4.1	29	29.6
Other	1	1.0	1	1.0
Total	98	100.0	98	100.0

TABLE: 12
Household size

Number of persons	N	%
2	8	8.2
3	8	8.2
4	22	22.4
5	19	19.4
6	17	17.3
7	10	10.3
8	7	7.2
9	3	3.0
10	1	1.0
11	1	1.0
12	1	1.0
14	1	1.0
Total	98	100.0

Mean: 5.4

TABLE: 13
House ownership

Ownership	N	%
Owner	74	75.6
Tenant	17	17.3
Does not pay for rent since the dwelling belongs to close kins	6	6.1
Unanswered	1	1.0
Total	98	100.0

TABLE: 14
Education level of the sample

Educational level	N	%
Illiterate	20	20.4
Literate but not finished a school	7	7.1
Primary School	53	54.3
Secondary School	13	13.2
High School	3	3.0
University	2	2.0
Total	98	100.0

TABLE: 15
Attending special training courses

	N	%
Attend	20	20.4
Not attend	77	78.6
No answer	1	1.0
Total	98	100.0

TABLE: 16
The people attending special training courses

Person	N	%
Head of the house hold	1	5.0
Spouse	3	15.0
Children	15	75.0
Close kins	1	5.0
Total	20	100.0

Missing value: 78

TABLE: 17
The reasons of not attending special training courses

Reason	N	%
a) Absence of time	13	16.67
b) Inadequacy of income	36	46.16
c) Not useful for him/her	10	12.82
d) Low level of education	2	2.56
e) a and b	4	5.13
f) a, b, and c	6	7.69
g) Other	7	8.97
Total	78	100.0

Missing Value: 20

TABLE: 18
The reasons of attending special training courses

Reason	N	%
To gain a professional skill	15	75.0
To increase professional knowledge and experience	4	20.0
To promote in the job and the professional area	1	5.0
Total	20	100.0

Missing Value: 78

TABLE: 19

Attending special training courses by the duration of residence in the city

Duration of the residence in the city (Year)	Attending special training courses		Total			
	Yes	No				
1 - 10	2	17	2.3	19.5	19	21.8
11 and more	14	54	16.1	62.1	68	78.2
Total	16	71	18.4	81.6	87	100.0

$\chi^2 = 0.443$

$P > .05$

TABLE: 20

Pre-migration urban experience of living

Have you been in a city before migration	N	%
Yes	33	39.15
No	50	60.85
Total	83	100.0

Missing Values: 15

TABLE: 21
Purpose of staying in the city before migration

Purpose	N	%
A problem to be solved in an urban organization	4	12.12
To find a job	10	30.30
To visit kins and co-villagers	1	3.03
For military service	2	6.06
To work	13	39.40
Other	3	9.09
Total	33	100.0

Missing value: 65

TABLE: 22
Duration of staying in city before migration

Duration (Year)	N	%
Less than 1 year	12	36.36
1 - 3	15	45.46
3 - 6	4	12.12
6 - 9	2	6.06
Total	33	100.0

Missing value: 65

TABLE: 23
The pre-migration urban experience of living by the distance to the city centre

Distance to the city centre	Pre-migration urban experience of living				Total	
	Yes		No			
Yenidoğan	19	22.9	19	22.9	38	45.8
Hüseyingazi	14	16.9	31	37.3	45	54.2
Total	33	39.8	50	60.2	83	100.0

$\chi^2 = 2.33 \quad p > 0.05$

TABLE: 24
The distance between the work place and home

Distance (km)	N	%
Working place near home	9	12.50
1 - 5	22	30.55
6 - 10	11	15.28
11 - 15	12	16.67
16 - 20	7	9.72
21 +	8	11.11
Not know	3	4.17
Total	72	100.0

Missing value: 26

TABLE: 25
The existence of transportation problem between
the city centre / workplace and home

Transportation problem	N	%
Yes	44	44.9
No	49	50.0
Having no idea	2	2.0
No answer	3	3.1
Total	98	100.0

TABLE: 26
Why transportation doesn't become a problem

Reason	N	%
To have a car	6	13.95
To use service car	10	23.26
To use public transportation	16	37.21
Work near home	6	13.95
Other	5	11.63
Total	43	100.0

Missing value: 55

TABLE: 27
The impact of transportation problem on social life

How	N	%
Problems arousing in the work place due to being late to work	27	58.70
Not arriving on time for appointments	6	13.04
S/he is late when s/he has a problem in an official or private urban organization	4	8.70
Other	9	19.56
Total	46	100.0

Missing value: 52

TABLE: 28
The impact of current work on transportation problem

Transportation Problem	The type of current work		Total
	Formal	Informal	
Yes	21 30.9	7 10.3	28 41.2
No	28 41.2	12 17.6	40 58.8
Total	49 72.1	19 27.9	68 100.0

$\chi^2 = 0.03 \quad p > 0.05$

TABLE: 29
The rates of membership in some urban organizations

Organization		Member	Not member	Unanswered	Total
Association	N	11	86	1	98
	%	11.2	87.8	1.0	100.0
Political party	N	6	92	-	98
	%	6.1	93.9	-	100.0
Trade union	N	10	88	-	98
	%	10.2	89.8	-	100.0
Financial Assistance Chest	N	9	89	-	98
	%	9.2	90.8	-	100.0
Social security Organization	N	39	59	-	98
	%	39.8	60.2	-	100.0
Cooperative	N	5	93	-	98
	%	5.1	94.9	-	100.0
Foundation	N	-	98	-	98
	%	-	100.0	-	100.0
Sport club	N	2	96	-	98
	%	2.0	98.0	-	100.0

TABLE: 30
In case of a social or financial problem, the places and people firstly resorted for aid

To whom	N	%
a) Had no such a problem	6	6.1
b) Neighbours	17	17.3
c) Kins and co-villagers	23	23.5
d) Sometimes neighbours, kins or co-villagers	6	6.1
e) Spouse and children	7	7.1
f) b, c, and e	5	5.1
g) Boss or colleauges	3	3.1
h) Official or private organization	16	16.4
l) Other	13	13.3
i) No answer	2	2.0
Total	98	100.0

TABLE: 31
The use of urban organizations and institutions for social aid

	N	%
Yes	11	11.2
No	83	84.7
No answer	4	4.1
Total	98	100.0

TABLE: 32
Membership in urban organizations by the type
of current work

Membership in some urban organizations		The type of current work				Total		X ²
		Formal		Informal				
Association	Member	11	14.9	0	0.0	11	14.9	3.156 (P>0.05)
	Not member	38	56.7	19	28.4	57	85.1	
	Total	49	71.6	19	28.4	68	100.0	
Political Party	Member	4	5.9	1	1.5	5	7.4	0.00
	Not member	44	66.1	18	26.5	62	92.6	
	Total	48	72.0	19	28.0	67	100.0	
Trade Union	Member	8	13.2	0	0.0	8	13.2	2.58 (P>0.05)
	Not member	40	58.8	19	27.9	59	86.8	
	Total	48	72.1	19	27.9	67	100.0	
Financial Asistance Chest	Member	9	13.2	0	0.0	9	13.2	2.58 (P>0.05)
	Not member	40	58.8	19	27.9	59	86.7	
	Total	49	72.1	19	27.9	68	100.0	
Social Security Organization	Member	32	47.1	5	7.4	37	54.4	6.892 (P<0.05)
	Not member	17	25.0	14	20.6	31	45.6	
	Total	49	72.1	19	27.9	68	100.0	
Cooperative	Member	4	5.9	0	0.0	4	5.9	0.50 (P>0.05)
	Not member	45	66.2	19	27.9	64	94.1	
	Total	49	72.1	19	27.9	68	100.0	
Sport Club	Member	2	2.9	0	0.0	2	2.9	0.008 (P>0.05)
	Not member	47	69.1	19	27.9	66	97.1	
	Total	49	72.1	19	27.9	68	100.0	

TABLE: 33
Membership in urban organizations by the
duration of residence in the city

Membership in urban organizations		Duration of residence in the city				Total		x ²
		1 - 10	Years	11 and more years				
Association	Member	1	1.1	5	5.8	6	6.9	0.00
	Not member	18	20.7	63	72.4	81	93.1	
	Total	19	21.8	68	78.2	87	100.0	
Political Party	Member	1	1.1	3	3.5	4	4.6	0.00
	Not member	18	20.7	65	74.7	83	95.4	
	Total	19	21.8	68	78.2	87	100.0	
Trade Union	Member	2	2.3	7	8.0	9	10.3	0.00
	Not member	17	19.5	61	70.2	78	89.7	
	Total	19	21.8	68	78.2	87	100.0	
Cooperative	Member	2	2.3	1	1.1	3	3.4	1.44 (P>0.05)
	Not member	17	19.5	67	77.1	84	96.6	
	Total	19	21.8	68	78.2	87	100.0	
Sport Club	Member	1	1.1	1	1.1	2	2.2	0.011 (P>0.05)
	Not member	18	20.7	67	77.1	85	97.8	
	Total	19	21.8	68	78.2	87	100.0	

TABLE: 34
Membership in urban organizations by
distance to the city centre

Membership in urban organizations		Distance to the city centre				Total		χ^2
		Yenidoğan		Hüseyingazi				
Association	Member	9	9.2	2	2.1	11	11.3	3.288 (P>0.05)
	Not member	41	42.3	46	46.4	87	88.7	
	Total	50	51.5	48	48.5	98	100.0	
Political Party	Member	6	6.1	0	0.0	6	6.1	4.225 (P<0.05)
	Not member	44	44.9	48	49.0	92	93.9	
	Total	50	51.0	48	49.0	98	100.0	
Trade Union	Member	7	7.1	3	3.1	10	10.2	0.870 (P>0.05)
	Not member	43	43.9	45	45.9	88	89.8	
	Total	50	51.0	48	49.0	98	100.0	
Financial Assistance Chest	Member	6	6.1	3	3.1	9	9.2	0.403 (P>0.05)
	Not member	44	44.9	45	45.9	89	90.8	
	Total	50	51.0	48	49.0	98	100.0	
Social Security Organization	Member	26	26.5	13	13.3	39	39.8	5.348 (P<0.05)
	Not member	24	24.5	35	35.7	59	60.2	
	Total	50	51.0	48	49.0	98	100.0	
Cooperative	Member	4	4.1	1	1.0	5	5.1	0.759 (P>0.05)
	Not member	46	46.9	47	48.0	93	94.9	
	Total	50	51.0	48	49.0	98	100.0	
Sport Club	Member	2	2.0	0	0.0	2	2.0	0.469 (P>0.05)
	Not member	48	49.0	48	49.0	96	98.0	
	Total	50	51.0	48	49.0	98	100.0	

TABLE: 35

If you had a problem in a state office, to whom would you ask advice?

To whom	N	%
Household members, kins, co-villagers and neighbours	30	30.6
Colleagues	6	6.1
Goes himself directly to the state office	40	40.8
Other	10	10.2
Never had a problem in the state offices	9	9.3
No answer	3	3.0
Total	98	100.0

TABLE: 36

The most preferred behaviour type in tackling an official problem

Behaviour type	N	%
Tackling the problem by informal ways (to bribe, to get someone helpful, to ask advice of friends and so on).	23	23.5
Applying to people in the working place	3	3.0
Introducing formal ways (to apply an authorized person or institution and/or a related organization etc.)	32	32.7
Unable to solve	13	13.3
Not faced such a serious official problem	16	16.3
Having no idea	8	8.2
No answer	3	3.0
Total	98	100.0

TABLE: 37

The most important reason of being unable to tackle the problems encountered in the state and local bureaucracies

Probable reason	N	%
Bribery	13	13.3
Red tape	39	39.8
Partisanship	4	4.1
Hometownship relations	2	2.0
No incidence of this kind encountered	2	2.0
Other	8	8.2
Having no idea	27	27.6
No answer	3	3.0
Total	98	100.0

TABLE: 38

The type of organization and the way in which the needed professional skill for the current work has been got.

From where or how	N	%
From the special training courses	3	3.7
By working on the job	61	75.3
No required professional skill for the current work	11	13.6
In trade schools	1	1.2
In military service	4	5.0
Other	1	1.2
Total	81	100.0

Missing value: 17

TABLE: 39
The ways used in finding the first work in Ankara

How	N	%
By means of (an employment agency)	2	2.7
By using the advertisements in the press	3	3.9
By himself	30	39.5
By the help of friends, kins, co-villagers and so on	38	50.0
Other	3	3.9
Total	76	100.0

Missing value: 22

TABLE: 40
The ways used in finding the last work in Ankara

How	N	%
Not changed the first work	35	48.6
By means of employment agency	2	2.8
By using the advertisements in the press	1	1.4
By himself	14	19.4
By the help of friends, kins, co-villagers and so on	19	26.4
Other	1	1.4
Total	72	100.0

Missing value: 26

TABLE: 41
Two most important problems with regard to adjustment difficulties in the first year of residence in Ankara

Problems	N	%
Housing and employment	40	48.2
Housing and sufficient income	12	14.5
Housing and social adjustment to the city	2	2.4
Housing and education of their children	2	2.4
Only housing	2	2.4
Employment and sufficient income	10	12.1
Employment and social adjustment to the city	2	2.4
Employment and education of their children	2	2.4
Only employment	1	1.2
Only sufficient income	1	1.2
Sufficient income and social adjustment to the city	1	1.2
Sufficient income and education of their children	2	2.4
Social adjustment to the city and education of their children	1	1.2
Only education of their children	1	1.2
Other	4	4.8
Total	83	100.0

Missing value: 15

TABLE: 42
Type of solution in tackling the two adjustment problems

Types of solution	N	%
Received aid from kins, co-villagers and neighbours	26	34.7
Received aid from formal organizations	2	2.7
By himself without receiving any aid	40	53.3
Not solved though aid	6	8.0
Other	1	1.3
Total	75	100.0

Missing value: 23

TABLE: 43
The sources resorted to for borrowing money

From where	N	%
Bank and close social environment	2	2.0
Bank	3	3.1
Financial assistance chest	1	1.0
Financial assistance chest and close social environment	4	4.1
Petty traders and close social environment	1	1.0
Petty traders	3	3.1
Colleagues and close social environment	10	10.2
Colleagues	3	3.1
Close social environment and the other	1	1.0
Close social environment	55	56.2
Never needed borrowing	10	10.1
Other	3	3.1
No answer	2	2.0
Total	98	100.0

TABLE: 44
The ways of use of the savings

How (the ways)	N	%
No saving	82	83.7
Buying gold	6	6.1
Opening a bank account for interest	4	4.1
Depoziting cash money	2	2.0
Buying securities in the stock exchange	-	-
Buying foreign currency	-	-
Investing in real estates	-	-
Other	3	3.1
No answer	1	1.0
Total	98	100.0

TABLE: 45
**The health organizations firstly resorted by the
Gecekondu dwellers**

Healt organization	N	%
Birth-control clinics	1	1.0
Health Care House	13	13.3
Local clinics	2	2.0
State hospital	74	75.6
Private Doctor	6	6.1
Folk medicine practicers	-	-
Other	1	1.0
No answer	1	1.0
Total	98	100.0

TABLE: 46
Frequency of resorting to the health organizations

Frequency	N	%
Frequently	59	60.2
Not frequently	38	38.8
No answer	1	1.0
Total	98	100.0

TABLE: 47
The place in which the children were born in Ankara after migration

Where	N	%
In a state hospital	72	85.7
At home (by midwife)	11	13.1
Other	1	1.2
Total	84	100.0

Missing value: 14

TABLE: 48
Frequency of resorting to the health organizations by distance to the city centre

Distance to the city centre	Frequency of resorting to the health organizations				Total	
	Frequently		Not frequently			
Yenidoğan	36	40.0	11	12.2	47	52.2
Hüseyingazi	19	21.1	24	26.7	43	47.8
Total	55	61.1	35	38.9	90	100.0

$\chi^2 = 8.6$ $P < 0.05$

TABLE: 49
Frequency of resorting to the health organizations
by duration of residence in the city

Duration of residence in the city (years)	Frequency of resorting to the health organizations				Total	
	Frequently		Not frequently			
1 - 10	12	15.0	5	6.3	17	21.3
11 and more	36	45.0	27	33.7	63	78.7
Total	48	60.0	32	40.0	80	100.0

$X^2 = 0.5$ $P > 0.05$

TABLE: 50
Frequency of resorting to the health organizations by the
type of current work

The type of current work	Frequency of resorting to the health organizations				Total	
	Frequently		Not frequently			
Formal	30	46.2	17	26.1	47	72.3
Informal	13	20.0	5	7.7	18	27.7
Total	43	66.2	22	33.8	65	100.0

$X^2 = 0.12$ $P > 0.010$

TABLE: 51
Shopping place commonly used for the supplement of food needs

From where	N	%
a) Petty traders in the district	66	67.3
b) Supermarket	3	3.1
c) Ulus Hâli (a market hall in Ankara)	9	9.2
d) a and b	4	4.1
e) a, b, and c	8	8.2
f) Other	8	8.1
Total	98	100.0

TABLE: 52
Shopping from peddlers and street hawkers

	N	%
Yes	63	64.3
No	34	34.7
No answer	1	1.0
Total	98	100.0

TABLE: 53
The reasons of shopping from peddlers and street hawkers

Reason	N	%
a) cheap	40	63.5
b) They come to the door of the dwelling	11	17.5
c) The facility of instalment sale	4	6.3
d) a and b together	8	12.7
Total	63	100.0

Missing value: 35

TABLE: 54
The ownership rates in household durable goods

Household Durable Goods	Owned		Not owned		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
TV set	91	92.9	7	7.1	98	100.0
Refrigerator	83	84.7	15	15.3	98	100.0
Carpet	81	82.7	17	17.3	98	100.0
Radio	78	79.6	20	20.4	98	100.0
Tape Recorder	75	76.5	23	23.5	98	100.0
Telephone	65	66.3	33	33.7	98	100.0
Oven	63	64.3	35	35.7	98	100.0
Sewing machine	58	59.2	40	40.8	98	100.0
Washing machine	58	59.2	40	40.8	98	100.0
Steam Iron	54	55.1	44	44.9	98	100.0
Electric Brush	41	41.8	57	58.2	98	100.0
A set of armchairs	34	34.7	64	65.3	98	100.0
Book Shelves	21	21.4	77	78.6	98	100.0
Fan	6	6.1	92	93.9	98	100.0
Computer	3	3.1	95	96.9	98	100.0

Mean: 55 per cent for owned, 45 per cent for not owned

TABLE: 55
Local Participation in urban organizations

Participation	N	%
Participate	9	9.1
Not participate	89	90.8
No answer	3	3.0
Total	98	100.0

TABLE: 56

The probable reasons of being unable to participate in urban organizations in the gecekondü settlement and its surroundings

Reason	N	%
Had no experienced people amongst them	19	19.4
No need for such an urban organization	27	27.6
Met from outside the district	1	1.0
Obstacles implemented by the Government	6	6.1
No sufficient aid from official and private organizations	3	3.1
Shortage of time	15	15.3
Other	14	14.3
No answer	13	13.2
Total	98	100.0

TABLE: 57

The existence of problem concerning the shortage of time in utilizing urban organizations and institutions

Shortage of time	N	%
Yes	48	49.0
No	42	42.9
Having no idea	5	5.1
No answer	3	3.0
Total	98	100.0

TABLE: 58
Ways of Spending leisure time

The type of cultural activity	Attend		No attend		Total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Cinema	5	5.1	93	94.9	98	100.0
Theatre	6	6.1	92	93.9	98	100.0
Cafeteria	2	2.0	96	98.0	98	100.0
Concerts	4	4.1	94	95.9	98	100.0
Casino	2	2.0	96	98.0	98	100.0
Opera-Ballet	1	1.0	97	99.0	98	100.0
Exhibitions	9	9.2	89	90.8	98	100.0
Coffee House-Pub	31	31.6	67	68.4	98	100.0
Visiting to kins,co-villagers and neighbours	84	85.7	14	14.3	98	100.0
Sporting	13	13.3	85	86.7	98	100.0
Reading newspaper	60	61.2	38	38.8	98	100.0
Watching TV or Video films	90	91.8	8	8.2	98	100.0

TABLE: 59

The reason of being unable to participate in organized urban structures related to cultural activities

Reason	N	%
Far from home	2	2.0
No need	21	21.4
Very expensive	44	44.9
These places do not fit to their life-style	6	6.1
Other	8	8.2
No answer	17	17.4
Total	98	100.0

TABLE: 60
Spending leisure time by the distance to the city centre

Spending leisure time		The distance to the city centre				Total		χ ²
		Yenidoğan		Hüseyingazi		N	%	
Cinema	Attend	3	3.1	2	2.0	5	5.1	0.00
	No attend	47	48.0	46	46.9	93	94.9	
	Total	50	51.1	48	48.9	93	100.0	
Theatre	Attend	3	3.1	3	3.1	6	6.2	0.00
	No attend	47	48.0	45	45.9	92	93.8	
	Total	50	51.1	48	49.0	98	100.0	
Cafeteria	Attend	1	1.0	1	1.0	2	2.0	0.00
	No attend	48	49.0	48	49.0	96	98.0	
	Total	49	50.0	49	50.0	98	100.0	
Concert	Attend	3	3.1	1	1.0	4	4.1	0.23 (P>0.05)
	No attend	46	46.9	48	49.0	94	95.9	
	Total	49	50.0	49	50.0	98	100.0	
Casino	Attend	1	1.0	1	1.0	2	2.0	0.00
	No attend	48	49.0	48	49.0	96	98.0	
	Total	49	50.0	49	50.0	98	100.0	
Opera-Ballet	Attend	1	1.0	1	1.0	2	2.0	0.00
	No attend	48	49.0	48	49.0	96	98.0	
	Total	49	50.0	49	50.0	98	100.0	
Exhibition	Attend	6	6.1	3	3.1	9	9.2	0.40 (P>0.05)
	No attend	44	44.9	45	45.9	89	90.8	
	Total	50	51.0	48	49.0	98	100.0	
Coffee House-Pub	Attend	21	21.4	10	10.2	31	31.6	4.14 (P<0.05)
	No attend	29	29.6	38	38.8	67	68.4	
	Total	50	51.0	48	49.0	98	100.0	
Visiting kins, co-villagers and neighbours	Attends	43	43.9	41	41.8	84	85.7	0.00
	No attend	7	7.1	7	7.1	14	14.3	
	Total	50	51.0	48	48.9	98	100.0	
Sporting	Attends	5	5.1	8	8.2	13	13.3	0.45 (P>0.05)
	No attend	45	45.9	40	40.8	85	86.7	
	Total	50	51.0	48	49.0	98	100.0	
Reading newspaper	Attends	38	38.8	22	22.4	60	61.2	8.15 (P<0.05)
	No attend	12	12.2	26	26.6	38	38.8	
	Total	50	51.0	48	49.0	98	100.0	
Watching TV and Video films	Attends	48	49.0	42	42.9	90	91.9	1.36 (P>0.05)
	No attend	2	2.0	6	6.1	8	8.1	
	Total	50	51.0	48	49.0	98	100.0	

TABLE: 61
Spending leisure time by the duration of residence in the city

Spending leisure time		The distance to the city centre				Total		x ²
		1 - 10 years	11 and more years	N	%			
Cinema	Attend	1	1.1	4	4.6	5	5.7	0.00
	No attend	18	20.7	64	73.6	82	94.3	
	Total	19	21.8	68	78.2	87	100.0	
Theatre	Attend	1	1.1	5	5.7	6	6.9	0.00
	No attend	18	20.7	63	72.4	81	93.1	
	Total	19	21.8	68	78.1	87	100.0	
Cafeteria	Attend	0	0.0	2	2.3	2	2.3	0.00
	No attend	19	21.8	66	75.9	85	97.7	
	Total	19	21.8	68	78.2	87	100.0	
Concert	Attend	1	1.1	3	3.5	4	4.6	0.00
	No attend	18	20.7	65	74.7	83	95.4	
	Total	19	21.8	68	78.2	87	100.0	
Casino	Attend	0	0.0	1	1.1	1	1.1	0.00
	No attend	19	21.8	67	77.0	86	98.9	
	Total	19	21.8	68	78.1	87	100.0	
Opera-Ballet	Attend	0	0.0	0	0.0	0	0	0.00
	No attend	19	21.8	68	78.2	87	100.0	
	Total	19	21.8	68	78.2	87	100.0	
Exhibition	Attend	1	1.1	5	5.7	6	6.8	0.00
	No attend	18	20.7	63	72.5	81	93.2	
	Total	19	21.8	68	78.2	87	100.0	
Coffee House and Pub	Attend	5	5.7	25	28.7	30	34.5	0.02 (P>0.05)
	No attend	14	16.1	43	49.5	57	65.5	
	Total	19	21.8	68	78.2	87	100.0	
Visiting kins, co-villagers and neighbours	Attend	18	20.7	57	65.6	75	86.2	0.71 (P>0.05)
	No attend	1	1.1	11	12.6	12	13.8	
	Total	19	21.8	68	78.2	87	100.0	
Sporting	Attend	2	2.3	8	9.2	10	11.5	0.00
	No attend	17	19.5	60	69.0	77	88.5	
	Total	19	21.8	68	78.2	87	100.0	
Reading newspaper	Attend	8	9.2	43	49.4	51	58.6	1.93 (P>0.05)
	No attend	11	12.6	25	28.8	36	41.4	
	Total	19	21.8	68	78.2	87	100.0	
Watching TV and Video films	Attend	16	18.4	64	73.6	80	92.0	0.85 (P>0.05)
	No attend	3	3.4	4	4.6	7	8.0	
	Total	19	21.8	68	78.2	87	100.0	

TABLE: 62
Spending leisure time by the type of current work

Spending leisure time		The type of current work				Total		χ ²
		Formal		Informal		N	%	
Cinema	Attend	3	4.4	1	1.5	4	5.9	0.00
	No attend	46	67.7	18	26.4	64	94.1	
	Total	49	72.1	19	27.9	68	100.0	
Theatre	Attend	4	5.9	1	1.5	5	7.4	0.00
	No attend	45	66.1	18	26.5	63	92.6	
	Total	49	72.0	19	28.0	68	100.0	
Cafeteria	Attend	1	1.5	1	1.5	2	3.0	0.00
	No attend	48	71.0	18	26.0	66	97.0	
	Total	49	72.5	19	27.5	68	100.0	
Concert	Attend	2	3.0	2	3.0	4	6.0	0.00
	No attend	47	69.0	17	25.6	64	94.0	
	Total	49	72.1	19	27.9	68	100.0	
Casino	Attend	2	3.0	0	0.0	2	3.0	0.00
	No attend	47	69.1	19	27.9	68	97.0	
	Total	49	72.1	19	27.9	68	100.0	
Opera-Ballet	Attend	1	1.5	0	0.0	1	1.5	0.00
	No attend	48	71.0	19	27.5	67	98.5	
	Total	49	72.5	19	27.5	68	100.0	
Exhibition	Attend	7	10.3	2	2.9	9	13.2	0.00
	No attend	42	61.8	17	25.0	59	86.8	
	Total	49	72.0	19	28.0	68	100.0	
Coffee House and Pub	Attend	16	23.5	6	8.8	22	32.3	0.00
	No attend	33	48.6	13	19.1	46	67.7	
	Total	49	72.1	19	27.9	66	100.0	
Visiting kins, co-villagers and neighbours	Attend	41	60.3	15	22.1	56	82.4	0.00
	No attend	8	11.7	4	5.9	12	17.6	
	Total	49	72.0	19	27.0	68	100.0	
Sporting	Attend	12	17.6	1	1.5	13	19.1	2.14 (P>0.05)
	No attend	37	54.4	18	26.5	55	80.9	
	Total	49	72.0	19	28.0	68	100.0	
Reading newspaper	Attend	38	55.9	9	13.2	47	69.1	4.51 (P<0.05)
	No attend	11	16.2	10	14.7	21	30.9	
	Total	49	72.1	19	27.9	68	100.0	
Watching TV and Video films	Attend	46	67.6	18	26.5	64	94.1	0.00
	No attend	3	4.5	1	1.4	4	5.9	
	Total	49	72.1	19	27.9	68	100.0	

TABLE: 63
The places stayed for overnight vacations

Place	N	%
Hotel or pansion	5	5.1
Camping of working place	3	3.1
Houses belonging to kins or friends	26	26.5
No overnight vacations	60	61.3
Other	2	2.0
No answer	2	2.0
Total	98	100.0

APPENDIX III: QUESTIONNAIRE FORM

CHAPTER I (BÖLÜM I)

DEMOGRAPHIC AND SOCIAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE SAMPLE (HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD)

(HANEHALKI REİSLERİNİN DEMOGRAFİK VE SOSYAL ÖZELLİKLERİ)

1. Place of origin before migration

(Göç öncesi yaşanılan yer)

- | | | |
|----------------|-------------|-------------|
| a) Village () | b) Town () | c) City () |
| (Köy) | (Kasaba) | (Kent) |

2. Birth place (Doğum Yeri)

- | | | |
|----------------|-------------|-------------|
| a) Village () | b) Town () | c) City () |
| (Köy) | (Kasaba) | (Kent) |

3. Birth date (Doğum Tarihi):

- | | | |
|------------|-------------|---------------|
| 4. Sex: | a) Male () | b) Female () |
| (Cinsiyet) | (Erkek) | (Kadın) |

5. Marital Status (Medeni Durum)

- | |
|---|
| a) Married (Evli) () |
| b) Divorced or Widowed (Boşanmış ya da dul) () |

6. Distribution of the sample by current district of residence (Şu anda oturduğu semt)

- | | |
|------------------|--------------------|
| a) Yenidoğan () | b) Hüseyingazi () |
|------------------|--------------------|

7. Duration of residence in Ankara (Kaç yıldır Ankara'da oturuyor?)
- a) Less than one year (1 yıldan az) ()
 - b) 1 - 5 year (1-5 yıl arası) ()
 - c) 6 - 10 year (6 - 10 yıl arası) ()
 - d) 11 - 15 year (11-15 yıl arası) ()
 - e) 16 - 20 year (16 - 20 yıl arası) ()
 - f) 21 - 30 year (21 - 30 yıl arası) ()
 - g) 31 and more years (31 yıl ve daha fazla) ()
8. Type of occupation and current work (meslek ve şu an yapılan işin tipi)
- a) Farmer (çiftçi) ()
 - b) Petty traders (tailor, restaurater, grocer and so on) ()
(Küçük esnaf - terzi, lokantacı, manav vbg.)
 - c) Industrial worker (factory, workshop and so on) ()
(Endüstri işçisi - fabrika, atelye vbg.)
 - d) Service worker (servant, nurse, waiter, salesman, etc.) ()
(Hizmet işçisi - hizmetçi, hemşire, garson, tezgahdar, vbg.)
 - e) Technician (car repairman; water, electricity, and central heating insotaller and so on) ()
(Teknisyen - araba tamircisi; su, elektrik ve kalorifer tesisatçısı vbg.)
 - f) Official ()
(Memur)
 - g) Driver ()
(Şoför)
 - h) Retired ()
(Emekli)
 - i) Petty hawker (peddler, street hawker and so on) ()
(Küçük seyyar satıcı - seyyar satıcı, işportacı vbg.)
 - k) Construction worker ()
(İnşaat işçisi)
 - l) Day-Labourer (porter, cleaner, child caring, etc.) ()
(Gündelikçi - hamal, temizlikçi, çocuk bakıcısı vbg.)

m) Housewife ()

(Evkadını)

n) Having no occupation and unemployed ()

(Mesleksiz ve işsiz)

o) Other ()

(Diğer)

9. Household size ()

(Hane büyüklüğü)

10. Education level (Eğitim Düzeyi)

a) Illiterate ()

(Okur-yazar değil)

b) Literate with no diploma ()

(Diplomasız okur - yazar)

c) Primary school ()

(İlkokul)

d) Secondary School ()

(Ortaokul)

e) High School ()

(Lise)

f) University ()

(Üniversite)

CHAPTER II
(BÖLÜM II)

USE OF URBAN ORGANIZATION AND INSTITUTIONS
(KENTSEL ÖRGÜT VE KURUMLARIN KULLANIMI)

A. EDUCATION (EĞİTİM)

11. Is there anyone in your household attending special training courses such as sewing, driving - licence, foreign language and so on? (Hanenizde, dikiş, sürücü belgesi, yabancı dil gibi özel eğitim kurslarına giden kimse var mı?)

- a) Yes () b) No () c) No answer ()
(Evet) (Hayır) (Yanıt yok)

12. (If the answer in question 11 is "yes"), who are these?

(11. soruya verilen yanıt "evet" ise), bu kişiler kimlerdir?)

- a) Household head ()
(Hane reisi)
- b) Household head's spouse ()
(Hane reisinin eşi)
- c) Children ()
(Çocuklar)
- d) Close kins ()
(Yakın akrabalar)
- e) Other ()
(Diğer)
- f) No answer ()
(Yanıt yok)

13. (If the answer in question 11 is "no"), what are the reasons of not attending special training courses?

[(Eğer 11. sorudaki yanıt "hayır" ise), özel eğitim kurslarına devam etmemenin nedenleri nelerdir?]

- a) Absence of time ()
(Zaman yokluğu)
- b) Insufficiency in income ()
(Gelir yetersizliği)
- c) Not useful for him/her ()
(Kendisine yararı olmuyor)
- d) Low level of education ()
(Eğitim düzeyinin düşüklüğü)
- e) a and b ()
(a ve b birlikte)
- f) Other ()
(Diğer)
- g) No answer ()
(Yanıt yok)

14. (If the answer in question 11 is "yes"), what are the reasons of attending special training courses?

[(Eğer 11. sorudaki yanıt "evet" ise), özel eğitim kurslarına gitmenizin nedenleri nelerdir?]

- a) To gain a professional skill ()
(Mesleki bir beceri elde etmek için)
- b) To increase professional knowledge and experience ()
(Mesleki bilgi ve deneyimi artırmak için)
- c) To promotion in job and professional area ()
(İş ve mesleki alanda ilerlemek için)
- d) To spend leisure time ()
(Boş zamanları geçirmek için)

e) Other ()

(Diğer)

f) No answer ()

(Yanıt yok)

B. HOUSE AND URBAN EXPERIENCE OF LIVING BEFORE MIGRATION

(KONUT VE GÖÇ ÖNCESİ KENTSEL YAŞAM DENEYİMİ)

15. What is the ownership position of your home?

(Evinizin mülkiyet durumu nedir?)

a) Owner of the house ()

(Ev kendine ait)

b) Tenant ()

(Kiracı)

c) Does not pay for rent since the house belongs to his/her kins ()

(Ev akrabasına ait olduğu için kira vermiyor)

d) No answer ()

(Yanıt yok)

16. Have you ever been in a big city before migrated to Ankara?

(Ankara'ya göç etmeden önce hiç büyük bir kentte kaldınız mı?)

a) Yes ()

(Evet)

b) No ()

(Hayır)

c) No answer ()

(Yanıt yok)

17. (If the answer in question 16 is "yes"), what was the your purpose of staying in this city?

[(Eğer 16. sorudaki yanıt "evet" ise), bu kentte bulunma amacınız neydi?]

a) Due to the problem in an urban organization

(Kentsel bir örgütteki sorunu çözmek için)

b) To find a job ()

(İş bulmak için)

c) To visit kins and co-villagers ()

(Akraba ve hemşehrileri ziyaret etmek için)

d) For military service ()

(Askerlik hizmetinden dolayı)

e) To work ()

(Çalışmak için)

f) Other ()

(Diğer)

g) No answer ()

(Yanıt yok)

18. How many years have you been in this city?

(Bu kentte kaç yıl kaldınız?)

a) Less than 1 year ()

(1 yıldan daha az)

b) 1-3 year ()

(1-3 yıl arası)

c) 3-6 years ()

(3-6 yıl arası)

d) 6-9 years ()

(6-9 yıl arası)

e) 10 and more years ()

(10 ve daha fazla yıl)

f) Don't remember ()

(Anımsamıyor)

**C. TRANSPORTATION AND DISTANCE TO THE CITY CENTRE
(ULAŞIM VE KENT MERKEZİNE UZAKLIK)**

19. What is the distance between your work place and home?

(İşiniz ile eviniz arasındaki uzaklık ne kadardır?)

a) Work place near home ()

(İş yeri eve yakın)

b) 1-5 km ()

(1-5 km arası)

c) 6-10 km ()

(6-10 km arası)

d) 11-15 km ()

(11-15 km arası)

e) 16-20 km ()

(16-20 km arası)

f) 21 and more km ()

(21 ve daha fazla km)

g) Don't know ()

(Bilmiyorum)

h) No answer ()

(Yanıt yok)

20. Do you face transportation problems between the city centre/work place and your home?

a) Yes ()

(Evet)

b) No ()

(Hayır)

c) Having no idea ()

(Fikri yok)

d) No answer ()

(Yanıt yok)

21. (If the answer in question 20 is "no"), why does transportation not become a problem?

[(Eğer 20. sorudaki yanıt "hayır" ise), ulaşım neden sorun olmuyor?]

- a) To have a car ()
(Arabası var)
- b) To use service car ()
(İşine servisle gidiyor)
- c) To use public transportation ()
(Toplu taşıma kolaylığından yararlanıyor)
- d) Work near home ()
(İşi eve yakın)
- e) Other ()
(Diğer)
- f) No answer ()
(Yanıt yok)

22. (If the answer in question 20 is "yes"), how does the transportation problem effect your social life?

[(Eğer 20. sorudaki yanıt "evet" ise), ulaşım sorunu sosyal yaşamınızı nasıl etkiliyor?]

- a) Problems arising in the work place due to being late to work ()
(İşe geç kalmaktan dolayı işyerinde problem çıkıyor)
- b) Not arriving on time for appointments ()
(Randevularına zamanında ulaşamıyor)
- c) s/he is late when s/he has a problem in an official or private urban organization ()
(Resmi ya da özel bir kentsel örgütte sorunu olduğunda geç kalıyor)
- d) Other ()
(Diğer)
- e) No answer ()
(Yanıt yok)

**D. SOLIDARITY, SOCIAL AID AND SOCIAL SECURITY
(DAYANIŞMA, SOSYAL YARDIM VE SOSYAL GÜVENLİK)**

23. To which urban organization(s) did you become member, or do you participate in their activities?

(Hangi kentsel örgütlere üyesiniz ya da hangilerinin etkinliklerine katılıyorsunuz?)

- a) Association ()
(Dernek)
- b) Political party ()
(Siyasi parti)
- c) Trade union ()
(Sendika)
- d) Financial assistance chest ()
(İşyeri yardımlaşma sandığı)
- e) Social security organization ()
(Sosyal güvenlik örgütü)
- f) Cooperative ()
(Kooperatif)
- g) Foundation ()
(Vakıf)
- h) Sport Club ()
(Spor Klübü)

24. In case of a social or financial problem, to whom do you firstly apply for aid?

(Sosyal ya da mali bir sorunla karşılaştığınızda, yardım için öncelikle kime başvuruyorsunuz?)

- a) Had no such a problem ()
(Bu tür bir problemi olmamış)
- b) Neighbours ()
(Komşulara)

- c) Kins and co-villagers ()
(Akraba ve hemşehrilere)
- d) Sometimes neighbours and kins or co-villagers ()
(Arasıra komşu ve akrabalara ya da hemşehrilere)
- e) To spouse and children ()
(Eşi ve çocuklarına)
- f) b, c, and e ()
(b, c, ve e birlikte)
- g) Boss or colleagues ()
(Amir ya da meslektaşlarına)
- h) Official or private organizations ()
(Resmi ya da özel örgütlere)
- i) Other ()
(Diğer)
- k) No answer ()
(Yanıt yok)

25. Do you resort to urban organizations for monetary aid, clothing, or combustibles?

- (Parasal yardım, giyim ya da yakacak yardımı için kentsel örgütlere başvuruyormusunuz?)
- a) Yes ()
(Evet)
- b) No ()
(Hayır)
- c) No answer ()
(Yanıt yok)

**E. PARTICIPATION IN STATE AND LOCAL BUREAUCRACIES
(MERKEZİ VE YEREL RESMİ ÖRGÜTLERE KATILIM)**

26. If you had a problem in a state office, to whom would you ask advice?

(Eğer bir devlet dairesinde probleminiz olsaydı, kime danışırdınız?)

a) Household members, kins, co-villagers and neighbours ()

(Hanehalkı üyelerine, akrabalara, hemşehrilere ve komşulara)=

b) Colleagues ()

(Meslektaşlarıma)

c) Goes himself/herself directly to the state office ()

(Doğrudan devlet dairesine gider)

d) Other ()

(Diğer)

e) Never had a problem in the state offices ()

(Devlet dairesinde hiç problemi olmamış)

f) No answer ()

(Yanıt yok)

27. What kind of behaviour type do you prefer mostly in tackling an official problem?

(Resmi bir sorunu halletmede en fazla tercih ettiğiniz davranış tipi hangisidir?)

a) ...

b) Not faced such a serious official problem ()

(Önemli bir resmi sorunla karşılaşmamış)

c) No answer ()

(Yanıt yok)

28. According to you, what is the most important reason of being unable to tackle the problems encountered in the state and local bureaucracies?

(Size göre, devlet ve yerel yönetim dairelerinde karşılaşılan problemlerin çözülememesinin en önemli nedeni nedir?)

a) ...

b) No having idea ()

(Fikri yok)

F. EMPLOYMENT RELATIONS

(İŞ İLİŞKİLERİ)

29. How and from where did you get professional skill which is necessary for your current job?

(Şu an yaptığınız işiniz için gereken mesleki beceriyi nereden ve nasıl elde ettiniz?)

a) Center of adult Education ()

(Halk Eğitim Merkezinden)

b) Special training courses ()

(özel eğitim kurslarından)

c) By working on the job ()

(İş başında çalışarak)

d) No required professional skill for the current work ()

(Şu anki işi için mesleki beceri gerekmedi)

e) In military service ()

(Askeriyede)

f) In trade school ()

(Sanat okulunda)

g) Other ()

(Diğer)

h) No answer ()

(Yanıt yok)

30. How did you find your first work in Ankara?

(Ankara'daki ilk işinizi nasıl buldunuz?)

a) By means of employment agency ()

(İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu vasıtasıyla)

b) By using advertisements in the press ()

(Basındaki ilanlar aracılığıyla)

c) By himself / herself ()

(Kendi başına)

d) By the help of friends, kins, co-villagers and so on ()

(Arkadaş, akraba, hemşehri, vb.'nin yardımıyla)

e) Other ()

(Diğer)

f) No answer ()

(Yanıt yok)

31. How did you find your last work in Ankara?

(Ankara'daki son işinizi nasıl buldunuz?)

a) Not changed the first work ()

(İlk işini değiştirmedim)

b) By means of employment agency ()

(İş ve İşçi Bulma Kurumu Aracılığıyla)

c) By using advertisements in the press ()

(Basındaki ilanları kullanarak)

d) By himself / herself ()

(Kendi başına)

e) By the help of friends, kins, co-villagers and so on ()

(Arkadaş, hemşehri vb."nin yardımıyla)

f) Other ()

(Diğer)

g) No answer ()

(Yanıt yok)

G. ADJUSTMENT TO THE CITY
(KENTE UYUM)

32. What were - your two most important problems with regard to adjustment difficulties in the first year of residence in Ankara?

(Ankara'ya yerleştikteniz ilk yıl içinde kente uyum güçlükleri açısından en önemli iki sorununuz neydi?)

a) Housing ()

(Konut)

b) Employment ()

(İş)

c) Sufficient income ()

(Yeterli gelir)

d) Social adjustment to the city ()

(Kente sosyal açıdan uyum)

e) Education of children ()

(Çocukların eğitimi)

f) Other ()

(Diğer)

g) No answer ()

(Yanıt yok)

33. What did you firstly do to solve these two problems?

(Bu iki sorunu çözmek için öncelikle ne yaptınız?)

a) Received aid from kins, co-villagers, and neighbours ()

(Akraba, hemşehri ve komşularından yardım aldı)

b) Received aid from formal organizations ()

(Formal örgütlerden yardım aldı)

a) By himself / herself without receiving aid ()

(Yardım almaksızın kendi başına çözdü)

d) Not solved though aid ()

(Yardım almasına rağmen çözemedi)

e) Other ()

(Diğer)

f) No answer ()

(Yanıt yok)

H. FINANCIAL RELATIONS

(MALİ İLİŞKİLER)

34. Where do you firstly resort for borrowing money?

(Borç para almak için öncelikle nereye başvuruyorsunuz?)

a) Banks ()

(Bankaya)

b) Financial Assistance Chest ()

(İşyeri yardımlaşma sandığına)

c) Petty traders in the district ()

(Mahalledeki küçük esnafa)

d) Colleagues ()

(Meslektaşlarına)

e) Close social environment ()

(Yakın sosyal çevreye)

f) Never needed borrowing ()

(Hiç borç paraya gereksinimi olmadı)

g) Other ()

(Diğer)

h) No answer ()

(Yanıt yok)

35. How do you use your savings?

(Tasarruflarınızı nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?)

a) No saving ()

(Tasarruf yapamıyor)

- b) Buying gold ()
(Altın alarak)
- c) Opening a bank account for interest ()
(Faizi için bankaya yatırarak)
- d) Depositing cash money ()
(Nakit olarak saklayarak)
- e) Buying securities in the stock exchange ()
(Borsadan hisse satın alarak)
- f) Buying foreign currency ()
(Döviz alarak)
- g) Investing in real estates ()
(Gayri menkul mallara yatırım yaparak)
- h) Other ()
(Diğer)
- i) No answer ()
(Yanıt yok)

I. HEALTH (SAĞLIK)

36. To which health organization do you firstly resort in case of a serious illness?

(Önemli bir hastalık durumunda ilk olarak başvurduğunuz sağlık örgütü hangisidir?)

- a) Birth - control clinic ()
(Doğum - kontrol kliniği)
- b) Health Care House ()
(Sağlık Ocağı)
- c) Local clinic ()
(Mahalle kliniği)
- d) State hospital ()
(Devlet hastahanesi)

- e) Private doctor ()
(Özel doktor)
- f) Folk Medicine Practicers ()
(Hoca, üfürükçü vb.)
- g) Other ()
(Diğer)
- h) No answer ()
(Yanıt yok)

37. In case of an illness in your household, do you always resort to the health organizations?

(Hanenizde biri hastalandığında, sağlık örgütlerine daima gidiyor musunuz?)

- a) Yes () b) No () c) No answer ()
(Evet) (Hayır) (Yanıt yok)

38. What is the place in which your children were born in Ankara after migration?

(Göç sonrası Ankara'da doğan çocuklarınızın doğumunu nerede yaptırdınız?)

- a) In a State hospital ()
(Devlet hastahanesinde)
- b) At home (by midwife)
(Hemşire aracılığıyla evde)
- c) In Health Care House
(Sağlık Ocağında)
- d) Other ()
(Diğer)
- e) No answer ()
(Yanıt yok)

K. SHOPPING PATTERNS

(ALIŞVERİŞ ÖRÜNTÜLERİ)

39. From where do you mostly do shopping for the supplement of food needs?

(Besin ihtiyaçlarınızı karşılamak için en çok nereden alışveriş ediyorsunuz?)

a) Petty traders in the district ()

(Mahalledeki küçük esnaftan)

b) Supermarket ()

(Süpermarketten)

c) Ulus Hali (a market hall in Ankara) ()

d) a and b ()

(a ve b birlikte)

e) a, b, and c ()

(a, b, ve c birlikte)

f) Other ()

(Diğer)

40. Do you do shopping from peddlers and street hawkers?

(Seyyar satıcı ve işportacıardan alışveriş eder misiniz?)

a) Yes ()

b) No ()

c) No answer ()

(Evet)

(Hayır)

(Yanıt yok)

41. Why do you do shopping from peddlers and street hawkers?

(Neden seyyar satıcı ve işportacıardan alışveriş ediyorsunuz?)

a) Cheap ()

(Ucuz olduğu için)

b) They come to the door of the dwelling

(Kapı önüne kadar geldikleri için)

c) The facility of installment sale ()

(Taksitle alışveriş kolaylığı sağladıkları için)

d) a and b ()

(a ve b birlikte)

42. Which household durable goods do you own? ...

(Evinizdeki dayanıklı tüketim malları hangileridir?)

- | | |
|---|---|
| a) TV Set ()
(Televizyon) | ı) Washing machine ()
(Çamaşır makinesi) |
| b) Refrigerator ()
(Buzdolabı) | k) Steam Iron ()
(Buharlı Ütü) |
| c) Carpet ()
(Halı) | l) Electric Brush ()
(Elektrikli süpürge) |
| d) Radio ()
(Radyo) | m) A set of armchairs ()
(Koltuk takımı) |
| e) Tape Recorder ()
(Kasetçalar) | n) Book Shelves ()
(Kitaplık) |
| f) Telephone ()
(Telefon) | o) Fan ()
(Vantilatör) |
| g) Oven ()
(Fırın) | p) Computer ()
(Bilgisayar) |
| h) Sewing Machine ()
(Dikiş Makinesi) | |

L. LOCAL PARTICIPATION IN URBAN ORGANIZATIONS AND INSTITUTIONS (YEREL BÖLGEDEKİ KENTSEL KURUM VE ÖRGÜTLERE KATILMA)

43. Do you participate in urban organizations at your gecekondu district?

(Gecekondu semtinizde bulunan kentsel örgütlere katılıyor musunuz?)

- | | | |
|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|
| a) Yes ()
(Evet) | b) No ()
(Hayır) | c) No answer ()
(Yanıt yok) |
|----------------------|----------------------|---------------------------------|

44. (If the answer in question 43 is "no"), why do you not participate in urban organizations at you gecekondu district?

(43. soruya verilen yanıt "hayır" ise), gecekondu semtinizdeki kentsel örgütlere neden katılmıyorsunuz?)

a) Had no experienced people amongst them ()

(Aralarında deneyimli insan yok)

b) No need for such an urban organization ()

(Mahallelerinde kentsel bir örgüte ihtiyaç duymuyorlar)

c) met from outside the district ()

(Kentsel örgütlerin sunduğu hizmetler gecekondu semtinin dışındaki örgütlerce karşılanabiliyor)

d) Obstacles implemented by the Government ()

(Devletin çıkardığı engeller)

e) No sufficient aid from official and private organizations ()

(Resmi ve özel örgütlerden yeterince yardım alınamıyor)

f) Shortage of time ()

(Zaman darlığı)

g) Other ()

(Diğer)

h) No answer ()

(Yanıt yok)

45. Does the shortage of time cause problems in using urban organizations and institutions?

(Zaman darlığı, kentsel örgüt ve kurumları kullanmada sorun yaratıyor mu?)

a) Yes ()

(Evet)

b) No ()

(Hayır)

c) No having idea ()

(Fikri yok)

d) No answer ()

(Yanıt yok)

M. LEISURE TIME ACTIVITIES
(BOŞ ZAMAN ETKİNLİKLERİ)

46. How do you spend your leisure times?

(Boş zamanlarınızı nasıl değerlendiriyorsunuz?)

a) Cinema ()

(Sinema)

b) Theatre ()

(Tiyatro)

c) Cafeteria ()

(Kafeterya)

d) Concert ()

(Konser)

e) Casino ()

(Gazino)

g) Exhibition ()

(Sergi)

h) Coffee House-Pub

(Kahve-Birahane)

i) Visiting kins, co-villagers, and
neighbours ()

(Akraba, hemşehri ve

komşuları ziyaret etme)

k) Sporting ()

(Spor yapma)

l) Reading newspaper ()

(Gazete okuma)

m) Watching TV and Video films

(TV ve video izleme) ()

47. (Will be asked those who did not check the items a, b, c, d, e, f, and g in question 46) why do you not participate in organized urban structures related to cultural activities mentioned in question 46)

[(46. soruda a, b, c, d, e, f, ve g şıklarını işaretlemeyenlere sorulacak) 46. soruda belirtilen kültürel etkinliklerle ilgili örgütlü kentsel yapılara neden katılmıyorsunuz?]

a) Far from home ()

(Buraları evlerine çok uzak düşünüyor)

b) No need ()

(İhtiyaç duymuyorlar)

c) Very expensive ()

(Buraları çok pahalı)

d) These places do not fit to their life-style ()
(Buraları yaşam tarzlarına uymuyor)

e) Other ()
(Diğer)

f) No answer ()
(Yanıt yok)

48. Where do you stay when you go for overnight vacations?

(Ankara dışına tatile gittiğinizde nerede konaklıyorsunuz?)

a) Hotel or pansion ()
(Otel ya da pansiyon'da)

b) Camping of work place ()
(İşyerine ait kampingde)

c) House belonging to kins or friends
(Akraba ya da arkadaşının evinde)

d) No overnight visits ()
(Tatile gidemiyor)

e) Other ()
(Diğer)

f) No answer ()
(Yanıt yok)